



TUULA-HANNELE IKONEN

Daughters of the Vale of Tears

Ethnographic Approach with Socio-Historical
and Religious Emphasis to Family Welfare
in the Messianic Jewish Movement
in Ukraine 2000



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This ethnographic approach with socio-historical and religious emphasis focuses on the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women in Ukraine circa 2000. The approach highlights especially the meaning of socio-historical and religious factors in the emergence of the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women. Ukraine, the location of this study case, is an ex-Soviet country of about 48 million citizens with 100 ethnic nationalities. Members of the Jewish Faith form one of those ethnic groups.

Following the Russian revolution in 1989 and then the establishing of an independent Ukraine in 1991, the country descended into economic disaster with many consequent social problems. Women, children and families were the most vulnerable groups in society and it was within these, and additionally in answer to an emotional vacuum and failure of female activism that an interest and commitment to Religion returned after about 70 years exile.

Messianic Judaism emerged in Ukraine during the late 1980s. The purpose of this study is to describe the content of the Mission view: *family welfare*. This study addresses the following questions concerning the Messianic Jewish Movement: 1) What is the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? 2) Why and how did it emerge? 3) How do women produce family welfare according to this Mission view? 4) What are the ideal types of Messianic Jewish women for contributing welfare to society?

Under Soviet Communist rule Ukrainian Jewry lost their religion, culture and lifestyle. In order to survive they assimilated. Jewish women became part of the work force and the institution of the Jewish family as a centre of Jewish community life collapsed. Religious Jewish women became secular Soviet citizens. This study describes Jewish women in the midst of past and present evolving suffering.

The Mission view presents an ideal model within the context of welfare for the role of Jewish women and Jewish family life for the future. This study is theoretical however it also uses empirical material, which consists of discussions with 47 persons and questionnaires completed by 33 members. Theoretical sources consist of written literature such as academic studies and articles (mainly representing Jewish study tradition), documents, statistics, and ten memoirs. The ethnographic approach includes the use of the theoretical frame, the OOM (the Organization Onion Model), which has been developed by sociologist of religion and cultural anthropologist Muukkonen (2000).

The results of this ethnographic analysis show that the Mission view focuses on three tasks of family welfare: to create integrity at home and in the family, to rear children in order for them to grow into persistent, resilient human beings, and to continue and maintain Jewish lifestyle in the family. The generated Mission view includes the ideal of authentic Jewish women who want to produce welfare for the Jewish family. This analysis opens up new perspectives concerning family welfare in Jewish families.

Key words: Messianic Jewish Movement, Jewish women, the Mission view, the Shoah, Ukraine, transition society, the Pale, ideology, identity, family, social welfare, the OOM, ethnography, triangulation.

Acknowledgments

The undertaking of a project of this sort could not have been conducted without the generous intellectual and emotional support of many people with their time and memories. I am grateful to professionals in Finland and Israel and the volunteers in Ukraine who opened the way into the largely unknown Jewish women's world and who were willing to share their often painful experiences. I have been in touch with countless Jews in Ukraine and other countries mentioned in the text although in accordance with their wishes and my promise I changed their names. I am deeply thankful for their voices, which became agents of their own Jewish history. My concern with and their devotion to family and welfare has created this study report.

I want to express my special thanks to those, who have encouraged me during my study process at the university. I remember with gratitude professor, Dr. *Briitta Koskiahö-Cronström*, who was my first official supervisor at the University of Tampere and who first showed scientific interest in Diaspora Jews although this subject is quite uncommon in Finnish social policy. Especially I remember our fruitful discussion concerning transition society. I warmly thank Dr. *Ritva Nätkin*, scholar of social policy at the University of Tampere, who was my second supervisor directing me to social policy questions and family research. I warmly thank also professor, Dr. *Anneli Anttonen*, scholar of social policy at the University of Tampere, who gave me important comments. I am deeply grateful that my supervisors gave a great attention to this interesting, important and fascinating theme concerning Jewish women.

I have been privileged to receive supervision from Dr. *Martti Muukkonen*, sociologist of religion and a cultural anthropologist whose expertise in the inter-disciplinary context of social and religious Movements was invaluable. Dr. *Muukkonen* also highlighted the theoretical path of social welfare from the ancient world to contemporary Western societies and from the point of view of this study this emphasis made a significant contribution to its framework. At the final stage of the research process professor, Dr. *Pertti Koistinen*, social policy scientist at the University of Tampere gave me encouraging feedback, constructive suggestions and practical instructions. His positive energy combined with scientific analytical approach was a decisive factor to successfully finish this study. With great pleasure I warmly thank both of them.

I am fortunate that Dr. *Tova Benski*, scholar of the social Movements and gender studies (Israel, Tel Aviv) was my preliminary examiner: Her positive and constructive feedback guided me toward content-enhancing additions and analytical clarifications and gave me inspirational encouragement to complete this study. My sincere gratitude to professor, Dr. *Leena Eräsaari*, scholar of social policy and social work at the University of Jyväskylä who was another preliminary examiner gave me confidence, courage and scientific impetus to make final important refinements to my challenging work.

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The support of my family members and friends was important and last, but not least, I express my deep gratitude for all his encouragement to my husband, *Ossi*. Surely, they also will finish 'something important' which was linked us to our mutual emotional, intellectual as well as to practical living process. Years passed while they recognized how I 'always' was sitting at my computer, when I 'always' had a high pile of books to be read, when 'something' important like the text reviewing was 'always' in my hands. However, I am convinced that this long-lasting process is a sign of our commitment with the ancient and modern phenomena of Jewishness and its many charming and inspiring adventures. This process brought *joie de vivre* to our life and will remain in our hearts forever. I would like to share that experience with all readers of this study.

Preface

‘I must know...’ – A Personal Point of View

Every scientific study is based on previous research however an author who wants to bring new ideas and new discoveries to a topic must weed out old prejudices, out-dated facts and verify the accuracy of constantly competing interpretations. The end result will be a new story, a revelation which has its own priorities and perspectives as has happened in this study process.

Religion and history have been my favourite subjects from elementary school to high school and beyond. I especially remember the Bible's historical story of the baby boy Moses in the basket on the Nile River in the first book of religion. We children learned the Bible because our religion teacher and form master was a cordial Lutheran¹ priest who seemed to love Biblical stories about Israel and Jews. We learned verses of the Old Testament (Hebr. the Torah) by heart, and nobody protested. Also at that time a unique person from Finland's history, Mathilda Wrede² caught my imagination. Wrede fed Idealism into my young soul and this historical woman became my female paragon although as a child I was not wholly aware and could not clearly explain her influence upon me.

Today, things are much clearer. Deep in my soul as a child I admired charity, i.e. helping oppressed, poor and sick people. That's why I studied first social work and practiced in the family counselling centre of the Lutheran Church in Helsinki. I continued to study social policy and sociology and received a Masters in Policy Sciences from the University of Helsinki, later specialising in health and social welfare. My first doctoral thesis was in the field of elderly women faced with the dying process. Most of those informants were Western, secularized, elderly ladies. As a researcher I now recognize how far removed was their experience from the poor, assimilated and secularized Jewish women in Ukraine who wanted to know after about 70 years of Communism whether JHWH³ (God) exists. Most Finnish secular women died without bothering about this kind of thing although their society offered a wide range of different kinds of religious practises and services.⁴ However, in Ukraine among Judaic and Messianic Jews it was easy as easy and normal to speak about religion as about any of the food that you or I will put on the table.

There is not necessarily a separation in all matters between traditional Jewish religion, everyday life and science. In Jerusalem, where I studied and worked in the late 1990s the walls at the Hebrew University buildings are adorned with verses from the book of Psalms and other Biblical texts. When you are walking in the long underground corridors in Hadassah, you can look and meditate on them while moving from one lecture to another. Just as natural seem to be those ‘good morning’ greetings at the University gate with the words, ‘Shalom ve Uvracha’ (peace and blessing) heard every day for every person. In Finland, emphasis on personal belief is not considered as belonging or relating to the sciences and Science is taken to be at least neutral and preferably Atheist. On the entrance wall of the University of Turku in Finland, where I also studied is the text ‘The present of free people to free science.’ The contrast is quite explicit.

The intention with this, my personal story is only to highlight how different are the scientific worlds of Jews and Gentiles (Goyim). The Biblical allegorical quotation in this study context today would be: ‘I will send you to Pharaoh’⁵ and *I must know*, how free Jews are today in the Diaspora. *I must know*, whether Jews live there in Shalom. From the point of view of Hebrew philosophy a person is a ‘whole’, that is, an indivisible body-soul unity.⁶ In other words, human beings live as souls, but they do not ‘have’ souls as this is interpreted in dualistic Greek thinking. To simplify, it means that there is no division be-

¹ See: The Lutheran Church of Finland.

² Mathilda Augusta Wrede (1864-1928), the baroness and the evangelist is known in Finland as *Friend of the inmates* and *the Angel of The Prisons* for being a precursor in the rehabilitation of prisoners. See: Dick 2002, Stevenson 1925.

³ JHWH refers to the tetragram from Yehova(h).

⁴ However, usually elderly Finns were satisfied with the life, they had lived. But, in Ukraine elderly women were not satisfied because they had been humiliated in poverty. I also noticed that Finnish hospital staffs were not allowed to speak about spiritual matters. The general rule seems to be that religion should be a private and a most secret matter.

⁵ Read: Ex. 3: 10. (Free translation). Cf. Ellis 2004, 149.

⁶ Wilson, M. R. 1989, 174-177.

tween sacred and secular areas in our life or body.⁷ Hebrew doctrine also perceives the domains of religion and society as being united together. Liberation then, means that you can become totally free, spiritually and physically and therefore you live in welfare, i.e. Shalom.⁸ My interpretation of this is that my earlier life in childhood and adolescence was preparing me to study 'Jewishness'. For example my mother read to me daily newspapers and reported about significant persons of contemporary history. She told of my grandfather who also was a socially orientated person. In spite of not knowing German he ordered newspapers from Germany to Finland and read them eagerly with a dictionary in order to get to know what was happening in Europe during the Second World War. In his heart burned a question: *I must know...* The interest towards Jewishness has surrounded me also from my father's side: My father aged 17 enlisted in the Finnish army that was fighting the armed forces of the USSR. About 30 years later when the borders to Israel opened my father had a pressing need to visit Jerusalem, but because the times were difficult and dangerous there he concealed his trip from me. "Were you not afraid?" I scolded him asking why he was so unwise to travel to a country where life is so dangerous. He answered serenely: "You know, *I must know*, how things are there." I think there are similarities in my study case to that of my father and grandfather. I hope the reader may keep this *I must know* -aspect in mind while reading this study.

The above were the background input to my interest however my personal reasoning for starting a study of Jewish women in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement stems from 1978 when I visited Israel the first time to take part in the International Conference on Social Welfare (ICSW), in Jerusalem. My story continues in the 1980s when I again visited Israel and 1990s when I arranged an excursion to Israel for Finnish university students. This happened at a time when the first Messianic Jewish congregations were emerging in the world and were shaping their mission. During that period I met many Messianic Jews. Messianic Jewish worship services gathered together Jewish and non-Jewish women, men and children every Sabbath all over Israel. However, Israel is officially a Judaic state, whose religion is Judaism (classical, orthodox, normative Judaism) not Messianic Judaism. Messianic Judaism was regarded as a Christian sect because Messianic believers confessed their belief in Yeshua. I was astounded by this new and developing trend among Jews.

My four trips to Poland and Russia (the former Soviet Union) through the 1990s included visits to Jewish homes and institutions so that I could meet Diaspora Jews and make observations concerning Jewish life style, religion, belief system and desires. I felt a deep compassion for them as if we spoke the same language of aspiration. It was also perhaps guidance that led to my meeting in 1999 in Finland a Messianic Jewish pastor who later helped me in practice in Ukraine when I was researching my interest in Jewish women. According to religion sociologist Inger Furseth,⁹ women have participated in large numbers in Religious Movements and this was a fascinating link to Ukraine where it was reported women were usually first to convert back into Judaism/Messianic Judaism.¹⁰ A remarkable reflection from the point of view of the 1st Century in Palestine at the time of Yeshua and his Apostles when women were more likely than men to become the first Messianics/Christians.¹¹

In April 2001 I met the leader of the Jewish Humanitarian Aid Foundation in his home in Warsaw. With him I visited the ex-ghetto district in Warsaw and the school centre for Jewish Bible students located between Dansk and Warsaw. The most exciting and interesting moment was to take part in an underground Messianic Sabbath meeting on the Friday evening. There I met Jews who had dared, many of them the first time, to come out from their secretive isolation. My impression was similar to that of Ukraine in the previous year: They belong to the *remnant*, to the small group in which awareness of a heritage of Jewishness had survived. To my mind, the Sabbath worship service message in Warsaw sounded like the Christian Gospel, however the audience was solely Jewish. That night touched all present; everyone's cheeks glowed red. They (about 15 persons) seemed to be happy. On leaving, they mentioned that they wanted to come again next Sabbath. A Messianic Jewish congregation with an underline mentality had been established.¹²

It is important to realise not everything I witnessed was either heart-warming or noble: During my journey to the south I visited a congregation whose pastor gathered cheques and dollars into a big plastic

⁷ Wilson, M. R. 1989, 174-177.

⁸ *Shalom* indicates to welfare (Gutiérrez 1988, xxx). Bohachevsky-Chomiak points out that in general 'liberation is meaningful as a vision, an ideology, a call to action' (Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, xx).

⁹ Furseth 2001.

¹⁰ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/9.

¹¹ Stark 1996, 99. From the Judaic perspective, see for example: Nadel and Sarna (eds.). 2001; Snyder 2001.

¹² Surely there were in Warsaw and elsewhere 'Nicodemus Jews' (John 3:1-2), who tried to keep secret their belief in Yeshua. Cf. Nerel 2005, 6.

bag from Americans who happened to visit there. The ‘business’ around the Shoah seemed to go well. It did not make a good impression upon me. On the other hand I realized the world is changing profoundly in front of my eyes. Eastern European Diasporic Jews are returning back to the light of day. Concretely I saw the same process going on everywhere in Russia, Poland and then Ukraine.¹³

Referring to the years 1996 and 1997, I must highlight the scientific value of my approximate seven months stay in Jerusalem and work in the Hebrew University. As a Finn and a social policy scientist I had been acquainted with the Finnish system and history of Finland¹⁴, but there I was eager to explore Israel - a much less familiar territory. For many days in the libraries on Mounts Scopus and Hadassah I read and gathered source material concerning Hebrew culture and Jewishness. I was like a new immigrant (Hebr. *Olah Chadasha*), thirsty to know my new homeland in depth. What is more important it gave me a new orientation for seeing and understanding some social phenomena which are common to Jewishness, but are quite or totally strange in the non-Jewish context of Europe.

I returned to Finland and determined to make a study concerning Jews in the Diaspora. However, Ukraine became my ultimate destination perhaps by accident. My professor proposed I should choose only one country instead of my suggestion of ‘three’. Then, descendants of those Jews who had suffered in Ukraine, losing almost everything, became my target.

During my study process the pictures of Matilda Wrede, the prisoner’s friend and those Biblical Hebrews¹⁵ escaping from the bondage of Pharaoh’s of Egypt have periodically jumped up into my mind. However, accepting the fact that I cannot do much to help Jews in Ukraine I did realise I can attempt to write their story. This study is in no small part about Jewish women’s spiritual heritage.¹⁶ Like philosopher Ze’ev Levy points out we “ought to keep in mind that if the spiritual heritage is the creative product of man’s activity in the past, this creative faculty of man never stops. It continues to the present, and beyond”.¹⁷

¹³ On the 20th April I took part in the *March of the Living* in Oświęcim (Auschwitz). The annual festival was kept on the birthday of Adolf Hitler and was named the *Day of the Living* - not the Dying. There were thousands of Jews from all over the world who marched from the Birkenau area to the Auschwitz camp. The weather was cold, but we were standing outside listening to the words of a minister who came from Israel. He encouraged Jews to live in the present and to look to the future. It was comforting and reassuring. Although the war was decades ago only recently has the full horror been revealed. Could the Jews of Eastern Europe have already come out? There I met Benjamin, an old Jewish man, who struck up contact with me. This holocaust-survivor came to my home next summer in order to share his anti-Semitic experiences. He was extremely charming, clever and willing to open his hearts and memories to me. I had the opportunity to make ‘deep interviews’ from morning until night. I came to know how damaging the Shoah experience had been for him, and how difficult the life had been after the *Shoah* for a poor Jew, in a Catholic country with anti-Semitic attitudes in society. Also, I understood that different Christian denominations had different attitudes and thoughts towards Jews and the Jewish people as a nation.

In Russia I have met Rabbinic, Messianic and secular Jews at their homes and also at a Sabbath dinner in St. Petersburg during two visits in the 1990s. At this time I was also invited to give lectures at the Medical Academy in Lublin in Poland. During this journey, I took the opportunity to visit the Majdanek concentration camps with all their horror. Those experiences in Russia and Poland have influenced me not only emotionally but also cognitively. I knew *I must know* more.

¹⁴ Officially Finns live in the Republic of Finland (in Finnish *Suomi*) which is an independent Nordic, Western democratic country with a population of approximately 5.4 million and is a member of the EU.

¹⁵ According to scholar of Judaism, Rabbi Isidore Epstein writes that ‘coming from the other side of Euphrates, Abram and his family became known in their new surroundings as *Hebrews*, a term usually derived from a root meaning *the other side*’ (Epstein 1968, 13; Italics by the author).

¹⁶ During this process I have become gradually more interested in my own roots. However, this is another story, and should be told in another time... I refer to ‘Die unendliche Geschichte’ by Michael Ende, 2004.

¹⁷ Levy, Z. 1992, 59.

This study is dedicated in loving memory to Jews in Ukraine.

“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed people can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.” Margaret Mead¹⁸

¹⁸ In: Smith, T., Sonnenfeld and Pellow 2006, 1f.

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List of Abbreviations

AJS: Association for Jewish Studies
BCE: Before the Common Era (means before Christ)
BEPA: Bureau of European Policy Advisers.
CE: Common Era (means after Christ)
EBRD: The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EU: The European Union
FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
FSR: Field Study Report
GDP: Gross domestic product
HIV: Human immunodeficiency virus
HURI: The Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
ICSW: The International Conference on Social Welfare
IBM: International Machines Business Corporation
ISSP: International Social Survey Program
JHWH: The Tetragram from Yehova(h)
MJAA: The Messianic Jewish Alliance of America
MJB: The Messianic Jewish Bible Institute
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAE: National Association of Evangelicals
NCJW: National Council of Jewish Women
OMCT: The World Organization against Torture
OOM: The Organization Onion Model
OSCE: The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
RISU: Religious Information Service in Ukraine
STCU: The Science and Technology Centre in Ukraine
ULC: The Ukrainian Lutheran Church
UMJC: The Union of Messianic Congregations
UK: The United Kingdom
USA: The United States of America
USAID: United States Agency for International Development
USSR: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VOANews: Voice of America News
WTO: The World Trade Organization
WW2: The Second World War

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The Archive of the Author

The author refers over 100 times in the text to empirical case material gathered in Ukraine 2000 like this: “In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/13”, etc. (FSR refers to the Field Study Report; 8 refers to the number of reports; 13 refers to the page). In this study for example the date 2012-05-12 refers to the year 2012, to the month 05, to the day 12.

Names of Informants

All names of informants of this study have been changed.

Concepts

The Hebrew word *Yeashua* or the English word *Jesus* is used depending on the context, however with the same meaning.

JHWH is the Tetragram from Yehova(h), God. Different forms of JHWH like HaElyon, or Elohim, or Adonai, are not mentioned separately.

Used Bible Versions

The American King James Bible Version
The American Standard Version
The Complete Jewish Bible
The English Standard Version
The Hebrew Bible
The Hebrew Names Version of WEB Bible
The Hebrew Names Version of the World English Bible
The Jewish Bible
The King James Version
The Revised King James New Testament

Glossary of most used Hebrew and Jewish Words in the Text

Aliya(h): Literally to ‘ascent’, emigration to Israel.

Am Israel: The People of Israel. A popular Hebrew folksong is ‘Am Yisrael Chai’ (the People of Israel live).

Am Israel Chai: Long live Israel.

Am-ha-seyfer: the People of the Book.

Ashkenazi: An Eastern European or German Jew.

Avodah be-gashmiyut: Worship in corporeality.

Ba’al ha’bayit: Householder.

Bar Mitzvah: Traditional coming of age ceremony for boys at age 13 with adult behaviours and responsibilities for moral and religious duties.

Bat Mitzvah: Cf. previous, an equivalent ceremony for girls at age 12.

Beit av: The father’s house.

Bikkurim: Jewish people have learnt to bring to YHWH the first fruits as thanksgiving symbols.

B’nai Yisrael: Children of Israel.

B’Rit Hadashah: The New Testament.

Challah: The special braided bread eaten on the Sabbath and holidays.

Chewra/Chevra: The help organization. Chevra Kadisha: The Jewish Burial organization.

Diaspora: Dispersion. Jews outside Israel in Exile.

Derekh erez (erets): Way of the land.

Erez-Israel: Israel, the Land of Israel, Palestine.

Exile: Expulsion. The Destruction of Jerusalem caused the period in Jewish history known as the Babylonian Exile (between circa 597-400 BCE). Plus the Israelites Exile to Assyria (circa 719 BCE) is referred to as the 10 lost tribes.¹⁹

Extermination camp, or concentration camp: Generic term for death and slave-labour camps.

Galut or Golus. Diapora/Exile of Jews from Erez-Israel (the land of Israel).

Gola/Bene gola = Children of Exiles: Gola refers to the geographic situation and Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

Goy, and pl. Goyim: The Biblical term ‘nation’. By Roman time Goy meant a non-Jew; also today some Jews may refer to these terms meaning non-Jewish people.

Haggadah: Collection of stories, narratives and legends.

Ha Kotel: The Western Wall (the Wailing Wall) in Jerusalem.

Halakhah: Literally, the path: the way of walking referring to the Torah and religious practices.

Haskalah: The Jewish Enlightenment.

HaShem: The name of God. HaShem is the Hebrew word referring to the yod-hey-vav-hey (יהוה)– YHVH) meaning literally The Name.

HaTikvah: (Engl.the Hope). Israel's National Anthem.

Holocaust: Destruction. The Biblical term referring to burnt offerings dedicated to JHWH.

Hora(h): A type of circle dance; the most popular of Jewish folk and praise dances.

JHWH. Literally HaShem means The Name.

Kabbalah: It is considered as a method (tradition, discipline, school of thoughts) to study the Torah including mystical elements.

Kadosh: The holiness of JHWH.

Kehilla: They were organizations of local Jewish community.

Ketuvim: The Scriptures.

Kibbutz: A collective community in Israel that was traditionally based on agriculture with communal lifestyle. Today Kibbutzim (pl.) have been privatized including industrial plants and high-tech enterprises.

Kosher: Food prepared and belonging to the Jewish religion (Jewish dietary laws, kashrut).

Marrano: Jews who converted into Roman Catholic religion in Spain (in their heart remained Jewish).

Maskilim: Leaders of Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment.

Mateh (or shevet): A tribe.

Menorah: A 7-branched candelabra that stands in the Temple; the most enduring and iconic Jewish symbol.

Mechitzan: Women read the Torah from their own side of mechitzan, men from their own side of mechitzan at the Orthodox synagogue.

Mizbeah: The altar. Israeli /Jewish people served JHWH in the altars, ‘altar of earth’ (mizbah adama), and ‘altar of stones’ (mizbah abanim).The Kosher animal, which used to be sacrificed on the Mizbeah (altar) when the Mishkan (Tabernacle) and Beit Hamikdash (the Holy Temple) were still functioning.

Mishkan: Tabernacle. The dwelling place for the Divine presence; the Holy of Holiest.

Midrash: The way to teach and study the Bible and interpret Biblical stories.

Mishnah: The oral tradition for teaching the Torah; the first major work of Rabbinic Judaism.

Mishpat: Social justice.

Mispaha: Generally the Mispaha means the family and the global family to whom all Jews belong.

Mitzvah: Like social work²⁰. Mitzvah refers to human kindness as an important part of Jewish society.

Mitzvot: Jewish tradition includes 613 commands, mizvot.

Musselman: Origin of the term Musselman refers to victims of concentration camps.

Nerot or neironim: Lighting candles to introduce the Sabbath.

Nevi'im: The Prophets.

Olah Chadasha: A New Immigrant, a woman. Oleh, a man; Olim is plural.

Palestine: The Biblical, geographical name of the ancient land of the descendants of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Pogroms: Spontaneous (and politically motivated) attacks against Jews.

¹⁹ The years can be different in different sources. Appendix 1.

²⁰ Bertha Pappenheim spoke of social work as a mitzvah. In: Kaplan 1991, 212.

Quppa. Kuppah: A basket which e.g. forms part of the weekly dole of bread or cash for residents (local or foreign).

Ruach Ha Kodesh: The Holy Spirit.

Sephardic Jews: Originally Jews from the Iberian Peninsula. In a broader sense it also refers to Mizrahi Jews who are from the Middle East and North Africa.

Shekina/e, Shekinah: Divine presence and glory of JHWH.

Sekhel: Reason, intellect.

Shir-HaShirim: In the Bible Song of Songs, Song of Solomon.

Shofar: A horn, traditionally that of a ram, used for Jewish religious purposes.

Shtetl: Jewish community, like a Jewish village.

Shul: Synagogue, the prayer house.

Simcha: Gladness.

Star of David: The Star of David, the Shield of David or Magen David, is recognized as a symbol of Jewish identity and Judaism.

Soferim: Traditionally Soferim (Scribes) are generally identified with the Men of the Great Assembly who taught the Torah in Synagogue and school.

Tabernacle: The dwelling place of the Divine presence, the Holy of Holiest.

Tallit: A Jewish prayer shawl.

Talmud: The most important collection of the Jewish oral tradition interpreting the Torah. It consists of *Mishnah*: The Oral Law, and Gemara, all the codes of Rabbinic law.

Talmud Bavli: Babylonian Talmud.

Tamhui: The Jewish communal soup kitchen. A house-to-house collection for those in pressing need (bowl for the poor).

Tanakh: The Acronym 'Tanakh' refers to the canon of the Hebrew Bible which consists of the Torah (the Five Books of Moses), *Nevi'im* (Prophets) and *Ketuvim* (Writings).

Tefillah: Prayer.

Teshuvah: Repentance; the way of atoning for sin in Judaism.

Tkiknes: Yiddish-language prayer books.

Torah: The first 5 books of the Bible. In broader sense, all Jewish oral and written law (the Jewish Bible).

Tsitsit: The 'fringes' in the prayer shawl (Num. 15:38).

Tzadikkah: A person who is righteous or doing what is correct.

Tzedakah: Righteousness or justice, charity.

Yehudi: A Jew, pl. is Yehudim.

Yeshiva: Schools where Jews learn the Scriptures.

Yom Ha Atzmaoot (Yom Ha'atzmaut): Independence Day of Israel.

PART I: THEORETICAL PREMISES

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Background of the Study

When the Christian crusade in 11th century reached Jerusalem, its pilgrims celebrated although they had killed people and sown seeds of hatred. It is obvious that religion has occasioned much 'illfare state'²¹. In the 21st century different groups in the world fight with each other in the name of religion. Should this 'illfare' be the only image of religion? My thesis in this matter is that religion can also provide welfare in society. It is surprising that, although Academic studies of social policy evaluate welfare in society these studies generally do not deal with religion.

The main reason why Ukraine has been chosen for this case study is the fact the Ukrainian geographical region had been for a long time - hundreds or even thousands of years - one of the most important migration and residential area for Jews until the Second World War (1939 - 1945). More specifically, from an administrative point of view during the period before Ukraine became a part of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, Jews had developed very tight links with social and economic aspects in the region's society providing admittedly social, economic and cultural welfare. At the time the word 'Jew' generally meant 'Jewish religion' and at the same time 'Jews' or 'Jewry' went together with 'economic and cultural power' that enriched the lives of all residents in that region. However, a turning point came again after the Treaty of Riga, 1921 incorporated Ukraine into the USSR²². The Soviet Union's political-social-economic affairs made the era from 1921 until 1989 anti-Semitic²³. The only way to survive was for Jews to assimilate and become more or less invisible as an ethnic group, but rather more visible as Soviet citizens until the 1989 Russian revolution.

The Revolution in 1989 changed the life of all ethnic minorities within Ukraine. Religious values started to spread all over the country and new Religious Movements emerged such as the modern Messianic Jewish Movement. However, I have not found any scientific studies concerning the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine, nor in the field of social sciences or social policy. This study can therefore be regarded as a pioneering work. This socio-historical analysis shows how the Mission view (the vision) of modern Messianic Jewish women has developed historically. In addition, it describes how the religion of Messianic Jewish women in Ukraine influences society and family. The main results are summarized in the ideal model that presents factors, roles, tasks and functions that produce family welfare.

This study founded on the case in Ukraine uses the empirical case data gathered there in 2000. All material has been evaluated using the OOM (the Organization Onion Model), which is a model generated by sociologist of religion and cultural anthropologist Martti Muukkonen (2002). Besides the OOM is a practical instrument offering the means of carrying out analysis process throughout the work systematically, logically and giving me also a theoretical schema to observe an insider's knowledgeable description of how the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women developed historically over time.

In order to bring depth and effectiveness into this study process, I chose to use the ethnographic method, which includes my own and my informants' authentic reflections in a scientific approach with many notes applying a traditional German scientific writing style²⁴. Referring to methodological principles re-

²¹ The expression of "illfare" or "illfare state" is used in studies of social administration and economics. E.g. in: Blackorby, Bossert and Donaldson 2005, DeHaan and Rogaly (eds.). 2002; Palmer 1952.

²² Treaty of Riga grants Poland control over Galicia and western Volhynia, in: Kubicek 2008.

²³ Large pogroms (violent attacks on Jews) have occurred also before, e.g. in 1881-1883 and 1903-1905, in: Kubicek 2008, 55.

²⁴ See e.g. the Doctoral Dissertations of Ahonen 2006, Oikarinen 1993; Nissilä 1992, 93; Kettunen 1990, 39.

flections include “a series of intense, often emotionally loaded interactions through which an observer learns about life and meaning of behaviour in order to describe it for others...”²⁵ For example, if we want to transfer some information or knowledge from an unknown context, e.g. from Jewishness into the Western secular scientific context - as I do in this study - the use of ethnographic method with reflections is an efficient manner, used by many Jewish social scientists in the Western world today.²⁶ These reflections, then, are like a bridge between ‘strange’ Jewishness and Western human understanding.

Generally speaking, in modern American social sciences, notes are often put at the end of each chapter or at the end of all chapters²⁷, however in this study I prefer the Germanic tradition where it is not uncommon that notes are put at the end of each page, so that one page of the paper may include even more notes than there is ordinary text.²⁸ In this way different valuable and relevant aspects and factors can be attached with notes to the main theme. Occasionally, ‘down below’ there are often interesting and surprising sub-themes, which enrich the research, but which do not belong directly to the main body. My justification is that the use of the traditional Germanic annotation method is appropriate in helping to comprehend and structure the wide scope and terminology of the OOM. Although the OOM is a laborious instrument needing much source material (here theoretical and empirical), it works well for steering research analysis and structuring findings of this study.

1.2. The Welfare Function of Religion

This study focuses on society, wherein three concepts are seen as the most important: religion, welfare and family. The concept of welfare is derived from *wel far* from *well*, in its still familiar sense, primarily a journey or arrival, but later it also referred to a supply of food. Welfare has indicated happiness or prosperity (wealth).²⁹ In this chapter I will present an overview of the relationship between religion and welfare in society.

The scholars of classical social sciences, like Max Weber, Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx,³⁰ as well as the scholars of modern social sciences like Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann³¹, Clifford Geertz³²,

²⁵ Heilman 2001, 5.

²⁶ Linden 1993, Heilman 2001, Hoffman 2001.

²⁷ See e.g. ethnographic studies of social sciences: Hoffman 2001 (there are 18 text pages of notes at the end of the main chapters), Heilman 2001 (there are 24 text pages at the end of the main chapters); and the (socio-) historical study of Jewish women by Kaplan 1991 (there are 68 text pages of notes from the total of 234 pages of the main chapters).

²⁸ Oskar Skarsaune and Reidar Hvalvik (eds.) (2007) have described Jewish believers in Jesus in the first century. This study is the valid theoretical source of this study, when I deal with the ancient history of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement. Of 781 text pages, almost every page consists of footnotes with interesting socio-historical and historical aspects. Historian Eero Kuparinen (2008) also uses a lot of notes, when he describes the history of the Holocaust. He presents notes together with literature sources (55 text pages from 364 pages of main chapters) at the end of the study. In notes of a similar type, Kuparinen describes important revealing detailed information that I have used in footnotes for this study. See also: Dunn 2009, Evans 2007 and Lahey 2007 (who study the phenomena of religion in the historical context).

²⁹ Williams, R. 1983, 333.

³⁰ Marx 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009, and Marx and Engels 2005. Karl Marx is not analyzed in detail here, however later in this study I refer to sociologist Piotr Sztompka who uses Marx’s theories. Sztompka highlights that Marx was studying human individuals from a sociological perspective including social classes and he emphasizes the equivalence of humaneness and social existence. However, it is possible to interpret Marx’s conceptualization as quite ‘Jewish’ because he was born in the Rabbinical family, he knew religious terminology and Judaism. In: Sztompka 1991, 35.

³¹ Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann represents phenomenological sociology which is quite close to ethnomethodology and existential sociology.

³² Geertz 1973.

Rodney Stark³³, Christian Smith³⁴ and Frank M. Loewenberg³⁵ have brought the question of religion into close contact with everyday social phenomena including individuals, different ethnic and social groups of people, institutions, working life, family questions, charity, aspects of death as well as life with its many other dimensions of life. Although it is not often considered worthy of attention in social science studies according to their analysis, it is obvious that the power of religion is not diminished in society.

Since Max Weber, many social scientists and anthropologists have given a positive answer to the question of whether religion is linked with welfare³⁶ in society. Max Weber links together religion with political, economic and social aspects in his studies. According to him religion contributes welfare into society and the Protestant work ethic, especially, is a key to wealth. Weber created ideal types of society and identified stratifications in society with concepts of social class, status and party. Status includes elements of religion, family and qualification. Weber also predicted correctly that the Soviet Communist system would end up as an overly bureaucratic state.³⁷ Emile Durkheim also speculated on the relation of religion and society. In his theory of religion,³⁸ Durkheim used the terms *sacred* and *profane* and strongly refuted religion is nothing but an illusion. He identified on the one hand a social reality that has an aspect of sacred forming the essence of religion and on the other hand it has an aspect of profane meaning the commonplace, the utilitarian and the mundane aspects of life. According to Durkheim there is a superior moral power which inspires believers. For him that is society which can become conscious of itself and he argued the power of society as being greater than the individual or 'we'. Durkheim highlights his view that religion in society requires a single over-arching moral community like a church.³⁹ I return to the thoughts of Weber and Durkheim later in chapter 3.2.1. in the social-cultural context. Thus, religious traditions with value systems have influence on all societies especially from a long term perspective and even at a political level although we may not readily recognize it. So, in present day discussions in social policy science, welfare is often seen to be related to the concept of the welfare state⁴⁰ which is widely discussed in Finland and which seems to have roots in at least France, Germany and Britain.⁴¹

The economist Jules Lechevalier's work 'Question sociale' (published in 1833) includes the concept 'politique sociétaire' in the context of the 'new policy'.⁴² This term became defined in more thorough by *Verein für Sozialpolitik*, an association that was founded in Germany 1872.⁴³ According to social policy scientists, Risto Eräsaari and Keijo Rahkonen, Verein für Sozialpolitik created the basis for modern social policy legislation in Western countries.⁴⁴ This was the beginning for Bismarck's social insurance system in Germany.⁴⁵ Social policy scientist Olavi Riihinen emphasizes that Bismarck's social policy system in 1880s was the first modern social policy system in the whole of Europe to be created by the state.⁴⁶ The system was comprehensive and it took different kinds of social questions into account concerning the

³³ Stark 1996, 1997.

³⁴ Smith, C. 1996.

³⁵ Loewenberg 1994, 2001.

³⁶ Cf. well-being. See: Human Well-being; also in: McGillivray and Clarke (eds.). 2006, also Sen 2009.

³⁷ Weber 1947, 1949, 1958, 1961, 1963; *Ancient Judaism*, in: Weber 1967; 1976, 2005; see: *The Sociology of Religion*, Weber 2010.

³⁸ *Theory of Religion in the work of the Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, in: Durkham 1912/1965.

³⁹ Durkheim 1912/1965; Ritzer, G. 2008, 96.

⁴⁰ According to culture and society scholar Raymond Williams 'the welfare state' in distinction from 'the warfare state' was first named in 1939. Williams, R. 1983, 333.

⁴¹ For example, the 'Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism' generated by the sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen (1990) has recently been applied to the sphere of religion by Muukkonen (2008), who argues that Esping-Andersen's three welfare regimes could be named as Lutheran (Nordic Social democrat), Catholic (Continental conservative) and Anglican-Methodist (Anglo-Saxon liberal). See: *Protestantism*. (2004).

Lutheranism belongs to Protestantism, a term which referred to the protest against the Roman Catholic majority in the Middle Ages. Finnish social policy and welfare, for example in: Kuusi 1931, Waris 1948, 1973; Sipilä 1985, Anttonen & Sipilä 2000, Heikkilä and Kautto (eds.). 2004; and, Anttonen, Baldock and Sipilä 2006.

⁴² Raunio 1999, 15; also: Frobert 2010.

⁴³ Nieminen 1955, 35; Eräsaari, R. & Rahkonen 1975, 15-19.

⁴⁴ Eräsaari, R. & Rahkonen 1975, 18, 26.

⁴⁵ Eräsaari, R. & Rahkonen 1975, 26.

⁴⁶ Riihinen (ed.). 1992, 268f.

active labour movement.⁴⁷ In Finland, the political discussion started to have German societal reform emphasis.⁴⁸ However, another valid background to the modern welfare state is the Report compiled by Sir William Beveridge in Britain. It was produced in wartime during 1942 and formed the basis for the post-war British welfare state. The report proposes a system for providing a minimum standard of living. The structure of welfare was established based on this report,⁴⁹ which calls for an ‘attack upon five giant evils’: Want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness (Beveridge 1942:170).⁵⁰ After the British welfare model became accepted many states have applied its principles. It is now accepted the term ‘welfare state’ refers to a society in which the government accepts the responsibility for ensuring a citizen’s good welfare.⁵¹ In 2000s, social policy scientist Robert Walker has highlighted the distinctions between welfare and the well-being of individuals and families with social security systems and between individual well-being and that of societies as a whole.⁵²

Studies in social sciences usually share the idea that *family* and *home* are an important background for children’s development. Nonetheless, there are seldom studies on how values or religion have influenced family welfare or how to bring up children to become decent, determined and resilient persons. For this reason it would seem in the Western culture parents are very uncertain how to approach building a good life for their family and for their children’s future. An idea in Western social policy similar to Beveridge’s Report maintains however, that greater ‘social justice’ - a term that has come to stay in social sciences - will develop by emphasizing welfare. Originally ‘social justice’⁵³ was employed in a religious context outside the secular world. This term originates with Luigi Taparelli, an Italian Catholic scientist (Jesuit), who developed an approach to the sciences of society, politics and economics in the early and mid-19th century. The scholar Thomas C. Bahr writes that Taparelli argues that “the predominance of the secularist view among the intellectual and political elites of the West is indeed responsible for fostering the conditions which have undermined families, religious and educational institutions...”⁵⁴ Taparelli underlines an appreciation of our natural dependence on others in society, on nature, and on nature’s Author – just liberty, the true vocation and dignity of man⁵⁵. A link can be observed between ‘social justice’ and a theology of liberation which emerges in the Catholic context in Latin America, but much later during 1960s. The women in Latin America put this into words: “To strive to live to the fullest by struggling against injustice is to draw nearer and nearer to the Divine.”⁵⁶ ‘Social justice’ according to them is the process whereby one can draw closer to God/JHWH and struggling for justice then becomes for him/her the same thing.⁵⁷ Thus, it could be said, ‘happiness’ in this connection emerges if one is close to God/JHWH. They emphasize that this emotional and spiritual experience of life (we can say ‘experience of existence’)⁵⁸ does not depend on material goods, so even in poverty one can feel happiness. In modern society, ‘satisfaction’ seems to be linked in society to whether objectives (needs) have been achieved and means ‘satisfaction’ is often linked to material goals and assessments as to whether social justice has been achieved during one’s life in society: It is possible to be happy (close to God/JHWH) without being satisfied (without having achieved one’s own goals in society).⁵⁹

⁴⁷ Raunio 1999, 19.

⁴⁸ Raunio 1999, 20f.

⁴⁹ Gazeley and Thane 2002, 188ff.

⁵⁰ Baldock Manning and Vickerstaff (eds.). 2007.

⁵¹ Deacon 2002, Barr 2003.

⁵² Walker 2005, 7.

⁵³ George and Page 1995.

⁵⁴ Behr 2003, 7, 311.

⁵⁵ Behr 2003, 7

⁵⁶ Isasi-Díaz 1996, 33. Ps. 73: 28. “But it is good for me to draw near unto God: I have made the Lord Jehovah my refuge that I may tell of all thy works.” (According to American Standard Version)

⁵⁷ Isasi-Díaz 1996, 33.

⁵⁸ Originally ‘experience of existence’, is a concept defined by Tuula-Hannele Ikonen presented in her coping theory (in: Nores 1993, later known by the name Ikonen; in: Ikonen 2000).

⁵⁹ Isasi-Díaz 1996.

These examples show how religion⁶⁰ and welfare⁶¹ are knit together in society. From this point of view anthropologist Clifford Geertz identifies religion as 1) “a system of symbols which acts to 2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men 3) by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and 4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality 5) that the moods and motivations appear uniquely realistic.”⁶² Different religions identified as Social Movements exert influence on societies’ political and social structures with different kinds of functions of social change, e.g. Geertz says, by being a powerful dynamo for human action by giving them new ethical values.⁶³ In a nutshell, religion is able to establish and maintain core values that promote welfare for a population.⁶⁴ Evidence shows religion, while being an established institution, has been the source of the oldest Social Movements in the world. According to studies, the first recorded social reform in history was *Urukini-gina’s coup d’état* (2351-2340 BC),⁶⁵ where the power structure in the Sumerian city-state Lagaš was changed from aristocracy to temple-led theocracy. Later, the social proclamation of Hebrew prophets is well known.⁶⁶ Perhaps nothing has had more influence on philanthropic thinking than the New Testament’s story of ‘The Good Samaritan.’ Additionally, one of the major European welfare reforms emerged in Byzantium, when the state ended the *old panen et circences*⁶⁷ practice and gave the money to the church in order to give aid to the poorest (instead of the 20% that possessed citizenship).⁶⁸

We may wonder why religion, although it is the source of the oldest Social Movements in the world, is not seen as an equally capable tool as an economical and political activity for influencing social change⁶⁹ and power in Western societies? However, although religion might be utilized as a valid factor in welfare, religion has not been a popular topic during the last decades in education up to university. In academic life, it is easy to recognize that approaches (religion and social policy) have not often been linked together with each other in recent studies. Since 1950 religion as a subject has been mainly ignored in Finnish social policy studies although religious beliefs have been transplanted across industrial society and understanding. Social policy is focused more on work, livelihood, standard of living, social security and equality issues without emphasizing religion.⁷⁰ This is a little odd, since Finland is one of the countries in the world where the state finances the church (Evangelical Lutheran) (by collecting taxes), so that this religious institution and the state have a direct, interactive relationship. Nevertheless, religion is conspicuous by its absence in Finnish social policy studies at universities. Generally speaking the reason for this kind of situation according to a sociologist of religion, Christian Smith is that the secularization theory had already reached its zenith by 1960s generating a decline in religion, which was now a marginal factor in shaping the social world.⁷¹ Although secularization is not - as political scientist Pippa Norris and Ronald F. Inglehart points out⁷² – an iron law, there are other reasons apart from the secularization theory as to why religion has been neglected.⁷³ They are, according to sociologist Christian Smith, as follows: 1)

⁶⁰ See: Sociology of religion, for example: Furuseth and Repstad 2006.

⁶¹ About welfare: Muukkonen 2007, Netting 1984, West and West (eds.). 2000.

⁶² Geertz 1973, 90.

⁶³ Geertz 1973.

⁶⁴ On the practical level of social policy, social work’s idea is to produce welfare into society and into an individual citizen, so why not from the point of religious emphasis. Cf. Joseph 1988, Midgley & Sanzenbach 1989, Reamer 1996.

⁶⁵ Bailkey 1967.

⁶⁶ Foster 1995, Nardoni 2004.

⁶⁷ Latin words ‘panen et circences’ means in English ‘bread and circuses’.

⁶⁸ Hanson P. 1994, Nardoni 2004, Muukkonen 2007, 7. The personal discussion with Muukkonen 2010-11-08.

⁶⁹ According to social scientists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison Social Movements have their place in political historical context in relation to their particular time and place. It means that it is important to connect the study of Social Movements to a (contextual) theory of social change (Eyerman and Jamison 1996, 3). The question is, could religion be powerful enough in order to lead society into changing process. Such Latin-American theorists and social activists like Ada María Isasi-Díaz (1996) and Gustavo Gutiérrez (2008) believe in the power of religion.

⁷⁰ Waris 1973, Raunio 1999.

⁷¹ Cf. Smith, C. 1996.

⁷² Norris and Inglehart 2011, 5.

⁷³ Also: Stark 1999.

Structural-functionalist, which states that the role of religion is in creating cultural consensus and social integration. It does not see that religion is a dynamic force for social change, able to turn the world upside-down. 2) The neglect of religion in social-movement literature is derived from the fragmented nature of contemporary academic inquiry. Religion has been an isolated sub-field of sociology. 3) In the 1970s, Social Movement theory migrated toward the view of rational decision-making, and therefore both 'classical' theories including religion were swept away as irrational and emotional, because these phenomena were widely considered as outdated and erroneous. 4) Although religion was at the forefront and centre in the civil rights movements (for example the women's movement), religion has not received much attention in social-movement literature, but it has been seen as a conservative force.⁷⁴ A scholar of politics and religion, Eric O. Hanson goes still farther back into history to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which according to him, shaped the basis of 'national interest' in various ways. He emphasizes that religion was relegated to the private individual and national ideological spheres and this resulted in the separation of religion and politics.⁷⁵ Hanson offers a new paradigm for world politics including the power of religion and politics which exert an influence at local and global levels.⁷⁶

Another aspect under consideration is that religion may be integrated⁷⁷ fruitfully into society. By this we mean that if we observe examples from Latin America⁷⁸ or the Near Eastern countries, it can be effortlessly perceived that citizens' views are strongly involved with religion representing both spiritual and political powers in society. A social scientist Rana Jawad presents three models of religious expressions in order to explore how they might have some bearing upon social welfare: first, religion as an organised social institution; second, faith as a personal spiritual experience, and third, sectarianism, which is the pure political face of religion and expressed as ethnic identity.⁷⁹ More clearly, the Latin-American examples show that era of religion is not waning, but on the contrary is ongoing.⁸⁰ In Europe it is obvious religion seems to have become one of major questions in the EU (European Union), not only because of the spread of Islam (Muslims), but because of the global political power of the Catholic Church, the Anglican faith and of other Christian denominations. Jaques Delors, the former chairman of the EU commission, points out, that churches have to give 'soul' to Europe.⁸¹ What kind of 'soul' it will be is an interesting question in the near future.⁸²

In practice, the most significant difference between social sciences and theology of Judaism or Christianity generally concerns perspectives of time. Often social scientists derive things from the industrialization of 1800s. Thus, social policy is seen fundamentally as a science and a study of modern societies, historical ideologies and consequences that have influenced the emerging modern society. The perspective of time from the point of view of religion is normally at least 3,500 years and even more farther back. In this study some socio-historical factors, although not currently in focus in the modern Messianic Movement, stretch back in the long term perspective far away to ancient times, especially to the first century, and further back to time of the Old Testament's patriarchs. As we will see later, the modern Messi-

⁷⁴ Smith, C. 1996, 2-5.

⁷⁵ Hanson, E. O. 2006, 17ff.

⁷⁶ This study rejects the image of 'disruptive religions' as an oxymoron in social sciences.

⁷⁷ In national integration, according to the political scientist Myron Weiner (1965, 53), plural societies are more often involved with the process of establishment of national identity, because of the existence of distinct ethnic, religious, linguistic or other group and strata. On the other hand, the sociologists Karen H. Stephan and G. Edward Stephan (1973) have studied religion and the survival of utopian communities. They found that a single religious faith practiced by all members tended to survive for longer periods of time than did communities favouring a plurality of religions or no religion at all.

⁷⁸ In Latin America liberation theology is seen as a school of theology within Christianity, particularly in the Roman Catholic Church. Liberation theology consists of many categories. In general it emphasises the Christian mission to bring justice and peace to the poor and oppressed, particularly through political activism. Gutiérrez 2008, also Norwood Evans 1992.

⁷⁹ Jawad 2009, 135.

⁸⁰ Gutiérrez 2008, Isasi-Díaz 1996.

⁸¹ BEPA: Bureau of European Policy Advisers. Dialogue with Religions, Churches and Humanisms –Issues. A Soul for Europe. See: A Soul for Europe (2009).

⁸² See: Casanova 1994, 1; Berger 1999, 14-18. It seems that Berger has also moved from theory of secularization (Berger 1973) back to religion (Berger 1999).

anic Movement in Ukrainian society in 2000 tries to extract its knowledge from the history of the Bible⁸³ and Biblical people's social and religious experiences and practices. Not only the modern Messianic Jewish Movement (Messianic Judaism), but these days also Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism are searching for their ancient roots. The existence of religion in social contexts always influences social models of societies and social policy studies might benefit (for example, studies of social welfare) if scientists were willing to substitute a short historical perspective for a long-term one going back to the emergence of human civilization.⁸⁴ In this connection, some sociologists of religions have started to imply that religion has come back from the private to the public sphere.

De facto, the evaluation of religion is increasing in the 21st century and scholars of political and social sciences have shown that religion is the principal, defining characteristic of cultures nourishing a human being's social life (traditions, activities, customs, behaviour, appearance).⁸⁵ For example, it is estimated that 91.9 % of the population of the Philippines believe in a 'Personal God' and such countries as Israel, Russia and Slovenia show consistent movement towards greater belief.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, if we look at Western Europe today, the situation is clearly different in practice. It is noticeable that Western Europe has been and is an anomaly among the continents.⁸⁷ It is impossible to regard religion in the geographic region as a vital force, contributing welfare into society.⁸⁸ And, if religion were not diminishing, however it is transformed more to an individual⁸⁹, a secret thing. On the other hand, Western social scientists have not demonstrated any particular scientific passions to study this 'religion rejection' situation, but have preferred to keep their distance. Thus, repeating religion has not been a valid and relevant component in studies. However, to combine society and religion together at a scientific level means to enter an interdisciplinary field which is familiar ground to social sciences although there exist some unfamiliar terms and phenomena, requiring additional explanation for the social scientists.

The primary religious input is the concept of Divine, which has not belonged to the secular conceptualization of social sciences, but which is at the core of religious and spiritual life in the Religious Movements. Bainbridge describes the significance of Divine in this way: "Religious movements have some similarities with political, cultural, and Social Movements, in that they are collective attempts to create or to block *change*. But their religious character is a decisive part of their definition, and we cannot understand them unless we recognize their connection to human feelings about the Divine."⁹⁰ So, what is Divine? The Divine can be understood as theology or a theological doctrine, but also as a transcendent world with essences of godly, godlike, holy, sacred, blessed, hallow, heavenly, celestial, etc. It is clear that social science, like social policy studies, operates with empirical knowledge - as do theological studies - but religion brings an additional non-empirical element to it.⁹¹ The theologian of liberation, Gustavo Gutiérrez, defines the borders of these concepts like this: "We are dealing here with the classic question of relations between faith and human experience, between faith and social reality, between faith and political action."⁹² So, Gutiérrez' interpretation seems to be suitably practical for the scope of social policy.

⁸³ Some parts of the Bible (the Old Testament) occurred in thousands of years BCE. Parts of the New Testament began to produce scripts in hundreds of years after the CE.

⁸⁴ Muukkonen: A personal discussion 2010-01-14. Also: Muukkonen 2009; see: Muukkonen 2012.

⁸⁵ Ahonen 2006.

⁸⁶ Smith, T. W. 2012.

⁸⁷ Relates to this; scholar of Religion Tom W. Smith recently reported in contrast to Western Europe belief is increasing in ex-Soviet states: The consistent movement towards greater belief, a general religious 'revival' can be seen in his study, *Beliefs about God across Time and Countries*, at the University of Chicago, 2012. Also Smith 2009.

⁸⁸ Jenkins 2002, 2006, 2009; Huntington 1997.

⁸⁹ Luckmann 1967.

⁹⁰ Bainbridge 1997, 3.

⁹¹ However, Marc H. Ellis (2004, 9), a scientist in the field of Jewish studies, says that 'the Jewish prophetic voice will never die'. He hints at the spiritual (Divine) world. Cf. in the field of social work: Van Hook, Hugen and Aquilar (eds.). 2002, Marty 1980.

⁹² Gutiérrez 2008, 29.

Finally, in this study, two factors of the social life of citizens will be seen: 1) Religion, and 2) the need to create positive change in the society, confront and form social power.⁹³ It is a question of empowerment.⁹⁴ At the core of the concept of empowerment is the idea of power by which a change can be made possible. Empowerment is identified here as a way for women to find out their own values, life styles, preferences and resources, and, how they can produce welfare in society. Empowerment is seen as being closer to the concepts of social justice with relation to religion than the concept of human rights with relation to politics. Especially Judaism as a religion is seen to represent values that belong to justice, but also to human rights and democracy in society.

A scholar of Judaism, Reuven Kimmelman, suggests that Judaism has a theory of justice, and human rights represent one sub-category of justice.⁹⁵ Ben Zion Bokser, another scholar of Judaism, underscores the fact that the classic literature of Rabbinic Judaism has an inherently democratic nature, and reciprocal responsibilities, which are the basis of mutual obligations among human beings.⁹⁶ Scholar of Judaism, Isidore Epstein puts this on a more concrete way. According to him justice meant the recognition of six fundamental rights: The right to live, the right to possession, the right to work, the right to clothing, the right to shelter, and “finally the right of the person, which includes the right to leisure and the right to liberty, as well as prohibition to hate, avenge, or bear a grudge.”⁹⁷

To reiterate, the evolutionary background of Messianic Judaism is more or less Rabbinic/Classical/Normative/Orthodox Judaism, so in many ways its ethos stems from ancient wells of religion of Israel and Hebrews. Therefore, in this study investigating the welfare function in the context of the Messianic Jewish Movement we have to investigate more precisely the role of ancient Judaism to modern Messianic Judaism. Sometimes, the line between Judaism and Messianic Judaism is thin and sometimes lost completely, but, sometimes it is thick, even impassable. I think, this is the case also with many other religions, if we compare them with each other, like the role between Messianic Judaism and Christianity. The point here however is that the roots of Judaism and Messianic Judaism are seen to rise from the same geographical land, ancient Palestine, and these common ethnic roots influence the Diasporic Jewish people whose welfare function has played such a prominent role in European culture since ancient times. So complex, so strongly intertwined with each other, is the position of Rabbinic Jews on the one side and Messianic Jews on the other side of the wall of Jewishness.

As the text above states, religion is a social phenomenon of mental processes that exists solely in the realm of ideas, so really religion is the social construction of reality.⁹⁸ The value of religion in society is that it has been one of the main contributors to welfare in society⁹⁹ since ancient Mesopotamia¹⁰⁰, Palestine¹⁰¹, and Byzantium¹⁰². Clearly, it is necessary to take the long term perspective of the study of welfare. The Messianic Jewish Movement did not emerge suddenly in Ukraine, but, from ancient and modern times had gathered its strength from afar, from political-historical, socio-cultural, economical and religious dimensions with connecting spheres. In modern times, for example Weber and Durkheim defined and applied religious terminology for social scientists, but today such contributions need broadening and

⁹³ Some examples of works that have been published in recent years under the title of social welfare and religion or social policy and religion: John Bartkowski & Helen Regis (2003), *Charitable Choices: Religion, Race, and Poverty in the Post-Welfare Era*; Mary L. Mapes (2004), *Religion and Social Welfare in Indianapolis, 1929-2002*; Ann W. Duncan and Steven L. Jones (2007), *Church-State Issues in America Today*; Paula D. Nesbit (ed.) (2001), *Religion and Social Policy*; Michael J. Denomme (1987), *Religion and social policy during Great Society era: an analysis of Protestant periodicals 1964-1968*; Martti Muukkonen (2008), *The Power of Belief in European Welfare-thinking*.

⁹⁴ Empowerment is seen linked to social work practice with liberation theology, for example with oppressed people. Norwood Evans 1992; cf. Anttonen 2005.

⁹⁵ Kimmelman 1968, 316-334.

⁹⁶ Bokser (1972) in: Konvitz 1972, 145-155; also: Ben Zion Bokser 2011, Breslauer 1993.

⁹⁷ Epstein 1968, 26.

⁹⁸ ‘Social construction and reality’ in: Berger & Luckmann 1967.

⁹⁹ Cf. Muukkonen 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009; cf. Holland 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Bromberg 2011, 1942. *Origing of Banking: Religious Finance in Babylon*.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Grabbe 2007, Hanson K. C. & Oakman 1998, Loewenberg 2001, Stark 1996.

¹⁰² Cf. Bowman 1974, Miller 2003.

updating, especially in consideration of family with women and mothers who are active members of Social and Religious Movements.

1.3. Concept of Family

The Concept of Family in Judaism

Rabbinic Judaism interprets the family based on kinship¹⁰³ and family ties are created through both blood (ethnicity) and marriage¹⁰⁴. Jewish life traditionally¹⁰⁵ and today focuses on family.¹⁰⁶ In order to understand clearly the *raison d'être*¹⁰⁷ of 'family' in some later historical period such as in 21st century, some knowledge is required of the time when the institution of family was founded. Dvora E. Weisberg, a scholar of Rabbinic literature, defines family in the following terms: 'the father's house' (Hebr. *beit av*), 'family' (Hebr. *mishpaha*), 'the household' and 'the Israelite householder' (Hebr. *ba'al ha'bayit*). 'The father's house' refers to a man with his sons, who would reside with their own wives and children on their ancestral land, while daughters left their families to live in the *beit av* of their husbands¹⁰⁸. The *beit av* was patrilocal and as well as patrilineal meaning that land was passed from a man to his son. *Mishpaha* means family in the modern context but in the Bible its meaning is much broader and generally denotes a subdivision of a tribe (Hebr. *mateh* or *shevet*) or entire nations.¹⁰⁹ Thus, *mishpaha* refers to lineage, heirs and descendants. According to Weisberg in Rabbinic literature, the nuclear family (husband, wife and children) is the primary unit, not the extended family or clan, which is nonetheless important from an overall perspective. The householder is the father of an extended family with joint residence including his sons and their wives and children, his servant, his slaves, and the craftsmen.¹¹⁰ As can be understood in the text above, a family is constantly changing through living, through births and deaths. From this point of view, it has been important that the patriarchal system has protected family for generation after generation, from one millennium to another Jewish identity is shaped in the family through different status and multiple roles which are reciprocal.¹¹¹ Weisberg explains that 'one person's status as father presumes another person's status as son and daughter.'¹¹² A woman can have multiple roles as daughter and sister in the nuclear family; in the extended family as granddaughter, niece, and cousin; and upon marriage as wife and spouse, daughter-in-law, and sister-in-law.¹¹³ Thus, the purpose of a woman's life is naturally constructed on many more or less visible levels around family so that family has really become a source of happiness and life-satisfaction for many women.¹¹⁴

¹⁰³ Cf. Keesing 1985.

¹⁰⁴ Weisberg 2009, xvi. Cf. Satlow 2001. See: Katz L. 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Kraemer D. (ed.).1989, Kraemer S. R. 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Blenkinsopp 1997, 48-103; Perdue, Blenkinsopp, Collins and Meyers 1997; Weisberg 2009.

¹⁰⁷ *Raison d'être*: Reason or justification for existence.

¹⁰⁸ Weisberg 2009, 48.

¹⁰⁹ The emphasis on tribes refers to the 12 sons of the patriarch of Jacob/ later by name Israel, who according to the Bible blessed these sons and their tribes: "All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is it that their father spake unto them and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them" (Genesis 49: 28, according to American Standard Version). E.g. history scholar Zvi Ben-Dor Benite (2009), rabbi (of Rabbinic Judaism) Jaakov Kleiman (2004, 174f), and Messianic Judaism intellectual Arnold Fruchtenbaum (2003, 437f) point out that based on the Hebrew Bible, *the 12 tribes of Israel will return once again to Israel, and some day Judah (the Southern Kingdom) and Joseph (the Northern Kingdom) will be reunited into one nation*. Generally Messianic Jews share this view with these scholars. Zvi Ben-Dor Benite describes historical theories and wandering routes of the ten lost tribes from ancient Assyria. According to his study some evidence indicates that some Israeli descendants came to the district of Nordic countries (like today's territory of Finland, in: Ben-Dor Benite 2009, 190-193). See: Hebrew Finnish Project.

¹¹⁰ Weisberg 2009, 195.

¹¹¹ Weisberg 2009, 52.

¹¹² Weisberg 2009, 52.

¹¹³ Weisberg 2009, 47.

¹¹⁴ Patai 2007, 483-509.

Generally, the father along with the mother, are those who create integrity and give coherence to family life. In Judaism, the Fifth Commandment, ‘honour father and mother’, maintains the continuity of Jewish family system: “Honour thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.”¹¹⁵ Patai quotes some words of a Jew from a shtetl (small Eastern European Jewish villages) like this: “You cannot imagine the respect I felt for my parents...There is a Jewish expression for it which explains it so well, *derekh erets* (*way of the land*, but meaning respectful demeanor)...It is not fear. If it were fear, then respect would be asked of the child, and my parents never asked for anything.”¹¹⁶ As the text above shows, the family system and marriage are linked with each other with strong heritage ties.¹¹⁷ The family system was like a citadel in society against any violating and destructive powers threatening the stability of society. So, women’s status and tasks were seen to be as equally important as those of men. Women mostly operated inside and men outside normal home and family life, however all were *pro* home and family. A study of levirate marriage¹¹⁸ reveals however, that sometimes there was a clash between ideals and reality.¹¹⁹

Scholars K. C. Hanson and Douglas E. Oakman describe the misery of women as ‘social banditry’. There were peasants who were forced by the elites to sell their land. The reasons might be that they could not pay their taxes or had broken law. In order to survive, they organized themselves into bandit groups who stole. Some women belonged to these. They represented the lowest social strata, like slaves, because they did not have family who supported them and were poor.¹²⁰ Stark shows how, in ancient Palestine during the first century CE in the struggle against poverty, disease, and insecurity, there arose problems of morality in society, like prostitution (male and female; homo-and bisexuality). Abortion might be carried out by poison, hooks and knives, and this was a major cause of death among women. Some evidence has even been found that baby girls were killed because of their gender. Other evidence shows that women were identified with a term pertaining to female infanticide in some cases and classified as children.¹²¹ Members of the early Messianic Jewish Movement in the first century CE met such women who urgently needed some kind of support and some of them converted to Messianic Judaism¹²². They started to construct their new life with new values, desires, hopes and ideals.¹²³

Women’s Activism and the Lost of Glory of the Family

The role and function of women in Russian/Soviet society have their own significance especially because women were involved in radical political activism. This was also the case with Jewish women. Historians Paula E. Hyman,¹²⁴ Barbara Alpern Engel,¹²⁵ Rosalind Marsh,¹²⁶ Solomea Pavlychko¹²⁷ and Natalia Pushkareva¹²⁸ have described how women transferred from the private sphere (home) into the public and political sphere. In the Jewish world, different women lived different lives. Hyman categorizes Eastern European Jewish women into five types: 1) Traditional women (of both Hasidic and non-Hasidic families), 2) secularized Jewish women, 3) women living in small country towns, villages and cities in the

¹¹⁵ Patai 2007, 484. This Commandment includes the promise of the land.

¹¹⁶ Patai 2007, 488.

¹¹⁷ Nidith 1998, Grossman 2004.

¹¹⁸ There are several forms of marriages in Judaism. Levirate marriage stems from the Hebrew Bible, in: Weisberg 2009.

¹¹⁹ Weisberg 2009, xix; cf. image and status of women in Rabbinic Judaism, in: Wegner 1998. Cf. Scholz 2010.

¹²⁰ Hanson K. C. and Oakman 1998, 81.

¹²¹ Stark 1996, 95-128; see also Nidith 1998, Grossman 2004.

¹²² With other words: Hebrew Christianity.

¹²³ Stark 1996, 49-162.

¹²⁴ Hyman 1998, 270-286. Hyman describes especially in which kind of circumstances Jews lived in an age of transition in 1880-1930 in the Russian/Soviet state.

¹²⁵ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004.

¹²⁶ Marsh (ed.).1996.

¹²⁷ Pavlychko 1996.

¹²⁸ Pushkareva 1997.

Pale of Settlement,¹²⁹ 4) working-class women and 5) prosperous women of the middle and upper classes.¹³⁰ Women's activism occurred from the late 1800s and during this transition, traditional Jewish culture ceased from almost the beginning of 20th century.¹³¹ In polarization, a Jewish elite emerged and women of the lower classes became workers. Jewish women worked in shtetls¹³² and in cities, inside and outside the home while losing traditional Jewish structural support.¹³³ The ethnic basis of Jewish identity with its characteristics of shared language, culture and history continued. However, if they abandoned a traditional religious basis, they might adopt a political one instead of it.¹³⁴

This meant that Jews had become secularized and were ready to take the next step: To join the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. This was one way of rejecting Jewishness and escaping discrimination against Jews. The Party involved "the suppression of ethnic particularism in the name of transforming Russian society and solving the 'Jewish Problem' through a socialist revolution."¹³⁵ In Pavlychko's opinion feminism emerged in Ukraine in the 1880s, as an ideology, as an organized women's movement, and as a mature feminist cultural tradition.¹³⁶ *Feminist theory* became an integral part of the progressive democratic movement's programme.¹³⁷ We can now speak of *the voice of the woman* (Hebr. *kol isha*) in a new way. The Jewish Women's Association's monthly publication includes the text: "In the creation of new ways of life, the woman must everywhere take the same part as the man." "...to awaken...the Jewish woman to take her fate in her own hands, herself to demand and defend her rights. For those of us who can speak...our journal offers the opportunity for their voices to be heard."¹³⁸

Secularization, feminism and political activism were readily received in Jewish women's minds as they wanted to achieve status, but not by being pro home and family like their mothers, rather pro-equality in working life with men. Barbara Alpern Engel refers to the Jewish socialist woman, Yelena Gelfand, who says: "The woman question is not a separate issue, but part of the great socialist question." Gelfand points out those Jewish socialist women were in the mainstream of Marxist revolutionary tradition.¹³⁹ As late as the 1880s, Jewish women met with strong opposition in their struggle with widespread anti-Semitism and pogroms against Jewry. Access to education and employment was severely circumscribed for Jewish women causing them to become more and more politically active. It does appear as a result of these legal difficulties and social prejudice Jewish women participated in the intellectual and Social Movements with either Jewish or Feminist orientation in the late 19th century.¹⁴⁰ It is estimated that Jewish women comprised nearly 8% of the female membership of the pre-Revolutionary Bolshevik party.¹⁴¹ It is also worth mentioning that a Jewish socialist organization, the Bund founded 1897, helped both working-class and educated middle-class Jewish women especially in the Pale of the Settlement. In 1897 about 2.67 million Jews were living in the Russian Empire and 900,000 in Austria, Galicia and Hungary in 1910.¹⁴² The Pale was related to the Zionist movement¹⁴³ and through this connection Jewish women rediscovered Israel, the land of their ancestors.

Historian Lynne Attwood points out that sex/gender can be used as a way of humiliating women, of putting women in their place.¹⁴⁴ In this case, Jewish women wanted to be put from their place in the home

¹²⁹ Russian Jewish intellectuals called it 'our own kind of dark continent'. Deutsch, N. 2011.

¹³⁰ Hyman 1998, 271.

¹³¹ Hyman 1998, 271.

¹³² Shtetl: Jewish community, like a Jewish village.

¹³³ Hyman 1998, 271ff.

¹³⁴ Hyman 1998, 278.

¹³⁵ Hyman 1998, 272.

¹³⁶ Pavlychko 1996, 305ff.

¹³⁷ Pavlychko 1996, 305ff.

¹³⁸ The Froyen-shtim 1, May 1925: 3-4. In: Hyman 1998, 281.

¹³⁹ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 196. Yelena Gelfand, in: Shepherd, 1998, 146.

¹⁴⁰ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 195.

¹⁴¹ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 195.

¹⁴² Hyman 1998, 271. However, some statistics show much higher figures. Cf. 'First Act: Assenbly', in: 3.1.5

¹⁴³ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 196.

¹⁴⁴ Attwood 1996, 261.

into the work place, although the work according to Attwood had a male face.¹⁴⁵ Pushkareva suggests that women found ‘it easier to give up family and children than to give up their work outside the home’. Pushkareva adds that ‘this trend was the result not only of economic complexities, but also of the high level of education attained by women’.¹⁴⁶ This is the fruit of manipulation for already in the middle of 19th century, Russian economist Maria Vernadskaia remarked severely to women: “...only work outside the family could liberate women from servitude and make women free individuals in fact as well as in name.”¹⁴⁷ If so, ‘authentic Ukrainian Jewish womanhood’¹⁴⁸ and ‘the myth of a great Jewish Ukrainian mama’ were willingly exchanged for the place as a female Soviet citizen.

It seems that motherhood, children, home and family lost their glory and purpose in Jewish women’s lives because these things had been experienced as burdens. The myth of a Jewish mother including ‘Jewish mind and personality’ was diminished. ‘The Jewish mama’, or in Yiddish ‘Die Yiddische Mama’, is a concept well-known all over the world¹⁴⁹ based largely on the Jewish mother stereotype created by anthropologist Margaret Mead¹⁵⁰ as a result of her research into European shtetls. ‘Mamas’ belong to families which include mothers, children, fathers and homes. So, Patai refers to family and home as basic elements that have constructed the Jewish mind and personality.¹⁵¹ Referring to the above text we see that Jewish women lost not only their religion (Judaism) in a process of secularization, feminism and political activism, but also a traditional concept of Jewish motherhood and womanhood as a basis for family life.

1.4. The Case of Ukraine – Transition Society

Society in Action

Transition society in Ukraine forms the empirical case of this study (see: Map 1.). In this part I examine what precisely does the term ‘transition society’ mean?

Zhitomir, a city in central Ukraine, had been ‘a Jewish centre until the end of 1970s. After that Jews quickly migrated from the country. Today in this city formerly of about 350,000 inhabitants with surrenders live about 2000 Jews... Jewish factories have ceased functioning there and very many jobs have been lost. People come and go trying to find better places to live. Everybody needs food. There are very poor people in Zhitomir. They will need bread and other groceries and foodstuffs’, explains Naum.¹⁵²

What makes us curious is that Ukraine is apparently always associated with this odd feature, this aspect of a transition with some sort of strange combination of different social things: What some might call the *muddle way*¹⁵³ of Ukraine. I however, regard the case of Ukraine as more challenged, more picturesque. I know, if the ground of Ukraine has given birth to the emergence of such Social Movements as Zionism, Kibbutzim¹⁵⁴, Hasidim, etc, so, it can happen again, that something very special will stem from this land’s deep Jewish roots remembering its history really starts from Babylonian exile. The Messianic Jewish Movement of Ukraine is fruit from this era. In this chapter I try to reflect on different aspects of the plurality and complexity going on in Ukraine in 2000. Every aspect includes many other factors intertwined with each other so that the case is really multi-layered and rich with social nuances.

¹⁴⁵ Attwood 1996, 255.

¹⁴⁶ Pushkareva 1997, 265.

¹⁴⁷ Pushkareva 1997, 209.

¹⁴⁸ Rubchak 1996, 319.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Siegel Josefowitz, Cole and Steinberg-Oren (eds.). 2000, ‘Jewish Mothers tell Their Stories’. Also, Winston-Macauley (2007), ‘*Yiddische Mamas: The Truth About the Jewish Mother*’.

¹⁵⁰ See: Mead, M. 1939, 1952.

¹⁵¹ Patai 2007, 482. The other elements of a Jewish mind are education and charity.

¹⁵² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/13, NO2/8.

¹⁵³ Arel 1998, 342-346.

¹⁵⁴ Kibbutzim is described as a model of ‘Utopian Socialism’ (for example Martin Buber).

Actually, this term ‘transition society’ clarifies for us the social structure of present day Ukraine.¹⁵⁵ It is a question of turbulence in society, where citizens’ ‘old norm’ is eroded or collapsed and they must gradually try to find a new direction for their thought and behaviour. Since the Russian revolution in 1989, social political studies have often used the term *transition society* in identifying the change which has penetrated the whole society including individual persons, citizens in different ethnic groups, as well as families as nuclear units in society. Citizens of new ‘society in action’ movements search for new models of living as new ‘social beings’, or of being social (citizens) in new ways. These concepts are borrowed from sociologist Piotr Sztompka, who uses the term ‘society in action’ also referring to ‘social being,’ which is constructed, constructing and evolutionary/processes over time.¹⁵⁶

In transition society in Ukraine ‘society in action’ is combined with historical changes with ‘changing identities’ via *identity work*¹⁵⁷ as seen later in this study. Sociologist-historian Philip Abrams adopts the same line as Sztompka arguing that ‘history is at one and the same time a product of both, the chosen action of individuals and the forceful constraint of social structure’.¹⁵⁸ We can see this happening in our case of Ukraine, where society is tied with its transformational history via Jews’ social beings (citizens), who move from Atheism¹⁵⁹ to a religious sphere (like Messianic Judaism), although there is strong resistance in the social structure from the side of non-Jewish and colleague Jews in society. So, social-historical factors as one part of social policy will reveal roots of such factors which have given power/enabled the emergence of new Social Movements. This Ukrainian social transformation with characteristics of confusion and chaos is probably temporal, and it is expected that over time a new comprehensive ‘emergent norm’¹⁶⁰ will stabilize the situation to a relative (new) normalcy. Sooner or later, the new normal balance will be predominant among Ukrainian citizens in society. Or, could any modern society exist in permanent chaos? It depends on your criteria: The Dark Ages (476 BCE - 800 BCE) with the cultural and economic deterioration in Western European history lasted over 300 years; so, we could consider the suffering Ukraine in a similar manner, and whether it is possible to see any light and from which direction?

Thus, as seen from above text, in 2000 Ukraine is still a society in transition – a situation that is emotionally laden. Historian, Andrew Wilson, describes Ukraine with the words ‘the Ukrainians, unexpected nation’¹⁶¹ and with a question ‘gained or gifted?’¹⁶² These words reveal how precipitously and abruptly Ukraine became independent.¹⁶³ Unprepared citizens had to confront the unknown although, as everybody in Ukraine knows – Ukrainian nationalists were dreaming of independence 70 years ago.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, Wilson’s words highlight clearly the fact that the old regime had really departed. This is a process of fermentation, where ideologies, values, ideas, statuses, aims, stratum in society, historical information, technological developments, etc will be re-appraised. Due to this process, the substance of all domains of society (socio-cultural, politics, economics, and religion) will change and gradually take on new forms. In practice, transition refers to socio-political changes that citizens’ experience while the social process of

¹⁵⁵ Bensi’s statement 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Piotr Sztompka (1991), ‘Society in Action: The Theory of Social Becoming’. Also: Sztompka 1999.

¹⁵⁷ Einwohner & Reger & Myers 2008, 1-17. In: Reger, Myers and Einwohner (eds.). 2008.

¹⁵⁸ Abrams 1982.

¹⁵⁹ Rowe 1998.

¹⁶⁰ *Emergent norm* is the concept of Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian (1987) meaning that crowds begin as collectives with mixed interest and motives. Cf. path dependency theory in Muukkonen 2005. And, cf. sociologist Piotr Sztompka’s article, which handles societal chaos with the concept of ‘cultural trauma’. It begins with disorganization of cultural rules and accompanying personal disorientation, culminating even in the loss of identity. Sztompka 2000a and 2000b.

¹⁶¹ Wilson A. 2002.

¹⁶² Wilson A. 2002, 152.

¹⁶³ Pushkareva 1997.

¹⁶⁴ See: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies 2001.

re-structuring and re-functioning towards *normality*¹⁶⁵ occurs in everyday life. Different social groups with different values, or without values (emptiness, vacuum), are brought into *being* in new situations.

Dolorous Drama

This study is focused on the strategically important year of 2000. Events described are about ten years after independence (the first turning point) and about ten years after the emergence of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement (the second turning point). The new millennium has started (the third turning point) with many expectations. This epoch's social-political nature is transitional (since the Russian revolution in 1989), and it is 'special' according to the sociologist Wsevolod W. Isajiw. Accordingly, he characterizes the starting point of transition with the words of a dolorous drama,¹⁶⁶ which has shaken society and citizens' lives profoundly in insecurity and chaos. There is no status quo: Citizens do not trust anything anymore, or at least they have started to ask 'why' questions everywhere about anything.¹⁶⁷ We could use Martin Buber's term 'sick ages' referring to the 'sick society'.¹⁶⁸ Many formerly Eastern-minded Ukrainians have moved consciously to the side of the West.¹⁶⁹ In this starkly and odd and in terms of humanity often odious transition period a 'Jewish renaissance' began. Dormant Jewishness took on a new lease of life. Jewish women started to define their status through their vision, that is, the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women. According to Judaic historian and scholar Henry Abramson, Ukrainian Jewry became active (I refer to Sztompka in the text above). The Ukrainian Jewry organized e.g. under a new umbrella group, the Jewish Confederation of Ukraine. Abramson points out that the Jewish community is still struggling to define itself and is lacking a common leadership,¹⁷⁰ but it has taken place in the midst of an ethnic awakening.

The atmosphere is dynamic in the whole of Ukraine where according to historian Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, an expert on political and community organizations, groups and organizations are actively engaged in practical social and self-help outreach programmes in the Ukrainian community. The evidence is they appear to be broad-based and less ideological than formal or informal political groupings.¹⁷¹ We can see from this study how this kind of atmosphere and these open attitudes provide impetus to Jewish citizens who are seeking for new *models of reality*.¹⁷² This is not the only case in history of Jews where 'starkly odd' and 'odious' circumstances have led to a completely fresh start.

Special Case

Scholar of Diaspora Jana Evans Braziel dates historically the roots of the Jewish notion and saying, 'Next Year in Jerusalem', back to the destruction of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem by King Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE, resulting in the Diaspora at the beginning period of Babylonian exile. This repeated with the destruction of the Second Temple CE 70 by Roman General Titus and a new Roman Law passed, banning the Jews from living in Jerusalem and Judea. During the Crusades, Pope Urban tried to conquer the 'Holy Land' while spreading a brutal anti-Semitism by Christians throughout Germany and Europe.

¹⁶⁵ What is 'normality' for Jews is an interesting question? Political scientist William Safran speaks about the end of 'Normality' from the point of view of Diasporization of Israel, in: Safran 2003, 385-400. He refers to H. Chertok who writes in *Israel Scene* (1990): "In Israel alone can Jews achieve normalcy. Only there can they freely act...only there is total Judaism. I'm talking about a Jewish environment that is as natural for Jews as France is for the French. That is to say, in all aspects of life...everything is Jewish. America can never provide that for its Jews" (Chertok 1990, 8-12).

¹⁶⁶ Isajiw 2003a, xi. Isajiw refers to the article of Carlos Pascual and Steven Pifer (2002).

¹⁶⁷ Isajiw 2003a, xviii.

¹⁶⁸ Kaufmann 1970, 38.

¹⁶⁹ See: The Orange Revolution 2010. The president election in February 2010 is seen to be a backlash against western reformers and to sweep aside Ukraine's Orange Revolution.

¹⁷⁰ Abramson 2003, 208f.

¹⁷¹ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 2000, 29.

¹⁷² Cf. Geertz 1973, 93.

More dispersal followed as in 1290 CE Jews were deported from England and from Spain by the Inquisition in 1492 CE. The Inquisition was a cruel epoch, especially for the many Jews forced to convert to Roman Catholicism; but, some had the opportunity to flee and it is estimated as many as four hundred thousand Jews left Spain (though these figure are open to debate).^{173, 174} Inés, the child prophetess of Herrera, became one victim of the Inquisition:

Inés was a twelve year old girl, born around 1488 in Herrera del Duque, Spain. She was daughter of a shoe-maker and a leather tanner Juan Esteban. Inés had visions and prophesies which were somehow intimately connected with her mother's death. "Inés claimed that it was her deceased mother who accompanied her in her ascent to heaven and travels through the celestial realms." In Herrera, on 21st May, 1500, before the Lord of Inquisitors in the General Inquisition, Inés, in her sworn testimony said that, "three days after All Saints Day this witness dreamed about her mother who is dead, and it seemed to her that she had seen her, visibly, and it seemed to her in the dream that she had said: Daughter, tell them that they did well for my soul and tell them to give alms and other things that were not placed here." Inés told of another occasion when a *clarity* had appeared to her. According to her spiritual message Elias was to come by God's command to preach to the converts that they were to leave Spain for a land of bread and fruit. It is evident that many seemed to listen to what this child said and many believed it. We also know Inés fasted with her sisters each week and they awaited the coming of the Messiah. Accused of heresy, she was finally burnt at the stake on August 3rd, 1500.¹⁷⁵

Jews fled to Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia (North Africa) and other Mediterranean countries, some went north east to Poland and Lithuania, and also to Russia. Russia including the territory of Ukraine became a host Diaspora country; however with it came times of virulent anti-Jewish sentiment, racial discrimination and persecution for the 5 million Russian Jewish population by the late 19th century.¹⁷⁶

Although the modern Messianic Jewish Movement works today in many Diasporic countries like Russia, France, Germany¹⁷⁷, Britain, Canada, Israel, Argentina, and with some Messianic groups even in *Finland*,¹⁷⁸ Ukraine proves to be 'a special case'. Why? There are at least ten reasons mentioned here: Jews have lived in Ukrainian region from ancient times. Jewishness has been acculturated into this geographic area with all its different human factors and variety. The Shoah has certainly left its marks on society and on Jewish minds. There is no doubt the Shoah was present in Ukraine in a similar way to my learning experiences of it in Poland and Russia, but in Ukraine it was as if the Shoah was 'everywhere'. I felt as if that humiliation and oppression still influenced not only the mind of Jews, but all Ukrainians. Studies show that children of victims of the Shoah and even their children carry the Shoah with them¹⁷⁹ as if the Shoah were present universally with every Jew in the world. Remembrance of the Shoah no doubt acts continuously, at least at the meta-level, so that among people there are mental tensions which can burst out into society.¹⁸⁰ The migration of Jews from this country can also be analysed in the light of this Shoah. Migration has grown to such proportions that the question may be asked whether all Jews do not desire to leave the country once and for all.¹⁸¹

Jews have played an important role in social and economic life in the Black Sea region. Jews had expanded their influence in this region and over time the increasingly large Jewish population had become a significant political and economical factor. The first three reasons, Region, the Shoah, and welfare are

¹⁷³ Women might be arrested on the grounds of not eating pork. This happened because the papacy slowly began to intrude and affect every sphere of everyday human life. Burman 2004.

¹⁷⁴ In principle the purpose of the Inquisition was to ensure that baptized Jews and their descendants (conversos) did not practice Judaism. Giles (ed.). 1999.

¹⁷⁵ Beinart 1999, 42-52.

¹⁷⁶ Braziel 2008, 13-17.

¹⁷⁷ Pfister 2008.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Shorashim Fellowship provided late 1990s and in 2000s Shabbat meetings, Prayer-Worship-Biblically sound Torah teaching, and Hebrew studies in Helsinki. The group's slogan was: 'Remain deeply rooted in Him (Messiah Yeshua our Lord)...' Col. 2:6,7. Later some other small and more or less informal Messianic groups emerged in Finland, e.g. in Turku, Forssa, Mikkeli and Lahti.

¹⁷⁹ Wardi 1996, 1999.

¹⁸⁰ Magocsi 1998, 629-633. About the Shoah in Ukraine, in: Brandon and Lower (eds.). (2008).

¹⁸¹ Gitelman 2000, 137-157.

quite understandable and perhaps acceptable, but in order to understand the dynamics of the emergence of any religion in any society we have to drill down to the depths of the human mind's meta-levels.

Thus, there are also other reasons for taking Ukraine as a special case. I only touch again on the religious history of the territory of Ukraine by mention of a single example: Although I do not follow Martin Buber's path thoroughly in this study - it is said that Buber felt affinity, spiritual friendship with the Nordic country, Finland¹⁸² - he is however one of the most influential persons who got 'his preservative love'¹⁸³ for his human growth from the territory of Ukraine (at that time Galicia) belonged to Austro-Hungaria empire). Buber's paternal grandfather Salomon Buber lived (in Lviv/Lvov) introducing his grandson Martin to Hasidic communal life and Jewish mysticism. Buber became an existential philosopher and (radical) Zionist¹⁸⁴, in whose works Hasidism's spirit *hasid* (pious) and *hesed* (loving kindness, mercy, or grace)¹⁸⁵ live and play an important role. Really, I do not know how many times I heard in Ukraine that I am standing on the ground of Hasidim and I often heard the name the 'Baal-Shem' a well-known Rabbi in the 18th century.¹⁸⁶ What does this mean? Historian Nathaniel Deutsch points out "the Hasidic movement emphasized the importance of materiality - broadly understood to include dance, music, eating, and other bodily expressions as well as physical objects such as clothing and relics - as a means for achieving higher spiritual states." In a Messianic congregation in Ukraine you can see how young men dance to Hasidic and Klezmer music¹⁸⁷ together in the circuit and ask you to enjoy it with them. This doctrine is in Hebrew 'avodah be-gashmiyut' (worship in corporeality).¹⁸⁸

Clearly, without referring especially to Buber, Hasidism inspires Messianic Jews in Ukraine who seemed to strongly highlight Collectivism and Individualism, just as Buber wrote about the Jewish community admiring the Kibbutz movement and pointing out that God could be understood by individuals through dedicated thoughts as in Buber's work, 'I and Thou,'¹⁸⁹ a personal dialogue between God and each individual. Buber's life reveals also one more reason for Ukraine to be dealt with as a special case. Buber as a Jew met violation: He fled in 1938 from Germany to British Palestine, Jerusalem, which represented to him not only Nationalism, which was insufficient for him and more, the Zionist state where Jews became united by common belief, instead of only their heritage.¹⁹⁰ What I also heard more than once in Ukraine was that in consideration of history of Ukraine, everything was more or less intertwined with Jewishness in one or another way, until the 'purges' under Communism. I can only wonder how deep are Ukraine roots to ancient and modern Judaism and note many secular intellectuals seem to forget this in their studies.

Religion is a source of wealth and advantage for Jews, but they have had to pay a high price for it. Pogroms aimed at persecuting Jews were according to Magocsi, referring to 'an attack on the persons or property of the members of any religious or ethnic minority group by the members of the presumed or actual dominant group in a society'.¹⁹¹ Although Jewish leaders declare it has no place in modern Ukraine, anti-Semitism still exists in Ukraine.¹⁹² Many Jews have *not forgotten* that Ukraine lost some 1.4 million of its 2.4 million Jews during the Holocaust¹⁹³ with the active participation of many non-Jewish Ukrainians.

¹⁸² Buber 1993, 5.

¹⁸³ 'Preservative love' is the concept of Sara Ruddick (1995, 65-81).

¹⁸⁴ Buber emphasized that Zionism is not against some people, not against Arabs. With some other activists like Ernst Simon and Judah Magnes they established the Ihud movement (1942-1964) in order to establish the bi-national country (Buber 1993, 11).

¹⁸⁵ *Hasid* and *hesed* are Yiddish words. Buber spoke Yiddish.

¹⁸⁶ Buber 1995. Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer, who was called the Baal-Shem, that is, the master of God's name.

¹⁸⁷ See: Klezmer in Ukraine

¹⁸⁸ Deutsch, N. 2011, 43.

¹⁸⁹ Buber 2000, Kraemer, K. 2012.

¹⁹⁰ Scholar of religious studies/literature and philosophy Maurice S. Friedman's material concerning of Buber's Hasidism is seen in: Buber. Also see: Answers.

¹⁹¹ Magocsi 1998, 342.

¹⁹² See: USATODAY. (2009). Ukraine mayor accused of anti-Semitism.

¹⁹³ Read: Women in Holocaust Literature, in: Horowitz, S. R. 1998.

It is necessary to look more precisely at this issue. If there is anti-Semitism in society as there is in Ukraine it is a phenomenon which is constituted through a symbolic over-determination of floating signifiers into the figure of the Jew.¹⁹⁴ The Jews are attributed with ideas and behaviours seen as conspiratorially threatening to other groups within society leading to pariah status¹⁹⁵: This attributing of faults to Jews is irrational, but its unscrupulous exploitation by various individuals, organizations and societies is however a vivid factor running through Human History. According to Slavoj Žižek, antagonism against Jews occurs in Eastern Europe increasingly since the 1990s in the economic sphere with accusations (Jews as profiteering parasites), political (Jews have a secret plot for world domination, i.e. *International Jewry*), sexual (Jewish sexual desire as being animalistic or corrupt), and so forth.¹⁹⁶ One reason for the reappearance (as evidence I have provided shows in actual fact it was always present in some form) of hatred may be the collective memory which recalls the heavy responsibility within the Gentile/Christian communities for the suffering inflicted on Jewry in the past and therefore has left a mental burden with which many non-Jews cannot yet come to terms. They are still in the mode of blame/pariah, 'it' is *all the fault of the Jews...* Political liberation of Ukraine has not liberated people's souls and conscience of guilt for incredible wrong-doing within living memory.

The Soviet Union umbrella influence caused the destruction of multi-national Ukraine. So, the modern day country of Ukraine is not the same place as before the 1920s and Communism. Such visible, large-scale Jewishness everywhere is really dead as reflected by Ukraine's chief rabbi, Yakov Blaikh insisting, 'there is no place for him in the modern day Ukraine'. Blaikh longs for a return to the multi-national Ukraine of the early 20th Century. This kind of debate implies that the ethno-national Diaspora in Ukraine is in crisis too. Jewish citizens are deciding whether to stay or leave. Many Jews have left. The solution depends to a large extent on social and political forces. Who still wants to remember and know as scholars of ethnic migrants and the Diaspora Gabriel Sheffer and Robin Cohen point out, despite oppression and pogroms there have been peaceful and glorious periods during history when Jewish culture blossomed with religious activity, prosperity and creativity, and non-Jewish inhabitants also benefited from the success of Jews in Ukraine.¹⁹⁷ It was based on mutual understanding between Jews and non-Jews, such as Martin Buber tried to construct the bridge between Arabs and Jews.¹⁹⁸ One aspect of this moral development with which Jews have become familiar during this period of a transition society are principles of equality and justice, unknown in practice for most Ukrainians. Especially now as Jews are seeking better opportunities for their lives.

In relation to this issue, scholars of Biblical studies John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Malina have studied values in the Bible, and in the Middle Eastern culture (especially Pilch).¹⁹⁹ The interesting question arises whether ethnic groups such as Jews, the so-called 'the People of the Book'²⁰⁰ who originally came from the Middle East, might adopt their ancient, original religious values: Collateral interpersonal relationships, 'present' time orientation, being subject to nature, adopting a world view including mixture of good and evil, etc.²⁰¹ They see that in value preference 'being' (to be close) is favoured over 'doing' by people

¹⁹⁴ Elliott, A. 2004, 276, in: Elliott, A. and Ray (eds.). 2004.

¹⁹⁵ Jews are often taken condescendingly in society because they have traditions and culture different from the majority of society: They might dress in a different way than the main population; they use different patterns of living such as keeping the Sabbath. The *pariah status* or *pariah* that occur in my study can be traced all the way in ancient and later in modern Jewish history. Social scientist Erving Goffman (1963) demonstrates that stigmatized individuals bear the social weight of their role through their 'good adjustment'. And, borrowing Hannah Arendt's word we could add that a Jew is a *conscious pariah*, when bearing their stigma as their 'good adjustment' (Arendt 1951, 66f).

¹⁹⁶ Elliott, A. 2004, 275f, in: Elliott, A. and Ray (eds.). 2004.

¹⁹⁷ Cohen, R. 1997,4; Sheffer 2003. See also: Population census 2001. According to census there are 0.2 % Jews in the whole population of Ukraine. Appendix 4. Map of Ukraine.

¹⁹⁸ Martin Buber campaigned passionately for a 'one state solution' understanding however the moral necessity for reconciliation and accommodation between the Arabs and Jews (Buber 2005).

¹⁹⁹ Pilch and Malina 2009, Pilch 1991.

²⁰⁰ The People of the Book (Hebr. Am-ha-seyfer). According to Nathaniel Deutsch 'Der Seyfer', the book, has always been and remains today the most important foundation of Jewish life. Deutsch, N. 2011, 103.

²⁰¹ Scholars of Biblical studies John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Malina (2009) handle two attitudes: activeness and passiveness. Also: Pilch 1991.

in the Bible, and in general in the Middle Eastern culture. A way of describing the influence of the Soviet state is that it coloured the way of official and general social inter-action redirecting how members perceived and interpreted reality. It was very different from the way undertaken in the New Ukraine where the Bible and freedom of religion began to go forward aspiring to and for a closeness with God they did not yet know. In fact, though reality is always the same cultural interpretations of it differ.²⁰² Therefore, the gap between old and new can be viewed as hugely revolutionary in its scope. The treatment of Jews in Ukraine varied with the particular political and social preference of the totalitarian rule.

Referring to the Pale, Jews have felt many revolutionary paradigmatic shifts. Jews in the Pale were seen ideologically as ‘parasites and weeds’²⁰³ or slaves,²⁰⁴ and from there they were transferred to the ideology of Sovietology and then in the 1980s to the re-branding of Soviet ideology by Soviet Union leader, Mikhail Gorbachev’s ‘Perestroika’ and ‘Glasnost’. A Russian word, Glasnost, is a term to designate a policy of maximum publicity, openness, and transparency - especially in government institutions and it implies full freedom of information.²⁰⁵ Perestroika refers to the restructuring of the Soviet political and economic system. After that Jews were fragmented by a continuing antagonistic ideology and where, under the vale of tears remained very vivid ghosts of the past. Therefore, Jewish women in Ukraine more or less bore in their soul remnants of learned Soviet citizen role models, *homo Sovieticus*.²⁰⁶

This descriptive term, *homo Sovieticus*, which was invented originally by former Russian dissident Aleksander Zinovjev²⁰⁷ is now widely used in different kinds of analysis of ex-Soviet era. The hypothesis is that homo Sovieticus has a certain identity that society, not religion, has created. In 2000, secularized Jews, even if they did not know any religion that religion had something to say about this matter. Initially, secularized, assimilated Jews knew only superficially that Judaism is a religion, had never seen the forbidden Hebrew Bible, and knew to save their life it and Jewish heritage had been totally forgotten: Full stop.

The new transition era was a positive progression, but absolutely shocking in its effects. One historian, Solomea Pavlychko claims that Ukrainians are responding to the culture shock of post-Totalitarian freedom, which has destroyed all former taboos (see also in the chapter 3.2.1.).²⁰⁸ Transition includes every aspect of life and therefore new options for all ethnic groups to contribute welfare. The question, ‘who am I now?’ is not as simple as it may sound after multi-year experiences of political and social discrimination and deprivation.²⁰⁹ However, this dilemma indicates a significant paradigmatic shift for those ethnic marginalized groups such as Jews.²¹⁰

Nevertheless, the unstable political situation presents some dangers in the transition society. At conflict points some groups might start to dominate, control, manipulate and try to subdue others for their own advance.²¹¹ Under the past Soviet Totalitarian society (including Ukraine), Jews because of their ethnicity had been confronted with conflicting exploitative experiences, e.g. coercion, oppression and division, etc.²¹² The 1989 Russian revolution made Jews free: Free in general terms to show their Jewish identity, meet other Jews, look back on Jewish history, and share common lived experiences. I met such

²⁰² Pilch 1991.

²⁰³ Zygmunt Bauman argues that Jews were ideologically and authoritatively defined as parasites or weeds, but not humans. In: Sztompka 2000a, 65.

²⁰⁴ Sociologist Irving M. Zeitlin argues Jews could only engage in a spiritual revolt, that is, they repudiate the ‘master morality’ and create a ‘slavery morality’, ‘where the Jews’ religious self-understanding was crucial in enabling them to cope with the serious and recurring challenges which they have had to face throughout their history’ (Zeitlin 2012, 15). ‘The Making of a Diaspora People’ by Zeitlin 2012.

²⁰⁵ In the spirit of the glasnost by Gorbachev archives began to open and for example Alexander Solzhenitsyn’s ‘Gulag Archipelago’ was finally published in Solzhenitsyn’s native country. In: Viola 2007, 3.

²⁰⁶ Zinovjev 1985. See: *Homo Sovieticus*.

²⁰⁷ Zinovjev was born as Radomylskij.

²⁰⁸ Pavlychko 1996, 311.

²⁰⁹ Marsh (ed.). 1996; Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, Pushkareva 1997; Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004.

²¹⁰ Marsh (ed.). 1996; Pushkareva 1997; Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004.

²¹¹ Roots of conflict theories are in Karl Marx. However, Gustavo Gutiérrez (2008, 8) with philosopher Sartre are not the only authors who criticize strongly Marx and Marxism.

²¹² Khasin 1998.

Jewish groups in Ukraine in 2000 and in 2003. It was my impression such group-discussions and activities were emotionally healing and socially constructive.

However, problems do exist with some Jewish groups concerning the coherence of the Jewish community. In practice, there exist different opinions about the Jewish religion. Representatives and adherents of traditional Rabbinic/Normative/Classical/Orthodox Judaism do not relish the emergence of modern Messianic Judaism. Beyond theological doctrines, there are always individuals (members and leaders of any movement), who act 'pro' or 'against' a matter, i.e. Jews who sustain or reject ideology and the praxis of some doctrine. This kind of struggle is going on not only in Ukraine, but everywhere in the Jewish world. This tiny Jewish community which has not even been properly built is fragmented on the inside.

The reader can see Ukraine proves to be 'a special case' with ten or more reasons and sub-reasons. As yet I have not spoken of women and therefore, I link this theme to the second wave of women's movement starting from the USA. In 1979 the scholar of women's studies Sheila Collins wrote of reflections on 'Herstory'. Needless to say, over 30 years later how many more and *different* are women's views and the voices of women. However, it is surprising that Sheila's arguments in 'Womanspirit Rising' sound familiar: 'Herstory' undermines the authority of Biblical revelation to be the exclusive channel of the truth.²¹³

1.5. Jewish Women's Social Movements

Many Mental Models of Women to Produce Welfare

A Social Movement can be seen – as is the case in this study - as a process as sociologist Alberto Melucci emphasizes.²¹⁴ Therefore we must consider how we understand this process or processes in a Social Movement? Philosopher Sara Ruddick's conceptualization of 'thinking' (presented in her work 'Maternal Thinking'²¹⁵) seems to be a competent approach in order to describe how the processes are functioning in a Social Movement. Herein, I apply her great idea.

The starting point is to clarify and shape shared aims of a Social Movement. Then we have to find and define rules or means for achieving those shared aims. All depends on socially developed concepts and values. Ruddick emphasizes that 'thinking' itself is often a solitary activity. Leaders (intellectuals) are however those who contribute to it in which way the language of solitary thinking becomes 'public' with different kinds of co-operative forms of dialogue and conversation.²¹⁶ Generally speaking social changes in a Social Movement do not only concern things but also its members. Sociologist Rachel L. Einwohner notes the most important aspect from the point of this study that members of a Social Movement '*find themselves*' through their activism.²¹⁷ This happens for example when activists of a Social Movement distinguish the 'sameness' and the 'difference' when engaging in '*identity work*,' that is, the construction and the remains of identity in a social changing process.^{218, 219}

²¹³ Collins 1992, 69.

²¹⁴ Melucci 1992a, 1992b.

²¹⁵ Ruddick 1980, 1989, 1995, 2002.

²¹⁶ Ruddick 2002, 15.

²¹⁷ Einwohner 2008, 121. I later handle the concept of *authenticity* which is often used in Jewish literature in the meaning to become authentic as to find her/his/self.

²¹⁸ Einwohner 2008, 122. Also: Einwohner & Reger & Myers 2008, 1-17.

²¹⁹ Using the expression of sociologist Herbert Blumer - who is involved with the theorizing of Religious Movement - some kind of agitation plays a most significant role in the beginning and early stages of a movement and operates to arouse people.

In general, women of movements transform their private problems into public issues so that collective enterprises arise from social unrest and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life and on the other hand from wishes and hopes from a new scheme or systems of living.

Herbert Blumer also points out that general Social Movements are much like cultural trends which are seen as ideas, without any specific organizations, thus, the main form is literature. - Such sorts of Social Movements are common among women. Blumer 1953, 203f.

Cf. Muukkonen 1999, 40; see Muukkonen 1012.

Einwohner also refers to concepts of when activists ‘hide’²²⁰ themselves or ‘passing’²²¹ of *identity work*. One more of Einwohner’s important views is that activists’ identity ‘workload’ is variable; it illustrates the ‘hard work’ of identity performances.²²² Thus, the burden associated with *identity work* refers to conditions under which *identity work* is occurring.²²³

Women started to promote female emphasis, so the first wave of *Feminism* is seen to start in 19th century, when women fought for political, economical, social and religious rights. In Ukraine Nataliia Ozarkevych Kobrynska²²⁴ is considered as the founder of the women’s movement. However, according to Bohachevsky-Chomiak her conjunction of Feminism and Socialism was unpalatable to Ukrainian men and rejected by most Ukrainian women. Although Kobrynska confronted the woman issue and she knew such theorists like Marx and Engels it is seen that Ukrainian women overlooked much of Kobrynska’s socialist analysis.²²⁵ Modelled on British ladies clubs the most important new organization was the Ruthenian Women’s Club founded in Lviv in 1893. It however did not share Kobrynska’s feminist issues and it consisted of members of a small circle of women.²²⁶

From the point of view of religious women the second wave of Feminism started from the USA in 1960s and 1970s, when women felt that they have the right to interpret the Bible from the point of view of women.²²⁷ The second wave continues, or we can also speak of the third wave starting in 1980s, and it runs without an all-encompassing single idea. In this chapter I handle Social Movements of women starting from women’s ancient Eve in Paradise and ending up at Ukrainian secular Jewish women who have a dream to turn back to God in the Messianic Jewish Movement.

In the Biblical sense Women’s history can be said to begin or stem from Eve in Paradise thus the history of women’s Social Movement is long and so I must limit how much I write of women’s Social Movements in general. I mention only those women’s movements’ *mental* models, which in my opinion are important from the perspective of the task of this study. True, this approach does not give full weight and exposure for women who through the millennia have put the priority on social issues, and affected other women for millennia and centuries in different cultures and especially where Jews have lived. However, from the point of view of religion and welfare (the task of this study) I prioritize over others the following areas of female social activities.

We may remember the story of the Hebrew midwives Shifrah and Puah, who led a small rebel movement in Egypt, when they refused to kill the male children because the midwives feared JHWH²²⁸. Because of their brave behaviour Shifrah and Puah, who struggled not pro-themselves but pro their own people are often regarded in female literature as forerunners of what today are labelled the first women’s movements in the world.²²⁹ Thus, we can say with complete certainty that Biblical women are the first recorded form of the first women’s movements in the world.

Another example of religious Jewish women’s movement at the Biblical platform would be those women who over many centuries to the present day have shown their fear to JHWH with prayers²³⁰ and reading from the Torah at the Western Wall (often known as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem).²³¹ This

²²⁰ ‘Hide’ refers to the course of protest activity when one’s true identity is hiding. Einwohner 2008, 121.

²²¹ ‘Passing’ refers to hide or obscure some aspects of identity. ‘Passing’ can be as a strategy for managing stigma (Einwohner 2008, 122ff). Rachel L. Einwohner also underlines that ‘passing can be particularly useful and even necessary in settings in which it is dangerous for activists to reveal a certain aspect of themselves’ (Einwohner 2008, 125).

²²² Einwohner 2008, 122.

²²³ Einwohner & Reger & Myers 2008, 6f.

²²⁴ Kobrynska was born 1851 into a family of Ukrainian Catholic priests.

²²⁵ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, 71,73.

²²⁶ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, 90.

²²⁷ Kelly 1979.

²²⁸ Ex. 1:16.

²²⁹ Ex. 1:17. “But the midwives feared God and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but kept the male children alive.” According to the American King James Bible Version.

²³⁰ Cf. Prayers of the tkhiknes (Yiddish-launguage prayer book), in: Weissler 1998.

²³¹ See: The picture of the Wailing Wall in 1908. See: The Window on the Wall.

Western Wall Prayer Movement including its mental model is shown in touching faces like Abraham Moses Luncz describes in the late of 19th century.²³²

“Every Sabbath eve, when masses of Jewish men, women, and children from all of the various community groups hasten to the Wailing Wall from noontime onwards... One hears the noise of hurried preparations emanating from every home in the city as people ready themselves to go the Wall. Dressed in their best clothing and clutching holy texts, they rush through the streets from all directions. Old men and women leaning on their canes, little children holding their parents’ hands, all with a common destination...This scene so amazes anyone who sees it that foreigner visiting the country try to be present at these times; they write endless descriptions of the event in their diaries so as to etch it in their minds forever.”²³³

It is the same story in the latter half of the 20th and in the 21st century. Women have taken their permanent place there at the ‘Wailing Wall’.²³⁴ When resident in Jerusalem I visited *Ha Kotel* every Sabbath eve. Sabbath eve’s peace intertwined with the silent voice of crowds of female pilgrims surrounding me with an exotic atmosphere however a part of me made conscious observations. I saw how women put their small handwritten prayer labels into the cracks of the Walls (the wall of the Second Temple). Those cracks were so full that at times a range of prayer requests were taken up on the wind which time to time refreshingly blew from the dark summer lit by stars. Some women hastily put their piece of paper in a crack; some stayed near the *Wailing Wall* for a long time often many hours and still seemed to pray. It is plausible to consider the Diaspora women experienced there what Jana Evans Braziel expresses, “I think, they had arrived from their yearning the ‘Next Year in Jerusalem?’ at their destination, home”. Women in *Ha Kotel* are spiritual women who fight by prayers not only for their life, but for ‘everything’ including family members, other people, and everyday practical, concrete things.

The secularization meaning to come out from traditional religious home atmospheres is the background of such movement as Jewish Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment in the 18th–19th centuries, which provided new mental models and patterns of behaviour within the European Jewish community. *Jewische Frauenbund* in Germany and National Council of Jewish Women in America showed reformist needs to women who started to reveal cultural, environmental and social problems, which had connection with social welfare and well-being, i.e. Jewish women struggled for women’s rights in society (e.g. the right to study, and become an educated person) and were motivated rather by social than spiritual elements although they could co-exist. True, knowledge and understanding in a new way is always the starting point in a Social Movement: Deficiencies become identified, their causes and consequences. These social welfare organizations had an important status and role for Jewish community because they gave new tools for Jewish women to define themselves. The role of the Jewish women in society came to be considered if not religious to at least in general be promoting moral values, not just in homes, but extensively across society, like participating in *chewra*/charity work. Thus, it is seen the Haskalah movement secularized Jewish women²³⁵, so women’s role as spiritual guardian of morality, if not stopped, did significantly diminish.²³⁶

The history of women has taken the name Feminism while trying to break the discriminating *mechitzan* (wall, partition) between males and females. I only mention two early Jewish Feminist pioneers, *par excellence*, Bertha Pappenheim and Alice Salomon whose writings and social work had a great impact on Jewish women’s thinking in the 19th century, and beyond even today. They wanted to break

²³² According to historian Stuart L. Charmé, Abraham Moses Luncz wrote a comprehensive article on the Wailing Wall pointing out the Jewish right to the Wall.

²³³ Abraham Moses Luncz, in: Charmé, S. L. 2005, 13. Also, Adler 1930, ‘Memorandum on the Western Wall’.

²³⁴ See: The Western Wall (*Ha Kotel*). After the Six Day War 1967, when Jews could return back to the Western Wall, women have again prayed there.

²³⁵ Nathaniel Deutsch refers to different sources which show a tendency of secularization to be true like: ‘Wealthy families often hired private tutors to teach their daughters languages such as Russian and French,’ (Deutsch, N. 2011, 189); one man brought *maskilim* books and ‘he also had an issue of monthly *Hashahar* edited by Peretz Smolenskin; and so, drop by drop, the Haskalah penetrated my town,’ (Deutsch, N. 2011, 183). Some women were able to write also in English, (Deutsch, N. 2011, 183).

²³⁶ Hyman 1994, in: Davidman and Tenenbaum (eds.).1994.

traditional mental model and patterns of traditional Jewish behaviour; in this spirit, they organized aid and services to poor Jewish women living in misery. Pappenheim's and Salomon's ideology did not arise in the first place only from Judaism, but rather from the secular world where women's movement had become visible and active for example in Catholic and Protestant denominations. They encouraged women to be educated so that they could cope with living properly, even without male support. Pappenheim is convinced that 'men' always and in every situation follow their private interests.²³⁷ So, we see that since these activists, Jewish theorists, Jewish women in Feminist Movements have taken allegorically 'mechitzan' into the core of debate. With the non-spiritual activism Pappenheim and Salomon directed women's thinking against the male authority/supremacy.

Referring to the 1960s - '70s in the USA where the second wave started with questions like 'What about women?' and 'Why is women's situation as it is?', women were seen really oppressed, unequal and subordinated. The substantial differences between female and male positions in location in society and of the female experience in general with the male determined strongly that *liberation of women* was central to feminist theories and the priority aim. In the 1980s the second wave continued and became like a new, third wave of Feminism in USA: It included an interactive theory wherein relations of ruling, local actualities of lived experiences with texts, along lines of race, gender, class and age are taken into account. Thus post-modern²³⁸ theory challenges feminist theory with the central question 'and what about the women'? Post-modernism provides an oppositional epistemology questioning the claim to truth advanced by any given theory.²³⁹

Scholar of religious studies Judith Plaskow in her book *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective* points out that 'the need for a Feminist Judaism starts with hearing silence...Confronting this silence raises disturbing questions...What in this tradition is ours?'²⁴⁰ However, some women in the Jewish Zionist movement²⁴¹ between the early Jewish Nationalist Movement and radical Feminism at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe thought differently without the great conflict between Judaism and Zionism to which Plaskow refers in her work. Zionism fascinated and took hold of the imagination and aspirations of especially European Jews. Many young Jewish women were willing to move to Palestine and fight for an egalitarian society. Young women had a fantastic vision of creating a future in a Jewish homeland. With their personal growth and family life in focus it can in many ways be claimed they succeeded.²⁴² Over time Zionism spread together with Kibbutzim including also religious settlements whose mental model is based on the Hebrew Bible.²⁴³ In the Kibbutz Movement Jewish women were accepted as capable to work side by side with and make decisions alongside men.²⁴⁴ In an independent country, democratic Israel, Jewish women participate in national defence and the *peace* movement has taken its own place in the Jewish world. Zionist Jewish women have often adopted a mental model pro Jewishness which combines spiritual, religious elements with socially and politically fruitful interaction in the Jewish community.

The third wave of Feminism includes the *Biblical Feminism*²⁴⁵ although its beginnings can be found much earlier but still continue to this day. Biblical Feminism is the Religious Movement which has recently become more visible in Gender studies among Christians alongside the articles of the scholar Susanne Scholz. Complementarianism according to her is one dimension of Biblical Feminism solidly anchored in the evangelical belief of Biblical inerrancy (no error in scripture, i.e. infallibility). The core of Biblical Complementarianism underlines that men lead and protect women whereas women support and submit to male leadership. The often used notion in this connection is 'equal but different,' especially in

²³⁷ Kaplan 1991, 213, in: Bertha Pappenheim collection, LBI #331, (9).

²³⁸ In general: The era of Modernism started in the beginning of 20th century, and the era of post-modernism circa 1960s.

²³⁹ Lengermann and Niebrugge in: Ritzer 2008, 481.

²⁴⁰ Plaskow 1990.

²⁴¹ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2012.

²⁴² Raidar 2002.

²⁴³ Katz, Y. 2010.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Katz, Y. 2010.

²⁴⁵ See for example: about recovering Biblical manhood and womanhood, in: Piper and Grudem (eds). (2006).

that women do not serve as ecclesiastical leaders,²⁴⁶ but are equal with men before God. Complementarianism takes for granted the essentialist heterosexual duality of female and male gender.²⁴⁷ It was quite clear that those Jewish women whom I met as well as the literature sources of Messianic Judaism presented support for the idea of *Biblical Messianic Complementarianism*²⁴⁸. Although I did not actually hear the use of this term in the Biblical movement it was especially clear ecclesiastical authority belonged to males in 2000 in Ukraine. - Messianic Jewish women fought for a *mental* model pro the complement relationship between women and men.

According to philosopher Thomas Kuhn Feminist theories are practiced as part of what he has called 'normal science' and as sociologists Patricia Maddoo Lengermann and Gillian Niebrugge point out its assumptions are taken for granted as a starting point in ongoing empirical research.²⁴⁹ Sociologist George Ritzer says however, theories are only part of a larger paradigm, so a paradigm may encompass two or more theories and different images of the subject matter. Kuhn sees that a paradigm is a fundamental image of the subject matter and its broadest unit is consensus which serves to differentiate one scientific community (or sub-community) from another.²⁵⁰ Although it will sound adventurous, religion might become as a watershed in Gender studies in the coming years. The chosen paradigm within or without religion will point out for women those methods of how to construct welfare in society producing different sorts of solutions into everyday practices. The paradigm of Integration encompasses different Biblical theories and assumptions of female and male gender opportunity to live in complementary relationship. The paradigm of Segregation encompasses Feminist theories within female inequality and oppression: Female gender difference, female gender inequality, female gender oppression and female structural oppression. Referencing to Marx who did not reject religion *per se*, but opposed the system, both paradigms, of Integration and of Segregation encompass methods to struggle with objective and subjective elements in micro- and macroscopic Continuum against a system (today: contemporary religious institutions and their functions).²⁵¹

Few Observations on Nationalism

Although Ukraine's history is extensive Kremlinologists (or Sovietologists) brought Nationalism into the country and they spoke as if Ukraine had no existence beyond its being 'Ukrainian.'²⁵² New Ukraine tries to urgently and self-consciously construct a national identity with national goals, although within the borderland are many segregating divisions starting from different faith and ethnic groups (e.g. Ukrainians-Russians) with languages and ending up with different faith and belief systems (such as Ukrainian Orthodox Christianity²⁵³-Russian Orthodox Christianity²⁵⁴). There are also Jews, who might originally be born in Ukraine or in Russia and they may speak Ukrainian or Russian with many mixed family attributes. Nationalism is still largely an open question.²⁵⁵

According to Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Ukraine has *a tradition of community self-help organizations*²⁵⁶ because it had neither State nor significant philanthropic²⁵⁷ support for its citizens. So, women in Ukraine did not have traditional female status and tasks, but in transition the old pattern of behaviour no longer

²⁴⁶ Ecclesia (Greek εκκλησία), the body of Christ/Messiah, Church.

²⁴⁷ Scholz 2005.

²⁴⁸ This concept 'Biblical Messianic Complementarianism' is by the author.

²⁴⁹ Lengermann and Niebrugge 2008, 457.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Chapter 3.4.2.

²⁵¹ The concepts of the Paradigms of Integration and Segregation are by the author.

²⁵² Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994.

²⁵³ See: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Kiev Patriarchate, 2008.

²⁵⁴ See: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church Moscow Patriarchate, 2008.

²⁵⁵ Nationalism is the concept that is easily comprised of many misunderstandings. Magocsi 2002.

²⁵⁶ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988.

²⁵⁷ Traditionally philanthropic activity has belonged to Jewish life in society e.g. inside synagogues. In 2000 in Ukraine an awakening of philanthropic support of citizens in Jewish and Christian organizations was seen. This social work was just starting however, if we look at a larger perspective because of lack of resources such activities by citizens were often just at the level of aspirations.

functioned. On the other hand, the Soviet Marxist experience in the former USSR and the erosion of Soviet Totalitarianism prevented activities such as the emergence of an independent women's movement.²⁵⁸ Also historian Karin Offen points out that this sort of activity was necessarily not articulated.²⁵⁹

In 1987, Gorbachev authorized the formation of Women's Councils of the Union, but the Council of Women of Ukraine did not support Gorbachev; and other efforts to work together with women's organizations failed, as did a Christian Women's Democratic Party. A plethora of Women's groups sprang up with the Women's Society in Support of Rukh (Movement for Reconstruction) as the umbrella reform movement, including smaller organizations, e.g. the 'Committee of Mothers of Soldiers', and 'Great Family', 'Mother -86', Union of Ukrainian Women etc.²⁶⁰ However they have proven to be weak because without an ideological empowerment of women efficient action is almost impossible. One reason for weakness of grassroots organizations in Ukraine is seen to be that women outside women's groups view women's organization and *Feminism itself as selfish*. In general the ideology of Nationalism (women in their Ukrainian communities) attracts women more than specific movements to assert the rights of females.

From the stand-point of the weakness of the women's secular Feminist Movement it offers one explanation as to why the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine has succeeded in attracting the traditionally 'non-Feminist' woman. First, she rejected 'traditional women's movement' as Feminist, in much the same fashion as early Marxists rejected Nationalism as egotism.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, she did adopt an unselfish Messianic Gospel, became a member of the movement and experienced feelings that she is able to become free and help other people in safety in the Jewish community in Ukraine²⁶², whilst being respected just as a woman. These types of experiences she did not have during the Soviet rule. Additionally, as Bohachevsky-Chomiak informs, women's activity and experience at the grassroots level was not as bad in Western Ukraine than elsewhere in the country. This might imply the Messianic Jewish Movement was strongest in the Western Ukraine in 2000.²⁶³ The vivid Messianic Movement slowly changed the passive attitudes of many women and attracted them into cooperative actions.

Ukraine's case shows us that without a proper ideology the emergence of the women's movement and its Mission view (vision, fantasy, and utopia) is not possible. Women are able to influence society if they have/share a common ideology to which they are committed and through which *identity work* in them and in their groups is possible. Messianic Judaism provides them with just such a solid ideological foundation, the Bible, to which they want to adapt and walk alongside its teaching.

1.6. The Modern Messianic Jewish Movement

In the following I will try to answer the questions: What kind of movement is the Messianic Jewish Movement? How did it emerge? What kind of connection does it have with the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement?

There are no specific statistics about Messianic Jews in Ukraine, but it is estimated in the year 2000, there were about 100 Messianic groups (congregations and home groups) in Ukraine of a population of fewer than 500,000 Jews in the country.²⁶⁴ In 2011 it is estimated that numbers of Jews there has fallen below 300,000. However, in 2003, there were about 400, 000 Jewish people, who became Messianic Jewish believers in different Gospel campaigns implemented throughout the ex-Soviet Union countries²⁶⁵. In comparison to Israel, it is estimated that there were over 150 Messianic congregations and more than ap-

²⁵⁸ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994, 20.

²⁵⁹ Offen 1988, in: Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994, 19.

²⁶⁰ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994, 20f.

²⁶¹ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994, 18-25.

²⁶² See: The Jewish Community in Ukraine.

²⁶³ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1994, 23.

²⁶⁴ I was informed by leaders of congregations.

²⁶⁵ According to MJB, the Messianic Jewish Bible Institute in 2008.

proximately 10,000 Messianic believers in 2009 in Israel.²⁶⁶ In 2011 it is estimated that the number of Messianic Jews in Israel is greater than 15,000. Informants in Ukraine have related that Ukrainian Jewish descendants are afraid of reporting²⁶⁷, that's why the figures might be low. So some of them are secretly Jewish and some of those who have some Jewish roots do not necessarily indicate themselves as Jews. On the other hand in Israel, where Messianic Judaism is not mainstream, but officially rather an unwanted minority religion, reporting is also uncertain. The statistics do not give a valid picture of the situation.

Jews live all over the world.²⁶⁸ It is claimed that Messianic Judaism could be the *most rapidly growing group* in Judaism.²⁶⁹ Messianic Judaism has developed throughout the period from the 1980s through 2000s into a large global movement.²⁷⁰ America has been a cradle for the movement around the world. Pastor Stan Telchin's depiction is illustrative and it shows a number of cultural factors however with American emphasis:

“We were deeply involved in our culture, but not in our religion. We were Jews, and we enjoyed Jewish things. We enjoyed Jewish humour, Jewish music and Jewish literature. Those of us who knew Jewish history were proud of our history. Those who were involved in Jewish organizations and/or Jewish causes felt fulfilled by being part of them. In short, we enjoyed being Jewish. And we expressed our Jewishness in a great number of ways. This was easily accomplished. But attendance at synagogue services was widely ignored by most of Jews.”²⁷¹

I will come to say a number of times that the Messianic Jewish Movement is quite different in Ukraine than America. In Telchin's case: Firstly, religion is of paramount importance in Ukraine (Telchin says something else); secondly candidates (becoming Jewish in Ukraine) may attend at synagogue services at least during the time when they search for their ethnicity and religion (Telchin says something else). Ukraine's difference stems partly from its social circumstances, partly from early roots of Moldavia. Thirdly, Jewishness means first and foremost ethnicity for Ukrainian Jews (I assume Telchin speaks more of cultural matters). I want to point out a person can take any religion and embrace any cultural properties, but *ethnically* people are what they are as a human being: That is a person's created essence and from their natural ethnicity will emerge different ethnic characteristics for their life.

Where are the roots of Messianic Judaism in Ukraine? Messianic Jews in Ukraine tell many evocative stories of the influential Rabbi Joseph Ben Rabinowitz who is seen to be the founder of Messianic Jewish Movement.²⁷² Rabinowitz was born in 1837 into a Rabbinical family on both sides of his parents in Resina, a small town in Bessarabia. As his mother died in early childhood, he was brought up during first years by his maternal grandfather, who was a zealous adherent of Hasidism. Joseph received a profound education from the Torah, the Talmud, and other good Jewish books under the supervision of Rabbis. During his adult years he was a socially conscious person, who engaged with the spirit of the new age (Enlightenment) for the purpose of attaining the same civic and social rights for Jews as for other people. At that point in history, he became disappointed because of events such as the death of Czar Alexander II, pogroms in various regions in Russia, Jews being persecuted and feeling or emigrating to America and Palestine. Rabinowitz decided to start a 'new life' as a legal consultant or lawyer. - The turning point of Rabinowitz's life was in his mid-fifties, when he made the journey to Israel carrying a Hebrew version of the New Testament with him. He met a big personal surprise: His salvation experience in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives changed his life. According to literature, he had an apostolic personality,²⁷³ and that the Lord sent him to the earth in habitus of the Apostle Paul and 'Jewish Luther'.²⁷⁴ Rabinowitz wrote

²⁶⁶ Avainmedia 2009.

²⁶⁷ See: Charisma Magazine (Messianic Jews Face Organized Resistance in Russia and Ukraine).

²⁶⁸ DellaPergola 2007.

²⁶⁹ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a.

²⁷⁰ Gallagher & Ashcraft 2006, 191.

²⁷¹ Telchin 2004, 55.

²⁷² Kjaer-Hansen 1995, 2, 11, 12, 25, 27, 28, 201, 202.

²⁷³ Kjaer-Hansen 1995, 3.

²⁷⁴ Kjaer-Hansen 1995, 3; Hegg 2003.

about his turning point²⁷⁵: “There on the Mount of Olives I found Him, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote - Jesus the Messiah. I found true rest for my soul...²⁷⁶” - Probably the miserable social circumstance (poverty) of Jews²⁷⁷ was one reason why he subsequently established the fellowship ‘The Israelites of the New Covenant’, which was Messianic by its nature.²⁷⁸ Because Rabbi Joseph Ben Rabinowitz lived in Kishinev (today Moldavia), he is seen to be the first or one of first Jews, who practiced Messianic Judaism in the Black Sea region in 19th century. However, the movement did not last long. Rabinowitz’s Messianic Jewish Movement withered after his death.

Nonetheless, the *Charisma* has been one sign by which the modern Messianic Jewish Movement links itself with the ancient fellowship of Yeshua in the first century CE and the gradual spread of the movement continued.

In Western Europe, modern Messianic Judaism arose in England in the 19th century with Christian revivals, and with the time of national reawakening of the Jewish people.²⁷⁹ So, the roots of contemporary modern Messianic Judaism are regarded to be in Hebrew Christianity as the response to the ‘London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews’ in early 19th century in Britain. On the other hand, Messianic Judaism is seen as a response to the Christian Evangelistic organizations, like the ‘Jews for Jesus.’ This movement became the best-known and most visible mission to Jews with its focusing on conversions to Christianity.²⁸⁰ In 1965 the International Hebrew Alliance was founded in London.²⁸¹

It is estimated that 250,000 became believers in Yeshua during the 19th century.²⁸² In the 20th and 21st centuries, new, influential Messianic Jewish organizations were founded. Founded in 1915, the the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America was one of them. In the USA the Presbyterian Church encouraged converted Jews to enjoy fellowship with each other and the first Hebrew Christian Church was established in 1934 by Presbyterians in Chicago.²⁸³ It is also worth noticing that charismatic movements, like the ‘March for Jesus’, started in Britain in 1987 attracting people from around the world.²⁸⁴ In 2000, the ‘March for Jesus’ gathered 60 million people in 180 nations all over the world.²⁸⁵

However, after Rabbi Rabinowitz it took one hundred years for the modern Messianic Jewish Movement to emerge again in Ukraine. It was not until Gorbachev’s Perestroika²⁸⁶ from the mid-1980s and the collapse of Communism in 1989 set the political and social atmosphere free in order that small groups of Jewish believers began to meet in many Ukrainian towns in the late 1980s.²⁸⁷ The first officially registered Messianic Jewish congregations were formed there in 1993-1994.²⁸⁸

²⁷⁵ This occurred during the 1882 visit to Jerusalem.

²⁷⁶ Kjaer-Hansen 1995, 12.

²⁷⁷ Kjaer-Hansen 1995, 29.

²⁷⁸ Juster and Hocken 2004, Hocken 2009.

²⁷⁹ Gidney 2007, Graves 2009.

²⁸⁰ Ariel 2000.

²⁸¹ Fructenbaum 1977, 48f.

²⁸² Fructenbaum 1977, 35-51.

²⁸³ Hocken 2009.

²⁸⁴ Hocken 2009; cf. Ediger 2004.

²⁸⁵ Gershon Nerel illuminates in his PhD dissertation (the Department of Comparative Religion, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) the emergence of the Messianic Jewish Movement in Israel between 1917-1967. He emphasises that those approximate 120 – 150 persons around the movement stressed they are to be called ‘Completed Jews’ or ‘Messianic Jews’. According to him it becomes crystal clear they rejected to be ‘Christians’ *per se*. He analyses the difficult situation when Gentile Christians (the church) accused Jews of becoming ‘judaize’ and Nerel points out those accusations reflected Gentile-Christian suspicions that Messianic Jews ‘had planned on purpose to regain *theological hegemony* over Gentiles, as it was in the first century’. In: Nerel 2005, 3. Also: Nerel 1993, 1996.

²⁸⁶ Perestroika concerned in many ways women’s life in society. Cf. Stishova 1996.

²⁸⁷ The church’s existence is inseparably bound up with mission, although the problem of proselytism has severely inflamed relations between religions. This has also happened since the collapse of Communism in ex-Soviet countries. See: Ahonen 2006, 188.

²⁸⁸ Juster and Hocken 2004.

Although modern Messianic Judaism²⁸⁹ adopts some Jewish symbols and practices from Rabbinic Judaism and its wisdom concerning life on earth in general²⁹⁰ Messianic Jews claim that only modern Messianic Judaism is real: They use the expression ‘authentic Judaism’.²⁹¹ This study has shown me that the word ‘authentic’ used in Judaism, now in Messianic Judaism in this context has a very Jewish implication meaning something that is very original, genuine, and even noble. Thus Rabbinic/ Classical/Normative/Orthodox Judaism is not authentic Judaism according to Messianic Jews. Nevertheless, Messianic Jews stress that the Messianic faith began with faith of Rabbinic Judaism, ‘indeed it could not have happened otherwise’ as David H. Stern records.²⁹² Messianic Judaism is also regarded as the logical outcome of the rhetoric and activity of the Protestant missionary movement,²⁹³ so that it, ‘created its own vocabulary, strongly influenced by the evangelical rhetoric of conversions, yet somewhat different²⁹⁴’. Consequently, the basic distinction between Rabbinic and Messianic Judaism is solely a matter of doctrine. Messianic Judaism bases its doctrine on the New and the Old Testament as opposed to Rabbinic Judaism which holds to the Hebrew Bible, i.e. the Old Testament (Hebr. the Tanakh), but which rejects the message of the New Testament (Hebr. B’Rit Hadashah).²⁹⁵ At the core of Messianic Judaism is Yeshua, the Messiah, who for Rabbinic Jews however, is not the true Messiah. In a simplified form, Messianic Jews point out especially that Yeshua, the Saviour and the Redeemer will soon come a second time to the earth. On the other hand, Rabbinic Jews are waiting for another Messiah, who will soon come to earth for the first time. However JHWH, God, is the same for Messianic and Rabbinic Jews.²⁹⁶

In the Messianic Jewish Movement the Hebrew name *Yeshua* is used instead of the English *Jesus* which is regarded as the Hellenized name derived from Latin transliteration *Iesus* for the Greek name *Iesous*. The Hebrew Yeashua means both salvation and, in the form of Yahoshua, ‘Lord who is Salvation’. According to the Jewish Bible of Messianic Jews, Yeshua is present from the creation of the earth until the end of the earth (until the New Jerusalem), meaning that the Bible is speaking about Yeshua from the first chapter of Genesis until the end of the book of Revelation.²⁹⁷ Messianic Jewish teaching highlights JHWH’s grace and mercy which are always present, everywhere, and His mercy never changes. In this way, JHWH’s mercy covers the whole history of mankind and all people become blessed in Him.

The affiliation of Messianic congregations with the Charismatic movement is in evidence in Ukraine. However, scholars of religion, such as Hank Hanegraaff²⁹⁸, Eugene V. Gallagher and W. Michael Ash-

²⁸⁹ Cf. Jocz 1962, Kee 1995. See also: Kasdan 2009.

²⁹⁰ Gallagher & Ashcraft 2006, 200; see also: Cohn-Sherbok, L. and Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2010.

²⁹¹ Stern, D. H. 2007; Fructenbaum 1977, 1989, 1998, 2001, 2004. Cf. Prinz 1988, Schonfield 2009.

²⁹² This is the observation of David H. Stern, who is one of the most remarkable intellectuals of the Modern Messianic Jewish Movement. Stern: 2007, 74.

²⁹³ Gallagher & Ashcraft 2006, 215.

²⁹⁴ Gallagher & Ashcraft 2006, 212.

²⁹⁵ The Hebrew Bible, the Tanakh (Hebr.) consists of the Torah (Hebr.; 5 Books of Moses), Neviim (Hebr., the Prophets) and Ketuvim (Hebr., the Scriptures), which is known among Christians as the Old Testament. B’Rit Hadashah (Hebr., the New Testament) is the book for Messianic Jews and Christians.

The Torah has clearly been the key text for Diaspora Jews since the first century. Talmud Jerusalemi (Hebr.), the Jerusalem Talmud, and Talmud Bavli (Hebr.), the Babylonian Talmud, in: Safrai 1999, 379) are the second valuable epistemological basis of Judaism.

The Talmud is grounded on the Mishnah (Hebr.), which is an oral tradition of teaching the Law (the Torah), is divided into six aspects of life: seeds (agriculture), festivals (Sabbath and holidays), women (family life, marriage), torts (court procedure), sacred matters (regulations for the service) and purity (ritual), in: Safrai 1999, 341f.)

The value of an epistemological basis in traditional Judaism has been thoroughly understood among Jewish intellectuals through the ages. The Jewish way of life is based on these writings. That’s why Jewish fathers have brought up and educated their children with the Torah at home which is seen to be the most important place for children’s intellectual development in modern times (Patai 2007, 302ff, 522ff).

²⁹⁶ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2009; Ehrlich 2004.

²⁹⁷ By way of contrast, some Christian branches do not accept the book of Revelation as an equal part of the Bible, and some do not treat the Old Testament as equally important with the New Testament. The image of Yeshua has been constricted according to these viewpoints, which also affects questions of grace and mercy.

²⁹⁸ Hanegraaff 2001.

craft²⁹⁹ present arguments against Charismatic movements, especially because of counterfeits. This term applies to movements that do not actually follow with accuracy the tenet of Messianic Jewishness. One example, the Messianic Jewish congregation in Philadelphia, Beth Yeshua, seems to belong to the congregations of the so called Toronto Blessing, which is often regarded as counterfeit.³⁰⁰

In 2001, it was my impression that the ‘rebirth’ of Messianic Judaism was like the birth of a baby who was much mothered and loved, but nobody knew exactly ‘how’ to care for it properly? I saw very few signs of extreme charismatic characteristics although I had seen them in charismatic meetings in Helsinki at that time. In Ukraine, preaching and teaching seemed to be the core section in their worship services (Gospel about Yeshua), although otherwise services were often carried out with loud, even noisy Messianic Jewish music and intense dance performances. It came to my mind that these people were like happy foals, who have been allowed outside at the start of spring to play after chill, frosty winter. Who would dare to hinder the joy of those, who had been liberated from the yoke of oppression? In general they did not yet have the appearance of mature believers. How could they be? They were just at the beginning.

It is not a surprise the modern Messianic Jewish Movement may be more or less regarded as an oxymoron for believers in the traditional European Christian context. For example, it would be difficult for a church (Catholic or Lutheran³⁰¹) that regards Messianic Judaism as a heresy (because of syncretism) to eagerly support its work. Finally, how can any institution of Rabbinic Judaism assist the Messianic Jewish Movement if it regards its Christian and Messianic Jews as apostates? Rabbi Slomo Aviner, head of the Ataret Yerushalayim Yeshiva and a leading Zionist leader said that Messianic Jews should not be considered as Jews, but are proselytisers, who should be marginalized and distanced from Jewish communities if living in Israel.³⁰²

However, there are also supporters. In 2003 I met a German protestant pastor in Zhitomir from a free church in ex-East Germany who supported an orphanage that belonged to the area of a Messianic pastor. The cordial German pastor told me that *they (Germans) must help them* and he referred to German history during the Second World War. I visited the orphanage with him where children were fed with his donated food (macaroni, flour, sugar, etc) bought at the market where prices were lower than in shops. I saw how this beloved German pastor cried and prayed for those small orphans who stared at us so seriously through the window as we said goodbye. Although a scientific researcher observing life in Ukraine it is impossible not feel very sad that there has been and is so much ongoing suffering in Ukraine: One must wonder why?

It is widely voiced in the Western world that the attitudes of the official, traditional Christian Church towards Jews have been in different eras and places both inflamed and frozen since the birth of the Christian Church after the period of Jewish priests and Apostles in the first century. In this connection I refer to the Christian Church’s apparent ‘silence’ during the Second World War. The Church did not systematically protect Jews. Christians’ *anti-Semitism* was evident.³⁰³ According to scholar Brad H. Young, ‘the tragedy of church history...is lack of interest of Jesus...(and)...The Torah is the most neglected volume among people of the church’.³⁰⁴ On the other hand from the point of Jews: “The eternity of the Torah is bound up with the eternity of the Jewish people”, as Epstein highlights.³⁰⁵ Thus, church's more or less

²⁹⁹ Gallagher & Ashcraft 2006.

³⁰⁰ According to Gallagher & Ashcraft (2006, 197) “Beth Yeshua’s affiliation with the Charismatic movement is manifested in its style of worship and in its affinity with the larger Charismatic community. In the 1990s for example, the congregation adopted a Charismatic practice known as the ‘Toronto Blessing’, or ‘being Slain in the Spirit’, a devotional scene attributed to the Holy Spirit in which members fall on the floor, helped by other congregants, who hold them and see to it that they stay safe.” In fact, all of Charismatic movements are not regarded as heresy or counterfeit.

³⁰¹ See: Protestantism 2004.

³⁰² Wagner 2008.

³⁰³ The phenomenon of anti-Semitism in history, in: Perry and Schweitzer 2002, Gager 1985, Bauer 2002. About anti-Jewish legislation e.g. in: Baltrusch 1998, and about Jews in Roman Imperial legislation in: Linder (ed.).1995.

³⁰⁴ Jesus in the Jewish Theologian by Young 1996, 258ff.

³⁰⁵ Epstein 1968, 200.

hidden, prolonged *anti-Judaism* is surprising.³⁰⁶ However, recently some Christian scholars highlight there are two voices of the God: Israel and the Church (not only the church).³⁰⁷

The Bridge to the First Century

Messianic Judaism has eminent characteristics which are very appealing to Jewish people. I have identified six important characteristics for modern Messianics which create a bridge between ‘modern Messianics in 2000’ and ‘Followers of Yeshua’ in ancient times.

First: The roots of followers of Yeshua. As with Rabinowitz, so Messianic Jews in Ukraine today underline the new covenant with Yeshua including the vision that Messianic Jews are a continuum of the ancient (early) Messianic Jewish Movement.³⁰⁸

Second: The inner emptiness. According to studies, the background of modern Messianic Jews in the USA (the majority of Messianic Jews live there) is white middle and upper-middle class.³⁰⁹ The motive to enter a Messianic congregation in America and in Ukraine is ‘life is empty and meaningless.’³¹⁰ These emotions of ‘emptiness’ are very different in America than in Ukraine. In Ukraine the spiritual vacuum is due to the collapse of the Soviet Communist value basis and additionally the disappointment with grassroots activism like women’s movements; whereas in the USA people seem not to need to find happiness in the centre of ‘everything’. In Ukraine I met Jews who said that the Messianic congregation is the only ‘hope’, an emotional and literal lifeline for them, in the midst of spiritual, economical and social problems.

Third: The acceptance of poor (lower status) people. The Rabbis and pastors of the modern Messianic movement in Ukraine are clearly able to reach poor Ukrainians. In ancient times, the Messianic movement (the Jesus Movement³¹¹) similarly emerged among poor Jews.³¹² The members of Yeshua’s following came from a lower rural stratum although it is said that Yeshua and the Apostles themselves represented the middle class.³¹³ The first assemblies in ancient Israel consisted of converted sinners, first Jewish and then other ethnic groups from among the poor and then other groups of the social stratum.³¹⁴ According to studies of ancient times many people of the Messianic Movement lived on the edge of or below minimum existence and much of its membership in modern day Ukraine is drawn from similar socio-economical segment.³¹⁵

Fourth: The ancient Messianic movement was widely supported by original Jews until the end of the second part of the first century. The first ancient Messianic assemblies were led by Jewish heads, e.g. Yeshua was a Jew and a Rabbi as was another leader of Christianity, Paul. However, generally speaking, Jewish and Gentile believers lived apart from each other in the ancient land of Israel.³¹⁶ Jewish Nazarenes, who continued following a Jewish lifestyle, worshipped in the synagogue, kept the law and resided in Jerusalem.³¹⁷ Perhaps this separation might be one reason why later Gentile Christians in time took

³⁰⁶ E.g. in: Shepardson 2008, 4ff. Researcher of anti-Judaizing rhetoric Christine Shepardson highlights that “by the fourth century, Christianity had a long history of denouncing allegedly false Christian teachers and also Jews as threats to ‘true’ Christians”.

³⁰⁷ Doukhan 2004. Read: Marvin R. Wilson 1989 and Brad H. Young 1996, 2007, 2008. Also James D. G. Dunn 2009 and Oskar Skarsaune 2007, who describe the history of Jews and Christians in the early centuries.

³⁰⁸ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, Stark 1996.

³⁰⁹ Samuelson 2000, 161-186.

³¹⁰ Harris-Shapiro 1999, 52.

³¹¹ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999.

³¹² Hengel 1974, Lauré 2009.

³¹³ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 203; see also: Stark 1996.

³¹⁴ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 203; see also: Stark 1996.

³¹⁵ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 203; see also: Stark 1996.

³¹⁶ Skarsaune 2007, 758.

³¹⁷ Cohn-Sherbok D. 2000a, 3.

their place of leadership and established the Gentile Church after the death of the first fifteen Jewish leaders³¹⁸ late in the first century.³¹⁹

As in the end of second part of the first century, some congregations or study groups in Ukraine in 2000 have chosen leaders who are not Jews. However the emphasis in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine seems to be on Jewishness. The question may be asked how long this will continue? The situation in the Diaspora is essentially different in a key point to the first century in Palestine as assimilated Jews in Ukraine do not know 'original Jewishness' anywhere near as well as ancient Messianic Jews did. They have to learn it and to become re-educated into Jewish heritage. In this way Jews and non-Jews are at similar stage of development in Ukraine. But it is possible that Jews in Ukraine will be confronted by problems like Claude Ezagouri, a Messianic Jewish pastor who describes the attitudes of Messianic Jews towards a Gentile Christian Church not in Ukraine but in Tiberias.³²⁰ He says:

"The Lord gave us many instances of people passing by the Church of Scotland, where we meet, who heard worship in Hebrew and were attracted and came in. But when they saw it was a church, complete with a cross on the wall, they left. When we talked to them they said they were really attracted by the music and worship, but could not understand, why we met in a church building. We tried to explain that we are Messianic Jews and not Christians but they still said, 'But you are in a church'. What they meant was, 'our problem is, you're in a (Gentile Christian) church building –otherwise we would join you, because we like what you're doing. But the fact that you're in a *church* is stumbling-block for us' ...Many Christians don't understand this, but we do here."³²¹

However, the situation is quite different in Ukraine. In 2000, I attended the activities for young women in the new Lutheran church where they practiced Messianic Jewish worship dances. This church building was not an obstacle to the functioning of Hebrew praise dances there.

Fifth: Charismatic. The ancient Messianic Jewish congregation was characteristically charismatic, the Spirit-inspired and Spirit-justified.³²² These descriptions also well suit modern Messianic Jewish assemblies in Ukraine.³²³

Sixth: Women. In both 'Spirit-inspired' and 'Spirit-justified' women's activity seems to be in evidence.³²⁴ In Ukraine, the modern Messianic Jewish Movement has its own emphasis. It seems that claims like...'We are 100% Jewish and 100% Messianic',³²⁵ or, 'Let us not sacrifice our identity. When we profess Christ we do not cease to be Jews'... and 'as Hebrew Christians we desire to be allied more closely to one another'³²⁶...Are acceptable ideas in the USA, but do not fit into the Ukrainian context of the mix of assimilated and secularised ex-Soviet Messianic seekers. How could it? Not all members even know whether they were Jewish, or how much, but there is a consciousness of the desire to re-establish a link; they want to know it and also how much Jewishness played a part in previous generations? Clearly Jewish ethnicity and heritage³²⁷ are important in the movement in Ukraine, but perhaps not so vital in Messianic Congregations in the USA³²⁸ where the continuity of membership and worship has been much less affected by circumstance. It is my understanding people's interest in their roots (Jewishness) in Ukraine

³¹⁸ Scholars of Messianic Jews point out that the first 15 leaders of the early Church/assembly/Ecclesia were *Jewish* like James, the brother of Yeshua. In: Moseley 1996, 7ff.; James was said to be the first pastor at Jerusalem.

"Epiphanius lists the remaining thirteen Jewish pastors of the Jerusalem church as Justus, Zaccheus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Mathias, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephrem, and Jude."

³¹⁹ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, Stark 1996.

³²⁰ Cf. Kjaer-Hansen (1999) of Messianic congregations in: Israel; cf. Nerel who refers to the 'Hebrew Catholics' who rejected the term 'Christian' because of history of the Gentile Church of the past 2000 years. Nerel 1995. 4.

³²¹ Fisher 2008, 75f. Italics by the author.

³²² Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, Stark 1996.

³²³ However, Hank Hanegraaff, the leader of Christian Research Institute International is extremely critical towards charismatic phenomena underlining that many trends of American Christian revival are often counterfeit, like the Toronto Blessing. See: Hanegraaff 2001.

³²⁴ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, Stark 1996.

³²⁵ Stern D. H. 2007, 24ff.

³²⁶ Fructenbaum 1977, 49.

³²⁷ To be the patriarch Jacob's physical descendants. Fructenbaum 2003, Stern D. H. 2007.

³²⁸ See: Harris-Shapiro 1999.

has never rejected ‘the first³²⁹, Gospel, the message of salvation *per se* – although they had to start from point ‘zero.’ Again in contrast to the USA in Ukraine they have a lack of Bibles (the leaders possessed them but not the members) and of almost everything else in the poorer Messianic groups.

SUMMARIZING this; I have presented an overview of the Messianic Jewish Movement. Based on the source material and if we compare the number of Messianic Jews with the number of Rabbinic Jews in Ukraine or in other countries there are reasons to argue that Messianic Jews appear like a drop in the ocean. On a global scale Messianic Judaism is often rejected by Christians and in Ukraine Messianic Judaism has witnessed strong resistance on the part of Rabbinic Jewish community.³³⁰ Despite this, Messianic Jews continue to work especially among poor, suffering Ukrainians while preaching that everybody needs salvation.

1.7. History of Jews in Ukraine – Suffering

“They suffer with pain, weakness and love.”³³¹

If I were to describe the history of Jews³³² in Ukraine with one word that word must be *suffering*.³³³ I try to open the concept and present some views and reasons as to why Jews have suffered so much. According to Münz and Ohlinger, Jews have been in the Black Sea region since the time of Babylonian exile.³³⁴ The Babylonian exile occurred between 597 BC – 538 BCE.³³⁵ Jews called themselves the ‘gola’, (‘exiles’), or the ‘bene gola’ (the children of the exiles). ‘Gola’ refers to the geographic situation and communities of the Diaspora, and ‘galut’(Hebr.) and exile refers to the condition of exile (chapter 3.1.2.).³³⁶ Archaeological evidence (synagogues, seven-branched menorah etc) also indicates that Jews have lived in this area since Roman times from as early as the third century.³³⁷ Jews also settled on Ukrainian territories in the 4th century BCE among Greek colonies.³³⁸ In Roman times, Acts 2: 9-10 mentions that there were Jews from Phrygia and Pontos (southern shore of the Black Sea) at the Passover festival in Jerusalem.³³⁹

Why did Jews come? Münz and Ohlinger present some reasons.³⁴⁰ First, the fertile soil in the Black Sea region had tempted various ethnic groups to migrate to there. Second, Jews were looking for better political and social living circumstances. Third, occasionally Jews were obliged to escape the threat of temporal pogroms, e.g. persecutions of Jews in Sassanid-ruled Persia and the anti-Jewish policies of the Byzantine Empire³⁴¹ motivated Jews to come to Eastern Europe.³⁴² Jews fled from Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq), for instance from Bagdad and Khorasan (eastern Persia), and from Khwarizm (modern-day Uzbekistan) to Khazaria, which was an independent state (650-1016 CE) whose population embraced the Jewish religion. Khazaria (partly modern-day Ukraine) became a refuge for persecuted Jews.³⁴³ Refugees settled as traders and merchants in the Crimea and on the Volga and Don rivers. In the Middle Ages, Jews

³²⁹ The Messianic congregations want to nourish empty souls (after 70 Atheistic years).

³³⁰ In 2003 I took part in a Messianic Music Festival at the sport stadium in Lviv in Ukraine, where it was reported that Orthodox Jews tried to hinder the occasion.

³³¹ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/21.

³³² Ben-Dor Benite (2009), Ben-Sasson (ed.).1999; Münz and Ohlinger (eds.). 2003; Weiss 2000.

³³³ Cf. Wolf, L. 2009, Zunz 2010, Wynne 1886.

³³⁴ Ohlinger and Münz 2003, 9.

³³⁵ Appendix 1.

³³⁶ See: The Babylonian Captivity. See: Jewish Encyclopedia 2010.

³³⁷ Brook 2004, 114. Also: Stern, M. 1999, 278. The Jewish Diaspora in the Second Temple era: ‘Jews, who settled on the northern shore of the Black Sea’.

³³⁸ See: History of the Jews in Ukraine.

³³⁹ The personal discussions with Martti Muukkonen in 2009.

³⁴⁰ Münz and Ohlinger 2003, 9.

³⁴¹ Bowman 1974, Constantelos 1991.

³⁴² The Sassanid dynasty ruled Persia from circa 226 CE to circa 641 CE. Brook 2004, 117.

³⁴³ The personal discussion with Martti Muukkonen 2010-11-08. Also: Brook 2004, 118.

moved to Ukraine from western parts of Europe. Jews from Poland and Germany settled more in urban areas.

As a matter of fact, Ukraine has been the interface of many nations and cultures. The western border of Ukraine has changed many times during history, for example between Poland, Lithuania and regions of Ukraine. Over time, Polish Jews became Ukrainian Jews, once the border had been transferred. In the Middle Ages, Jews came first to Poland from Silesia, then from Bohemia, Moravia, and other Germanic lands representing the Ashkenazi tradition and speaking Yiddish (German medieval dialect), and in 16th century with the Sephardic tradition from Spain, Italy and the Crimea.³⁴⁴

During their wanderings (in the Diaspora),³⁴⁵ besides pogroms the worst enemy has unequivocally been the persistent poverty. Starvation or minimal survival was often really problematic. Certain factors operated to cut a majority of Jews off from agriculture.³⁴⁶ In the main Jews were artisans and labourers and only a very few became the archetypal-stereotypical 'money lender' of uninformed History.³⁴⁷ The Historian Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson maintains that a misreading of the history of Jews during this period in these circumstances has distorted the image of Jewish economic life in the Middle Ages. It is realistic to assume that as Christian law at times forbade usury and Jewish customs did not then those in need of a loan might turn to the few wealthy Jews and do business. Ben-Sasson refers to accusations pertaining to Jewish usury. Jewish stereotypes were spread through Christian art in which Jews were presented as having a *corrupted* nature.³⁴⁸ Therefore as exemplified by 16th century English playwright William Shakespeare's Jewish money-lender *Shylock* the image of the crafty, well-off Jew spread whereas the factual reality is that most Jews lived and worked amongst the lower orders and along with Gentiles many Jews lived in economic misery.³⁴⁹ *Shylock* as 'the figure of the hated man' became part of the language of European anti-Semitism.³⁵⁰

In spite of set-backs Ukrainian Jewry's economic status improved and the number of Jews increased gradually from 45,000 to 150,000 during the first half of 17th century. This process however, led to increasing distrust, envy and hatred on the part of the Gentile Ukrainian peasant masses.³⁵¹ Unscrupulous national or district leaders could incite attacks against Jews whenever they needed a scapegoat for problems, e.g. famine, epidemic, defeat in war. The ruler, Bohdan Khmel'nitsky, organized the first recorded genocidal catastrophe in the modern history of Jews when tens of thousands of Jewish lives were exterminated.³⁵² However, as we can read from different historical documents including Biblical literature, throughout history Jews have been forced to live in special districts and to obey particular rules and regulations. Even in Russian controlled Finland, Jews had to live under the control of the state in 19th and 20th centuries.³⁵³ Jews learned co-operative skills in order to manage this state of affairs with non-Jews.

The Pale of Settlement (Appendix 4, Map 2) was the designated place where Jewish endurance was tested on a large scale. The Jewish Dark Continent³⁵⁴, the Pale was established in the late 18th century as a region for Jews and was administered by Russia. It consisted of the border regions and areas of Western Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Bessarabia, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Pale was an enormous geographical area to where Jews were deported from across the Tsarist Russian Empire, unless they were willing to convert to Christianity. Usually, they did not want to do it. All the

³⁴⁴ Magocsi 1998, 146.

³⁴⁵ The Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 CE by the Roman Empire, and the Diaspora of Jews (wanderings) started.

³⁴⁶ Ben-Sasson 1999, 389ff.

³⁴⁷ Ben-Sasson 1999, 475.

³⁴⁸ Ben-Sasson 1999, 483ff.

³⁴⁹ 'Shylock is Shakespeare' in: Gross 2006.

³⁵⁰ Gross 2006, 6.

³⁵¹ Magocsi 1998, 146f.

³⁵² The chronicle *Abyss of Despair (Yeven Metzulah)* by Rabbi Nathan Hanover, 1950/1983 in: Magocsi 1998, 201.

³⁵³ Jacobsson 1951, Torvinen 1989.

³⁵⁴ Deutsch, N. 2011.

worse is conversion to Christianity.”³⁵⁵ The Pale was like an area of captivity from which the Jews could not move without control and permissions. The ‘*pale*’ means ‘stake’ and is derived from Latin word ‘*palus*.’ The connotation to the word is ‘boundary.’ When the Jewish community was established in the Pale synagogues became the heart of activities. There Jews practiced and studied the Jewish religion and they supported and helped each others in various ways. It is known that 22 % of all Jews in the Pale were in receipt of poor relief from the Jewish community.³⁵⁶

It is estimated that by 1897 there were 5 million Jews living in the Pale and 320,000 outside, of whom 100,000 had been deported to Siberia.³⁵⁷ Besides rich Jews (Jewish owners, banking houses), historian Smuel Ettinger indicates the emergence of both a Jewish working class in the workshops and factories and of a Jewish intelligentsia in cultural activities and liberal professions.³⁵⁸ The success of Jews provoked envy and counteraction. During 1871-1905 each time tensions between communities became flash-points pogroms were carried out with Jews as the inevitable victims. In Odessa, Jews were beaten in the streets and Jewish shops looted and property destroyed. In Nikolaevka, pogroms were encouraged by peasant economic discontent and in Zhitomir by the Government.³⁵⁹ Many Jews migrated: An estimated 1.9 million Jews emigrated from the Russian Empire from 1881 to 1912, the majority of whom moved to the USA (84%).³⁶⁰ In the Civil War (1917 - 1922), brutal pogroms and massacres were carried out in Berdichev, Zhitomir, Odessa, Poltava, Chernihiv and Kiev, etc. The total number of Jews killed has been estimated to range from 50,000- 200,000.³⁶¹ Nevertheless, in Soviet Ukraine, Jews were the second-largest minority after Russians during the inter-war period (1919 to 1939). In 1926, the population of Soviet Ukraine was 23 million Ukrainians, approximately 2.7 million Russians and 1.6 million Jews.³⁶² Jews had full equality under Soviet law alongside all other peoples.³⁶³ However, Jewish activists were persecuted at the same time and in the same way as other intellectuals in Soviet Ukraine.³⁶⁴ Usually it was alleged they were guilty of nationalist deviation³⁶⁵: ‘Save Russia, beat Jews’³⁶⁶.

Jewry as a scapegoat (by the early 20th century it was also known as International Jewry) was used by Hitler to blame Jews for Germany’s defeat in World War One. Nazis alleged the wholly unjustified ‘stab in the back’ by Jews to excuse military and civil collapse in November 1918. The accusation was repeated so often many Germans took it at face value and as a result either acquiesced or supported Nazi anti-Semitism.³⁶⁷

The Era of Genocide

Although the Shoah was incorporated into every Nazi conquered territory a great deal of it did occur in Eastern Europe on Polish and Russian territory. The Nazis had their own plans for Ukraine, although

³⁵⁵ Scholar of Slavic language and literature Judith Deutsch Kornblatt states that among Jews it was almost impossible to convert into Christianity. But, according to her today there are Russian Jews, survivors of the pogroms, who willingly choose baptism in a Church. According to literature Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, Jews in Russia did and will become Russian Orthodox. She mentions that most of these converts are members of intelligentsia. Deutsch Kornblatt 2003, 209-223. Also, about Soviet Jewish culture, in: Biton 1991.

³⁵⁶ Gilbert 2008, 73.

³⁵⁷ Gilbert 2008, 72. See also: History of the Jews in Ukraine, 2010. Additionally, the population of the Pale was large; it was equal to Finland's population of today.

³⁵⁸ Ettinger 1999, 796.

³⁵⁹ Gilbert 2006, 75.

³⁶⁰ Gitelman 2000, 138.

³⁶¹ Reid 2000, 98-99. According to Reid between 1914 to 1921 about 1.5 million people were killed in Ukraine.

³⁶² Magocsi 1998, 573.

³⁶³ Magocsi 1998, 575.

³⁶⁴ Magocsi 1998, 577.

³⁶⁵ Magocsi 1998, 577.

³⁶⁶ Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, 43.

³⁶⁷ Kuparinen 2008, 210. In his study historian Eero Kuparinen refers inter alia to the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy, the protocol of the Elders of Zion and anti-Semitism in Weimar society (Kuparinen 2010, 205-327).

not all Soviet Ukrainian territory came under German³⁶⁸ rule, but rather that of Romania. Mass deportations of Jews were carried out. Between 1941 and 1943 perhaps as many as 100,000 Jews were deported from Bukovina and Bessarabia to Transnistria where they were held in concentration camps for use as forced labour³⁶⁹. In the valley of Babyn Iar (Babi Yar) in Kiev, 34,000 Jews were shot in two days in 1941.³⁷⁰ During the Second World War, the systematic killing of several million Jews (Nazi policy known as the Final Solution)³⁷¹ living throughout Eastern and Western Europe was a massive undertaking.³⁷² 50 ghettos were established in Ukrainian cities and towns for Jews³⁷³. It is estimated that 850,000 to 900,000 Ukrainian Jews perished in the Shoah or by Einsatzgruppen (special military units), who organized mass killings.³⁷⁴ Finnish officer Unto Parvilahti was a prisoner in the Soviet Union (1945-1954) for political reasons. In his autobiography, Parvilahti (1958) describes his experiences. According to him at the end of 1945 persecutions of Jews occurred and arrests increased. The Soviet Union engaged in persecutions similar to during the Tsarist era. In 1952, the best physicians were stigmatized as Zionist poison mixers, underlings of imperialists and enemies of the nation. Jews were deported and imprisoned (with numbers amounting to six-digit figures). According to Parvilahti they were no doubt innocent, but ethnic origin was enough for accusations. He also points out that political prisoners were treated far worse than the criminal prisoners. The higher levels of Jewish intelligentsia were purged although many Jews had been politically active in the era of the Russian revolution.³⁷⁵

The systematic economic exploitation of captive Jews in Nazi conquered Europe must also be kept in mind: Nazi Germany and its allies made a fortune from slave labour working in factories, mines, mills etc. The regime and individuals also made a fortune expropriating Jewish property such as buildings, jewellery, fine art, vehicles etc. So, it was that hair, spectacles, teeth etc were also collected off the Gas Chamber victims: Jews that perished in the Shoah paid from start to finish of its murderous organization.

The local Ukrainian population also took part in the genocide operation. Local people implemented the killings of Jews organized by Einsatzgruppen. Those helping the Nazis were called protection groups; but, in fact, they did the most horrible work. Thus, in Ukraine, non-Jewish Ukrainians might kill Jewish

³⁶⁸ Sociology scholar Rogers W. Brubaker states that Germany was ‘a murderously nationalizing state *vis-a-vis* Jews’, in: Brubaker 1999, 5. However, deeper analyses of reasons of Nazi behaviour belong to the field e.g. of historical psychology. In the same way, deeper analyses of Jewish coping and surviving belong to the field e.g. of multidisciplinary coping theories. Cf. Barbu 1976, Zeidner and Endler (eds.). 1996; Ikonen 2000.

³⁶⁹ Magocsi 1998, 632.

³⁷⁰ Magocsi 1998, 624ff.

³⁷¹ Adolph Hitler’s Nazi Party began a *euthanasia* programme before 1st September 1939 (day WW2 started). He also targeted non-Jewish citizens who were classified as non-productive or ‘a-social’ and did not make a contribution to society from the point of the Third Reich. From the time the Nazis assumed power Germany had been the site of an increasing number of measures taken in the name of ‘racial purity’ including forced sterilization of those with physical and/or mental handicaps, and the murder of infants with similar handicaps (in both cases, the primary targets were the ‘a-socials’ more often than Jews). Now in 1939, under the cover of war, the program was to be expanded to include murdering handicapped adults, and this extended to include any Jews that fitted the categories for selection. See in: Cf. for example Friedlander 1995. About life and death in Ukraine under Nazi rule, in: Berkhoff 2008.

³⁷² Systematic killing of the massive undertaking is seen: Seltzer, W. and Anderson 2001 (Web pages), Seltzer, W. 1998 including Web pages).

³⁷³ According to informants Odessa’s underground catacombs were used as hiding places.

³⁷⁴ Magocsi 1998, 633; Pilipenko and Kasjanov 1997, 174. German Nazis developed statistical methods, by which they recorded the dead and survivors during the war (Seltzer, W. and Anderson 2001, Seltzer, W. 1998).

³⁷⁵ Those Jews were: Karl Marx, Trotsky (his real name was Bronstein, in: Brustein 2003), Zinovjev, Kamenjev, Buharin, Litvinov, Jesov, Jagoda, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Stern, Kaganovits, and many others (Parvilahti 1958, 101-103).

Ukrainians. Often women and children saw everything and became witnesses of human suffering.³⁷⁶ Perhaps the anti-Semitism³⁷⁷ which still exists in Ukraine (I felt it³⁷⁸) stems from the shame of being forced to kill their own fellow citizens and of knowledge too many Ukrainians volunteered their services to the Nazis. In contemporary Ukrainian society mythical archetypes live on. On the other hand, there exists the Ukrainophobic caricature of the drunken pogromist gleefully assisting the Nazis in the genocide; on the other hand, the anti-Semitic caricature of Jews as the eternal corruptor of Ukrainian society.³⁷⁹ I noticed that Jews who had lived through the Shoah could not - still in 2000 – speak about their memories openly. I was told that survivors do not generally invite visitors to their homes because they want to keep their home private.³⁸⁰ The Second World War lasted six years (1939-1945) and resulted in human loss of 35-60 million people, of whom 1.4 million were Ukrainian military personnel and 1.4 million Ukrainian civilians. Equivalent numbers for Soviet citizens amounted to 11 million combatants and 7 millions civilians.³⁸¹ In 1939, more than 1.5 million Jews were living in Soviet Ukraine and 840,000 Jews (2% of the whole population)³⁸² after the Second World War in 1959. “I have burnt all my old photos, because I could not live with them”, said an old Jewess, Ada, *who cannot recall the past without pain*. She lost all her family members.³⁸³

It is estimated that there were still about 300,000 Jews living who were ‘holocaust survivors’ with different physical illnesses, mental suffering³⁸⁴ and deep personal wounds.³⁸⁵ In these cases their family history is in ruins. Scholar of Holocaust psychiatry Paul Chodoff considers that Jews survived only by luck, accident or chance.³⁸⁶ The physically depleted state of the prisoners, the brutal and primitive conditions and the entirely inadequate medical facilities generated an extremely high death rate. The adaptive behaviour in the camps produced a ‘Musselman’, who was a survivor with following characteristics: apathy (psychologically protective), regressive behaviour, denial of affection and isolation. During the post-liberation period their ‘on-the-run’ existence has included homelessness, loneliness, bewilderment and lack of resources. Long-term effects are designated as ‘survivor guilt’, which has occurred in many research settings. ‘Concentration camp syndrome’ includes a core of anxiety.³⁸⁷

Informant Valeri maintains that the power of coping is crystallized in his mind with the word ‘together’. All together they managed through miserable difficulties. According to him, the second thing is JHWH’s favour.³⁸⁸ The third is a sense of humour, which has helped Jews in all times and all places they have had to flee.³⁸⁹ According to many sources the Shoah should be remembered in the Jewish collective memory. The slogan of the Holocaust/Shoah Organizations³⁹⁰ is written in Deut. 4:9, which says: “Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes saw, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but make them known unto thy children and thy children’s children.”³⁹¹ The Bible continues in Deut. 4:10: “The day that thou stoodest before Jehovah thy

³⁷⁶ Benz 2000, 71; Khasin 1998, 2000. The anti-Semitism still exists. In the 21st century, anti-Semitic incidents like vandalism to synagogues and holocaust memorial signs: See: The European Forum on Anti-Semitism: Incidents and Controversies, 2010. See also: The European Jewish Congress 2010.

³⁷⁷ Anti-Semitism is widely a studied phenomenon in sciences. For example: Historian Eero Kuparinen (2008) in Finland, historian and theologian Heiko Augustinus Oberman (1984) originally from the Netherlands.

³⁷⁸ In 2000, I had a personal experience with an anti-Semitic man in Ukraine. I felt fear. (In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/13.)

³⁷⁹ Abramson 2003, 203ff. Cf. Kohut 2000, Oisteanu 2009.

³⁸⁰ Holocaust survivors’ reactions have been the subject of studies, for example: Hantman, Solomon and Prager. 1994.

³⁸¹ Magocsi 1998, 638.

³⁸² Gitelman 2000, 143.

³⁸³ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/31.

³⁸⁴ See: Wardi 1999.

³⁸⁵ See: Oxford Journals 2010: Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Also, about history and sociology of Genocide in: Chalk and Johansson 1990, Farmer 2010; and about the survivorability in: Greene 2010.

³⁸⁶ Chodoff 1986, Chodoff 1997, 147-157.

³⁸⁷ Chodoff 1986, 407-413.

³⁸⁸ ‘Where is JHWH now?’ in: Wiesel 1991.

³⁸⁹ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/15,20,23.

³⁹⁰ See: The Holocaust/Shoah Organizations 2010.

³⁹¹ According to American Standard Version.

God in Horeb when Jehovah said unto me, Assemble me the people, and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children.”³⁹² Holocaust exhibitions are constantly open in different parts of the world: Descendants will come to know the fate of their ancestors on the European soil.³⁹³

After the war, Stalin’s goal was to eliminate national distinctions within Soviet society and to create a ‘*new Soviet man*’.³⁹⁴ Stalin³⁹⁵ carried out purges³⁹⁶ for ideological reasons.³⁹⁷ Education and teaching focused on producing loyal citizens for Soviet homeland with an emphasis on the Russian language and schools.³⁹⁸ Soviet heritage – Russification - in Ukraine has been a heavy burden on the road to sovereignty³⁹⁹ after the 1989 revolution and independence in 1991. Conservative political forces have prevented a rapid modernization process in society although attempts to orient the country towards western freedom have already given new opportunities for citizens in the field of religion for instance. Pawelczynska points out that values that are deeply internalised create the strength to resist every alien system which denies those values.⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps they remembered: “Therefore choose life that both thou and thy seed may live” (Deut. 30:19).

From 1970 through 1997, more than 442,000 Jews emigrated from Ukraine. It is estimated that about 737,000 Jews have migrated in the past decade from Russia and Ukraine, mostly to Israel.⁴⁰¹ The largest contingent of Ukrainian Jews migrated to Israel (200,000+ to Israel, and over 145,000 to the USA) and Jews from Russia also chose Israel over the USA (250,000+ to Israel, and about 80,000 to the USA)⁴⁰². According to social scientist, Zvi Gitelman, collective memory is a crucial factor in explaining why Ukrainian Jews migrate more abroad than Jews from Russia. So, there are both Ukrainian and Russian Jews living in Ukraine. Gitelman presents many reasons why a Ukrainian Jew might feel uncomfortable living in Ukraine.

IN BROAD TERMS, these are the history of pogroms and straitened circumstances due to generational and cultural differences.⁴⁰³ It seems that Ukrainian Jews are more attached to Jewish culture than Russian Jews.⁴⁰⁴ It is worth noticing that Ukrainian Jews see little or nothing about themselves that is Ukrainian, but Russian Jews feel there is ‘something Russian’ about them⁴⁰⁵. Thus, the culture of Jews in Ukraine is different to the Russian Jewish culture with which Russian Jews identify although they live in

³⁹² According to American Standard Version.

³⁹³ E.g. In Cafe Jugend in Helsinki, Finland from 9.- 30.11. 2012 an exhibition is held: ‘This is not children’s play’. This Shoah exhibition describes experiences of children and how children tried to maintain their childhood and youth in the middle of the Shoah disaster. See: Children in the Shoah.

³⁹⁴ ‘Homo Sovieticus’ in: Magocsi 1998, 647.

³⁹⁵ Stalin was born as Džugašvili.

³⁹⁶ Historian Lynne Viola refers to statistics showing that families and family members were deported, often to Siberia, by the Gulag, which was the main Soviet forced labour system for political (and war prisoners) by Stalin. In Ukraine it is registered that 63,720 families (1930-1931) were deported from Ukraine to the North or Siberia by the Gulag (Viola 2009, table 1).

Everywhere in the USSR, the Gulag (Main Administration of Corrective-Labour Camp) wanted to destroy the ‘kulak’ that literally means a ‘first’, a peasant. Stalin’s idea with his words was: “To advance on the kulak means to get down to business and strike the kulak, yes, strike him, so he is never be able to get back on his feet again.” So, a purge of the kulak elements meant the kulak must be destroyed as a *class*, so the back of the kulak must be broken forever (Viola 2009, 13). Also: Viola 1996.

³⁹⁷ Magocsi 1998, 647. Also: Lustiger 2002, 2000.

³⁹⁸ Magocsi 1998, 647.

³⁹⁹ Dowlah and Elliott J. E. 1997.

⁴⁰⁰ Pawelczyn’ska 1979, 137.

⁴⁰¹ Gitelman 2000, 138, 154.

⁴⁰² Gitelman 2000, 143. See also: Berthomiere 2003.

⁴⁰³ Gitelman 2000, 137-163.

⁴⁰⁴ Even, Yiddish and other Jewish cultural emphases seem to be more important to Ukrainian Jews than Russian Jews, although Ukrainian Jews had their attachment to Russian culture and Russian people for over than half a century.

⁴⁰⁵ Gitelman 2000, 151.

Ukraine.⁴⁰⁶ According to one scholar Henry Abramson,⁴⁰⁷ the Ukrainian Jewish community is likely to face great challenges in its attempt to achieve a level of civic normalcy in these rapidly changing circumstances.⁴⁰⁸ He says that ‘shouldering the burdens of history is a massive endeavour yet’ while referring to the words of Rabbi Tarfon, ‘it is not upon you to complete the task –but neither are you free to abandon it.’⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ In the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine, there are both Ukrainian and Russian Jews. Before my excursion to Ukraine, I had met quite a number of Russian Jews in Russia, Israel and Finland. When I interviewed and met Jews in Ukraine, sometimes I could recognize whether they were Ukrainian Jews or Russian Jews by their identity as their behaviour and style differed from each other. Perhaps, it was a question of cultural identity and behaviour more than original roots. The mother can identify herself as a Russian Jew and she looks like a Russian Jew, but her teenage daughter was born in Ukraine and feels like a Ukrainian Jew. How complicated the situation must be especially in mixed-marriages? Anyway, I felt that Russian Jews with Russian identities were quite strong. They spoke proudly about famous Russian artists and scientists. They had known times of persecutions, but also times of blossoming. Russian Jews seemed to be self-assertive in Ukraine.

⁴⁰⁷ Henry Abramson is a scholar of History and Judaic Studies.

⁴⁰⁸ Abramson 2003, 209.

⁴⁰⁹ Abramson 2003, 210.

2. AIMS OF THE STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. Aims of the Study and Triangulative Approach

Aims of the Study

In this study, I have tried to build a bridge between traditional Western and traditional Jewish comprehension. It is however obvious that the Messianic Jewish Movement with Messianic Judaism is still an 'open question' from the point of view Rabbinic/Classic/Normative/Orthodox Judaism and Christianity. It has been interesting to read texts pro and contra Messianic Judaism. Some texts seem to be written with a great emotional turmoil because their authors seem to insist with passion that their view is sacrosanct. However, my task in this study is not to concentrate on this 'open question' as first and foremost, I'm not a theologian. My study considers the Messianic Jewish woman's Mission view (vision) in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement according to their lived experiences in the context of life in Ukrainian society. As a social policy scientist in the social policy context I have studied the welfare function of religion exploring how those Jewish women, who have transferred from secular, Communist society to religious-allowed society, define their new vision (the Mission view) especially concerning family.

Around the target group, Messianic Jewish women, this study has three key words concerning Ukrainian society: *religion, welfare and family*. Religion is analysed from a Judaism/Messianic Judaism viewpoint. Classical Judaism, along with expressions of Normative/Rabbinic/Orthodox Judaism (every word has its own intonation and significance) is not however the central point in this study. Messianic Judaism is its main focus as this study concentrates on the emergence of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement whose religion is Messianic Judaism. However, this study is not mainly interested in Messianic Judaism as a religion, but how and why its Mission view emerged among Jewish women in Ukraine. The Mission view is a vision of how and what Messianic Jewish women want to develop in society.

Welfare, including well-being, is investigated through this Mission view, meaning the vision that modern Messianic Jewish women have when they function in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine. This study is focused on the year 2000 when the main empirical material including discussions/interviews were gathered and questionnaires completed there. This material includes great changes in an independent Ukraine because it represents a transition society. However, the geographical region of Ukraine also represents the old Jewish settlements. More specifically, this study seeks answers to the following questions concerning the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine in 2000: 1) What is the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? 2) Why and how did it emerge? 3) How do women produce family welfare according to this Mission view? 4) What are the ideal types of Messianic Jewish women for contributing welfare to society? The Mission view is defined here as consisting of the goals of Jewish women and an ideal typology describes how women were able to achieve their goals.

Triangulative Approach

To study reality in a complex and dynamic context is challenging, but triangulation provides an opportunity by means of cross-checking (using different material) to create a balanced picture of the situation, so that the results can explain more fully the richness of studied reality. In this study, triangulation concerns the empirical and theoretical literature sources and the theory (the theoretical framework and the OOM) and methodology (empirical material gathered by discussions/interviews, questionnaires, documents, observations).⁴¹⁰ The core of this study focuses on a process during the time when the emerging

⁴¹⁰ Altrichter, Feldman, Posch and Somekh 2008; Bryman 2008, Denzin, N. K. 2006; Alasuutari 2004. Also: Trinagulation in: Cohen & Manion & Morrison 2007, Alasuutari 1995, 52.

Mission view is being developed and it refers in some depth to the past outside of our time. In her social anthropological study, Hoffman⁴¹¹ points out that the study of the past (history) is demanding because archival and library research can lack meaning and the immediacy of real people talking about their lives and cultures is missing. Nobody can go back 2,000 years in time and interview the first century women who were involved in the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement. However, I can use different written sources and have discussions with women who belong to the Messianic Jewish groups today in Ukraine in 2000. I can also read studies, describing Messianic Judaism in its past and present context. I can use statistics and memoirs, photos, and all types of materials, which I can combine together in a triangulative methodology.

Essentially, this study is a reflection, i.e. a written articulation of Messianic Jewish women generated through different people from the past and present who meet in one way or another in this study context. We shall see later, the study is also a construction, a model of studied Messianic Jewish women's reality for their reality.⁴¹² I refer to the *ideal* model presented at the end of this study report (see figure 2 and 3). From this perspective as a qualitative social scientist I have been like the crafts-person, who is encouraged to also be her methodologist⁴¹³. This emphasizes the fact that there are different guidelines to be followed, but never rules.⁴¹⁴ As social science methodologists are highlighted these qualitative methods serve the researcher, but the researcher is never a slave of production and technique.⁴¹⁵

Triangulation utilised interviews and discussions and my various contacts with informants e.g. in normal conversation, but also by making formal question and answer exchanges. In this, I tried to understand the informants from the viewpoint of their own frame of reference and not how I see them in order to seek to my truth or my morality.⁴¹⁶ This is a central factor because this study focuses on their social life, on their experiences and their perception of life. De facto, this seems to be a competent method for this study. Surely, we lose valuable empirical and observational material if we reduce people's words and acts only to statistical quantities and equations."⁴¹⁷

There is, however, a parallel need for quantitative information as I have used it in this study. By using qualitative methods we get to know informants' unique experiences such as suffering, faith, trust, oppression, misery, belongingness, freedom, and peace.⁴¹⁸ Such experiences are difficult to describe by numbers. It should also be noted that ideally one 'good' informant can produce more important factors than 10 or more people, who are not in contact with the heart of the matter.⁴¹⁹ After collecting empirical material from informants from Ukraine, I arranged it applying the qualitative method (e.g. ideas of grounded theory method) producing new concepts, categories and models which describe the experiences of informants.⁴²⁰ This triangulative analysis has been made up of many stages of sorting and categorizing the material (also called data).⁴²¹ The purpose has been to generate or find all significant dimensions, characteristics, factors and models, which efficiently describe key features of the material and which knit the different parts of the material into an understandable unit of information.

⁴¹¹ Hoffman 2001, xviii.

⁴¹² Geertz 1973, 93f.

⁴¹³ Cf. Mill 1959.

⁴¹⁴ Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 8.

⁴¹⁵ Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, in: Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 5-8.

⁴¹⁶ Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 6.

⁴¹⁷ Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 7.

⁴¹⁸ Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 5-8.

⁴¹⁹ Taylor and Bogdan 1984, 5-8.

⁴²⁰ Glaser and Strauss 1967, Glaser 1978, Spradley 1980, Stern, P.N. 1980; Strauss 1987, 1989.

⁴²¹ Appendix 7: Sources of the Study

2.2. Ethnographic Writing

Quite a good expression that suitable to this study context is that an ethnographer seeks ‘to document the cosmology, that is, the knowledge and belief system that contribute to the coherence of the group’.⁴²² After comparing different scientific writing methods with each other I chose ethnography. One positive argument in favour of ethnography is that it includes interpretation of the people studied by focusing on almost ‘everything’ that has been written in the study report and not only on fragmental parts of the study.⁴²³ Additionally, *ethno*⁴²⁴, including cultural emphasis and ‘writing’ including expressions of the ‘voice’ of the people studied is implicated in the ‘excellence’ of ethnography. Because I also examine sensitive incidents alongside official documents and hard statistics I find the ethnographic method contains the ideal that every written text is an expression of the spirit of the person who has written it. So, in ethnography e.g., this written text here is not only an expression of my spirit, but it expresses also the spirits and messages of those whom I have observed, examined and interpreted. As a matter of fact, they are in the main role and I am in a subsidiary role as interpreter. The dilemma is that at the same time the neutral outsider and the emotional, understanding insider work deliberately together in me and thus in each person at every moment. Cultural historian Sander S. Gilman describes this unusual form of being: “I am not neutral; I am not distanced, for being an outsider does not mean to be cool and clinical. It must mean to burn with those fires which define you as the outsider.”⁴²⁵ I want also to borrow the thoughts of social science scholar Kathryn Church while applying her words to this ethnographic study context. She says that “critical ethnographic writing gives me permission to do something which Academics rarely do: Write myself things that I see and understand through my own character. Really *ethnographic writing* means that this work resembles me; it is not an objective report, but this study has my own faces and my heart.”⁴²⁶

The Scientific cross-sectional approach challenges us to make intelligent transitions with different subjects. Then for me it is theoretically possible to combine welfare and social justice of ancient Mesopotamia⁴²⁷ and Near Eastern social roots⁴²⁸ together with the religious roots of modern welfare⁴²⁹ comprehension moving to family well-being⁴³⁰ and female emphasis⁴³¹ in congregations. Finally I arrived at the conclusion that ‘love’ (as expressed by social scientist Allardt’s theory)⁴³² has ‘something’ to add to social policy; this really needs ethnographic aspirations to me.

Methodologists David M. Fetterman⁴³³, James H. Spradley,⁴³⁴ Martin Hammersley and Paul Atkinson place the attention on the target group. They assure that in this way ‘the voice of studied people’ can be found.⁴³⁵ Fetterman underlines the role of the ethnographer as the interpreter of people’s meaning-system

⁴²² Potter 1996, 51.

⁴²³ Bishop 1999.

⁴²⁴ Greek (ἔθνος) ethnos = folk, people. Greek (γράφειν) graphein = writing.

⁴²⁵ The quotation is mentioned in: The ethnographer Kelley Johnson 1998: into: Gilman 1991, 17.

⁴²⁶ Church 1995.

⁴²⁷ Foster 1995.

⁴²⁸ Hanson P. 1994.

⁴²⁹ Muukkonen 2007.

⁴³⁰ Zimmerman 1992.

⁴³¹ Scott and Ward 2005.

⁴³² Allardt 1976a, 1976b, 1981, 1989, 1993; Allardt & Uusitalo 1972.

⁴³³ Fetterman 2010.

⁴³⁴ Participant observation belongs to the study process. Spradley 1980, see also: Bruyn 1966.

⁴³⁵ Hammersley and Atkinson P. (2007) however are of the opinion that ethnography has been influenced by a range of theoretical ideals. They mentions approaches like anthropological and sociological functionalism, philosophical pragmatism, symbolic interactionism, Marxism, hermeneutics, structuralism, feminism, constructionalism, post-structuralism, post-modernism. They also refer to approaches with which ethnography has been compared and contrasted like experimental and survey research, interview-based studies, macro-historical analysis, political economics, conversation and discourse analysis, and psycho-social approaches.

of behaviour, thoughts, desires and expectations.⁴³⁶ He argues that “ethnography gives ‘voice’ to people⁴³⁷ in their own local context typically relying on verbatim quotations and a ‘*thick description*’⁴³⁸ of events.⁴³⁹ Ethnography is not phenomenology *per se*.⁴⁴⁰ Ethnography is a natural partner for the model of the social construction of reality⁴⁴¹ and symbolic interactionism,⁴⁴² which are background models for thought. The sociologist and the methodologist Anselm Strauss,⁴⁴³ as the representative of classical Chicago ethnographers is seen as a person who sets the scene for our collective understanding of ethnography.⁴⁴⁴ I share the following thoughts concerning collective memory and identity⁴⁴⁵ by Herbert Blumer. The development of *esprit de corps* refers according to Blumer, to a sense which people have of belonging together and of being identified with one another in a common undertaking with feelings of intimacy and closeness - the sense of sharing and a select group.⁴⁴⁶ Then our European ‘evil’ has partly taken on mythical forms, legends, which are told again and again. These myths may even be interpreted as *the raison d’être* of the movement.⁴⁴⁷ I suppose that the *raison d’être* of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine has arisen from common shared experiences and the collective memory of Eastern European people.⁴⁴⁸ So, the common denominator is suffering.⁴⁴⁹

Ethnography is also a widely used method in the field of studies of Jewish women. Anthropologist Margaret Mead is mentioned as one of its developers.⁴⁵⁰ Mead gathered empirical material from Jewish women (in America) in the first part of the 20th century. It demonstrates how powerful and long-lasting concepts can be if they are created from empirical material by a qualified interpreter. For example,

⁴³⁶ Fetterman 2010.

⁴³⁷ Vice versa, the ethnographer S. Elisabeth Bird (1995) refers to the difficulty in understanding communication rightly. She refers to ethnographer Roger Keesing, who had problems with Melanesian women who were ‘muted’. However, their silence had been transformed into an amazingly rich corpus of articulate accounts by those women. (Keesing 1985: into Bird 1995). Thus, from the viewpoint of ethnographic understanding, it is essentially important to understand an informant’s meanings-system.

⁴³⁸ The sociologist Samuel C. Heilman in his ethnographic study ‘When a Jew Dies’ makes a point of trying to provide an insider’s thick description of how this occurs. According to his experience, he emphasises that “ethnography is not simply a neutral description but one in which the ethnographer is the instrument through which the reality is constructed” (Heilman 2001, 4f). He adds that “it requires a series of intense, often emotion-laden, interactions through which an observer learns about the life and meaning of behaviour in order to describe it for others, and hence it is also inevitably reflexive” (Heilman 2001, 5).

⁴³⁹ Fetterman 2010, 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Heidegger 1988; Husserl 1960, 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1962; Schütz 1967. Also: Bullington & Karlsson 1984, Egidius 1986.

⁴⁴¹ Berger and Luckmann 1967, 2005.

⁴⁴² Blumer 1953, 1969.

⁴⁴³ Glaser 1978, Glaser and Strauss 1967, Strauss 1987.

⁴⁴⁴ Hammersley and Atkinson P. 2007.

⁴⁴⁵ Blumer 1953, 1969; Also: Lyman & Vidich 2000, McPhail 2010. Cf. Lang and Lang 1961, Lang & Lang 1968.

⁴⁴⁶ Blumer 1953, 205f.

⁴⁴⁷ While referring to Blumer 1953, 210, and Lang and Lang 1961, 537, Muukkonen asserts that myths are ‘truths’ that are not expressed in doctrines (Muukkonen 2002: 41).

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. I refer to shared experiences: The scholar of Judaism Carol Harris-Shapiro referring to some other researchers writes that “to be Jewish in America is to carry a consciousness of victimization past and victimization present. It explains the high age of Jews who feel that anti-Semitism is still prevalent in the United States, despite statistics that show extremely low levels of anti-Semitic sentiment among Americans”, Harris-Shapiro 1999, 90.

⁴⁴⁹ Suffering on the field of anti-Semitism refers to a multifaceted phenomenon in social life and history. Batchinsky, Margolin, Vishnitzer and Zangwil 2008; Giles (ed.) 1999, Netanyahu 1995, Roth 1995; Ofer and Weitzman (eds.) (1999).

Anti-Semitism also exists in the Academic world in ancient times to the present day (Laqueur 2006). Engel (Alpern Engel, B. 2004, 196) states that because of the limitations to education in 1887, Jewish women left the country. Hundreds of Jewish women pursued their studies abroad. It is estimated that at the turn of the century about three-quarters of the thousands of Russian Jewish women had studied in Switzerland. In: Fraser (2005): ‘...mixing science with politics, and limiting academic freedom by boycotts is wrong’, write the twenty-one Nobel Prize winners.

⁴⁵⁰ The sociologist Bronislaw Malinowski is also introduced as the developer of ethnography. See: Malinowski 2010.

Mead's creation - the stereotype of the Jewish mother⁴⁵¹ - lives on today in the Jewish world. In the context of Jewish women, the following scientists have also applied ethnography: anthropologist Betty N. Hoffman, when she studied the dynamic ethnicity of Russian and American Jews,⁴⁵² R. Ruth Linden, when she studied Jewish women in the Shoah,⁴⁵³ and scholar of Judaism, the Rabbi Carol Harris-Shapiro, when studying Messianic Judaism in America.⁴⁵⁴ Hoffman recounts: "...my ethnographic data has given me invaluable insights into the lives of...Jews."⁴⁵⁵ Linden writes: "In my autobiographical inquiry...I am both subject and recorder, 'self' and 'other'. Writing and revising was an authentic, phenomenological exercise, requiring continuous tacking back and forth between two dialectical moments – 'self' (a storyteller) and 'other' (a listener, interpreter, questioner)."⁴⁵⁶ And, "...I construct the text, and the text, in turn, constructs me."⁴⁵⁷ Somehow all is involved together.⁴⁵⁸

Harris-Shapiro asks whether her emotional involvement might invalidate her ethnographic work?⁴⁵⁹ She presents much evidence as to how Messianic Jews are regarded as, 'traitors for leaving the fold'⁴⁶⁰ and, 'liars for claiming they are Jewish, not Christian'.⁴⁶¹ Harris-Shapiro describes her own interest: "When a new person of Jewish birth 'came to the Lord', I grieved."⁴⁶² And, "When their altar calls went by with nary a response, I was pleasant."⁴⁶³ Such personal accounts are valuable material in this study. I also have my own thoughts and values which could interfere with the experiences of our informants, if I were not as conscious of them as Harris-Shapiro who was an honest scientist and could analyse her own emotional involvement. My most salient feelings were worry, sadness and sharing, interspersed with moments of natural anger, anxiety and astonishment in the depth of my soul, 'why things are like this?' Often the suffering of Jews were so deep that I needed all my resolve to cope with the situation. My previous experiences with the suffering of Jews in Poland and Russia as well as interviewing 120 female patients in the process of dying in Finland provided some of the will to hear suffering voice of Jews now.⁴⁶⁴ Fira, an informant helped me a great deal when she revealed her feelings and told me how *she was comforted* by these deeply felt words heard like a guidance in her heart: "Don't be afraid of the life. I will guide you through it."⁴⁶⁵

2.3. The OOM (The Organization Onion Model)

Referring to the chapter 2.2. according to methodological recommendations and guidelines of today an ethnographic study needs an underlying theory (or model), which is an explicit or implicit personal model about how things work. The OOM (Organization Onion Model) provides the theoretical and con-

⁴⁵¹ Surely, the 'Jewish mother' is the much older concept. As a matter of fact the admiration of Jewish mothers stems from the times of patriarchs and matriarchs. Mead 1939, 1952.

⁴⁵² Hoffman 2001.

⁴⁵³ Linden 1993.

⁴⁵⁴ Harris-Shapiro 1999.

⁴⁵⁵ Hoffman 2001, xix.

⁴⁵⁶ Linden 1993, 10.

⁴⁵⁷ Linden 1993, 10f.

⁴⁵⁸ Spradley (1980, 5) clarifies this by saying that rather than studying people, an ethnographer learns from people. "When ethnographers study other cultures, they must deal with three fundamental aspects of human experience: what people do, what people know, and the things people make and use. When each of these are learned and shared by members of some group, we speak of them as cultural behavior, cultural knowledge, and cultural artifacts. Whenever you do ethnographic fieldwork, you will want to distinguish among these three, although in most situations they are usually mixed together." From cultural study, also Alasuutari 1995.

⁴⁵⁹ Harris-Shapiro (1999, 13) refers to Barbara Mayerhoff (1980, 184f.) and states that anger is a form of attachment, and she continues that this rather than emotional engagement is the great danger to ethnography. Carol Harris-Shapiro studied her own American Jewish community being a Jew, a rabbi, and a researcher.

⁴⁶⁰ Harris-Shapiro 1999, 15.

⁴⁶¹ Harris-Shapiro 1999, 15.

⁴⁶² Harris-Shapiro 1999, 12.

⁴⁶³ Harris-Shapiro 1999, 12.

⁴⁶⁴ Nores 1993.

⁴⁶⁵ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR NO1/33.

ceptual model created by sociologist of religion and cultural anthropologist Martti Muukkonen on the basis of Hannan and Freeman's thesis of hierarchical inertia in organizations.⁴⁶⁶ In this chapter I explain why I chose the OOM and how I made use of it.

There are differing Social Movements, of which Religious Movements are one division amongst others like Labour Movements, Feminist and Women's Movements, Environmental Movements, Anti-war and Peace Movements, plus Ethnic and Nationalist Movements.⁴⁶⁷ Social Movements are studied from a variety of perspectives in one or more of the following subjective/objective areas: social change, structure, and action; culture, subculture; identity, roles, class; knowledge, ideology; conflicts, political and social protests, cycles of protests, waves of protests; democracy, solidarity, commitment; structural transformation, and organizations.

My perspective in this study is social change, i.e. *transition* in society after the three *-isms* –policy (often mentioned in the literature: Communism, Totalitarianism, and Colonialism).

The OOM, Organization Onion Model, includes contextual, spacial and time elements, making the OOM a conceptual model by which the roots of historical processes can be opened up and revealed. This study is also like a socio-historical concept analysis describing the lengthy process up to the emergence of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine. The OOM spirit/approach is multi-dimensionality. It provides an adequate theoretical tool serving as a general scheme and theoretical, conceptual map. The theory selected brings cohesion and integration between different factors, aspects, views, and elements that have influence on the life of Jews in the *case* of Ukraine.⁴⁶⁸ The OOM provides an opportunity to dig into religious issues with questions like 'what are the basic constituents of reality?', and 'what is man's place in what is real?'⁴⁶⁹ Those and other metaphysical - like belief –systems and material - like activities/dimensions can be analyzed in the context of micro-, meso- and macro levels.⁴⁷⁰ The micro level is the smallest of the levels including groupings like families, friends, helpers, co-operators, congregations and groups. These micro-level groups such as citizens, Jews, Jewish women, Messianic Jewish women are seen within their everyday activities, tasks, beliefs, norms, roles, desires, etc and create the idea of a society. The micro-level is also called the 'grass roots.' Whereas the meso-level is at mid-scale and includes communities, institutions and neighbourhoods such as the Messianic Jewish community, Jewish community, the Bible institute, other local structures. The macro-level is then the largest and it includes political, economical, historical, and social elements on the national or global context that would pertain to Ukraine, e.g. the international Messianic Jewish Movement, other national and global structures.

The main concepts of the OOM are illustrated in the next figure 1. To apply the OOM the first task (based on the sources available) is what factors have exerted an influence on shaping the Mission view in the political-history context, socio-cultural, economical and religious contexts. The *Zeitgeist* has certainly played a role in how things are interpreted by people over the centuries.⁴⁷¹ This type of subjectivism is just one characteristic of this study and can often be described with the words: 'To hear their voice!'

The second task in the shell includes four sub-tasks: How do the membership patterns of Messianic Jews bear influence on shaping the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? How do the principal leaders of the Messianic Jews influence the defining of the Mission view? How does the organizing/networking of Messianic Judaism/Messianic Jewish women influence the Mission view? How do social objects influence the Mission view?

Third task in the core includes three questions. How does ideology influence the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? How does identity influence the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? How is the Mission viewpoint constructed? Applying the OOM, intensity thickens as you move from the context, through the shell to the core partition. In practise all concepts present in the core are generated

⁴⁶⁶ Muukkonen 2002.

⁴⁶⁷ Snow, Soule and Kriesi (eds.). 2007.

⁴⁶⁸ The origin of the term 'case' in study, according to sociologists Jaques Hamel, Stephanie Dufour and Dominique Fortin is linked to the names of Bronislaw Malinowski, Frederic Le Play and members of the Chicago School (Hamel, Dufour and Fortin 1993).

⁴⁶⁹ Hasker 1983, 14ff.

⁴⁷⁰ Johnson, D. P. 2008. See also: Schillo, Fischer, Klein 2010.

⁴⁷¹ Rotenstreich 1973.

from empirical and theoretical literature sources. The content of the mission is the main result of this study. It is noteworthy that factors are intertwined with each other, and I have picked up on those factors that seem to be the most relevant and valid in influencing the Mission view. In this study I analysed 32 different main-relations from the standpoint of the Mission view.

While searching for source material factors that have influenced the Mission view I monitored which factors are the most valid from the standpoint of the central problem. For example, 'identity' as a social concept belongs to an amazingly large field of phenomena so that I only chose those 'identity factors' that seem to be the most relevant and interpretative as regards my research task. Thus, there is no search made for factors which are dependent on 'identity' as regards causal analysis. Only factors are included that have exerted an influence on shaping the Mission view by giving new potential for change and/or have played a role in transition situations in Ukraine. It is a question of the potential for change, but at the same time we have to recognize the inertia that hinders new potential for change from emerging. However, when we regard the movement as an organization the Mission view/the vision of the movement's mission is seen as the most stable element in the movement so that inertia does not exert an influence on it as much as it does on other parts of organization.⁴⁷²

This study deals with both diachronic historic aspects referring to events over time, like to nomothetic generalizations, and with synchronic aspects referring to the study of idiographic phenomena of a particular time in different places.⁴⁷³ Combining this with the OOM, there is some kind of cycle of existing knowledge, map or frame that directs people's thinking among Messianic Jews in a transition society's milling process,⁴⁷⁴ in the way, wherein present reality of Jewish life in Ukraine will be modified with previous knowledge and new information (echo and relics of prosperity of ancient Judaism). This path-dependence⁴⁷⁵ with a new emerging norm⁴⁷⁶ in Ukrainian transition society in 2000 gives routinisation of thinking⁴⁷⁷ to Messianic Jewish women's collective identity,⁴⁷⁸ who gear towards a better family life in Ukraine which they purport to be their goal in society.⁴⁷⁹ Sources and analyses methods are described more accurately in Appendix 7.

This cross-checked, triangulative method with the OOM model within extensive theoretical literature places results in a larger and longer historical framework of Jews.

⁴⁷² Hannan & Freeman 1989, 70f., 77ff.; see also: Hannan & Freeman 1977. The personal discussion with Martti Muukkonen 2010-11-08.

⁴⁷³ *Idio* means unique, separate, peculiar, distinct like in idiographic explanation. *Nomothetic* refers rather to a class of situations and events. Cf. Burrell and Morgan 1979, 3-9.

⁴⁷⁴ According to Turner and Killian (1959) '*milling*' is a quite complex process including communication, face-to-face situations, common mood, emotions, common image, cognitive clarifications, however starting by 'voices of wilderness'; in: Muukkonen 2005, 10f.

⁴⁷⁵ Muukkonen 2005.

⁴⁷⁶ Turner and Killian 1959, 16f.

⁴⁷⁷ Berger and Luckmann 1972, 55, 168-175.

⁴⁷⁸ Turner and Killian 1959.

⁴⁷⁹ The personal guidance discussion with Dr. Martti Muukkonen 2012-03-19.

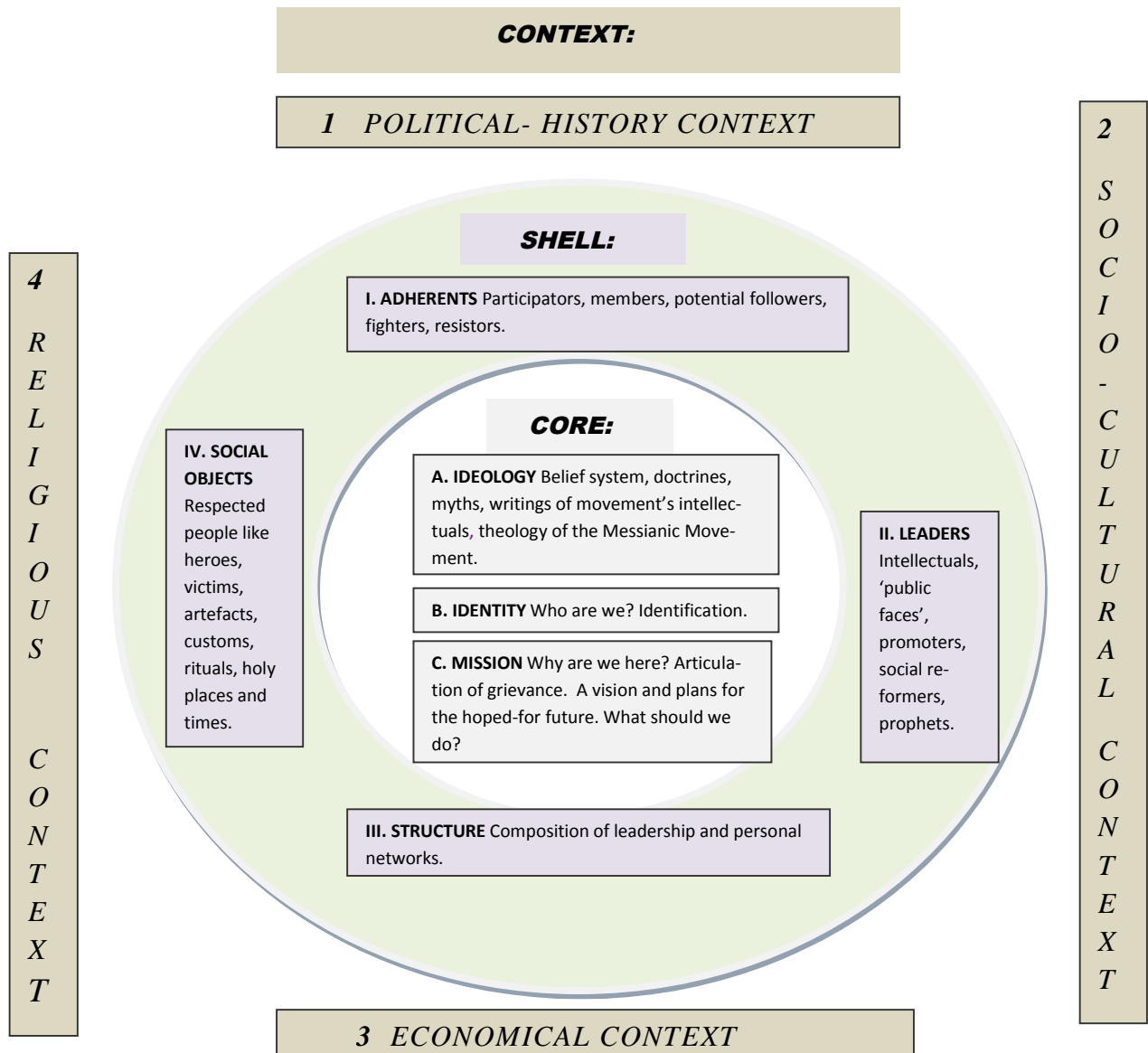


Figure 1. The Main Concepts of the OOM (the Organization Onion Model)

PART II: RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

3. RESULTS OF THE CONTEXT ANALYSIS

3.1. The Political-History Context of the Messianic Jewish Movement

Sociologists Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison emphasize that Social Movement seldom emerges spontaneously; instead movements require long periods of preparation at the level of individuals, groups, and society. Eyerman and Jamison add that no Social Movement emerges until there is a political opportunity available, a context of social problems as well as a context of communication, opening up the potential for problem articulation and knowledge dissemination.⁴⁸⁰ In this chapter based on my analysis I try to show which political-history arguments have contributed to the emergence of the Mission view in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine. Although, the soul of the movement is not political, it however emerges in the political-history context.

3.1.1. The Importance of the Political-History Environment

Scholar of Jewish studies and Hebrew Bible, Richard Harvey writes about the development of Messianic Jewish theology.⁴⁸¹ Published in 2009, his study must be one of the newest overall approaches to Messianic Judaism. By referring to previous studies, he clarifies definitions by different scholars concerning Messianic Judaism. Nevertheless, because he focuses on theology (Messianic Judaism) it is understandable that factors of political-history have been sidelined. Unfortunately, it seems that this tendency is predominant in many recent studies around Messianic Jews. Studies concentrate mainly on dogma. This is understandable and can be justified by the fact that, the Messianic Jewish Movement with its Messianic Judaism religion is only at the beginning of its way.⁴⁸² Additionally, it seems that efforts to study Messianic Judaism are more or less possessed with the idea of re-constructing the theological bridge between the ancient Messianic Judaism, Rabbinic Judaism and modern Messianic Judaism.⁴⁸³ However, this approach had been made without an analysis of political-history, cultural and social factors which have certainly had an influence in shaping the process of those religious trends and therefore 'religion' is still, as it were, hanging in the air because it has not been analysed clearly in the social context in society. Assertions have also been made that Messianic Judaism could be a bridge between Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity⁴⁸⁴ although there is a noticeable lack of a knowledge framework which could lead to recognizing the Messianic Jewish Movement in the right social contexts in society.

This study does not concentrate on doctrine, dogma *per se*, but we have also to touch on it from the point of view of a belief system (what religion means to someone) because we know that our belief system will influence it, how we understand the world and us in it. Over 90 years ago when Max Weber studied religion (in: Ancient Judaism⁴⁸⁵) he spoke of spiritual rituals, social context of a prophetic message, Mesopotamian culture relations, Babylonian and Egyptian exiles, Holy War, Nazarenes, etc. He

⁴⁸⁰ Eyerman and Jamison 1996, 57. See also: Smelser 1962.

⁴⁸¹ Harvey 2009.

⁴⁸² Juster 1995.

⁴⁸³ Stern, D. H. 2007.

⁴⁸⁴ Kollontai 2004.

⁴⁸⁵ Weber 1967.

was referring to social surroundings in the study of Judaism and showed us that no religion emerges from thin air, but every religion has roots in its surroundings. Weber for example describes not only Judaism, but with vivid expressions also who uses this religion.

From the point of view of considering the importance of political-history environment the point here is: How *others* perceive Jews. The Second World War proves Weber's analysis to be right from the viewpoint of others who chose to differentiate Jewry from the rest of mankind. "Sociologically speaking the Jews were a '*pariah people*', which means... they were a *guest people* who were ritually separated, formally or de facto, from their social surroundings."⁴⁸⁶ Weber found the core essence, a 'pariah people,' and I will return to this issue later. This study intersects the reality: How others who came from political-history surroundings viewed Jews and how in turn the Jews came to see those others.

Referring again to Geertz whose theory asserts the social context is a model of reality and for reality⁴⁸⁷ my ambitious task in this study is to show how the social surroundings of a 'pariah people' were indeed the environment and social context that gave rise to new opportunities and the existence of forms for this same nominated grouping. I try to identify and analyze the nature of the political historic context of Jews in Ukraine (of reality) using a model for creating the Mission view, or in other words, from which a model for Messianic Jewish women can be derived (for reality) as Geertz has pointed out. Another point Geertz made is that anthropologists do not study villages, but in villages⁴⁸⁸ and for me it means as a researcher I not only study the Messianic Jewish Movement *per se*, but I have to be inside it, to study its vivid life and unique expressions which pertain to its social surroundings.

To take an example: In social sciences, Christianity has been studied 'social contextually' especially in recent years so that results of new studies reveal factors which help interpret more precisely and more accurately what was the real ideal of an ancient or modern proclaimer or a writer when she/he said or wrote something important concerning religion. E.g. contemporary sociologist Rodney Stark identifies early Christians in the context of political-history. He writes: "...it was not Gentile converts to Christianity, but Jewish Christians. Jewish Christians were not part of the church in Palestine, but were Hellenized converts."⁴⁸⁹ Stark's words highlight political-history factors which assist in evaluating the emergence of Christianity and the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement in a new way and in a new perspective. This is only one example but it already implies how important it is to recognize the reality of social circumstances in order to evaluate the message of religion clearly.

The scholar of Biblical studies, Brad H. Young presents the importance of knowledge concerning the social and political history environment for the interpretation of religion. He shows how wrongly the parables of Yeshua have been interpreted, because Christian scholars have not known or have not taken political-history factors in ancient Palestine and in Judaism into account.⁴⁹⁰ Misinterpretations lead astray and produce doctrinal bias and various illusions instead of presenting the results truthfully in the social context. This study will endeavour to delve into the empirical reality of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement. I will begin my analysis from ancient times.

3.1.2. Ukraine - The Land of Wanderers

In this chapter I try to answer the following questions: Where did the Jews come from? What kind of relationship did the Jews have with religion, when they migrated to the Black Sea Region (see: Chapter 1.7)?

The political history of Ukraine begins with the years 980-1015 CE and the reign of Volodymyr 'the Great.'⁴⁹¹ However, it is estimated that at least over ten nomadic groups, which have come and gone,

⁴⁸⁶ Weber 1967, 3. See also: Weber 1967, 336-355, 456-457.

⁴⁸⁷ Geertz 1973, 93.

⁴⁸⁸ Geertz 1973, 22.

⁴⁸⁹ Stark 1996, 61.

⁴⁹⁰ Young 2007, 2008.

⁴⁹¹ Wilson, A. 2002, xv.

lived in the Ukrainian region from 1150 BCE until 900 CE. Historian Paul Robert Magocsi lists ethnic groups such as the Cimmerians, Scythians, Sarmatians (Roxolani, Alans, Antes), Goths, Huns (Kutrigurs, Utrigurs), Avars, Bulgars, and Khazars. Magocsi estimates the Cimmerian era lasted about four centuries and there exists archaeological remains from the last two of these centuries (900-750 BCE).⁴⁹² About 750-250 BCE Scythians and then colonies of ancient Greeks settled down in this region from the 6th century BCE.⁴⁹³ The Black Sea and great rivers offered numerous advantages and opportunities for seafaring and trading.⁴⁹⁴ Many waves of Jews also came in different periods and from various points of the compass with as previously mentioned Jews from Babylonia on the River Euphrates. Later the Christian Crusades and the Catholic Inquisition in Western Europe caused the expulsion of Jews who over time migrated to the Black Sea region. Many departed again, but not all Jews disappeared; some groups remained, expanded and have survived until the present day. The Jews who live and have lived in the Black Sea region of Ukraine are regarded from the perspective of Judaism in literature as Diaspora Jews. It is a common name for all Jews outside Palestine. (Appendix 1).

As said before Jewish settlements in Eastern Europe date back beyond medieval times. According to Reiner Ohlinger and Reiner Münz, researchers of historical migration and demography in the Black Sea region Jews can look back to more than two thousand years of settlement. According to them some Jewish communities trace their existence even back to the Babylonian exile.⁴⁹⁵ Gilbert says the Babylonian exile is one important watershed and gives a map containing evidence Jews lived there in 500 BCE.⁴⁹⁶ The exile is a term relating to the Babylonian captivity of Jews. In the other words, the Babylonian captivity means to be in exile in the Diaspora. The precise meaning of exile is to be away from home, but there were other deportations. There were two deportations: The first in 597 BCE and the second in 586 BCE.⁴⁹⁷ Different sources estimate the total number of exiles at about 36,000-48,000 souls, while the total population of the kingdom of Judah was about 120,000 (perhaps much more). In 538 BCE, the king of Persia, Cyrus' (Hebr. Koresh) edict permitted Jews to return to Judah and rebuild the Temple. The first return from Babylon probably occurred in 535 BCE and, according to Biblical sources the prophet Ezra probably returned in 428 BCE.⁴⁹⁸ Although the ruler Cyrus allowed Jews to return home to Jerusalem⁴⁹⁹ from exile, some chose to remain in Babylonia and some took another direction than Jerusalem, and headed to the Black Sea territory. People entered into the Babylonian exile in waves and returned in waves as well.

Given the evidence of the period it is reasonable to presume over time some Jews entered the Black Sea region. It is very probable the first ancestors of today's Jews in Ukraine were then descendants of ancient Babylonian refugees. They were Jewish wanderers moving from one place to another, generation after generation. This kind of life influences a person's mind and experiences.⁵⁰⁰ The term the 'wanderer Jew' is based on legends from medieval Christian folklore. There are a number of variants of the Wandering Jew legend⁵⁰¹, which began to spread in Europe in the thirteenth century. Ukrainian Jewish poet Hayyim Nahman Bialik illustrates emotions of wanderers in his poem (in 1925).

⁴⁹² Magocsi 1998, 27.

⁴⁹³ Dix 1953.

⁴⁹⁴ Wilson, A. 2002, Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997.

⁴⁹⁵ Ohlinger and Münz 2003, 9; Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2009, 73.

⁴⁹⁶ Gilbert 2008, 12.

⁴⁹⁷ Gottheil, Ryssel, Jastrow and Levias 2002.

⁴⁹⁸ Bible Encyclopedia A-D, 1979, 685.

⁴⁹⁹ Dictionary of New Testament Background, 2000, 282.

⁵⁰⁰ See for example: Ittelson, Frank and O'Hanlon 1976.

⁵⁰¹ See: Jacobs 2010.

A Man Is Nothing But ...

'And my poem is alien, my poem is stranger to the heart of my nation
all alone it appeared and all alone it shall leave
with no one to receive it and with no word
like the screech of the lonely eagle, a wild screech.
And like that wind, which will wander eternally,
I wandered from sea to sea all the days of my life.
And when I wanted to reach the Southern Sea
mountains blocked my way ... where should I build my nest?

More wide open space and more roads, where is my walking stick—I shall go ...'⁵⁰²

Historical literature sources and the Bible offer the view that Jews who came from the Babylonian exile to the Black Sea region had lost their original homeland (Palestine/Israel) and they had experienced *deep humiliation*. The kingdom of Israel had divided into Judah and Israel; the tribes of Israel lived separately during the years 937-722 BCE. The Assyrian exile happened to Israel in 719 BCE, and later the Babylonian exile to Judah (the start and the return 597-400 BCE).⁵⁰³ Perhaps also some descendants from the Northern Kingdom were led into Babylonian exile. It is assumed that in Babylonia at that time Jews were generally called Jews, because the word 'Jew' began to appear in Jewish books. As a matter of fact, the inhabitants of Judah were originally called Jews, but the Northern tribes were called Israelites. Presumably in Babylonia, the general term a 'Jew' was employed in practice whether they were Jews, Israelites, or any other tribe. Today, often in science (at least outside Judaism) and in popular writings, the term 'Jews' is used referring to all 12/13 tribes of the patriarch Jacob. Another interesting thing is that in Babylonia, Jews obviously started to record the descendants of their family tree according to mothers (matrilineality), not as before according to fathers (patrilineality). In the Bible, both types are represented in family trees of Yeshua.

The Babylonian exile was definitely a turning point. According to sources it is clear that the most important fruit following on from the hard time in Babylon was the shaping of the religion, Judaism whose permanent shape is visible today.⁵⁰⁴ The prophet Ezekiel, with others, had gained the victory. The people looked again to their Jewish roots and religious heritage. Ezekiel had preached so much and so severely along with other prophets in Babylonia that he was called the creator of Judaism.⁵⁰⁵ In fact, Judaism was not only a religion it was also a structured social policy for the Jewish community.⁵⁰⁶ This was a natural development for an enslaved people, but was also common in ancient times to most societies which for stability and a sense of purpose used Faith to reinforce their cultural lifestyle and political practises. Elements within Judaism, Christianity, Islam and other religions still hold to their original teachings and traditions in full despite the impact of the modern world and do not consent to modern interpretation on any point of religious lore or law.

Jews gathered in Babylonia first in private houses; later the houses were modified for use by the Jewish community.⁵⁰⁷ The synagogue culture emerged in this way and synagogues (called prayer houses) became not only centres of religious life where Sabbath services were held,⁵⁰⁸ but also the backbone for the maintenance of the Jewish religion up until today.⁵⁰⁹ Synagogues combined people together in various

⁵⁰² Glutzman 1998, 231-253.

'A Man Is Nothing But ...' by Hayyim Nahman Bialik in: *Collected Poems* (in Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: 1950), 469. (Chaim Nachman Bialik) is also known by name Saul Tchernikhovsky. He was born in Ukraine in 1873 and he was recognized as Israel's national poet. He wrote in Hebrew. Dr. Saul Tchernikhovsky was the first person who translated the Finnish national epic the Kalevala from Finnish to Hebrew in 1954.

⁵⁰³ Appendix 1: The Central Points of Jewish History.

⁵⁰⁴ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 293.

⁵⁰⁵ Hjelt 1913, 104-108.

⁵⁰⁶ Sherwin 1991, 2009.

⁵⁰⁷ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 286.

⁵⁰⁸ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 286.

⁵⁰⁹ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 286.

social and religious activities. Communal meals were also held.⁵¹⁰ Eating a meal together has been maintained as an important pattern of social interaction throughout the ages. Women as food preparers for such important festive and solemn occasions surely illustrates they had a central role in the Jewish community, in spite of the time being strikingly patriarchal everywhere it had set down roots.

In conclusion, during the Babylonian exile the synagogue became a centre of social, educational, political, and judicial life for the members of the Jewish community. Although the Temple had been destroyed, Jews in exile in Babylonia kept strong links to Palestine, the Holy Land, the Promised Land and the Bible describes the traditional history of Jews and calls to Israel. Nonetheless, a strong attachment to Palestine did not weaken the fact that in reality the home of Jews was now exile.⁵¹¹ Belonging to this one people of JHWH was in fact, based on the promises of the JHWH through Moses so that the Holy Scriptures now played a more important role in everyday life in the Jewish community. Thus, the Jews once again began to identify themselves strongly as being different from other people, who, from the Jews' viewpoint, had pagan idols. On the other hand, the Bible describes the eternal struggle that has followed the Jews: to keep JHWH. While living outside Palestine, Jews mostly remained segregated – seen as pariah - but also cooperated with other ethnic groups. But, because of their JHWH-religion, Jews had to establish their own system for living in the world. According to sources, Jewish communities might possess a range of their own officials operating their own courts, voting their own decrees by negotiation with various civic authorities.⁵¹²

TO SUM UP, based on the source material and analysis of this study it is reasonable to conclude the Babylonian exile was one of the great *turning points* in Jewish ancient history. As the Second Temple had been destroyed in Jerusalem⁵¹³ Jews could neither sacrifice animals there nor in exile in a foreign land to honour JHWH. The land was occupied by strangers. The nature of Judaism had to adapt to new circumstances: 'Diaspora-Judaism' emerged without the sacrifice and the temple services.⁵¹⁴

3.1.3. The History of Wanderers

Haggadah

In this chapter I answer questions as to what the Haggadah means, and how it helps Jews to integrate and adapt to different environmental circumstances in the Diaspora. In fact, there are reasons to argue the empirical material of this study gathered in Ukraine in 2000 can be seen as a Haggadah collection of personal narratives. From the point of view of women Haggadah tradition is vivid in the home and in schools where they mature and educate their descendants. Haggadah⁵¹⁵ may be a narration, a narrative, a story, or

⁵¹⁰ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 286.

⁵¹¹ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 286.

⁵¹² Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 293.

⁵¹³ In probably 587 BCE, according to the 'Bible Encyclopedia', A-D, 1979, 685.

⁵¹⁴ The life outside Palestine, or outside Babylonia, was not the same as it had been during the Temple period in Israel. However, those Jews who much later in the first century CE converted to Christianity or to ancient Messianic Judaism had different ideas. According to the Messianic Jewish Bible, they started to believe that Yeshua was the real offering by sacrificing himself for the sins of people. Arnold G. Fruchtenbaum, scholar of Messianic Judaism, refers to the Jewish Bible, when he explains why the Messiah was given over to death and why animal sacrifices are not needed any more. This doctrine is the core of message of Messianic Judaism today. (Fruchtenbaum 1989, 79-88), see: Heb. 2:16-18, Heb. 4:14-15, Heb. 7:22-27, Heb. 9:11-15. – But, instead of this, Rabbinic Judaism expects their Messiah (they did not accept the Yeshua of the Messianic Jews, Jesus Christ). In recent decades some groups of Rabbinic Judaism have made plans to build the third Temple in Jerusalem, arguing they will again sacrifice animals in the new Temple. (Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2009, 16; sacrifice system in Judaism. - This is the point which illustrates how the paths of Rabbinic Judaism and Messianic Judaism diverge. In Ukraine, both groups belong to the Ukrainian Jewish community and in 2000 they had some mutual activities. (In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/9).

⁵¹⁵ Aggadah or Haggadah, in. Heb. אַגָּדָה, אַגָּדָה; 'narrative'. See one example: The Legends of the Jews by Louis Ginzberg; Ginzberg 2010.

a legend. In Jewish history there are two superb narratives passed orally from generation to generation that have significantly contributed to the construction of Hebrew-Jewish attitudes and behaviour more than any other narrations: 1) The first is the description of how the Hebrews escaped from the captivity in Egypt. Scholar of mission and anthropology Paul G. Hiebert writes that “the exodus in the old Testament is both history and myth. Historically, it happened. Mythologically it became the story the Israelites used to interpret their history. Whenever they were in trouble they looked back to the exodus and attributed their problems to their sins and rejection of God.”⁵¹⁶ 2) The second important story illustrates the return of the Jews from captivity in Babel (Babylon). It is essential here to recognize that Messianic Jews also attach the story of Yeshua to this list of vital stories. It seems to demand a greater priority than all other stories, although I have not seen any text in which this matter had been discussed and evaluated further with this aspect as the central theme.

However, from the traditions of Jewish wisdom comes, ‘each Generation Must Teach the Next.’⁵¹⁷ The Haggadah includes those traditional truths/truisms that form a part of the perceived collective Jewish wisdom. The rich imagination of Jews in the Haggadah tradition has lessened the risks entailed in the Diaspora by moving from one place to another. Jews have taken an unknown and unsafe future as their own the fate and destination by using fantasy and imagination in storytelling and creating new songs.⁵¹⁸ The next story is like a living document from past Israeli history when the first kibbutz were established in the Negev and when young energetic women and men wanted to make their land mark in constructing the Jewish state.

When Deborah was a young Zionist girl...

and a primary school teacher, her head was full of ideas. She had developed her own teaching method⁵¹⁹ which consisted of stories and instructive tales with wisdom, advice and jokes. All these elements were important while using discipline with love and laughter. Deborah described how she was an elementary school teacher of small, wild Bedouin boys at a primary school in Negev desert. First, she thought that it is impossible to tame these desert kids. They were like small wild savage puppies. She wondered if they would ever be able to sit quietly and clean, with their hair cut and combed in the classroom barrack. Could they learn ‘something’? Deborah took this situation as a challenge with her good sense of humour. In fact, she was a happy, cheerful Jewish lady, who had emigrated as a child from Poland. However, she was strict at work in order to maintain her authority over the children. Some days, she said looking peeved: “If you think that you can be bad and nasty to me, I tell you straight that I can be worse and more malicious to you.” And, in order to win the boys’ confidence and love, looking cheerful she might say: “If you think that you can be nice to me, I say to you directly, I can be more lovable and nicer to you”. Deborah used to tell them various instructive stories, and those small boys started carefully listening to them. And slowly they started to learn ‘something’. After about a half year, the head of the school paid a surprise visit to Deborah’s classroom. These desert Bedouin boys were sitting there quietly; they were clean, with their hair cut and combed, and had become really decent and diligent pupils. Deborah was so happy and proud of the boys. The head master acknowledged that this young, original teacher had won. Everything ended well; all were happy and laughed.

Although Deborah’s story may not be typical, it however shows that again this young teacher used skills of storytelling in her work and how stories remain *alive* as vivid heritage. Elias J. Bickerman, scholar of ancient history, says that every generation must be able to express its own fears and hopes in re-telling these stores of their forefathers. He underlines that no civilization can survive without pouring the new wine of the spirit into the old bottles of the letter.⁵²⁰ Haggadah refers to the nature of Scripture itself, which is ‘telling’. Mothers and fathers share Biblical wisdom with their children by telling. In the

⁵¹⁶ Hiebert 2008, 67.

⁵¹⁷ Feinberg 2001, 93-99.

⁵¹⁸ Wapner et al. 1976.

⁵¹⁹ Teaching has been an important female occupation for young Jewish girls; cf. the life of Jewish female teachers in the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1872-1940, in: Malino 1998.

⁵²⁰ Bickerman 1988, 177, 299.

Diaspora, they especially tell about the Torah which has been the key text for Diaspora Jews.⁵²¹ This is also *an oral Torah*, which consists of ‘folk-tales and legends, parables and aphorism, songs and melodies, customs, traditions, beliefs, and so on’ - as scholar of literature and history Nathaniel Deutsch highlights – ‘enormously significant product of the same Jewish spirit that created the Written Torah.’ According to him, ‘it reflects the same beauty and purity of the Jewish soul, the tenderness and nobility of the Jewish heart, and the height and depth of Jewish taught.’⁵²² Also scholar of Hebrew Bible, Leo. G. Perdue points out that as Haggadah stories serve collectively as the oral tradition for interpreting Scripture,⁵²³ so, the Torah (first 5 books of the Jewish Bible containing the Law of Moses) and Hebrew Bible, the holiest Book in Judaism, is light and power, with all other texts derived from it and providing wisdom (it is often said Divine wisdom) to be able to cope and survive.⁵²⁴

It is even more interesting to note that all these narratives focus on *liberation* because they are ‘Let my people go’ stories.⁵²⁵ They are often just coping stories and thus if every factor in the sphere of political history has somehow been rooted in religion it is not surprising to find a Jew may say, that she/he is only studying Jewish history when reading the Hebrew Bible. Storytelling includes a mental and spiritual power that has been able to maintain the whole Jewish civilisation. Telling stories to inform is common-place in Jewish society. I often heard the question: “Have you heard this story?” Jewish women told me small stories and wise saying continuously. As a general rule those stories include wisdom, advice and jokes that stand as warnings and encouragements for the future. However, not unnaturally given their history and circumstance most of the informants’ stories include also misery, sorrow, the tears and the woes as will be seen in the next chapter.

There is also the more formal traditional telling of stories as teaching. If you go to any Messianic Jewish congregation in Ukraine it is possible to figure out, ‘this is the Haggadah,’ i.e. the big Biblical narratives told day after day.

“Woe Unto You”⁵²⁶

In this chapter I take a closer look at the miserable life of Jews living among other peoples in the Black Sea region. I refer to the words, ‘Woe be unto you’.⁵²⁷

Events strongly suggest in the region among those who established supremacy the unwritten rule seems to have been: The losers will disappear in some form of scattering and dispersion from where they existed. According to Jer. 9:16: “I will scatter them also among the nations.”⁵²⁸

This promise of JHWH has been realized literally because Jews, treated as pariah, are spread all over the world. The other part of the promise with the idea of, ‘I bring them back’⁵²⁹ has also started to come into being. Since the end of 19th century, Jews have returned from the Diaspora to the land of their ancestors. The Israeli ‘law of return’ enacted in 1950 states that Jews, those of Jewish ancestry and their spouses have the right to migrate and to settle in Israel and gain citizenship.

As we have seen Jews have lived in the Black Sea region among other non-Jewish nations where in a continuous struggle for political power there was general mayhem and instability. The Goths, and later especially Ostrogoths, ruled the land from Baltic Sea to Black Sea until 375 CE when Huns came to the

⁵²¹ Dictionary of New Testament Background 2000, 292.

⁵²² Deutsch N. 2011, 103f.

⁵²³ Perdue 2005.

⁵²⁴ Perdue 2005, 199.

⁵²⁵ Ex. 5: 1: “And afterward Moses and Aaron came, and said unto Pharaoh, Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.” (According to American Standard Version)

⁵²⁶ There are many ‘Woe Unto You’-expressions in the Bible like in Am. 5:18, Zeph. 2:5. Luke 11:46.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Weber 2010.

⁵²⁸ According to American Standard Version.

⁵²⁹ Jer. 31: 8. “Behold, I will bring them from the north country, and gather them from the uttermost parts of the earth, and with them the blind and the lame, the woman with child and her that travaileth with child together: a great company shall they return hither.” According to American Standard Version.

area. Then the Slavs came. Kiev, a capital of Ukraine, was founded about 500 CE by Slavic tribes; at that time Avars also came to the area and later Bulgars and after that Khazars, a semi-Nomadic people from Central Asia (see 3.1.2). In the 8th century Hungarians arrived and then left the area like the Bulgars before them. During this time Kiev was wrested from the Khazars by the Varangian noble Oleg who founded the Rurikid princes long period of rule.⁵³⁰ The Varangians or Varyags were regarded as *Vikings*,⁵³¹ who went eastwards and southwards along water channels eventually reaching the Caspian Sea and Constantinople.⁵³² It is worth noting Kiev became the centre of a powerful Slavic state, ‘Kievan Rus,’ which was the largest state in Europe in the 11th century CE. The name Ukraine, meaning ‘border-land,’ appeared on maps of this period. The term, ‘Greater Rus’ was used to denote all lands ruled by Kiev including those that were not Slavic e.g. the *Finno-Ugric*⁵³³ peoples in the northeast portions of the state.⁵³⁴

The social structure of Kievan Rus’ consisted of a grand duchy and a grand prince (and his family) with regional princes (with their families), and prince’s retinue. They ruled the land through the power of legislation, execution, government, and with all military force that was under their control. The clergy (priest, monks, and deacons) and other church employees also belonged to the ruling social strata.⁵³⁵

Due to a strict hierarchy of accounts and complex inheritance laws the state became internally weak with political scheming. The history of the Black Sea region is mostly a history of oppressed people because the concept of ‘help the poor’ was not included in the ideals of their rulers. This society was oppressive. It was characterised by an endless chain of oppressors. In principle, people were found in three strata: 1) Free citizens enjoying liberty; 2) partially free citizens, and 3) subordinated people. In the long run, the differences between social strata worsened the situation because the lower social stratum was forced to live without possessing land or trade possibilities and became socially marginal.⁵³⁶ People could not escape from their deeply impoverished position in the country which must have caused some to leave.

For a long time, the Ukrainian region remained an area to which different peoples and ethnic groups migrated and from which due to conflict, famine and inhumanity some would emigrate seeking better prospects. Thus it is not strange that nowadays over 100 ethnic nationalities live in Ukraine:⁵³⁷ The majority are Ukrainians (over 70%), followed by Russians (over 20 %); the minorities below 1% are Belarusians, Jews, Moldavians, Bulgarians and Polish.⁵³⁸ At the bottom of the hierarchy were serfs, slaves and then *izgoi* which means orphan or exile.⁵³⁹ Under the rule of Catherine II (Catherine the Great), serfdom expanded over the entire Ukrainian region. It did not cease until 1861 under the rule of Alexander II, Alexander II Nikolayevich (in Russ.). Some studies concerning slavery regard the etymology of the word

⁵³⁰ It is claimed that Finns are also descendants of the Rurik dynasty. See: Rurik Dynasty DNA project 2010.

⁵³¹ Magocsi 1998, 45f, 48, 52, 54-56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 71, 91f, 185. See: Uralic Family Home Page (2009). According to this source, Varangians, came to be made up of both Finns and Swedes as the latter turned eastward and joined the Finns at the beginning of the second millennium, corresponding with the Swedish crusades to Finland. See also: Satu Hovi (2002) about Male Viking Finn Costume Reconstructions.

⁵³² Magocsi 1998, Wilson A. 2002, Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997. Also: Jones, G. 2001, Cf. Rambaud 2012.

⁵³³ Finnic peoples in Magocsi 1998, 58; *Finnic tribes* in Magocsi 1998, 52, 55, 61, 64, 75; Finns 53, 56. Because Finns were under the rule of Sweden until 1808, many sources did not separate the history of Sweden from the history of Finland (Finns). Today, the separation is clearer in new studies. As to the historian of Ukraine, Paul Robert Magocsi writes (1998): “According to linguistic criteria, the name Rus’ reflects the Finns tribes’ description of these ‘newcomers from overseas’. Consequently, Rus’ is derived either 1) from Ruotsi, the Finnish designation for Sweden, especially the coastal region just north of Stockholm known as Roslagen, inhabited by the rospiggar (pronounced ruspiggar), or 2) ropsmenn or ropskarlar, an old Nordic designations meaning seafarers or rowers. The Finns considered this group a nationality and its name is preserved in the first syllable of their terms of Sweden (Ruotsi) and Swedish (ruotsalaiset)”, 52f.

⁵³⁴ The historian Kyösti Julku (2002, 2005) asserts that ancient ancestry of the Finns (Finno-Ugrians) is to some extent historically and geographically linked to the Ukrainian people. The personal discussion with Kyösti Julku in the beginning of 2000s.

⁵³⁵ Magocsi 1998, 83ff.

⁵³⁶ Social structure of Kievan Rus’ in: Magocsi 1998, 85ff.

⁵³⁷ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 10.

⁵³⁸ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 10.

⁵³⁹ Wilson, A. 2002, Pilipino & Kasyanov 1997.

‘slave’ as referring to Slav. Gottheil et al. mention that returned 220 slaves⁵⁴⁰ from Babylonian exile. As stated above, perhaps some ex-Babylonian Jews settled down in the Black Sea region.

It is fair to describe the life of all Jews as experiencing some form of slavery during Babylonian captivity because they were forced to live in a foreign country and endure the rule of oppressors who either exploited or expropriated whatever means of living Jews devised. Historian William J. Doorly depicts ancient Hebrews:

“They were a marginal social class of a marginal people.”⁵⁴¹

Some Jews, whom I met in Ukraine, said that during the course of their lives they voluntarily and willingly confessed they belonged ethnically to the group designated Jewish and had never rejected their Jewish identity during the long 70 years of Communism. They were not assimilated and they dared to resist the authority of the state. They were hated simply because they were Jews as historian Antero Holmila crystallizes the idea of hatred against Jews.⁵⁴² Max Weber gives another striking perspective to the pariah group when he refers to a Biblical text stating that at times Jews oppressed ethnic brothers. At that time, prophets were cast in the role of ‘social teachers’ and even agitators. Weber writes: “To be sure, even the later prophets of Israel were concerned with ‘social policy’. They threw their ‘woe be unto you’ against those who oppressed and enslaved the poor, those who joined field to field, and those who deflected the justice of brides...The Israelite prophets saw social and other types of injustice which violated the Spirit of the Mosaic law...”⁵⁴³ However, ‘social teaching’ was a fruitful method to educate people to obedience to JHWH and thus to the rules by which this society was ordained. The maintenance of the Jewish community depended on ‘social teaching’ which appealed to collective awareness so that over time they could regard themselves as one people. The leaders and most Jewry viewed it as if the Diaspora were the test of how loyal Jews have been towards their own people.

According to Unto Parvilahti, a prisoner, Jews were different from other prisoners in the prisons in the Soviet Union because they had a mutual love for one another. They helped each other. He emphasises that it was strange that in a country where nobody helps anybody, Jews formed a different ethnic group.⁵⁴⁴

Historian Wolfgang Benz reveals that loyalty between Jews gave rise to envy among non-Jews. Nazis accused Jews by saying that they had a *double loyalty*. According to the Nazi ideology, Jews should only be loyal towards their country, Germany, and not additionally towards Jews representing different nations. This was one reason for their anti-Semitism.⁵⁴⁵ In Ukraine I quite often heard the statement, ‘Jews look after their helpers’.⁵⁴⁶ It is true that in the 16th and 17th centuries Jews found out how to survive with their supporters. As mentioned above and as we will see in the next section, in the Black Sea region, the Polish nobility wanted to use services of Jews, but this happy arrangement did not last. In fact, in most cases where Jews were taken into consideration by the ‘authority’/‘ruling elite’ it was the Jews who had to adapt to whoever was the dominant power.

⁵⁴⁰ Gottheil et al. 2002.

⁵⁴¹ Doorly 1997, 26.

⁵⁴² Holmila 2005, 2010.

⁵⁴³ Weber 2010.

⁵⁴⁴ Parvilahti 1958, 101.

⁵⁴⁵ Benz 1999, 2000.

⁵⁴⁶ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO2/17.

3.1.4. From Serfs of the Royal Chamber into the Clutches of ‘Chemiel the Wicked’

In this chapter, I shall ask the questions: How did the nobility help the Jews and how did hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s genocide function?

In the Diaspora, Jews have always had helpers and enemies among political rulers. The nobility helped the Jews and Jews became serfs of the Royal Chamber. On the other hand Khmelnytsky was given the nickname ‘Chemiel the Wicked’⁵⁴⁷ for his evil deeds. He instigated perhaps the most terrifying massacres ever carried out before the Second World War.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Jews were concentrated in two large kingdoms: The Christian kingdom of Poland-Lithuania and the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were undergoing a period of economic and social expansion. After the Union of Brest-Litovsk (Poland with the Grand Duchy), the Polish nobility settled in an area that included the greater part of the present-day Ukraine. According to historian Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, Jews started to serve nobles as a kind of ‘counter-burgher class’. In Galicia during the Lithuanian-Polish period, the Polish nobility relied on Jewish leaseholders who became key persons in Poland’s lease-holding economic system. In addition, ordinary life in small Jewish towns and villages might be periodically secure and pleasant. Life there included success in trade and craft businesses. When Jews helped Poland they received many privileges.

Although Poland provided both shelter and benefits for the Jews at a distant time during history that concern was always edged around by periods when pogroms and general anti-Semitic policies took more direct control. So, the dominant Polish nobility especially needed the commercial and administrative capacities of the Jews, but assistance for Jewish people was then only an expression of a selfish state policy without any deep human or spiritual aspirations. Basically this was a question of exploitation of Jews.

However, according to sources in Poland-Lithuania, as part of the general colonizing Jews experienced a vast economic and demographic impetus. Jews journeyed to many places as part of their livelihood and they were dominant at the major fairs and in trade centres. They maintained economic and urban activity in the old and new towns. Before 1569 there were 24 settlements and by 1648 the number of Jews had rapidly grown to 51,325 residents in 115 communities according to the official count. Jews also settled on the estates of nobles. Little by little they began to establish small, ‘private cities’. There, they received special privileges but were legally the king’s property. Ben-Sasson’s expression for Jews in Poland-Lithuania is ‘*serfs of the Royal Chamber*’. This system provided protection and economic progress, but changed dramatically in 1648 when the Cossack state emerged.⁵⁴⁸

Generally in literature and paintings, Cossacks are illustrated as men who are furious but brave, fierce but heroic, and as warriors who go on horseback and fight with swords.⁵⁴⁹ They are epitome of the real men of their era with fine uniforms. The depiction is scary, romantic and fascinating like Cossack folk songs.

I remember how some young men from a Messianic Jewish congregation rejoiced and sang Cossack songs while travelling from Zhitomir to Lviv in August 2003. They were young, had just converted into Messianic Judaism and were full of joy of life. They asked me whether I knew any Cossack songs. Then we all, including the Rabbi who drove the car, sang those rhythmic, melodic, (some romantic) folk songs together. It was a happy time together.

When I started to study the history of Cossacks I wanted to know whether there were Jewish Cossacks in Ukraine? The answer is positive⁵⁵⁰: There have been Jewish and non-Jewish Cossacks in Russia⁵⁵¹ and Polish Cossacks in the region of Ukraine. Ukrainian Cossacks had mostly settled on the Dnieper river. In

⁵⁴⁷ Nathaniel Deutsch points out that nicknames were extremely common among the Jewish communities of the Pale. Deutsch, N. 2011, 160.

⁵⁴⁸ Ben-Sasson 1999, 630; 641f, 654f

⁵⁴⁹ See: Cossacks.

⁵⁵⁰ See: The Jewish Cossacks. Also, Rosen 2010.

⁵⁵¹ Itäportti 2009.

14th and 15th century CE, Cossacks came to power that had formerly lived in the southern part of Ukraine. Before this they were known as Ruthenian peasants (peasants from Ukraine and some other nations), who had fled efforts to force them into serfdom. Most Cossacks came from a background of poverty and exiles, but artisans, practitioners and smallholders also joined them. In the 16th century, Khortytsia⁵⁵² was a town on the river Dnieper settled especially by Jewish Cossacks who served as scribes, educated diplomats and in the administration.⁵⁵³ Gradually, Cossacks started to get more power in Ukrainian political and economical life because of victory over the Ottoman Turks. They had a good international reputation.

Cossacks protested against serfdom in Ukrainian agrarian society. This is the reason they became a role model, a paragon, for the majority of people of that time. In different episodes, other informants of this empirical study told me more about Cossacks. At some house meetings, Messianic Jewish men sang Cossack songs with great emotion and joy from the bottom of their hearts. Clearly they were proud of their Cossack history.⁵⁵⁴ Perhaps, their admiration for Cossacks was provoked by the knowledge that the Cossacks were strong enough to be able to resist the serfdom ordered by their rulers. Serfdom was regarded as the bitter social bane of Ukraine. Finally, in 1648, the leader of Cossacks, hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky,⁵⁵⁵ started a war against Poland-Lithuanian hegemony (1648-1654) with support from the tsar of Russia. After Russian victory, the Cossacks' reward was to be made to submit to Russian rule with the population divided into communities between Russia and Poland following the border on the Dnieper.

In Ukrainian history, Khmelnytsky is seen as the person who laid the foundation of an independent Ukrainian state. Historian Andrew Wilson however proposes three periods when it is possible to speak of the emergence of a Ukrainian 'nation.' First is the era of Kievan Rus. This period is problematic because so much of its heritage is shared with Russians and Belarusians. Second, he refers to the period before the Baptism of Rus in 988. But, the mythology of this period possesses numerous lacunae. Thirdly is the 17th century when a distinct local culture really emerged.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, Khmelnytsky has come to be regarded as a national hero of Ukraine.

Ukrainian historians Viktor Pilipenko and Georgi Kasjanov find positive aspects in the Independence War between the years 1648-1654. In the first place, it gave strong impetus to the Ukrainian cultural progress. Then, different cultural areas were integrated with each other because all areas of the country took part in the war. There was a positive expression of patriotism with a concurrent expansion of the Ukrainian language in the fields of literature, legislation and official records.⁵⁵⁷ On the other hand, Khmelnytsky was the instigator of the first genocidal catastrophe. Jews were killed in the name of Orthodox Christianity. The massacres in 1648 and 1649 were a shock for Jewish communities that had been prospering. It is estimated 60,000-100,000 Jews were killed, 300 communities and 679,000 households destroyed during the Khmelnytsky era.⁵⁵⁸ Whilst many thousands refused to give up their faith to escape death and terrible persecution some Jews converted to Catholicism under Polish authority: Later, in peaceful times these converts were released from their pledge and most returned to Judaism. So great was the number of dead Jewish males in the period that females were released by '*halakhic*' decisions from their bonds of marriage to missing husbands and betrothed. So, what did the Cossack Khmelnytsky do to Jewish women and children? It is claimed that Khmelnytsky's era was 'one of the worst catastrophes ever to befall the Jewish people'.⁵⁵⁹ Historian, Rabbi Nathan Hanover⁵⁶⁰ in his chronicle depicts the Khmelnytsky' era as a horror story of which we can only guess at how much is exaggeration. Sadly, from other sources we may con-

⁵⁵² See: Khortytsia 2010.

⁵⁵³ See: Rosenthal 2010.

⁵⁵⁴ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 54-70; Wilson, A. 2002, 58-71.

⁵⁵⁵ In Ukraine: Bohdan Zynovii Mykhailovych Khmelnytskyi.

⁵⁵⁶ Wilson, A. 2002, 71.

⁵⁵⁷ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 93.

⁵⁵⁸ Magocsi 1998, 201.

⁵⁵⁹ Magocsi refers to William B. Helmreich, the specialist of Judaic Studies (Magocsi 1998, 201).

⁵⁶⁰ Hanover, Nathan (Nata) Ben Moses in: Jewish Encyclopedia 2010. Kohut 2003.

clude none of the chronicle's content is wholly imagined! Grossman,⁵⁶¹ Melammed⁵⁶² and Stark,⁵⁶³ among others, also report various horror stories in which Jewish women and children are ruthlessly tortured and murdered in ancient and medieval times. Historian Richard C. Lukas has also written of the suffering of Jewish children.⁵⁶⁴ Rabbi Hanover writes:

“The enemy slaughtered infants in the laps of their mothers. They were sliced into pieces like fish. They slashed the bellies of pregnant women, removed their infants tossed them in their faces. Some women had their bellies torn open and live cats placed in them. The bellies were then sewed up with the live cats remaining within. They chopped off the hands of the victims so that they would not be able to remove the cats from the bellies. The infants were hung on the breast of their mothers. Some children were pierced with spears, roasted on the fire and then brought to their mothers to be eaten. Many times they used the bodies of Jewish children as improvised bridges upon which they later crossed. There was no cruel device of murder in the whole world that was not perpetrated by the enemies. All the four death penalties; stoning, burning, beheading, and strangling were meted out to the Jews. Many were taken by the Tartars into captivity.”⁵⁶⁵

No doubt Jewish men tried to protect their womenfolk and mothers their children. I refer to philosopher Edith Stein, who highlights the intrinsic value of women. Stein states that there are Jewish ‘mothers who have a firm philosophy of life, who know to what purpose they should rear their children...’ Stein underscores the notion of motherliness, which, in her opinion has developed into the characteristic value of a woman.⁵⁶⁶ Jewish children have grown up experiencing fear generation after generation. The Cossack Khmelnitsky genocide and other atrocities have certainly helped shape the attitudes and world-view of the Jews in Ukraine. Yet, the collective memory of Jews is often mentioned as a shelter which keeps mothers and wives sharp and sensible while trying to protect children in the refuge of their own home. I met Jews who remembered the accounts of Khmelnitsky atrocities and compared them to ones of a much more recent past.

SUMMARIZING this, based on the source material and from a political history viewpoint there are reasons to argue that the life of Jews in the Black Sea region contains many paradoxical elements. On the one hand, Jews are seen as desired labour force, but on the other, Jews are treated as rejected, pariah people. If I simplify and practice ‘light generalization’ *love* and *hatred* - a controversial dialogue - has followed Jews everywhere they have lived through the centuries. Truism: That every Jew's life is individual. Although all Jews share common factors in their Jewish life not all Jews have experienced such suffering.

3.1.5. The Pale: The Place and the Final Transportation

First Act: Assembly

Jews were forced to transfer from Russia to the Pale of the Settlement at the beginning of 19th century under a planned operation of great oppression. Jews lived in the Pale in the state of serfdom until the era of the ‘final solution’. The ‘final solution’ (in German: *Die Endlösung* refers to Adolf Hitler's term for the ‘final solution to the Jewish question’, in German: *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage*) is a term, which refers to the Nazi plan to eradicate all Jews. Reformer, and a paragon of Christians in the Evangelical Lutheran Church Martin Luther's personal attitudes and medieval hatred⁵⁶⁷ in which he insisted ‘filthy

⁵⁶¹ Grossman 2004.

⁵⁶² Melammed 1999.

⁵⁶³ Stark 1996.

⁵⁶⁴ Lukas 2001.

⁵⁶⁵ Hanover 1983. See pages 25, 34, 43f.

⁵⁶⁶ Stein 1996, 260.

⁵⁶⁷ Christian Church Fathers during 100 CE to 600 CE presented anti-Semitic/Judaic arguments against Jews in their Christian Church doctrine. In: Robert, M. 1994. Heschel, S. (1994).

Jews' must be put to work for Christians was given a renewed lease of life by Nazi arguments for destroying the Jews. It is interpreted that according to personal history of Luther he first wanted to convert Jews to Christianity, but when he was unsuccessful his attitude became hostile. Luther's anti-Semitic booklet 'On the Jews and their Lies' (1543)⁵⁶⁸ advocated the destruction of Jewish synagogues and houses⁵⁶⁹, confiscation of their religious books, restriction of their worship, and even their expulsion.⁵⁷⁰ What happened in the Pale to Jews may be considered in some ways as the culmination of historical development. In this chapter, I shall provide answers to three questions: What was the Pale? Why did it emerge? What was life like in the Pale?

According to the Jewish Encyclopedia the Pale was first established in 1791. Then White-Russian Jews were forbidden to join merchant or artisan guilds in governments other than those of White Russia.⁵⁷¹ Administrative amendments under Empress Catherine II dramatically changed the status of Jews in Russia.⁵⁷² Their purpose was to *remove Jews entirely from Russia* due to nationalistic and economic reasons. However, there was one means of escape: Jews could convert to Russian Orthodoxy which was impossible for most Jews. Large transfers of Jews were carried out between different locations. They brought Jews to the Pale. The Jewish Pale of Settlement was officially established under the Russian Empire in April 1835 and lasted until 1917.⁵⁷³ It consisted of 25 provinces including Ukraine, Lithuania, Belorussia, Crimea, and the part of Poland, the highly populated Galicia (The map in Appendix 4).

In steps that bear a terrible likeness to those adopted later by the Nazis the process of removing Jews from Russia started with a compulsory order that every Jew must be registered⁵⁷⁴ with specific categories including rich Jews as 'merchants,' those in guilds, and the remainder as 'burghers'.⁵⁷⁵ The authorities had already decided in 1782 where Jews were to reside. Mostly, they had to live in towns and not in villages.⁵⁷⁶ In addition a law of 1791 prohibited Jews from residing in newly acquired provinces.⁵⁷⁷ This meant most Jews had to transfer into the Pale.⁵⁷⁸ Historian Samuel Ettinger points out that 'internal and foreign trade in the Pale were mostly concentrated in Jewish hands'.⁵⁷⁹ The Jewish settlement of the Pale was maintained for a long time - over 120 years. Jews were marked thoroughly by that time in the sphere of cultural, social and economic domains in comparison with what went before. The key point being Jews in the Pale were totally dependent on their Russian rulers and also on other non-Jewish neighbours. The Jews' situation can be described as mostly living under oppression. In the region of Ukraine, the Pale consisted of towns like Odessa, Zhitomir, Berdichev and Nikolaev, where empirical material of this study was gathered in 2000, and in Polish towns like Warsaw and Lodz, which I visited in 2001, and Lublin, where I made a study journey at the beginning of 1990s. In all, the once populous Jewish quarters were conspicuously absent: Only a very few remnants of the past. Full destruction of Jewish life!

Jews, as a pariah class, were made to comply in huge numbers with the forced transfers. If there were any serious insurrections among the Jews in the Pale they were easy to suppress as Jews had no official position in society. A parallel may be drawn with the Nazi regime which gradually and systematically stripped all civil and human rights from the Jews, so that they could be dealt with in any manner the authority chose.

Although no one could have foreseen this Russian inspired operation in the Pale was like a trial run – all Jews had to move to certain districts – so it was easy to control and liquidate them later, as happened during the Second World War. In 1882, about 500,000 Jews living in rural areas of the Pale were forced to leave their homes and transfer to towns or hamlets (shtetls) in the Pale (the forerunner of the ghetto-

⁵⁶⁸ Luther 2004, 2009.

⁵⁶⁹ Martin Luther: "...*Their homes should likewise be broken down and destroyed*", in: Rogasky1991, 10.

⁵⁷⁰ Rubinstein and Roth 2003, 57.

⁵⁷¹ See: Jewish Encyclopedia. See: Pale of Settlement.

⁵⁷² Ettinger 1999, 757f.

⁵⁷³ Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1995, 379f.

⁵⁷⁴ Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1995, 379.

⁵⁷⁵ Ettinger 1999, 757.

⁵⁷⁶ Ettinger 1999, 757.

⁵⁷⁷ Ettinger 1999, 757.

⁵⁷⁸ Map of the Pale in Appendix 4, also see: Beyond the Pale.

⁵⁷⁹ Ettinger 1999, 796.

labour camp). About 250,000 Jews living along the western frontier of Russia were also forced to move into the Pale, and 700,000 Jews living east of the Pale were driven into the Pale by 1891.⁵⁸⁰ As late as 1891 several thousand Jews were expelled to the Pale from Saint Petersburg and Moscow. Generally, the Jewish population possessed no natural rights or even citizenship to be able to live unrestrictedly in any place in the empire except under certain conditions defined by law. During that period - as an autonomous part of Russia (Grand Principality of Finland, and on behalf of Russia, the Finnish General Gubernatorstvo, 8 Guberniias)⁵⁸¹ - Finland also carried out some expulsions of Jews as Finnish Jewish human rights defender, Santeri Jacobsson explains in his socio-historical study published in 1951, 'The Faith for Human Rights.' His slogan for the study is: "I am Jewish and proud of it. If I do any differently, the world will not thank me."⁵⁸² In other words, the battle against the Jews in Russia extended to all parts of Russian administration, including the Grand Principality of Finland.

The size of Jewish settlement had grown so large that in 1880 about 53% of the world's Jewish population lived inside Russian borders⁵⁸³ and it is estimated by 1897 more than 5 million Jews lived in the Pale. Many Jews wanted to leave the country because circumstances in the Pale were very unfavourable for the majority of the Jewish population. The scale of emigration grew rapidly. The annual number of Jewish emigrants to the United States was around 12,900, but between 1891 and 1910 it grew to 44,800.⁵⁸⁴ During that time, the ethno-national Diaspora from Russia and from Ukraine to the West began to play a significant role. The USA became a new host country for many Diaspora Jews. Everything was in transition. The dynamic nature of Diaspora influenced the cultural, political and national structures of societies. These changes are seen both among Jewish minorities and also in majority groups.⁵⁸⁵

In a land of such vastness there were many contrasts even within the Jewish experience and below I present four other views of the life in the Pale. First: Poverty and charity in the Pale. Jews were predominantly poor people dependent on organizing their own social welfare system according to the Jewish tzedakah tradition (in English 'justice'; here meaning 'charity').⁵⁸⁶ In Poland I noticed that some used the word 'chewra' - this idea that the Jews help each other. Historian Martin Gilbert states: "Among the charitable societies organized by Jews were those to supply poor students with clothes, soldiers with kosher food, the poor with free medical treatment, poor brides with dowries, and orphans with reaching education."⁵⁸⁷ Jewish charitable work reached every facet of Jewish society.

Second: Jews started to secularize in the Pale. One reason was the emergence of the Haskalah Jewish intellectual movement. According to historian Shira Schoenberg, the Haskalah was a Jewish Enlightenment that lasted approximately from the 1770s to the 1880s. The name comes from the Hebrew word *sekhel* (in English 'reason', 'intellect'). The followers of the Haskalah are called the *maskilim*. This movement wanted to bring Jews out of the old fashioned Jewish ghettos into secular, modern European society.⁵⁸⁸ For example, the observance of Halakhah (the Torah) was no longer so important for women. Likewise the dress, language and manners of Jews started to represent more loyalty to the ruling power than traditional Jewishness. Jewish women were also encouraged to study secular subjects like languages and arts that had often been questionable if not banned in traditional Judaism. On the whole a maskilim's relation to the important Hebrew language and Jewish tradition is seen to be weak.⁵⁸⁹ In Odessa, some newspapers were published by Russian Jewish maskilim in the 1860s. According to poet Yehuda Leib Gordon, the Haskalah ideology in them was on the lines of, '*Be a man when you go out and a Jew in your home*'.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁰ Gilbert 2008.

⁵⁸¹ See map in: Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, xxvi.

⁵⁸² Jacobsson 1951.

⁵⁸³ Vishnevsky 2003, 157, according to *Kratkaja Evrejskaja Enciklopedija* (1994, 385). Cf. Hyman 1998, 271.

⁵⁸⁴ Vishnevsky 2003, 157.

⁵⁸⁵ Ohlinger and Münz 2003, 9, 10.

⁵⁸⁶ See: Aish.com (2010).

⁵⁸⁷ Gilbert 2008.

⁵⁸⁸ See: *Encyclopedic Dictionary Haskalah*.

⁵⁸⁹ See: Schoenberg 2010.

⁵⁹⁰ See: *Encyclopedic Dictionary Haskalah*.

Third: Political activity developed among poor Jewish workers in the Pale. One reason for this is that the Jewish socialist movement began to emerge and grow late in the 19th century. For example, Jewish workers' associations were behind strikes carried out in several towns. The socialist intelligentsia often joined workers in civil struggles for better conditions. The transition from Hebrew to Yiddish as the language of propaganda meant that the broader masses of Jewish workers - not only young educated yeshiva Jews - took part in the movements. A yeshiva designates a school/institution, where classical Judaism can be studied in a traditional, religious context.

Still pogroms occurred time to time and Jews were condemned by non-Jewish majority for one reason or another. Jewish socialists started to print socialist journals and literature in Yiddish instead of Hebrew, like the Hebrew socialist journal 'Asefat Hakhamim' ('Assembly of the Wise') produced by Morris Vinchevsky. Also Nathan Syrkin,⁵⁹¹ a political theorist who is regarded as the father of socialist Zionism influenced Jewish people's thoughts and attitudes at that time. Later he stood personally behind the ideas of collective, kibbutz settlements in Palestine.⁵⁹² - Jews struggled for their social and legal rights.

Some apparently enlightened Russians did try to reduce ill-feeling toward Jews, e.g. probably Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (alias Lenin)⁵⁹³ desired to establish social and political justice for Jews and he published the following statement in July 1918: "...the anti-Semitic movement and pogroms against Jews are damaging to the interest of the revolution of the workers and peasants, and calls on the labouring people of socialist Russia to fight this evil by all possible means..."⁵⁹⁴ Nonetheless, Lenin's efforts did not reduce anti-Semitism.⁵⁹⁵ The opposition was too entrenched within even the Bolsheviks and it did not allow Jews to occupy the more important posts in the movement's administration or in the subsequent new regime. At the start of the 20th century anti-Semitism's fire raged across Ukraine and other regions provoking a wave of savage pogroms. Old suspicions of the loyalty or otherwise of Jews were exploited by the Tsarists, the 'Whites' and the 'Reds' during the First World War and Civil War. In that period the foundations of Jewish livelihood were destroyed, i.e. their main economic and social activities like networking between the towns and villages.⁵⁹⁶

Fourth: Ukrainian 'Nationalism' came to life from the mid to late stages of the 19th century as people searched for their own cultural significance. Although non-Jewish citizens made many efforts in the 19th century to smother nationalism, a collective cultural consciousness had started to take shape, an indication of its strength and the political-cultural fear it evoked is Tsar Alexander II forbade the use of Ukrainian as a written language. Different phenomena could be observed exemplifying the longing for national and cultural independence. For example, in the beginning of 20th century, the Union of Ukrainian Independence was founded in order to inform abroad the desires of Ukrainian intellectuals and activists. A broad sweep of the popular psyche of the era would suggest that although the Ukrainian non-Jewish and Jewish populations had their own struggles, Jews were hated by Ukrainians and Russians, but Ukrainians were hated only by Russians, and 'the common enemy' for all was the Romanov dynasty. At that time, Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko (1814-61) became nationally known as a poet who came from a humiliated Ukrainian serf family. Shevchenko had an ability to express Ukrainian people's deepest feelings. He is recognised as the person who did most to use and develop the Ukrainian language at the expense of Rus-

⁵⁹¹ Nathan Syrkin (1868-1924) was born in the area that belongs now to Belarus.

Also Peretz Smolenskin (1842-1885) who was a romantic novelist and editor of a Hebrew Journal in Russia is regarded as the first to awaken the idea of Jewish Nationalism among the Jewish intellectuals in Russia.

According to Smolenskin: "Jews must proclaim to the whole world that they were one united people, although they had no kingdom, no country, no territory of their own". On the other hand Smolenski highlighted that "Jews must consider themselves citizens of their respective countries, their unity as a nation being only one in spirit"(Epstein 1968, 307).

⁵⁹² Ettinger 1999, 908ff.

⁵⁹³ Lenin was born as Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov.

⁵⁹⁴ Ettinger 1999, 969.

⁵⁹⁵ It is found that "Lenin's grandfather, Israel Blank, was born about in 1804 in Staro-Konstantynov, Ukraine, to Moshke (son of Isaac) Blank, a Jewish businessman, and his wife, Miriam." Read: Lenin and search for his Jewish Roots in: Horowitz, L. 1992.

⁵⁹⁶ Ettinger 1999, 968ff.

sian. He constructed the modern form of Ukrainian with its images, symbols and myths, so that his poetry opened up an alternative conceptual universe to, 'Little Russia'.⁵⁹⁷

'thou evil tsar!
Accursed Tsar, insatiate,
Perfidious serpent, what
Have you done, then, with the Cossacks?
You have filled the swamps
With their noble bones! And then
Built the capital (St Petersburg)
On their tortured corpses.

He continues:
It was (Peter) the First who crucified
Unfortunate Ukraine,
And (Catherine) the Second –she who finished off
Whatever yet remained.'⁵⁹⁸

Based on source material and analysis of this study there are very good reasons to argue that the idea of welfare emerged among Jews in the Pale.⁵⁹⁹ But what is also important to notice from the point of view of welfare or 'illfare' of Jews is increasing Jewish *activism* with different results and consequences in the Pale. Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment, put aside traditional Judaism liberating men and women, who became not only secular, but socially and politically active, leading to social Zionism. At the same time Ukraine as a nation became important in the struggle against the Romanovs. Those who took up the different strands of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Jewish development and resistance were not to know future events (First World War) would bring about such a swift and dramatic transition of society and their pre-Revolutionary role should not be discounted. Eventually, Tsarist rule of the Romanovs collapsed quickly, but it is debateable whether Ukrainians or Jews became anymore 'free' than in past centuries. We know from the sources that there was an increasing awareness of Jewishness.

Second Act: Towards the Final Transportation and Beyond

In this chapter I want to draw a political historic line during the 20th century. It starts from the 1917 October Revolution in Russia through to the Russian revolution in 1989 and on to the independent Ukraine in 1991.

While Ukrainian cultural recovery at the beginning of the 20th century was full of military offensives, the First World War and the October Revolution in Russia were times of profound changes in the political situation. Ukrainians fought on behalf of their own language and culture. Ukrainians suddenly founded new Ukrainian universities, 150 Ukrainian high schools and the Ukrainian National Archives. But, the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 changed the political power and Tsar Nicholas II perished under tragic circumstances.⁶⁰⁰ Historian Sheila Fitzpatrick notes that seven million men were under arms at the beginning of 1917, with two million in reserve. Lenin planned the revolution while living periodically in his hiding place in *Finland*. However, revolution did not bring the anticipated freedom.⁶⁰¹

The Revolution, Civil War and struggle for independence lasted three years. Between the years 1917 and 1918, several separate Ukrainian republics declared their independence. Ukraine became autonomous in 1917,⁶⁰² and the state of Ukraine was founded in 1918.⁶⁰³ However, in March 1921, Western Galicia

⁵⁹⁷ Wilson, A. 2002, 87-95, Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 111.

⁵⁹⁸ Wilson, A. 2002, 92. Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 153f.

⁵⁹⁹ One model of welfare is Jewish charity (tzedakah).

⁶⁰⁰ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 146.

⁶⁰¹ Fitzpatric 2008, 15ff, 52.

⁶⁰² Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 139.

⁶⁰³ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 139, 145.

was incorporated into Poland and the large central and eastern parts taken by the Soviet Union giving birth to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.⁶⁰⁴ Ukraine was rife with internal warfare and anarchy, and the Civil War for independence was lost in 1922 when the national and collective movement for liberalizing suffered defeat. So, independence did not last long. According to historical sources, these are only a few reasons why Ukraine became a part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), a constitutionally socialist state from 1922 to 1991. Historians Viktor Pilipenko and Georgi Kasjanov take the view that Ukraine's political, economic and cultural life was not mature enough for independence at that time. Another reason was the incomplete integration between differing areas of the state. In addition, political leaders had different views about the development of Ukraine.⁶⁰⁵

Under the rule of Communism in the Soviet Ukraine, Jews were clearly oppressed, but they nonetheless found again a way of functioning and expressing their opinions in society.⁶⁰⁶ Informants Valentin and Sergei described this period with words: "During the Communist period, people mocked and bullied Jews and laughed at them." And, "Jews did not stress being Jewish, but rather *being good Soviet citizens*."⁶⁰⁷ This was, however, the starting point of wider assimilation. Under the pressure of the political Soviet system, hidden Jewishness had a price, which could not be paid without the loss of human lives. Being transformed into a good Soviet Citizen did not help, and the Second World War 1939-1945 meant total catastrophe for Jews, and others. According to history, the war was mainly between the Allies (the United Kingdom, France, the USA and the Soviet Union with its allies) and the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan), but it expanded to global, 'total war' and mobilized over 100 million people as military personnel. Ukraine was the major area of the former Jewish Pale of Settlement and coincidentally became one of the largest battlegrounds of World War Two. When Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, it brought decisive changes to the Jews' fate and living conditions in the Pale. The Pale was like a basin, where Jews were gathered – for the later liquidation.

According to Ukrainian political history scholar, Tatiana Zhurzhenko, the experience of the Second World War was very different for Ukrainians in the Western and Eastern regions. She states that 'Westerners' in Ukraine fought against the Nazis and the Soviet army for the national liberation of Ukraine, but instead 'the Easterners' in Ukraine fought for the liberation of Soviet Ukraine against the Nazis together with Russians.⁶⁰⁸ Zhurzhenko points out that most Ukrainians find it difficult accept the 'anti-Soviet' version of Ukrainian history. According to Zhurzhenko, the Russian speaking Ukrainians and the Russians in Eastern Europe are politically loyal to Ukrainian state, but she points out that many of them want neither to accept the imposition of a Ukrainian cultural identity based on ethnic/linguistic criteria combined with anti-Russian resentments, nor the opposition of a 'European Ukraine' to an 'Asiatic Russia'.⁶⁰⁹ Nonetheless, all people were intertwined with each other in the district of the Pale: Jewish and non-Jewish Ukrainians and Russians, and *mixed citizens*. Civilians also became involved with the war, because they were linked with systems in everyday life of economic, industrial and scientific networks, which the military forces utilized.

The losses in the Second World War were huge. The biggest losers proportionally were the Jews and the Ukrainians. The Soviet Ukrainian people of this time were described as being traditionally hostile to carrying out acts of extermination. Yet, there is a lot of evidence that bears witness to the fact that large sections of people of Ukraine collaborated with the Nazis in the mass extermination of Jews. The overall situation was catastrophic in the whole Soviet Union. Pilipenko and Kasjanov mention that 700 towns and 28,000 villages were destroyed in Ukraine and over 10 million people had nowhere to go. Ukraine lost 40 per cent of its national property inventory. It is estimated that worldwide over 70 million people perished - mostly civilians with about 5.3 - 8 million Ukrainians and 600,000-850,000 Ukrainian Jews. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were about 26-27 million Ukrainians in the world, although there are

⁶⁰⁴ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 152f.

⁶⁰⁵ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 153f.

⁶⁰⁶ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO4/5.

⁶⁰⁷ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/6.

⁶⁰⁸ Zhurzhenko 2002.

⁶⁰⁹ Zhurzhenko 2002.

higher estimations of 34 or even up to 37 million. Including Jews in the district of Ukraine at least 2.5 - 3 million Soviet Jews were killed out of a total of some 20 million⁶¹⁰. In 1939 the Jewish population of Ukraine was 1.5 million according to Gregorovich (1995).⁶¹¹

I met the president of the Regional Holocaust Survivors of Odessa, Arkady (Aavram) Khasin,⁶¹² who gave me documentary information concerning the destiny of Ukrainian Jews after the Nazis established about 50 ghettos in Ukrainian towns. The German Army there included Einsatzgruppen with 500 to 1,000 men specialized in killing people. Einsatzgruppen with local Ukrainians transported hundreds of thousands of Jews outside the towns and also out of the country itself. They also murdered Jews. It is reported that Nazi police personnel would spend even weeks hunting down one concealed Jewish child. Romanian Nazis murdered 26,000 Jews in Odessa by the end of October 1941. The evacuation of about 3.5 million Ukrainians, mainly key-persons in society, to the East included many Jews. Estimations of their number range from about one-half to two-thirds of the total Jewish population of Ukraine. Thousands of Jews were killed in cities like Zhitomir and Berdichev in the summer of 1941. And, 180 concentration camps were established in the area of the state commissariat there.⁶¹³

The American Supporters of survivors of the Shoah have published two video documents 'Survivors of the Shoah' including interviews and memoirs of Arkady Khasin, in Odessa. This material is used as background in this study. Many Jews in their hearts cry out not only for recognition of wrongs done to them, but for compensation that would validate their complaints of injustice and cruelty in the 20th century. The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour increased during the Second World War the Jews' legal vulnerability and social isolation.⁶¹⁴ Would it be wrong if society now would officially *apologise*⁶¹⁵ and offer compensation? Informant Jasha points out disappointed that politicians in Ukraine are not pro-Jewry and they do not start to prepare new legislation.⁶¹⁶ In the minds of many Jews a certain level of anti-Semitism as a form of social rape is allowed to continue up to the present in the new State. On the other hand 'I love this country,' said a 74 years old grandmother expressing the Shalom (peace) which lives in her heart in Ukraine.⁶¹⁷

Elderly informants told their own stories of survival. Lidia, a sensitive and gentle woman whom I met in her friend's home, is one of them:

Lidia told, because of her green eyes, she does not look Jewish. She was deeply emotionally touched by her memories as she recounted how she survived. Her face changed colour and expression. She lost every relative during the war. At that time, she was a child, a little girl and became an orphan. Lidia said: "German and Romanian soldiers gathered Jews to some special district or the prison. Usually non-Jews showed the soldiers who was a Jew and who was not a Jew. So, the Nazis knew who was a Jew and who was not... the soldiers wanted to kill Jews for the political reasons." They also took Lidia and wanted to transfer her to a prison from their assembly point, but she had an opportunity to escape. She hid and spent one night in a cemetery and later she found another place to conceal herself. Then, to her surprise, she recognised one woman walking on the pedestrian street in Odessa. This woman also noticed Lidia. Although this female helper was not Jewish, but rather a non-Jewish Russian, she decided to keep this small child refugee safe for a long time.⁶¹⁸

Hannah Arendt who studied especially family and children emphasizes that the family must provide children with a secure and secluded place in which to grow, away from the public eye.⁶¹⁹ When I met

⁶¹⁰ It is also estimated that the number was much smaller.

⁶¹¹ Gregorovich 1995. Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 169ff, 178; Pinkus 1988, 261; Vishnevsky 2003, 163.

⁶¹² Khasin 1998, 2000.

⁶¹³ Khasin 1998; The personal discussion with the leader of the holocaust office of Odessa, A. Khasin, in Odessa, December 2000.

⁶¹⁴ Johnson E. A. 2000, 105.

⁶¹⁵ Cf. sociology of apology (e.g. Tavuchis 1993) and of politics of apologies (e.g. Nobles 2008).

⁶¹⁶ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO7/44, and two videotapes by Khasin 1998. The anti-Jewish laws have ceased to exist, and Jews have received equal civil, political, national rights with other people.

⁶¹⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/14.

⁶¹⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/5.

⁶¹⁹ Deegan 1991, 43-54.

Lidia, who was already quite old, this secret, secluded place for her was her home. I did not step over the threshold into her home, so this privacy still protects her in her old age.

Informant Anatoli asserts that Jews generally have an *'abnormal reaction to circumstances.'*⁶²⁰ Perhaps one abnormal reaction is that many Jews still love Ukraine and Ukrainians so much. Jews still want to live there with Ukrainian citizens some of whom obviously did not love them, but who have betrayed them so many times during Jewish history. It must be noted however, that Lidia's helper (the prior case) did not belong to the Jews, and we again see, life is never only black or white. There are not only evil and good people; it seems in everyone of us (without regard of our ethnicity) there is a struggle between our brutal barbarian and our refined spirited self and as the history of people has bitterly shown, the outcome is all too often dependent on particular circumstances.

The new *muddle way* started at the end of 1980. The political opposition, meaning cultural intellectuals gained in ascendancy and started to struggle openly against the Communist Party. The 'muddle way' ended up in independence in 1991, which, according to Wilson, was achieved as much by accident as by design, and largely as a result of events occurring elsewhere. The term, 'the muddle way,' comes from Dominique Arel's article 'Ukraine: The Muddle Way.'⁶²¹ Andrew Wilson states that the collapse of Communism in the Soviet Union was finally concluded with independence of Ukrainian citizens. Ukraine became a constitutional democracy without any real fireworks; no lives were lost in 1989-1991.⁶²² For Ukrainian citizens, Jews and non-Jews, this has meant a new era. The collective consciousness of human beings started to recover.⁶²³

SUMMARIZING this from the point of political-history context, there are good grounds to argue Jews have lived in extremely hard circumstances, in the 'voices in the wilderness'- process⁶²⁴ during the last hundred years. This period includes serious grievances,⁶²⁵ which are seen as critical components⁶²⁶ and therefore necessary for the emergence of new Social Movements in Ukraine. All that especially female Jews and their ancestors have experienced must surely also have a great influence on the emergence of the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement. In the next chapter I shall demonstrate how social cultural factors influenced the Mission view.

3.2. The Socio-Cultural Context of the Messianic Jewish Movement

3.2.1. Social-Cultural Emphasis in Transition

The political-history context is likened to a chronological time horizon for this study. It structures historical periods with various events and turning points. Three other contexts - socio-cultural, economical and religious - are intertwined with the political history context. In this study, historical upheavals and events provide the background against which factors in different contexts will be set. Therefore, this ethnographic study's nature also takes the form of a socio-historical analysis.

Next, I shall present socio-cultural factors, which influence the emergence of the Mission view according to analysis. I start from definition of culture. The word culture is derived from the Latin 'cultura'

⁶²⁰ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO6/23.

⁶²¹ Arel 1998.

⁶²² Wilson, A. 2002, 171.

⁶²³ Nonetheless Wilson argues that the opposition Rukh (an Ukrainian term of 'Rukh' means a movement of the folk) was unable to take power into its own hands in 1989-91, because of its inherited historical weakness of Ukrainian ethno-nationalism. Instead the imperial-totalitarian system simply collapsed from anti-state revolt, shock, and power had to be given to someone. Wilson, A. 2002, 156ff.

⁶²⁴ According to Muukkonen (2005) milling in Blumer's thesis represents the stage of 'voices in the wilderness'.

⁶²⁵ Sociologist Karl-Dieter Opp has studied the causal order of grievances and Social Movement participations.

According to him, the grievances have a causal effect on movements. See: Opp 1988.

⁶²⁶ Grievance is a critical component. See: Dalton and Todor 1982.

stemming from 'colere', meaning 'to cultivate'. Hiebert envisages a culture with four levels: 1) Visible elements such as cultural products, patterns of behaviour, including speech. 2) Myths and rituals, cultural dramas that give expression to conscious beliefs, feelings and values in a culture. They establish deep cultural themes and social norms, which people see as indispensable in society. 3) Systems of belief that encode cultural knowledge. 4) Unseen structures underlying the entire explicit culture – the worldview.⁶²⁷ It is worth noticing again that Ukraine in 2000 is seen as a transition society meaning that not only visible social practices, but also often invisible Ukrainian value basis is in a continuously changing process.⁶²⁸

Thus, cultural factors are grounded into society. How can we define 'society'? Such classical scholars as Auguste Comte, as mentioned in the chapter 1.2., Emile Durkheim and Max Weber; and Karl Marx have defined phenomena of 'society' and 'social' in different ways with various perspectives. Comte's theory has three stages of society: the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive. He presented three theological stages: fetishism, polytheism, and monotheism. Comte represents in science positivism, which refers to the need for verifying data. On the other hand, Durkheim had a concept of 'social fact,' which consists in ways of thinking, feeling and acting. He was interested in religion and presented elementary forms of religious life as descendant of Jewish Rabbis. Durkheim was also a positivist. Weber focused strongly on religion: Christianity according to him is 'a great rational prophecy', which proclaims the subjection of fate to intelligence. Weber showed his antipathy to magic, the occultic idols world which attitude was itself however inherited presumably from Judaism⁶²⁹ Instead of the scientific orientation of Comte⁶³⁰ and Durkheim⁶³¹, Weber was anti-positivist and hermeneutics, putting more stress on the interpretation of written texts.⁶³² For Karl Marx the starting point was defining society from its lowest element via working class and poverty and pointing to materialism not religion (in part because he sought to reject his Rabbinic Jewish heritage)⁶³³. However, he could not avoid Jewish emphasis and perspectives. Thus, God did not exist in his theories, but the power of *class* took somehow God's place in writings.

Later, many other scientists like Georg Herbert Mead determined 'social' in connection with social interactionism.⁶³⁴ Hannah Arendt also brought many new aspects into scientific discussion from the point of view of religion in society.⁶³⁵ For example, she argues that the Catholic Church incorporated Greek philosophy into the structure of its doctrines and dogmatic beliefs.⁶³⁶ The contemporary philosopher, Zygmund Bauman put stress on society from the viewpoints of security and freedom, especially in his analysis of the Jewish Ghetto.⁶³⁷ Talcott Parsons sees society as a social system: According to him religion contributes to social integration. Also Parsons social interest focused on Jews and he analyzed them under National Socialism.⁶³⁸

The above text shows some aspects which include factors within society are intertwined from the point of view of community and an individual. As seen 'religion' is not excluded, but mostly included in conceptualization of the authors' thinking. But, I am happy to agree with the humble idea of Bauman who modestly underlines the impossibility to know everything about a society. Bauman says that it is true that 'society' is always an 'imagined entity, never given to experience in its totality.'⁶³⁹ If so, surely also in

⁶²⁷ Hiebert 2008, 31-33.

⁶²⁸ Transition society in social policy literature is a term which is used to illustrate the social political situation in all ex-Soviet countries since the collapse of Communism. See for example: Simpura 1995, Simpura (ed.).1995, Turuntsev 1995; see also: Isajiw (ed.). 2003.

⁶²⁹ Weber 1961, 265.

⁶³⁰ Comte 1853, 1954, 1856, 1865, 1891, 1998.

⁶³¹ Durkheim 1912/1965, 1947, 1950, 1982, 2001, 2008.

⁶³² Weber 1947, 1949, 1958, 1963, 1967, 1976, 2005, 2010.

⁶³³ Marx 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009, Marx and Engels 2005, see also: McLellan 1983.

⁶³⁴ Mead, G. H.e.g. 1934, 1964, 1982.

⁶³⁵ Arendt 1978, 2003.

⁶³⁶ Arendt 2003, 491.

At the more concrete level Arendt determined society from a viewpoint of children's education.

Arendt also handles Jewish issues, for example in her study 'Origin of Totalitarianism' (Arendt 1951).

⁶³⁷ Bauman 2001.

⁶³⁸ Parsons 1964, 1967, 1971, 1975, See also Parsons in: Furuseth & Repstad 2006, Gerhardt (ed.).1993.

⁶³⁹ Bauman 2001, 111.

this study where the socio-cultural factors that occur again and again in my material are: 1) Suffering, 2) family, 3) mixed families, 4) the 'back to home' movement, 5) 'Berehynia' and 6) work.

I will start again with the 'suffering factor' referring to the title of this work 'the vale of tears'. As understood, suffering belongs to almost all dimensions of this study. It is impossible to eliminate its 'social power' without damaging the results of this study concerning in a post-Colonial Ukrainian, multi-ethnic society which is confronting numerous multi-ethnic problems not least between Ukrainians and Russians, but with Jews as well.

From a Nazi's viewpoint at the end of Second World War the failure included that not all Jews had disappeared in Ukraine, it was not *Judenrein* (no Jews) although in the western USSR including Ukraine it had devoted many resources to its 'Final Solution' in an attempt to *purify* the state. Nonetheless, the Jewish population had fallen to a minimum. Accusations from both sides (non-Jews against Jews, and *vice versa*) continue and the table of wrongs was cluttered in 2000 and remains so to this day. I witnessed concretely how this nightmarish history of Ukraine still weighs on the mind of many Ukrainians. This state of affairs was highlighted by a secret meeting with some Jewish elderly women at their home where the curtains had to be tightly drawn. I felt, how experience of suffering was there and is eternally present, in memories, imagination, in symbols and artefacts, sometimes still seen on the walls of houses, in streets where 'something happened.' The story of the Shoah/ Holocaust is all around. Similarly, there was secrecy in Warsaw and in Russia when some Messianic Jews gathered in a home; they had to be discreet, keep a low profile and literally quiet so no one could hear their voices, behind closed curtains to avoid being seen. Only, for one reason: They had the faith, a special type that time immemorial had taught them could attract unwanted and unkind attention.⁶⁴⁰

In 2000, in Ukraine it seemed almost every elderly person, not only pensioners and not only Jews suffered a great deal. Lack of material things continuously gave rise to new 'why' questions: The deep, bitter disappointment towards Soviet promises which were never fulfilled and yearning for the real truth (perhaps God?) seem to be linked together allegorically like rail carriages full of Jewish prisoners on trains during the Second World War. Nobody knew what was happening and what might come next was open to fearful expectation and harsh experience. In 2000 I was witnessing these same Jews and their descendants of them, after a half century yet again damaged and suffering who now filled the compartments of different religious assemblies. There some who openly said they wanted to know whether God, JHWH, exists. In this study I deal with religion in its own context in the chapter 3.4., 4. and 5.1.⁶⁴¹

If some do not say her or his thoughts so openly, I saw how they listen to sermons curiously and look like someone looking for a needle in a haystack. They listened every single word. They stared at the Big Book, the Torah Scrolls; some saw these the first time, therefore some became near and touched them. Then, they may look at me asking, why I am here. Am I also interested in religion? 'Yes, yes, I am...'. Some wanted to hug me; have I come from so far, Finland. They did not know it, some said, it's in Russia, Mongolia...there is much snow, ice-bears, etc. Then they told, that religion was forbidden for them... In fact, they really did not know almost anything about Finland, my native land, but their warmth connected us; and once again it came an deep impression as if we all would belong to the same human population. I noticed these united and shared warm expressions were quite common in Messianic meetings.

Turning back to the topic of suffering I will refer to Geertz, who finds that "the problem of suffering is paradoxically, not how to avoid a suffering but how to suffer, how to make of physical pain, personal loss, wordy defeat, or the helpless contemplation of others' agony something bearable, supportable – something, as we say, sufferable."⁶⁴² Maxim, one of this study's informants, refers to this all-embracing suffering that he must accept and take every day, as follows: "Jewish blood, pain and suffering, - I carry them all in my soul, as did Jews during the centuries before me."⁶⁴³

⁶⁴⁰ See: Encyclopedia of Ukraine.

⁶⁴¹ In: Appendix 5 'Judaism' and in: Appendix 6 'Christianity'. In these appendices it is described some characteristics of these religions in Ukraine.

⁶⁴² Geertz 1973, 104.

⁶⁴³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/19.

It seems obvious that in a transition society there is a special *niche*⁶⁴⁴ and the will to solve problems of suffering with religion. Parsons highlights that religion contributes social integration,⁶⁴⁵ at least in some ethnic groups like Jews, but also in a broader sense to the whole society.

Geertz says the religious perspective differs from everyday perspectives, for religion ‘moves beyond the realities of everyday life to wider ones which correct and complete them’. Geertz adds ‘its defining concern is not action upon those wider realities but acceptance of them, faith in them’.⁶⁴⁶ This can be seen in the study’s empirical material in how informants describe their transcendental relations.⁶⁴⁷ Some informants had searched for supernatural power; many of them say that they know that this power exists and many of them wanted to know much more about this power. This is quite a strange development as for seven decades their ancestors within Soviet society had rejected the Supernatural.

Informant Bertha confesses: “Without JHWH I could not manage.”⁶⁴⁸ Informant Abram proclaims: “We have JHWH!”⁶⁴⁹ Informant Hannah says: “When a Jewish man and a woman find JHWH, their behaviour will change...they want to change their attitudes...”⁶⁵⁰ Informant Sabina supposes: “Almost everyone knows JHWH.”⁶⁵¹ I felt Sabina hoped this.

Life in Ukraine is based on the fact that Ukraine is not any longer a colony of the Soviet Union, so, its citizens live in an era of post-Colonialism. This term illustrates the separation of Ukraine from old style ‘Mother Russia,’ which, although it is like an ex-mother is still very much alive and its *presence* is felt in the vicinity.⁶⁵² Today’s independent Ukraine no longer stands between independence and Colonialism, between Kiev and Moscow, between Europe and Eurasia, but on its own feet on its own ground. Nevertheless, the arm wrestling between the two cultures continues. According to the 1989 census, over 37 million Ukrainians live in Ukraine amounting to 70 % of the population entire number of Ukrainians in the world. It is estimated that 44 % of those who consider themselves as Ukrainians (78 % of permanent inhabitants of Ukraine) speak Ukrainian, and 30 % Russian.⁶⁵³ It is noteworthy that a strong minority of over 11 million Russians also live in Ukraine. Nonetheless, only 57 % of those Russians were born in Ukraine, the remainder in Russia. Russians do not willingly identify themselves as a minority group in Ukraine. Instead, according to sources, they refer rather to myths of a common East Slavic origin and want to believe that Ukraine was originally ‘*Rus*’.⁶⁵⁴ This polarization affects both public and private life and sometimes generates harsh humour. ‘The raped mother’ (the Ukrainian woman = a national symbol) raped by ‘Moskali’ (Russian soldiers) is transformed and becomes the new Ukrainian. This model is presented in Tatiana Zhurzhenko’s analysis of Taras Schevchenko’s poetry.⁶⁵⁵ Another picture would be that Russians in Ukraine became orphans after the 1991 independence because they have been separated in theory and practice from the ‘mother Russia’ and from Moscow. However, surveys have shown only about a half of all Russians in Ukraine can imagine themselves as ‘pure Russians’⁶⁵⁶. The social-cultural (and political) situation of Jews seems to be continuously insecure. In the election of October 2012 ultra-

⁶⁴⁴Popielarz and Neal 2007. The niche refers to a condition where different and changing environmental conditions interact under competitive situations including a finite environment. In Ukraine it was a time (a niche) for the Messianic Jewish Movement to emerge.

⁶⁴⁵Parsons 1971.

⁶⁴⁶Geertz 1973, 112.

⁶⁴⁷Transcendence refers here to JHWH and the Divine world which is beyond of our everyday reality.

⁶⁴⁸In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/17.

⁶⁴⁹In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/18.

⁶⁵⁰In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/9.

⁶⁵¹In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/29.

⁶⁵²Wilson, A. 2002, 211ff.

⁶⁵³Phillips 2008, 39f, in: Wolczuk 2000, 673.

⁶⁵⁴Wilson, A. 2002, 206-233. Phillips (2008, 40) estimates that 17% of the population identifies itself as ethnically Russian and is Russian speaking. Cf. Wilson, A. 2002, 219; according to 1989 census ‘pure Russians’ were 11% of Russians in Ukraine.

⁶⁵⁵Zhurzhenko 2001, 7.

⁶⁵⁶Cf. Wilson, A. 202, 219.

nationalists accused Jews of being ‘occupiers of Ukraine’.⁶⁵⁷ These accusations reawaken question-marks because the number of the Jews is minimal and continuously decreases. According to statistics the population identified as Jewish in the 1989 census (0.9 %) is declined to 0.2 % by 2001.⁶⁵⁸

Yet, it is generally assumed that the assimilation process took three generations. Many live at the edge of the Ukrainian and Russian metaphysical borderland. It is pre-eminently a question of some kind of *shared identity*⁶⁵⁹. For Russians it is a question as to how a Russian minority can accept a policy of ‘two languages, one people’ that is a reality in the present situation.⁶⁶⁰ In one Ukrainian family, the mother may be originally Russian and the father may be originally Ukrainian and because the family lives in Ukraine this is their home country. But it may well be that another has parents born in Russia, etc. Thus, there are millions of ‘Russo-Ukrainians’ and also vice versa, ‘Ukraino-Russians.’ The situation is really confusing; ethnicity, language, birth country, and home country are mixed. In addition, almost everybody has relatives in different parts of Ukraine and the ex-Soviet Union empire, so these relationships with relatives are also mixed. On top of this, Ukrainians and/or Russians may be non-Jewish or Jewish or partly (somehow) Jewish.⁶⁶¹ People do become ethnically mixed in the long run. This possibility of mixing ethnicity amongst 100 ethnic minorities in society generates ‘potential background tension’ and the need to co-operate with different ethnic groups. Mixed families, consisting of family members who may have different religious backgrounds were quite common in Ukraine in 2000. One example: Ruth, an informant, seems to be Jewish (Russian Jewish), so her daughter is Jewish from her mother’s side (ethnicity and religion), but Ruth’s husband is not Jewish, but Ukrainian (he is a believer in Yeshua), and he wants to identify himself as a non-Jewish Messianic believer.⁶⁶²

Thus, in 2000, ethnic minorities are not isolated from the majority as a result of about 70 years’ ‘melting pot’ - policy. The fact still remains that under Communist rule people of different ethnic groups worked side by side in their workplaces not as Jews, Tatars and Slavs, but as Soviet citizens. At that time, citizens knew whether they were of Jewish nationality or not, although Jews often tried to hide their ethnicity. As a result of this Soviet ‘melting pot’ –policy, there are clearly Ukrainians in the year 2000 who are not acquainted with their ethnicity and ask: “Who am I originally?” Many elderly people I met, remembered clearly, how before the Second World War, before ‘melting pot’ –policy, Jews and non-Jews lived in ethnically differentiated groups, often totally separated in their own groups. Isolation refers to a state of maximum disengagement from everything else and the creation of one’s own infrastructure.⁶⁶³ This fight for national identity and identification in Ukraine around the question ‘who are we?’ resembles Finland’s fight for its national identification after separation from Sweden in the 19th century. University docent A. I. Arwidsson’s phrase (at least put in his mouth) became an often quoted Fennoman credo: “Swedes we are not/no-longer, Russians we do not want to become, let us therefore become *Finns*.”⁶⁶⁴

However, the situation in Ukraine today is more complex than Finland’s past history. Russians have never populated the Finnish Maiden (the nickname of Finland). In Ukraine, the socio-cultural atmosphere seems to be abhorrent and, after independence in 1991, problems in the state have often progressed to a crisis point. But Ukrainians are still groping frantically towards their authentic ‘experience of exist-

⁶⁵⁷ See: The BBC News the 29th October 2012. The ultra-nationalist Svoboda’s (Freedom) leader Oleh Tyahnybok has said that Jews and Russians are occupiers in Ukraine. Svoboda however denies it is anti-Semitic.

"Considering the abuse of power, and the excessive role of money in this election, democratic progress appears to have reversed in Ukraine", said Walburga Habsburg Douglas, a Swedish MP who headed the mission of OSCE (the world’s largest security-oriented intergovernmental organization).

⁶⁵⁸ Phillips 2008, 40.

⁶⁵⁹ Shared identity, or split, or multiple identity as happened among Marranos, in: Yovel 2009. From the point of view of history, Jews have been forced to change their identity to some extent; for example see: Sephardim- Conversos-Marranos.

⁶⁶⁰ Social-Liberal Union (SLO) is against separation of united people.

⁶⁶¹ Wilson, A. 2002, 206-233.

⁶⁶² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/51f.

⁶⁶³ Niznik 2003, 357.

⁶⁶⁴ He lived 1791–1858. Castrén 1951.

ence.⁶⁶⁵ Anthropologist, Sarah D. Phillips points out that the broad category of the ‘Soviet people’ covered up differences of ethnicity and language during the Soviet era. Today, the erosion of cultural and linguistic barriers between Ukrainians and Russians – and I might also add between Jews and non-Jews – poses a formidable challenge to fashioning a seamless Ukrainian national identity.⁶⁶⁶ If ‘two Ukraines’ is one reality for many in 2000 where is the place of the Jews, indeed, do they have one at all in Ukraine?

All families have problems, not just mixed ones allowing the ‘Back to home’ -movement to gain a foothold in society. It emphasizes the frustration of mothers and wives who do not have enough time for their family and children if they have to work full-time. The original idea was to strengthen the family within women’s role at home.⁶⁶⁷ According to historian Barbara Alpern Engel the debate launched by the ‘back to home’ movement has gained momentum in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.⁶⁶⁸ Put simply, it concentrates on the issue of how to enable Ukrainian women to ‘return to their purely womanly mission.’⁶⁶⁹ Although women’s emancipation became part of the rejected Soviet legacy, a deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet proclaimed that, “we should restore her (woman’s) role in society as the main carrier of the genetic code and hereditary information about traditions, customs, culture,” etc.⁶⁷⁰

In 2000, informant Hannah reveals some problems in the family unit. She complains that family ties are too loose today. Women seem to be stronger than men in families and therefore women have to handle many things in order to cope with life. Sometimes a woman is the only breadwinner in her family. Since women work hard outside the home too, they carry a double burden: Responsibility at home and in working life. This has led to deterioration in the relationship between wife and husband. There is also a conspicuous drinking problem in Ukrainian society. According to Hannah, it is not unusual for husbands to have this kind of problem. They spend a lot of time away from home and she points out that it is not unusual for a man to have another female relationship with a woman like a mistress. There may be many reasons for this system in society, but, according to Hannah, one of them is that housewives have usurped ‘male authority’. I quite often heard this type of reasoning about a woman’s ‘boss image’ in family.

Hannah also points out that in Ukraine women have misplaced the importance of the values of motherhood and motherliness. One big problem which families have to meet everyday according to her is that because the state cannot guarantee even a minimum economic livelihood, much less mental and social well-being than needed, all families and every family member has to try to get on by themselves. The results have often been very unsatisfactory.⁶⁷¹

On the other hand Phillips, however, points out that social welfare reform is one of the most contentious political issues in the new Ukraine. She argues that the social welfare system is widely utilized in society and that in 2005 more money was paid out in social assistance than in wages.⁶⁷² But in 2000, the situation was worse. From the point of everyday challenges informant Klara’s thinking focuses still on partnership in family.

According to Klara the basis for family life and welfare in society is in partnership between a woman and a man. She hopes that women and men could find their originally created roles and status of life in society. They would then feel better and enjoy success and fulfilment, when they have adopted their created natural, essential roles in family. This does not mean that women would not be able to take part in the social public sphere because, in her opinion, Jewish women are wise, smart. She has experienced that women have inner insight, so they can benefit society at micro-, meso- and macro-levels.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁵ New Social Movements seem to be one way to determine, who ‘are we’ and ‘what do we need and desire’. See: The Orange Revolution.

⁶⁶⁶ Phillips 2008, 40.

⁶⁶⁷ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 254. See also Salomea Pavlychko in Buckley 1992, 88.

⁶⁶⁸ The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic = The Ukrainian SSR (from 1922-1991).

⁶⁶⁹ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 252f.

⁶⁷⁰ Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, 254. quoted text of Solomea Pavlychko in: Buckley 1992, 88.

⁶⁷¹ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/4.

⁶⁷² Phillips 2008, 11.

⁶⁷³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/10.

Accordingly, informant Ida highlights the importance of taking care of children. She spends about 1.5 - 3 hours (from 5 to 9 pm) every day for guiding children with their homework. She says that the mother's most important role is to guide, help and control her children's education which includes spiritual capacities in order to grow as a human being.⁶⁷⁴

Berehynia

Scholar of women issues and public activist, Solomea Pavlychko, refers to a kind of new mythology, where a Ukrainian woman (not Jewish) is usually described using the concept of Berehynia, the *heart mother*. Accordingly, Hiebert emphasizes the importance of myths as tools for constructing reality in culture. Myths are seen as the broader stories that people take to be true about ultimate human history and biographies by illustrating the fundamental 'story line' in which they live. As a general rule mythology is defined in religion as the body of traditional narratives associated with religion⁶⁷⁵ from a mythographical perspective.⁶⁷⁶ According to Hiebert, Berehynia is either a Ukrainian pagan goddess or a stalwart peasant. Pavlychko depicts Berehynia in this manner: "She is the perfect Ukrainian woman, the spirit of the Ukrainian home, the ideal mother, who has played an important role in national history, the preserver of language and national identity."⁶⁷⁷

Also, Phillips sees that the Berehynia has become a major symbol of womanhood and motherhood in the independent Ukraine. It is obvious that politicians evoke the Berehynia in political discussions.⁶⁷⁸ Pavlychko criticizes this fantasy figure of Ukrainian matriarchy and she claims that the restructured and idealized myth is in part the response to the culture shock of post-totalitarian freedom which has destroyed all former taboos.⁶⁷⁹ Pavlychko sees that it is question to restore 'peasant patriarchal structures.'⁶⁸⁰ Economist Anastasia Posadskaya says this is the 'renaissance of patriarchy' after socialism's fall.⁶⁸¹ Yet, political science researcher, Tatiana Zhurzhenko notes that the Berehynia, the 'strong mother' image, "can be interpreted in a feminist/nationalist way and women can be represented not only as biological, but also as spiritual reproducers of nation."⁶⁸²

In any case, it is an interesting development in today's women's movement in Ukraine with Ukrainian non-Jewish women apparently seeking new paragons for their existence as a woman, a wife and a mother. And, no less value is the question of in what ways, if at all, the non-Jewish Ukrainian mother, the Berehynia is linked to the myth of the Jewish (Yiddish) mother. The empirical or theoretical sources of this study do not mention any direct connection. However, the ideals of the Berehynia and of the Jewish mother do have some similarities. They are both 'real mothers,' who are devoted to their home, family and children. However, the backdrop to Jewish mothers in Ukraine is the ancient matriarchs from the Bible. As such it refers to pre-Christian traditions. Thus, the authority of being a Biblical woman in her different social-cultural domains on the earth is seen to stem from the personal relationship between the Divine God (JHWH) and she, who was created to honour and care for life in different forms.

Work

In the text above, I have written about socio-cultural factors like suffering, family, mixed families, the 'back to home movement' and 'Berehynia.' The next factor to be dealt with is work. Women's unemployment and the secret of the durability of hidden unemployment were phenomena in the transition soci-

⁶⁷⁴ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/11.

⁶⁷⁵ The references to the Jewish Haggadah tradition in the chapter 3.1.3.

⁶⁷⁶ Hiebert 2008, 99.

⁶⁷⁷ Pavlychko 1996, 311.

⁶⁷⁸ Phillips 2008, 51.

⁶⁷⁹ Pavlychko 1996, 311.

⁶⁸⁰ Pavlychko 1992, 92.

⁶⁸¹ Posadskaya 1994.

⁶⁸² Zhurzhenko 2001, 4.

ety at least in the late 1990s. Added to this is the fact that the majority of people combine formal and informal employment: 'Secondary jobs' were usual tools for citizens to supplement their income.⁶⁸³ Some young men in a Messianic congregation came to me and asked whether I could pray for them to get a good job. In answer to my query what was meant by a 'good job' they told it meant for example the building trade working as skilled brick-layers, carpenters, or at least as builder's assistants with a good salary for heavy work. Most could not choose their employment, having to work very hard at whatever jobs were available in order to survive. The informants told me that it was similar for Jewish women: They work in all kinds of job, e.g. cleaners, janitors or caretakers because they cannot make any progress in their working life since they are Jewish. Ethnicity affects their opportunities.⁶⁸⁴ On a long term basis Jewish working life has been turned upside down. In the 'good old times,' Jews owned shops and were occupied in good professions, but today the absence of Jews in industry, trade and other good occupations can be seen in many ways.

The informants often made comparisons between *then* and *now*. I counted how many 'then' dimensions they used in this context and found at least three. For example, 'then' Jews ran working life and 'now' they no longer do so. The first 'then' refers to the turning point era before the 'melting pot' –policy (before 1920s). The second 'then' refers to the turning point era with the Shoah. The third 'then' refers to the turning point era when the 1989 Russian revolution happened with independence 1991. For example, one informant recounted that 'Jewish factories have finished functioning here'.⁶⁸⁵ He refers to the third turning point era after which Jews have to a large extent migrated and the Ukrainian society is as if paralyzed. In another example, one informant told me that before the Communist era Jews used to go to Saint Petersburg (former Leningrad) or Moscow to study and got good occupations. When they returned to their home towns they had their family and good relationships waiting for them. During the Communist era, everything changed and officially it became difficult and at times impossible for Jews to study. However, each situation was unique.⁶⁸⁶

There are only a few examples in various studies with evidence of the processes Jewish citizens went through in their minds in 2000. The concepts of Glasnost and Perestroika had made it possible for them to speak about the past and try to analyze history of Jews, but many also complained it is now too late or circumstances are unsuitable to say anything about past eras. Jews were certainly envied or hated over a period of time because of their good positions in working life and in society.⁶⁸⁷ Hatred is accompanied by differing syndromes within society. In part at least the apparent success of some Jews throughout Ukrainian history enabled the roots of the great anti-Semitic period which had already started by the 1918-1921 Civil War. No matter that most Jews residing there had just economically 'got by' like every other community the non-Jewish majority eagerly wanted to punish all Jews living as a minority in the Diaspora.⁶⁸⁸

In the Soviet Union era the *work force* was highly valued and women had an important role in the labour market. There is a sense Communist policy did allow Social Movements like Feminism which actively struggled in order to liberate women so they could make an economic contribution outside the home: The catchword was *equality*. Women should earn money, satisfy their needs and fulfil their desires. Without doubt, there exists the connection between work and personal welfare.⁶⁸⁹ However, the reality was somewhat different.

The ambitious goal, the equality project failed miserably in the long term. The family suffered the greatest losses. Anthropologist Natalia Pushkareva mentions that the 'women question' failed totally in the Soviet Union including Ukraine in spite of their proclaimed socialist ideals and ethics (moral philosophy).⁶⁹⁰ She writes: "The purpose ...was to provide for harmonious combination of motherhood with

⁶⁸³ Zhurzhenko 1998.

⁶⁸⁴ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/29.

⁶⁸⁵ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO2/8.

⁶⁸⁶ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO4/5.

⁶⁸⁷ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO4/5.

⁶⁸⁸ Kuromiya 1998, Zhuk 2004.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. the connection between *work* and *welfare* in other studies, e.g. in: Koistinen, Mósesdóttir and Serrano Pascual (eds.). 2009.

⁶⁹⁰ Pushkareva 1997, 262f. Also in: Buckley 1992.

growing activity in the political and productive spheres for Soviet women.” However, this ‘harmonious combination’ in fact meant women had the same work obligations as men, plus all responsibilities at home which were driven from a carefully cultivated ideology of ‘tradition’ according to Pushkareva. The rapid growth of women in the workforce (from 47 % of workers in 1960 to 64% in 1975, with women forming as much as 73% in some professions) reflected not only a rise in the educational level of women (which must be acknowledged as progress), but also a disturbing reality concerning household finances that families with children could not manage on one income.⁶⁹¹

Old and new responsibilities fell on women’s shoulders. The basic idea was very positive: To liberate women. In the 1920s, many educated women were inspired together with woman workers by the huge transformations that were taking place and sincerely endorsed them. Women workers felt an even deeper sense of commitment to the building of a new society than educated ones. They believed the Bolshevik decrees would bring about their own emancipation and, as Pushkareva writes, women were willing to forgo their own happiness in expending their strength and status so that their children and grandchildren could enjoy the promised bright future.⁶⁹² Nevertheless, she claims that “real liberation of women, one that would allow them to choose whether to enter the workforce or to concentrate solely on their families, remained an unfulfilled dream...”⁶⁹³ It is worth noting that a part of this alleged equality resulted in Soviet women becoming accustomed to working hard (as hard as men). On the other hand, scholar of Russian studies Lynne Attwood ends with words ‘once again, the woman cannot win.’⁶⁹⁴ On the other hand Pushkareva writes that the Second World War which Russians call the ‘great Patriotic War’, required the mobilization of all the country’s resources including those of women. Whether willingly (and most were) or not women were called upon to sacrifice their home life for the greater cause of saving the USSR. Women’s workforce was needed at many levels as most able-bodied men had been mobilized to fight the Nazi invaders. It was necessary, as Pushkareva highlights for women to take over a vast amount of the war production demands on the home front.⁶⁹⁵

Women were needed in working life in Ukraine’s ex-Soviet society and Attwood however criticizes the idea that ‘the market has a male face’⁶⁹⁶ and that gender, ‘sex can be used as a way of humiliating women, of putting them in their place’.⁶⁹⁷ Generally, like their previous generations post-Soviet Ukrainian women have to work hard in order to keep up with men in the workforce and women have paid a high price for this form of freedom. Attwood’s criticism is a parallel with what I have heard and seen in Ukraine and found in additional readings. First, children were abandoned and cared for in impersonal kindergartens and many of the neglected children ultimately turned into teenage delinquents. Second, men’s traditional status, the masculine role as breadwinner collapsed and many men became weak, apathetic and alcoholic. The roles of women and men have been mixed up in Ukraine with a perception among many that wives now make decisions that, at least in former times, it is felt should belong in the hands of their husbands. Men are under their wives’ control.⁶⁹⁸ While the above is a simplified caricature it however reveals the core to which Messianic Jewish women have targeted their function: to reduce the misery and improve the family life experience. It is not illusory that females were not selfish in their ambition, not only did they want to raise the status/priority of women and children, but also of men as fathers and husbands in the whole picture of society. The next issue I cover: ‘Homo Sovieticus’, includes the picture of citizens in Ukraine on the verge of a heavy past and dreams containing a better future.

⁶⁹¹ Pushkareva 1997, 262f.

⁶⁹² Pushkareva 1997, 258f.

⁶⁹³ Pushkareva 1997, 258f.

⁶⁹⁴ Attwood, 1996, 263.

⁶⁹⁵ Pushkareva 1997, 258ff, 162ff.

⁶⁹⁶ Attwood 1996, 255.

⁶⁹⁷ Attwood 1996, 261.

⁶⁹⁸ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO3/17.

3.2.2. 'Homo Sovieticus' on the Borderland

Other socio-cultural factors in the context of a 'Homo Sovieticus', include genocide and culturicide, language, and admiration for the West. Starting from the concept of 'Homo Sovieticus' which is designed by sociologist Aleksander Zinovjev⁶⁹⁹ this refers to the fact that Ukrainians live in the shadow of Soviet history.⁷⁰⁰ After about 70 repressive and violent years during which Ukrainians were obedient to the dominant rulers they have learnt to behave in a similar way to others in the mass.

Informant Joseph reports that education in Ukraine was mass education during the Communist era before the land had become an independent country. All persons were considered to be equal and therefore it was thought each person has the same needs. This is, of course, a simplification, but the main line of thinking was after this fashion. The state did not plan and carry out programmes for individuals, but for groups. People's personal and individual growth and development were underestimated, and their personal character was neglected. The main rule: All wanted to be a good Soviet person. The different ethnic groups, including Jews wanted to behave and think like reliable Soviet people.⁷⁰¹

The aftermath of the collapse of Communism can be described with the words 'ideological emptiness,' which is what citizens felt and which also represented the *Zeitgeist* in society. Social policy scientist Briitta Koskiahio illustrates what happens when a citizen's worldview decomposes and is smashed. She emphasizes that a stage occurs when ideological content with high ideas and a supporting social community collapses.⁷⁰² Like informants of this study expressed when in this kind of position: First, they had dreams of being liberated and an inner sense of freedom. In 2000 in Ukraine it is indisputable that the need for political, cultural, social and emotional freedom was in focus in citizens' minds. However, how do people know what freedom is if they have never co-operated in a free society? I met those who openly questioned: How freedom could be recognized? Still in 2000, many Ukrainians lived in the shadow of the memory of 'Homo Sovieticus', a 'Soviet citizen', without a sense of the freedom to which Western thinkers generally refer. Jewish informants highlight that 'Soviet theology' (their name for it) was so powerful that Jews forgot their Jewish roots during the Communist era in Ukraine.⁷⁰³ It embraced them, and pierced their soul by attracting thought and reasoning, before it became a harsh and painful awareness that 'Soviet theology' was only a dream without reality.⁷⁰⁴

The informants of this study refer throughout to the role model of *Homo Sovieticus* for Soviet women. According to them, it was so striking that it almost entirely captivated women's experience of existence (the sense of it that they were as a person⁷⁰⁵). Jewish women had themselves experienced both *Homo Sovieticus* and after it *Homo religious*. Pavlychko describes women who could be placed into a non-gender category. Obviously, I did not meet any such women in Ukraine, but when I read Pavlychko's texts I remembered Rosa whose home I visited in Saint Petersburg just before the last Russian revolution.

I took part in a humanitarian aid project (delivering goods and food) with a Finnish volunteer organization assisting poor Jews in Russia. We were invited into their homes under the umbrella of the Jewish community and I got to know families experiencing very difficult circumstances. Rosa lived alone. She mentioned that she had formerly been employed as an engineer and was proud of being one of the builders of the metro network. She explained how this work had been carried out e.g. stones were taken from churches, which had been destroyed during the war. She described things as if she felt she was a heroine of her generation, because she was a *woman* who had carved out a career like men. When I think of her, she really looked like a prototype of the paragon of a hard female Soviet

⁶⁹⁹ Zinovjev 1986.

⁷⁰⁰ To wash face from the past is not easy, although Ukraine try eagerly to create a new profile, like 'Ukraine - Culture Smart!' See: Shevchenko 2005.

⁷⁰¹ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/7.

⁷⁰² Koskiahio 1986.

⁷⁰³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/66, and FSR/NO1/10, 30.

⁷⁰⁴ Some Jewish women experienced a socio-political tragedy like Hannah Rabinson in Romania known as Ana Pauker who was active in a pro-Bolshevik group, but who later was purged at Stalin's urging: "Ana is a good, reliable comrade, but you see, she is a *Jewess* of bourgeois origin..." In: Levy, R. 2001.

⁷⁰⁵ The concept of *experience of existence* by Ikonen, 2000.

worker, a *Soviet non-gender citizen*. She said with strong intonation of hardness in her voice that she had abandoned all Jewishness because she had grown up in the Soviet Union. However, I felt this once strong woman in the last stage of her life had lost her way - - *the raison d'être* of the Soviet citizen had diminished - - otherwise, why did she allow us via an official Jewish organization to meet and bring this food bag to her? She was well-off, so surely not for saving money and therefore it was my impression she now yearned for some Jewishness to bring a new sense of purpose to her life...

Surely, the Soviet Union needed such hard working women who were devoted to their work during the development years of the Soviet economy. On the other hand, some Feminist researchers have started to think that the state was wrong to have *abused women* in the workplace. Women often lost their health (too heavy work demands in relation to a woman's physical and psycho-social resistance; poor, miserable working conditions) and were taken away from their inherent and familiar environment. References are made to 'misogyny', which means a 'hatred of women'.⁷⁰⁶ Pavlychko is one of those who points out a hatred of women exists in Ukraine by rationalizing this reality with the following accusations against: 1) 'Soviet reality' that is still prevalent in Ukraine, 2) 'Homo Sovieticus' who is still alive, 3) 'Totalitarianism' implies the dictatorship of the party and a profound social stratification of society, for 'Totalitarian consciousness presumably has no gender.'⁷⁰⁷ Pavlychko's analysis express that women's lives in the *non-gender category* are rigorously hard as if this were a norm for all women. On the other hand, the position of women is superbly complicated because women's activities are regarded as motherhood, childcare, home and family despite all the political changes in the official understanding of the role of women.⁷⁰⁸ The dilemma continues unabated: How to resolve the tension between home/family with childbearing and female working life? The state needs new citizens, but as Zhurzhenko states the reproduction of human life does not receive any appraised value and the market economy is not gender-neutral and women experience sexual discrimination there.⁷⁰⁹

This type of situation would call for new welfare services for women and families in Ukraine in 2000. However, there is a lack of practical social workers at the local level. The social service network is non-existent or insufficient. Women movements' supportive peer groups are missing. Social policy scientist Marju Selg from Estonia describes how general civil society involves different social policy mechanisms which have begun to be established in all ex-Soviet republics. The process of establishing social work starts however from an 'empty table' as also happened in Estonia after the revolution at the beginning of 1990s. It was not easy because the 'Soviet-citizens' mindset still lived whose experiences of work and everyday life could not be easily eradicated. Selg points out that it is typical for a transition society to be characterized by different opinions from different cultural contexts. They can sometimes complement each other and sometimes collide with each other.⁷¹⁰ *De facto*, there is a lack of adequate advice and emotional support as to how to cope with everyday life. These grievances are presented in many reports of voluntary helping organizations and official reports published by the state of Ukraine.⁷¹¹

In Ukraine there is not only an ongoing struggle amongst women and men, but also between Ukrainian and Russian Feminism. Yet, there is also at least a language barrier⁷¹², and in some respects a cultural one between Ukrainians and Russians in the territory of Ukraine. Ukrainian Feminism is understood to be non-aggressive and 'friendly' to men including the romantic idea of *pobratimstvo* (Ukr.), which refers to the Slav custom of establishing special brotherly relations between a strong woman and a man as a (spiritual) 'brother.' This 'special relationship' is opposed according to Zhurzhenko, by Russian Feminism in Ukraine as exemplified by the Kharkiv school of Feminism and it is inevitably considered as an agent of

⁷⁰⁶ Johnson A. G. 2000.

⁷⁰⁷ Pavlychko 1996, 306f.

⁷⁰⁸ Pavlychko 1996, 307.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. Zhurzhenko 1998.

⁷¹⁰ Selg 2007, 231.

⁷¹¹ Cf. see: Development of Social Policy in Ukraine.

⁷¹² Russian and Ukrainian languages belong to East Slavic languages and they use the Cyrillic script. Ukrainians however use some letters which are not used in Russian.

‘Russian cultural imperialism.’ It is really worth asking who is the ‘oppressor,’ and who is ‘marginalized’; who behaves ‘dominantly’ and who is ‘oppressive’?⁷¹³

Genocide and Culturcide

The genocide and culturcide factor was clearly in evidence when accompanied by a Messianic pastor Victor in the grounds of the Berdichev cemetery. It was plain that almost all tombstones had fallen down and were covered with moss (Appendix 3, Photos). Some of the statements made by Jews during my journey in Ukraine came to mind: ‘Jews are dead’..., ‘they killed Jews’..., ‘all is lost’..., ‘the Jewish culture is dead’..., ‘they destroyed everything.’ Victor and I tried to read texts written in Hebrew on the stones. It was hard work because of rain and bad and cold weather and the moss on the stones. It seemed to me that this ancient cemetery presented a picture of desolation. But later in 2009, I read some online news that the Commission has begun an ambitious multi-year project with the purpose of restoring the historic Jewish cemetery in Berdichev, Ukraine. This cemetery is one of the most important in Ukraine in part due to the artistic quality of its gravestones. The Commission reports: “Approximately 5,000 stones are still on the site, some dating from as early as the 18th century. Beginning in the 18th century, Berdichev was a centre of the Hasidic movement, which transformed Jewish religious practices in much of Eastern Europe. Many of Hasidism’s revered leaders are buried here, among them the revered and famous Rabbi Levi Isaac, who died in 1809. The Jewish population of Berdichev peaked at nearly 50,000 in the mid-19th century. It declined to 14,000, and is less than 800 today.”⁷¹⁴ I am not sure if this news report is referring to the cemetery, where I was conducting my inquiries or if there are others, however on reading that good news in 2009 concerning the cemetery’s restoration the melancholy that had touched me in 2000 in Berdichev again captivated my thoughts as I recalled the words of my informants: ‘S/he perished,’ ‘s/he was killed there,’..., ‘s/he died then,’ ‘s/he ... survived’.⁷¹⁵

Ukrainian history scholar Andrew Gregorovic has concentrated his study on crimes against Jews from another point of view. He has developed the concept of ‘culturcide,’ which refers to the suppression of a national culture in an occupied country with an attempt to destroy language, history and other culture of that nation.⁷¹⁶ It concerns an attack (a specific person, publication, period, or event) against *neologisms*. Here it means that Ukrainians could not use or construct their unique expressions to use language and behave accordingly to it. Some other examples of culturcide in Ukraine are: destruction of churches and synagogues, censorship of culture and history, ‘dezinformation’ i.e. disinformation (anti-Ukrainian propaganda).⁷¹⁷

The Soviet Union was immensely powerful: It was able to carry out genocide against Jews and a culturcide against Ukrainians and Ukrainian ethnic minorities like Jews.⁷¹⁸ It is estimated that Communists in the Soviet Union killed at the least some 20 million of their own population as ‘enemies of the people.’ According to the Black Book of Communism about 100 million people died because of Communism.⁷¹⁹ Historian Eero Kupařinen highlights that ancient causes of hatred towards Jews found new origins from the 19th century onwards. The old anti-Semitism emerged mainly from distinctions due to the Jew’s different conception of *religion*. According to the majority the religious Jews looked like odd people, e.g. with special black clothes and practicing the Sabbath.⁷²⁰ The Jewish Haggadah describes the destiny of Jews in the world where Jews are hated with following words:

⁷¹³ Cf. Zhurzhenko 2001, 10ff

⁷¹⁴ See: Berdichev Jewish Cemetery Restoration 2009.

⁷¹⁵ FSR/NO1-4.

⁷¹⁶ Gregorovich 2007.

⁷¹⁷ According to these criteria Martin Luther would have also been a supporter of culture-cide (Luther 2004, 2009).

⁷¹⁸ Gregorovich 2007.

⁷¹⁹ Gregorovich 2007. Courtois, Werth, Panné, Packkowski, Bartosek, and Margolin 1999.

⁷²⁰ Kupařinen 2008.

“Not one man alone risen up against us, but every generation there rise up against us those who seek to destroy us...”⁷²¹

The phenomenon to hate Jews had existed from ancient times. Sociologist and historian William I. Brustein underlines that anti-Semitism is a multifaceted form of prejudice and it contains religious, racial, economic and political manifestations.⁷²² Kuperinen adds that modern anti-Semitism is constructed on the basis of a new worldview and on political dimensions because Jews had moved from the margins to the centre of society where they seemed to function increasingly more successfully. Attitudes against Jews could be illustrated with the word ‘jealousy’, ‘envy’ as stated before in this study.⁷²³ The situation in Ukraine has not changed profoundly because many Jews also insist today that if Jews want to live in Ukraine in freedom and in peace they have to know their limits. Accordingly, Jews are safe if they keep inside those limits in society.⁷²⁴

The fact is however, that there are threats which affect the whole country including Jews and with their experience of ‘scapegoat politics’ citizens must always keep in mind the possibility of becoming the ‘enemy within’ no matter how unjustified such a proposition would be in the modern Ukraine. The powerful state of their Russian neighbour is considered a total threat to the existence of Ukraine at least among non-Russian citizens. The following actions (factors) during the last few years have heightened the sense of threat among Ukrainians: the suspensions of gas supply⁷²⁵, the permission for the Russian navy to stay until 2047 in the Crimea and the preparation of law on Russian military missions abroad.⁷²⁶

Jewish Upbringing, Language and Admiration for the West

An informant of this study, Palmina, has experienced anti-Semitic attitudes during her life in Ukraine. She is a 61 years old ex-teacher and seems a sensitive person.

She is dissatisfied with her personal home life and explained, her husband had left her long ago and she now lives together with her 21 year old son, who is mentally sick. This ‘boy’ was stood so close to his mother that they visibly formed a pair. Palmina started to recall her past life. When she worked as a school teacher some parents did not want her to teach their children. The reason was her ethnicity because she is Jewish. “This was at that time,” she moaned. “Now in the independent Ukraine it is different.” However, today Palmina also encounters problems with her Jewishness. She recounted that some non-Jewish friends have said that they do not recognize her Jewishness. Not to recognize that she is Jewish is meant by her friends as a *positive sign*. According to Palmina, this reveals the anti-Jewish attitudes of the non-Jewish Ukrainian majority. Non-Jewish parents said that they do not like Jews because Jews raise their children in a different way. ‘That is true’, Palmina says, ‘*Jewish upbringing is different* to the upbringing of non-Jewish children’.⁷²⁷

Anna had anti-Semitic experiences: The 13 year old daughter of Victor and Irina and the only Jewish pupil in her class other pupils bully Anna because of her ethnicity. This is too much for the family so they have applied for immigration to Germany where they have friends.⁷²⁸

To bring up children is linked to the question of language: Philosopher Marina Niznik believes that if culture is seen as an “inherited system of ideas that structures the subjective experience of individuals,”⁷²⁹ then language is a reflection of this system. She underscores the fact that learning and using a foreign language not only means learning certain forms and expressions, but also accepting another people’s ex-

⁷²¹ The text continues: ‘but the Holy One, blessed be He, delivers us from their hands’. The original source is unknown.

⁷²² Brustein 2003, xii.

⁷²³ Kuperinen 2008.

⁷²⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/16.

⁷²⁵ See: Swirn 2010, also Balmaceda 2008.

⁷²⁶ Starozhitskaya 2010, William 2009.

⁷²⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/12.

⁷²⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/13.

⁷²⁹ Niznik 2003, 357, accords to: LeVine, 1984:20.

perience and getting used to another system of notions.⁷³⁰ She points out that language has the logical-discourse function of verbal image information. Thus, language becomes a base of mental activity and no matter how abstract it might be it always remains verbal.⁷³¹ The Ukrainian language is not the Russian language. What would the state of Ukraine be without the Ukrainian language? The Ukrainian language is seen as a foundation of Ukrainian national identity. 'To prohibit the language, is to destroy the identity,' is a well established truism. One of the first goals in the independent state of Ukraine has been to restore the status of the Ukrainian language. According to the Ukrainian constitution, the Ukrainian language is the state language meaning that the state guarantees the all-round development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life on all the territory of Ukraine.⁷³² Yet, the language question is broader than a dispute between persons of Ukrainian origin and Russian origin who want to use their mother tongue.

Since independence, different Ukrainian ethnic groups have been permitted to practice their own language. Under Russian and Soviet rule Jews were forced to abandon their traditional languages, the Hebrew and Yiddish tongues by the enforced policies of 'Russification'.⁷³³ As the Bible of the Jews refers to God/JHWH and is written in Hebrew it became a prohibited book. Jews lost their traditional language, Hebrew. However, many elderly Ukrainian Jews remember how their grandmothers spoke and some of them read Hebrew and/or Yiddish. Some of them remember songs they used to sing in these languages. It is worth noting the Hebrew and Yiddish languages seem to be having been officially ruled out in today's Ukrainian society. In Finland, we have a minority of Swedish speaking citizens of a similar demography as the number of Jews in Ukraine today. According to the Constitution of Finland our country is bilingual, so that Swedish speaking citizens are able to use Swedish in official matters; thus some portion of their original identity is recognized. However in the case of language, it seems to be clear that young Ukrainians are not turning to the past, thus former languages are not encouraged⁷³⁴, but rather they look to the future with their eyes and admiration set on the West.

The USA, 'America,' exerts a strong influence on Ukrainian society, economics and culture. There are a great number of Ukrainians living in the USA. Early in the 1990s, about 1.7 – 2.3 millions Ukrainians had made their home there⁷³⁵ although some groups have migrated back after the independence. In any case, co-operation between populations inside and outside the country seems to be inevitable. Different cultural trends find practical channels into Ukrainian society from 'America.' As an example, private companies and government agencies from the European Union, United States, and Canada have used the services of The Science and Technology Centre in Ukraine (the STCU). The Ukrainian Research Institute of The Harvard University publishes HURI⁷³⁶ Publications. Admiration for America is found especially in the country's western and southern provinces. One telling example of this are the words of a young man in August 2003 when walking with me on a street in the renovated part of downtown Lviv surrounded by fine, elegant shops on one side and on the other by impressive historical buildings and monuments. Pointing to this luxury he said to me in fine English: "Look at this, after ten years we are like Americans."⁷³⁷

Sociologist Piotr Sztompka refers to this phenomenon in Poland as well: '...the strong pro-Western attitude and even fetishization of the West as the domain of political freedom and economic abundance, as expressed in the notion of *joining* or *returning* to Europe'.⁷³⁸ Later I met other young people in the seminar, who spoke almost perfect English. After asking, how they came to speak English so well with an American accent, they told me that they had learnt the language by listening to cassettes and the radio. They have never received teaching from official English language teachers.⁷³⁹ However, they can com-

⁷³⁰ Niznik 2003, 357.

⁷³¹ Niznik 2003, 357.

⁷³² Wilson, A. 2002, 208.

⁷³³ Wilson, A. 2002, 208.

⁷³⁴ In the Jewish schools pupils study Hebrew.

⁷³⁵ Source: Vishnevsky 2003, 166 according to *Ukraine and Ukrainians* 1994:9-10.

⁷³⁶ See: HURI.

⁷³⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2003.

⁷³⁸ Sztompka 2000.

⁷³⁹ In the archive of the author, in 2003.

municate in English and even translate from English into the Ukrainian language. Marina Niznik, a scholar of Russian immigrants to Israel, points out that Israel is also nowadays heavily inspired by everything American and Israelis view the United States as a sort of model in almost all spheres of life. This means, in her opinion that for the younger generation, 'Russian' values are of lesser importance, if any at all, among Russian migrants.⁷⁴⁰

SUMMARY: According to presented factors within a socio-cultural context there are reasons to conclude that beyond doubt Ukraine is a transition society which is experiencing many different components and in the minds of citizens at the border between new and old. The era of transition has enabled a situation that provides the opportunity for new thinking (ideas, ideology) to emerge while old practices in working life and in female role models are being re-appraised. The people are divided into Ukrainians and Russians due to their ethnic origin and/or language and/or birth country including Jews. The transfer from the era of 'homo Sovieticus' to the era of 'ex-homo Sovieticus' has been painful for all. This has been especially so for Jews some of whom clean moss from tombstones in cemeteries and meet behind curtained windows while asking whether they should live in Ukraine or in the West. There seems to be a pronounced need to re-establish positive connection with Jewishness whilst also developing a new Ukrainian Jewish discourse.

3.3. The Economical Context of the Messianic Jewish Movement

3.3.1. The Urgent Need of Getting Help

The economical context in this study refers to those factors which are visible in Ukrainian society in the way they have ignited the irons in the fire of thought causing strong resistance towards socio-economical grievances. Such are first and foremost overall poverty and *tsuris* (in Yiddish⁷⁴¹) and Russian strongholds on the ground of Ukraine. On the other hand the economical context includes also the analysis of how 'economical helpers' in the long run are able to give new hope for the state and citizens.

As has been pointed out in studies, the economical situation in a country and the emergence of Religious Movements generally go hand in hand in society.⁷⁴² For example, *Mujerista* theology in Latin America emerged among the poor. It seems that also in Ukraine poverty is one of the greatest problems. By some religious groups religion is put on a superior pedestal and tensions arise towards religion's ability to liberate citizens from misery in society. First, I present an overview of the Ukrainian economy and of the helpers to Ukraine. Then I handle poverty and *tsuris*. At the end of this chapter I describe how the small Jewish community can manage in Ukraine and what are its economic needs. From the point of view of economical factors *money* is the focal point of welfare of family and family members, or better to say, the lack of it: It adds to human misery.

All children and women, Jewish and non-Jewish, belong to groups which need urgent help and have become the objects of attention of governmental, private and voluntary sectors. I have already highlighted the problems of family life, but still I want to show up some urgent needs concerning aid to children and women according to following figures from studies, statistics and documents. Although the Convention on the Rights of the Child came into force in September 1991, there are still legislative gaps and families and children greatly suffer for this reason in Ukraine.⁷⁴³ The legal age for marriage is 18 for men, but 17 for women and this age may be lowered in 'exceptional circumstances.' This discrepancy is discriminatory.⁷⁴⁴ At the end of 1999 it is estimated that there were 7,500 children under age of 16 who are HIV positive in Ukraine plus an estimated true number of HIV cases at about 180,000-190,000 in Ukraine in

⁷⁴⁰ Niznik 2003, 360.

⁷⁴¹ *Tsuris*, the Yiddish word, means problems, troubles, woes.

⁷⁴² Cf. Geremek 1994.

⁷⁴³ OMCT 2002, 9f.

⁷⁴⁴ OMCT 2002, 12.

2004.⁷⁴⁵ Ukrainian law does not have a definition of a ‘child’, but rather a ‘minor’.⁷⁴⁶ Social reports indicate that in 1996, 144 children died as a result of brutal acts and 89 children committed suicide, 50% of these cases were caused by the family environment.⁷⁴⁷

Alcohol is a big problem in many Ukrainian homes. Medical reports indicate the consumption of alcohol by Ukrainian men and women is among the highest causes of terminal illness and accidental deaths. According to demographer Nataliia Levchuk, an estimated 40 % of deaths among men and 22 % of deaths among women in 2007 between the ages of 20 to 64 were attributed to the harmful effect of alcohol. This is only one reason why many children are homeless and themselves liable to alcohol or drug addiction whilst living on the streets.⁷⁴⁸ Many cases of sexual violence, exploitation and prostitution are reported with raped children committing suicide.⁷⁴⁹ About 420,000 women had been taken out of the country (a very high age being coerced into leaving) during the last decades due to (sex) trafficking⁷⁵⁰ resulting from criminal activity exploiting the poverty of many Ukrainian females/families.⁷⁵¹ It is reported that many were teenagers.⁷⁵² About 3.8 % of those unemployed were children in 1999 and 34,700 teenagers were registered in 1999 as job seekers.⁷⁵³ It is estimated that 20,016 persons under 18 years were convicted of crimes⁷⁵⁴ in 2000 throughout the country; 87.7% of all convictions were children under 16.⁷⁵⁵ Additionally 4,444 persons were imprisoned, in 1999 and according to sources 25% of all were children.⁷⁵⁶ There is good reason to agree with the Committee’s concern about family disintegration including high rates of divorce, growing numbers of single parent families and cases of parental neglect which also seem to be a growing phenomenon in Ukraine.⁷⁵⁷

3.3.2. Poverty and Tsuris

The lack of money is a matter of *res publica*, which causes much *tsuris*: problems and all kinds of social-political concern. Lack of financial means as every social documentary comments leads to conditions that are basically described as a miserable life in all aspects because it concerns tangible, common things without which no modern existence could be comfortable. And for some, even in Europe, in Ukraine in the 21st century it is a matter of life and death, e.g. I heard the words ‘*With so little money I will perish*’.⁷⁵⁸ A small comparison between the USA and Ukraine: You may feel nervous in the USA where it seems everybody everywhere is money-centric because all seems to depend on money. ‘How much?’ and Can I afford? Money is important, of course, but...?⁷⁵⁹ Does everything really depend on money? In 2000 in Ukraine, once again the odious money question confronted me. Everyone was speaking about money everywhere, or to be precise, everyone was speaking rather about the lack of money.

The modern Ukrainian economy is established on the premise that Ukraine is economically independent and possesses its own economic markets. In fact, it does not belong to the mother Russia any more. The process is called differentiation (in Ukr. *dyferentsiatsiia*) and it began in 1991. Phillips offers a more accurate definition of the term ‘differentiation’ as referring to the separation of groups and individuals

⁷⁴⁵ OMCT 2002, 15. Barcal, Schumacher, Dumchev, Moroz Vasiliyevna 2005.

⁷⁴⁶ OMCT 2002, 17.

⁷⁴⁷ OMCT 2002, 15. Barcal et al. 2005.

⁷⁴⁸ OMCT 2002, 26. Levchuk 2009. See: Unicef 2005. Cf. Children and orphanages.

⁷⁴⁹ OMCT 2002, 27.

⁷⁵⁰ OMCT 2002, 28. Cf. See: Human Trafficking & Modern-day Slavery.

⁷⁵¹ Poverty. See: United Nations Developed Programme 2008.

⁷⁵² OMCT 2002, 29.

⁷⁵³ OMCT 2002, 31.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. Benda 1995.

⁷⁵⁵ OMCT 2002, 37.

⁷⁵⁶ OMCT 2002, 38.

⁷⁵⁷ The Committee on Rights of the Child, 3th Session-Geneva, 18 September/ 4 October 2002. In: OMCT 2002, 56.

⁷⁵⁸ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO4/14.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. Sahllins 1969, 1972.

according to new criteria, standards, and calculations of need and entitlement, and additionally that documents include personification; personalization, individualization and reclassification.⁷⁶⁰

The differentiation of nations has been described as originating from Gorbachev who wrote in 1987, the following text: “The revolution and socialism have done away with national oppression and inequality, and ensured economic, intellectual and cultural progress for all nations and nationalities...If the nationality question had not been solved, the Soviet Union would never have had the social, cultural, economic and defence potential it has now.”⁷⁶¹ Finland is a neighbour of Russia and Finns have become used to observing what happens in their neighbour’s territory. The collapse of the Soviet Union was a big bang, but at that time my opinion was the Soviet Union seemed to be an extraordinarily large state running from the West, from the Baltic Sea, to end up in the East at the Japan Sea (Pacific Ocean) and therefore Ukraine was just another, albeit large, Russified if not virtually Russian land and people. My simple illusion also concerned Soviet citizens, who seemed somehow to live in that titanic region with the same nationality, language and political orientation. Of course, the three Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), which are Finland’s ‘cousin countries’ because of ancient genetic and linguistic links, are envisaged as a little ‘different’ from other Soviet republics in our Western minds. However, this study shows clearly how thoroughly wrong I and many others were. Now, I am really convinced each Soviet ex-republic is ‘different’ (as France from Italy etc) and it has its own unique, valuable significance. Ukraine is very definitely not Russia, as informants continually reiterated.⁷⁶²

The *dyferentsiatsiia* –process had to gain awareness among Ukrainians. According to scholar of economics, Anders Åslund it was a long time before the deep-frozen Ukrainian collective society⁷⁶³ woke up.⁷⁶⁴ It took time, but finally did so during Gorbachev’s era.⁷⁶⁵ The idea of collective society, collectivism, is based on the precept that groups behave and think collectively. This is not as unusual a practise as one might have thought. Collectivism in its classical meaning has been part of culture since ancient societies like tribes, clans and earliest nations.⁷⁶⁶ However, modern collectivism meant something else in the Soviet Union by the 1980s. It was based rigorously, straightforwardly and solely on collective leadership and the inner circle of the Communist party. But this web-like bureaucratic system’s ever increasing inertia led to mass inefficiency and shortages of all types. Even in heavily industrialised regions of Ukraine there were shortages of basic consumer goods and foodstuffs that inevitably created conditions for the Soviet downfall. Gorbachev tried Perestroika, but it failed, although many ordinary citizens at least supported it initially, but became disappointed because of higher prices, lower real wages, unemployment and cuts in subsidies. According to the citizens social revolution had generated a negative impact on the economy of society.⁷⁶⁷ However, there was no doubt that *the new era* had started despite more or less stumbling in this fashion. It changed the life of non-Jewish Ukrainians as well as that of Jews and other minorities.⁷⁶⁸

After the 1989 revolution Ukraine forged a new path of thinking known as ‘homo Economicus’.⁷⁶⁹ Ukraine abandoned collectivism and jumped on the train of Western European free market economy.

⁷⁶⁰ Phillips 2008, 7ff.

⁷⁶¹ Gorbachev 1987, 118f.

⁷⁶² Historian Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak mentions that historically Ukrainians have also referred to themselves as Ruthenians, so Ukrainians and Ruthenians are the same people. The Latinized form is Rusyn which is derived from the medieval state of Rus’. In: Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, ix.

⁷⁶³ Cf. Lang & Lang 1961.

⁷⁶⁴ Åslund 2009, 15.

⁷⁶⁵ Dowlah and Elliott, J. E. 1997, Morewood 1998.

⁷⁶⁶ Machan 1998. Cf. Kornai 1992.

⁷⁶⁷ Dowlah and Elliott, J. E. 1997, 146ff, 179ff. Also: Machan 1998, 126ff.

⁷⁶⁸ Jews were released, but how many knew their Jewish roots any more. Cf. Pinkus 1988.

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. O’Boyle 1998.

According to economic analysts the transformation from collectivism to a market economy and individualism was amazingly rapid.⁷⁷⁰ In 2006-2007, real GDP (gross domestic product) growth exceeded 7%.⁷⁷¹

The idea was launched that every individual (citizen) is central to the economy as a consumer and producer. Each individual was able to use her or his voice as a political and economic decision maker. This was a new agenda for Ukrainians: To become individuals and act like individuals. A transfer from *mass-thinking toward individualism was itself already a major human and social revolution*. Philosopher Tibor R. Machan points out each human individual is of supreme importance for any person in their household and policy. Machan emphasizes, however, that radical individualism leads to an untenable moral subjectivism. According to Machan 'any view as to what is right or wrong is a matter of what individuals prefer or like or feel or believe'.⁷⁷² In 2000, surely every thinking Ukrainian wanted to find the 'right way' in an economic situation that was still quite unclear.⁷⁷³ Liability concerns: Everything and everywhere. Thus, one of the most obvious and urgent development problems in Ukraine since its independence has been handling economic change and finding economic stability.⁷⁷⁴ One of the most immediate and striking changes easily seen from outside observation was that the gap between rich and poor in Ukraine became huge.⁷⁷⁵

What is the economic situation like in Ukraine? Reports about Ukraine are quite often aired in the Finnish news programmes and usually, the account concerns some unfortunate development or event (though the disaster at Tschernobyl's nuclear power plant was exceptional⁷⁷⁶). In 2000, Ukraine had not yet entered into this strikingly grand process whereby material things were ostentatiously displayed as is described in ex-Soviet countries like Russia in the 2010s.⁷⁷⁷ Everything was just in transition in this big country which consists of 24 administrative provinces, the Ukrainian oblasts, with many different demographic features plus the autonomous Crimea.⁷⁷⁸ The western provinces are often characterised as more turned to the West and tied to modern free markets than the eastern provinces.

Ukrainian transition scholar Tatiana Zhurzhenko states that 'the transition period is usually regarded as a natural and inevitable stage when the market mechanisms which supposedly will guarantee the social equality and welfare of all members of society have yet not formed'.⁷⁷⁹ Provision for the poorest Ukrainians also underwent a transition - for a time it was almost non-existent - the situation has steadily improved. *Poverty* is one big problem and there are different kinds of poverty indicators for its assessment. It employs a poverty index, which is an assessment tool for measuring micro-finance poverty by using indicators in the field of welfare achievements, fulfilment of basic needs, and security, social status and environment.⁷⁸⁰

I will present some indicators of Ukrainian society based on different sources from Ukraine during the years 2002-2007.⁷⁸¹ They give an overall description of the kind of living conditions for people in general. First, however we see the total population amounted to 46.51 million with annual growth at -1 %. Life expectancy at birth was 74 years for a female and 63 years for a male.⁷⁸² The relative population level was low between the ages of 0 to 14 (13.9%) indicating little risk of a youth bulge.⁷⁸³ The GDP

⁷⁷⁰ Machan 1998.

⁷⁷¹ See: The CIA World Factbook and Other Sources. Also: The Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting.; and USAID, Economic Collapse, Poverty, and Inequality during Ukraine's Difficult Transition. Also: Clarke 1996.

⁷⁷² Machan 1998, 4.

⁷⁷³ Åslund 2009, xxiv.

⁷⁷⁴ Isajiw 2003b, 123; See also: Isajiw (ed.). 2003.

⁷⁷⁵ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR/NO1/9.

⁷⁷⁶ Kugler 2006.

⁷⁷⁷ Alapuro 2011, 31.

⁷⁷⁸ Phillips 2008, 39.

⁷⁷⁹ Zhurzhenko 1998.

⁷⁸⁰ Alam, Murthi, Yemtsov, Murrugarra, Dudwick, Hamilton and Tiongson 2005. Social indicators in: Atkinson T., Cantillon, Marlier and Nolan 2002. See: BRAMA (Education and social Welfare in Ukraine); Cf. Drewnowski 1970.

⁷⁸¹ Henry, Sharma, Lapenu and Zeller 2003, 76.

⁷⁸² See: The World Bank. See also: The World Bank Ukraine. Indicators of Ukraine.

⁷⁸³ Kingston, Loveridge and Sterritt 2009.

measuring a country's overall economic output remains one of the most important economic indicators. GDP growth averaged 7.60% per year. Some other indicators: the time required to start a business was 27 days, and there were 22 users internet per 100 people. In July 1999, the official exchange rate was 1\$ = 3.95 UAH (the Ukrainian Hryvnia). Food prices have risen dramatically in the last few years. In 1990, the price of kilogramme of meat was 7.06 UAH and, in 2007 it was 32 UAH. In 1999, a litre of milk cost 1.26 UAH and in 2007 it cost 5 UAH. Bread (baguette) cost 0.70 UAH in 1999 and 1.50 UAH in 2007.⁷⁸⁴

Economics scholars Alam et al. point out that the effect of the transition shock on people's morale is not over. This makes it important to study people's subjective perceptions of well-being. During my journeys in Ukraine in 2000 and in 2003, I met people of different social strata. They generally informed me bluntly after a short time that they did not have enough money. As mentioned above, I heard the words *not enough money to live on* continuously, convincing me there was a huge lack of money in ordinary Ukrainian society. With this statement about 'no money' they were not trying to get you to provide coins and banknotes at once to them, as happens when walking in the street in some countries like Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, or even in the town of Bethlehem. I remember how small cheerful boys might come to me and put their small hands in front of my nose and say 'no money', or 'give me money'. They can even recognize Finns, and say '*ei oo rahhaa*' in Finnish (dialect). Western tourists may think that these small, nice smiling beggars represent something exotic and belong to the system and hastily place some coins in the boy's palm. This was not the case in Ukraine where impecunious citizens perceive matters differently, complaining and wondering how this has happened to them. They know that they have been always poor, but they still had permanent salaries or pensions. Now, they have almost nothing to live on. Ukrainian poverty is a totally different kind of phenomenon whose roots mostly seem to be in the transition and revolution. I neither saw small nor adult beggars and no small faces smiling with joy. On the street, with very few exceptions Ukrainian faces appeared to be sad and gloomy.

Åslund points out that 'Russia was much better with its market reform', but 'poverty was becoming devastating in Ukraine'.⁷⁸⁵ Ukrainian micro-finance poverty is clearly highlighted by my empirical material. When I met informants at their homes, in a soup kitchen, in congregations, at market places, in shops, at restaurants and hotels, at synagogues, in festivals and seminars, in an ex-concentration camp, an orphanage, in the Shoah regional office⁷⁸⁶, by the Dnieper river, in the garden of a family house, on trains and on buses: Poverty was visible to me everywhere. I examined people's lives and saw old cars, tired horses loping with old wagons, ugly, poorly maintained apartment buildings and dirty, crowded communal flats. In 1998 World Bank Publications the absolute poverty line in the Eastern European studies was \$2.15 per day (the poverty limits are \$2.15 - 4.30 per day).

Ukraine belongs to middle-income countries. Jews who I met were mainly poor and some even very poor. Informant Olga told me that her pension was about \$10 per month,⁷⁸⁷ which is under the absolute poverty line and comparable to Third World economic hardship conditions. In 2008, the average monthly budget for a family in Odessa was the equivalent of \$70-100 per month. Most elderly persons in Ukraine either had no pension whatsoever or had a pension of less than \$35 per month. It is estimated that about 29 % of the population lived below the poverty rate in 2003⁷⁸⁸ and rising to 35 % in 2009.⁷⁸⁹ Also, it is also estimated about 3,000 children and teenagers were essentially living on the streets, or their parents were deemed unfit to care for them.⁷⁹⁰ Unemployment was not the worst thing in Ukraine, but salaries and pensions were small and living costs high.

⁷⁸⁴ Phillips 2008.

⁷⁸⁵ Åslund 2009, 73. See: Poverty programs in Ukraine.

⁷⁸⁶ This Holocaust survivor office in Odessa had in 2000 about 500 registered Jewish members who were Holocaust survivors. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/12.

⁷⁸⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/37.

⁷⁸⁸ Mitropolitski 2007.

⁷⁸⁹ See: The CIA World Factbook and Other Sources.

⁷⁹⁰ See: Rabbi Scheinberg's Blog.

Although the lack of money can be seen everywhere, the empirical material shows that the situation varied considerably. Informants Michael and Valera not yet fifties, with their three children consider themselves to be lucky in Ukraine. Their life was better than average.⁷⁹¹

Michael worked as a leader in a Messianic congregation and he had travelled abroad with his spouse, Valera, a house wife, but who frequently helped in the congregation on a voluntary basis. They lived in a beautiful one family house, which they had inherited from Michael's father. The rooms were on two floors; a small garden with apple trees surrounds the house. Valera's mother had her own small flat there with a separate entrance. Nevertheless, there was a lack of water and electricity.⁷⁹²

Juri and Helen, however, live in the depths of poverty:

They lived in a grey and poor apartment house in a village. It gave a dismal overall impression which was echoed inside. They showed me a simple bed, one table, some chairs, old drapes, a few dishes, and they told me that all they had was worn and ugly because they were penniless. This was plainly in evidence at the dinner table. The toilet smelled bad.⁷⁹³ Using any index of poverty, I am sure that this family would rank amongst the poorest.

Then, Vera, a lady of 76 years who lived in the communal flat was very poor, but happy:

Vera had one room of her own, she however shared a kitchen and a toilet with other residents. I saw some bedbugs and some other insects on the floor and on the walls. In these circumstances, I was surprised that some Jewish women like Vera wore jewels, and beautiful clothes. Vera had golden ear rings and other jewellery on her wrinkled old neck.⁷⁹⁴ Poverty did not seem to have influenced her self-respect.

I noticed this also with some other Jews, as if the sad circumstances had not affected their inmost being. This conclusion however, proved wrong, as I saw so many Jews in different situations who told about their inner emptiness (referring to Briitta Koskiahö 1986) and suffering which was one reason for their seeking help in religion. On the other hand, it may be that some of them were accustomed to living insecure lives and no longer cared about such matters. Again, I remember –how years before some Jews in St. Petersburg told me that you Finns could not stand living like this and could not survive because in a very revealing conditioning phrase they said: “This (poverty, oppression) needs practice.”

Financial instability and poverty exert an influence on people's subjective experience of existence. Poverty prevents long term planning for life in the greater society. Citizens only drift from one day to another. Men have visibly suffered so badly from the stress that it is said that some men drank themselves to death.⁷⁹⁵ It is estimated that by 1980, the average Soviet family was spending 25-50 % of its monthly food budget on alcohol.⁷⁹⁶ The problem of alcohol compounded by poverty brings other social problems

⁷⁹¹ Also Tamara's family lived in better circumstances. The family had lived for many years in the USA, but had returned to Ukraine, because the family felt that they wanted to work for a better future in Ukraine. The family was supported by believers in the USA because they worked in the Messianic Jewish Movement. The kitchen was Tamara's central place at home in an old, beautiful building near the parkway. She had fixed telephone, mobile phones, small laptop and telefax. Additionally, she had a dishwasher and other household machines. Tamara had a cleaner (every day, not at weekends) and a cook (every Friday) from outside. However, they had lack of water and electricity. The electricity was off time to time. The bathroom was too small for the whole family and the flow of water was weak. They had one small toilet without hand washing facilities. The lack of water and electricity meant that it was impossible to bathe and wash clothes as often as they would like to do. They have to economise on electricity. Also the heating system used to cut out from time to time. In Ukraine, winters may sometimes be very cold with temperatures between +10 and - 20 C. It snowed sometimes. The water pipes can freeze and they have to dress warmly inside. They used gas energy for cooking and frying. The apartment was rented and it was located in a good area of the city.

⁷⁹² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/62.

⁷⁹³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/57.

⁷⁹⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/7.

⁷⁹⁵ Åslund 2009, 58.

⁷⁹⁶ Williams, C. 1996, 133. Anderson and Hibbs 1992.

like unplanned/unwanted pregnancy and the inevitable pressure to terminate/abort the foetus. Traditionally, Judaism has opposed abortion.⁷⁹⁷ The main reason for abortion in Ukraine is obviously poverty which according to researcher Christopher Williams in the former Soviet Union (including Ukraine) many women have repeated abortions with a concomitant great risk for their health and integrity.⁷⁹⁸ One group of medical specialists has argued that a woman in the former Soviet Union has on average up to three abortions during her lifetime. Jews in Ukraine might be tempted to follow the process for which reason the Israeli Chief Rabbinate launched a public offensive against abortion in 2010. For, according to Jewish law, abortion is not permitted for economic or social reasons, but abortion is permitted when continued pregnancy or birth could pose serious physical or psychological danger to the mother.⁷⁹⁹ In fact, deaths in childbirth are more common in Ukraine than elsewhere in Europe. In 1987, 49.3 mothers died per 100,000 live births in Ukraine. The average European level was 22.⁸⁰⁰ In Finland, the number was 6/100,000.⁸⁰¹

Russian Strongholds

Gorbachev created new thinking allowing ethnic and national freedom in society.⁸⁰² Later, although the economic misery had mobilized different helping projects from abroad Russian strongholds in Ukrainian society still stubbornly existed not only in people's minds, but unfortunately in practical terms. In this chapter I deal with how the economy of Ukraine was and still is closely linked to that of Russia. This can be regarded as one of Ukraine's former and present risks. Yet strident signals have emerged that vigorously proclaim the attitude of most Ukrainians today is that, we are not Russia, but we are Ukraine. This separation could be seen concretely when Lisa, a Ukrainian informant showed me what things were like in Ukraine during the era of Soviet rule in an old fashioned department store in Odessa. It was like stepping back 30 years to a museum of 1970s styled furniture and goods originating from antiquated Communist mass production lines. Even the payment system was outdated. A reminder of my teenage school years' excursions to Vyborg and Leningrad and even then we youth thought the displays of things were old fashioned. Ukrainians often summarize their thoughts by pointing out that everything in society has improved since Ukraine no longer is under Russia rule.

During the Communist era, Ukraine was the second most important economic component in the former Soviet Union and it was deeply integrated into the Soviet economy. The integration was particularly pronounced in the agricultural and military industries, plus in the diversified heavy industry sector with equipment, raw material, and mining sites supplied to other republics of the former USSR. According to statistics, Ukraine's fertile black soil accounted for an estimated one-quarter of Soviet agricultural output with substantial quantities of meat, milk, grain, and vegetables to other republics.⁸⁰³ Unequivocally Ukraine was an integral part of and dominated by being in the Russian sphere of influence for many decades. In this new transition situation, it will obviously take some time until Russian strongholds of mentality and behaviour are loosened and eventually totally broken.

However, as seen above, after independence Ukraine has made a strong start in developing political and economic networks with the West although a complete political consensus in internal politics with its 'West versus East' issue quite often seems to be lacking. Political in-fighting in Ukraine may be *the greatest threat* to economic stability. Managing director of the Dragon Investment Company Dmitro Tarabanik however optimistically clarifies: "Ukraine is on the edge of the cliff, that's very clear...But what we do see is that there's been a lot of things that have happened already that are managing to keep us

⁷⁹⁷ Jeffay 2010.

⁷⁹⁸ In: Williams, C. 1996: Grebesheva 1992 and Verbenko et. al. 1968.

⁷⁹⁹ Williams, C. 1996, 133.

⁸⁰⁰ Sargeant 1996, 269-285.

⁸⁰¹ Erkkola 1997.

⁸⁰² Gorbachev 1987.

⁸⁰³ See: The Encyclopedia of the Nations. Ukraine - Overview of economy.

more or less stable near this cliff.”⁸⁰⁴ It is also seen that a balance between economic dependency on and independence from Russia in the field of internal politics and foreign policy has enraged people and energised controversy, demonstrations and subsequent mass arrests (e.g. in Kiev). Social issues may perhaps not be resolved in full until the relationship with Russia is permanently defined. Ukraine Political and Economic progress is deeply intertwined with two profound questions: How it is possible to separate from Russia, and at the same time how to co-operate with Russia?⁸⁰⁵

The New Hope

Although economic stability of the state is still far from realised the expectation of doing so is increasing step by step. ‘The transition period is not only a time of hardship, but also of great hopes and expectations of a better future, a period of optimism.’ In this way proclaimed Andrey Panow who was the Deputy Minister at the Ministry of Social Protection of the Population in Russia in the middle of the 1990s.⁸⁰⁶ Ukrainian optimism is greatly dependent on external support and the economic and financial difficulties in Ukraine have mobilized a variety of different forms of assistance from abroad.⁸⁰⁷ Risk analysts Brian Kingston, Peter Loveridge and Joe Sterritt estimated in 2009 that the global financial crisis has severely weakened the Ukrainian financial system and the Ukrainian currency, Hryvnia is in difficulties. They also point out that privatization and foreign investment levels have remained low due to high taxes, organized crime and corruption.⁸⁰⁸ However, in 2005, the EU (European Union) gave the country an official market economy status that opened up new markets for Ukrainian products in the countries of EU and in the USA. In 2008, Ukraine became a member of WTO (the World Trade Organization).⁸⁰⁹ Ukraine has been a member of the World Bank⁸¹⁰ since 1992. For almost 20 years, the World Bank has assisted Ukraine in designing and implementing economic reforms to improve living standards by providing advice, analysis and lending.⁸¹¹ Some global based firms have invested in Ukraine, e.g. IBM (International Business Machines Corporation) has many projects in Ukraine.⁸¹²

Ukraine is a member of the EBRD (the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development⁸¹³). Economic re-orientation after the revolution towards the West involves new economical interests.⁸¹⁴ According to the World Bank in 2009, Ukraine was a lower middle-income country with a GDP per capita of US\$ 3,210 and significant economic potential as a result of its well-educated labour force and large domestic market. It also has access to a variety of resources including some of Europe’s best agricultural land, significant coal and some oil and gas reserves and a strategic central location connecting Europe, Russia and Asian markets. The World Bank remarks that Ukraine has experienced a solid recovery since the 1998-99 financial crises (macro-economic collapse) with annual growth - as mentioned - averaging above 7 % between 2000 and 2007. It seems that a key impetus for reforms has come from Ukraine’s WTO accession process.⁸¹⁵ Relations between Russia and Ukraine have been economically (e.g. gas sup-

⁸⁰⁴ See: VOANews.com: Ukraine Political Infighting Impacts Economy.

⁸⁰⁵ See: VOANews.com: Ukraine Political Infighting Impacts Economy.

⁸⁰⁶ Panow 1995, 187.

⁸⁰⁷ The Helpers are: The EU, the USA, the World Bank, WTO and NATO.

⁸⁰⁸ Kingston, Loveridge, Sterritt 2009, 3. See: USAID 2006. Corruption assessments.

Corruption is seen as a symptom that something has gone wrong in the management (Rose-Ackerman 1999, 9).

⁸⁰⁹ Kingston, Loveridge, Sterritt 2009, 3.

⁸¹⁰ See: The World Bank and Ukraine.

⁸¹¹ See: The World Bank and Ukraine. Indicators of Ukraine.

⁸¹² See: IBM in Ukraine. See also: POLICY RECOMMENDATION ON ECONOMIC AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (2009).

⁸¹³ See: EBRD in Ukraine.

⁸¹⁴ Ukraine has shown the strong desire to join NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Perhaps, this membership would bring new economic opportunities as Ukraine already has an aerospace industry plus other co-operations with the USA. Kingston, Loveridge, Sterritt 2009, 3. See also: The National Exhibition of Ukraine in the USA, 2006.

⁸¹⁵ See: The World Bank 2009. Also see: The World Bank Ukraine.

ply⁸¹⁶) and politically inflamed,⁸¹⁷ however violent conflicts between Ukraine and Russia are seen as very unlikely in the near future. Hopefully, International 'economical helpers' in the long run should be able to improve not only the economical and socio-political atmosphere in the state, but at a practical level how to improve micro-financing of poverty. Without resolving economical problems the family future will continue to be devastated. In such a situation there can be little doubt Religion will emerge as one of new/restored the social powers: It will give a revolutionary impetus to a transition society.

3.3.3. The Jewish Forest

*“There cannot be a prosperous Jewish community in an unprosperous country.”*⁸¹⁸

However, Jewish history shows that Jews are business-minded. Jews are looked on as persons with leadership and management skills. Informant Leon underlines that Jews know how to make a profit and how to manage people.⁸¹⁹ In this chapter, I shall try to describe what kind of challenges face the Jewish community in Ukraine. Jewish activist, Josef Zissels, identifies the Jewish community as a structure, composed of the Jewish population, communal institutions and numerous networks among people formed with the help of their institutions.⁸²⁰ Throughout history, religious Jews have lived for external and internal reasons separately from non-Jewish people in their own communities. The external reasons refer to the fact that Jews have been excluded from normal non-Jewish social life. The internal reasons refer to some inner issues that make Jews distinct from other people: global and group identity, religion, collective history and memory of Jewishness, Jewish traditions and lifestyle, etc. The Jewish Agency for Israel adds some aspects of Jewish community to this definition as follows: Jewish community is likened to a forest with the quality of life in the forest dependent on food sources, internal balance and the eco-system of which the forest is a part.⁸²¹ I have no argument with this definition.

This forest allegory at least paints a vivid picture for us - the Forest Finns.⁸²² Just like in the forest, the Jewish community in the Diaspora needs nutrients (money), the balance of nature (good living conditions) and the eco-system (the environment, in which it lives with links and contacts to the inside and outside world). However, a concept of Jewish community mostly refers only to religion. In this study it can be seen that Messianic Jews in Ukraine belong to the Jewish community although there is a different comprehension of some doctrinal issues with other, non-Messianic Jews. According to informants, many Messianic Jews have direct contact with Orthodox Jewish institutions and Jewish groups there. In the Jewish forest in Ukraine, the children might go to an Orthodox Jewish school but their parents frequent Messianic Jewish congregations. In Ukraine, there were still 70 Orthodox and 15 Reform synagogues serving the Jewish community (around 1998).⁸²³ In fact, from a Jewishness viewpoint, the Jewish forest could be a towering mixture with different understandings of doctrinal issues and aspects of social and individual life. Jews in Ukraine, regardless of what age is ethnically Jewish, are woven together in many cases (e.g. through mixed families among Jews). Many factors suggest that the concept of a common

⁸¹⁶ Kingston, Loveridge, Sterritt 2009, 2; Zwirn 2010.

⁸¹⁷ Demographically, ethnic Russians are the majority in the Crimea, but mother Russian look after its citizens also in other areas of Ukraine. Kingston, Loveridge, Sterritt 2009, 3, 5.

⁸¹⁸ See: Zissels 1997.

⁸¹⁹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/21.

⁸²⁰ See: Zissels 1997.

⁸²¹ See: The Jewish Agency for Israel.

⁸²² 'Forest Finns' is our nickname, derived from our history. According to it, Finns (in Swedish 'Skogsfinnar' or 'Svedjefinnar') migrated to Sweden in the 16th century based on the Swedish colonisation policy in Finland.

During the long history of Finns, the Forest has many associations including serving as a form of church, (Immi Hellén's lyric says 'now forest can become as our church' in a song, A 'Shepherd boy' by Mikael Nyberg).

⁸²³ See: Zissels 1997.

Jewish community could be realized at some distant point in the future; why not with the allegorical concept the Jewish forest.

The destinations of Jews and the economy in any given country are intertwined with each other in the Diaspora. Beginning with European history, evidence can be provided that economical downturns in society have provoked pogroms and accusations against Jews, which, in turn, have usually provided impetus for migration. The Jews of Ukraine seem especially to react to the worsening of the country's socio-economical situation chiefly through emigration. It is estimated that, within 20 to 30 years, the Jewish community of Ukraine will stabilize at the level of 150,000 – 200,000 people. Lower guesses have also been made. Political scientist Gabriel Sheffer emphasises, that the economy is not the only reason why Jews have migrated: According to him it is widely accepted that Diasporas are made and unmade as a result of both voluntary and forced migration, shifting borders and the formation and the collapse of states.⁸²⁴ These aspects match with those of the Jewish community of Ukraine where social political needs are enormous with an estimated 12-15% of the community in constant need of aid (products, medicine and money). For example, Galina, a frail, old Jewish woman, recounted that she used to eat only twice a week and this was a meal provided at a soup kitchen run by Messianic Jews.⁸²⁵ Elderly and handicapped people are in need of home nursing care. About 4,000 former prisoners of the ghettos and about 50,000 victims of the Shoah (in about 1998) who needed help.

The Jewish community has traditionally provided social services to needy members and been an activator of the financial market, but Zissels has observed that budgets are too small. In Ukraine, the average minimum overall need of the Jewish community is calculated at between \$80 million and \$100 million per year. About \$20 million to \$25 million is collected (in the USA and Israel) and spent so that the Jewish community of Ukraine only has about 25 % of what it needs.⁸²⁶

Therefore, Jews have also chosen other channels to promote welfare in their community. Some 'chief Rabbis' have connections with the Orange Revolution,⁸²⁷ like the reform Rabbi who is mentioned as the official Jewish representative for participating in the prayer vigils that were part of the Orange Revolution. Another Rabbi distributed a lot of free (kosher) food to the protestors according to news reports.⁸²⁸

SUMMARY: Overview of Ukraine Economy (3.3.) based on source material provides reasons to argue the costs of the transformation towards democracy and a free market economy have been unexpectedly high.⁸²⁹ One may ask how much 'more' Ukraine citizens can stand. Jews are involved in the same process as non-Jews, although the Jewish community has gradually started to shape their own programme mainly with support of Americans in a similar way to the state of Ukraine building strong links to the USA. 'With so little money,' many Ukrainians feel they are on the edge of perishing. In this slippery slope situation some Ukrainians take the chance to find their ethnic roots, identity and faith. Some could say it could be the possible task because different Religious Movements have emerged as I will show in the next chapter.

⁸²⁴ Sheffer 2003, 22. Sheffer refers to: Sheffer 1986; Cohen, R. 1997; Van Hear 1998, Brubaker 1999.

⁸²⁵ Her pension is under \$ 10 US per month. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/9.

⁸²⁶ See: Zissels 2010.

⁸²⁷ See: The Orange Revolution. The Orange Revolution is viewed as the political protest movement that is based on the claim that the results of the run-off vote of November 21, 2004 between leading candidates Viktor Yushchenko and Viktor Yanukovich were rigged by the authorities in favour of the latter. The colour orange refers to supporters of Yushchenko. Åslund and McFaul (eds.). 2006.

⁸²⁸ See: Rabbi Robert Scheinberg's Blog.

⁸²⁹ Zhurzhenko 1998.

3.4. The Religious Context of the Messianic Jewish Movement

3.4.1. How to Become a Brother/Sister Beloved?

In theory and from the social-philosophical point of view we should consider society belongs to every one of its members notwithstanding class-borders of social class, race, sex/gender, colour or *ethnie*.⁸³⁰ But, in practice just those class-borders categorise people into different social interest-groups. For example there is sex/gender classification of today's Christian church people into two groups: Whether they are pro- or anti- the Biblical Egalitarian⁸³¹ or Complementarian⁸³² position. In consideration of Ukraine, I surmise to 'swear in the name of Egalitarian' sounds a little political in the country where widespread traces of a devastating war are still seen; as if women must promulgate war between two genders, just when women have understood that they need each other: Women need men and men need women. However "la liberté, la fraternité, l'égalité" (in French)⁸³³ is the world famous national, tripartite motto⁸³⁴ originating in the French Revolution 1789–1799. All Europeans have benefitted one way or another from this great French idea that will take us toward freedom, but... that l'égalité/equality, is just the term of policy and because of the connotation of the word it does not fit well to the spirit of the holy Bible which fundamentally wants to unite people, not separate them. Apostle Paul writes how we should treat each other like we were in the same position. This is an image of a Messianic Jew in congregation.

In Phil. 9. "Yet for love's sake I rather beseech you, being such an one as Paul the aged, ...10. I beseech you for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: 11. Which in time past was to you unprofitable, but now profitable to you and to me: 12. Whom I have sent again...16. Not now as a servant, but above a servant, a *brother beloved*, specially to me, but how much more to you..."⁸³⁵.

Knowing that Onesimus was a slave who had escaped from his master, Paul returned him still insisting that the owner of the farm should regard Onesimus as his brother because they both were saved and from this point of view equal in the eyes of God. This kind of brotherhood/sisterhood may be unattainable if religion becomes strongly politicized and suffers wholly unacceptable attitudes. Anthropologist Sarah D. Phillips who studied Ukrainian society from the point of view of women's social activism writes that 'politics is widely perceived as a *dirty business* not appropriate for women who are charged rather with upholding culture and morals...' ⁸³⁶. In fact, women act, inevitably religion is one part of politics today, if not in the Messianic Movement in Ukraine in 2000, then so it is elsewhere. For example, NAE (National Association of Evangelicals) with 30 million Americans in 2004 gave full support to a President ⁸³⁷ who presented his opposition to such liberal ideas as gay marriage, certain forms of abortion and gene research. According to interpretation of the complementarian position⁸³⁸ God has created the authority of the male. This is the point also among Moderate Evangelicals like intellectual John W. Miller who argues that the feminist critique of male has led to '*fatherless families headed by mothers alone*'.⁸³⁹ Thus, according to Miller the lack of viewing God as masculine, as father, has contributed to North American societies experiencing 'an inevitable drift,' because 'depatriarchalized theologies do not validate fathering

⁸³⁰ 'Ethnie' is the name of ethnic communities by sociologists Anthony Smith and John Hutchinson. In: Pitkänen 2004, 166ff

⁸³¹ Scholz 2005.

⁸³² Scholz 2005.

⁸³³ In English: liberty, fraternity and equality.

⁸³⁴ According to Bohachevsky-Chomiak 'liberation' was a slogan of all Ukrainian activists. In: Bohachevsky-Chomiak 1988, 3.

⁸³⁵ According to American King James Version. Italics is by the author.

⁸³⁶ Phillips 2008, 54.

⁸³⁷ George W. Bush in the USA.

⁸³⁸ Read: Man and Woman in Biblical perspective by James B. Hurley's book, 1981.

⁸³⁹ Miller, J W 1994, 4.

as a predominately cultural achievement'. We can derive from this viewpoint, absence of the father-figure, has a negative impact on family, homes, wider community and also a nations' overall structure. The future is open to debate as to the long-term effects and outcomes of this diminution of the priority position of the male.⁸⁴⁰

There are grounds to accept the results of Susanne Scholz's studies when she writes that those egalitarianists are seen often as fighters, who struggle against male authority by politicized tools, although for example Scholz points out that egalitarian efforts with non-hierarchical, flexible, equalitarian approach is sometimes called 'slippery slope'.⁸⁴¹ From the point of view of the analysis of this study it is obvious that Messianic Jewish women tend to avoid the path of a 'slippery slope', and their weapons would be Biblical, rather than 'dirty business': To become a 'Brother/Sister beloved'.

3.4.2. Background of Religious Protest

Karl Marx highlighted that "religious distress is at the same time the expression of the real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world..."⁸⁴² As known, Marx was not against religion *per se*, but against a system that requires the illusion of religion, as sociologist George Ritzer says after analysis of Marx's work.⁸⁴³ These sorts of ideas by Marx would also be applicable in Ukraine, circa 2000. Although Messianic Jews in Ukraine might not understand in this way, it is possible that Messianic Judaism emerged somehow as the protest against real distress in the plurality and complexity of the bizarre society at the time when also other old and new religions arose like mushrooms from the ground after autumn rain. Citizens' protest ca 2000, like Karl Marx's protest is targeted against the iniquitous society. However, the means of the Social Movements in problem solving were totally different. Marx rejected religion as a social power because he personally did not believe that religion could include force that would change society to a better direction, but one hundred years later Jews in Ukraine eagerly grasped religion because they saw that religion included 'inner force' which could bring individual and collective solutions to the stage of spiritual and physical hunger.⁸⁴⁴ Citizens in Ukraine for 70 years experienced the failure of the Crusade of Karl Marx in front of their lives, *in turn*, Judaism/Messianic Judaism still lived in the world and has a tangible effect on their lives: To get bread and emotional consolation in synagogues and congregations. Many in the Messianic Jewish Movement remembered that Jews had not freely abandoned the faith (but had done so out of necessity) that had so disappointed Marx. The disappointment of Marxism-Communism was not unique to Jews, but also for non-Jews from different national backgrounds whose descendants now sat side by side in Messianic congregations. Informant Jasha is the only one who puts this change into words saying: "Both (referring to Jews and non-Jews) are *equal* in the religious services. This is something new in the world."⁸⁴⁵

3.4.3. Messianic Jewish Congregations

This chapter 3.4 focuses on Messianic congregations and the analysis continues in chapter 5.1 from the point of view of ideology of Messianic Judaism. Throughout this study it is possible to see that the

⁸⁴⁰ Miller, J W 1994, 4.

⁸⁴¹ Scholz 2005, 95. Cf. Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, who is one leading intellectual of the Biblical Egalitarian position. Groothuis, R. M. (1995). Good News for Women: A Biblical Picture of Gender Equality.

⁸⁴² Marx continues: "...just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people." In: Marx 1943/1979, 3-129.

⁸⁴³ Ritzer 2008, 70.

⁸⁴⁴ Pensioners and handicapped suffer from hunger. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1, 1.

⁸⁴⁵ I.e. 'equal' means here that all ethnic groups have the right to take part in congregational life. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1, 1.

Messianic Jewish Movement intersects Judaism and Christianity; however these 2 branches of religion are not dealt with in detail here.⁸⁴⁶

Starting with noticing that the Messianic Jewish Movement has no social classes, but it works voluntarily among citizens who belong to different social stratum. The Messianic Jewish Movement located almost exclusively in the West and the South of Ukraine in 2000, but later the movement has also gradually spread into the East. Although Ukrainian society was in social and political transition the teaching of the Messianic Jewish Movement according to my observation clearly focused on the Bible. A revolutionary stage was reached wherein 'Soviet theology' (some Ukrainians used this descriptor) had to go and they had definitely taken and believed in the authority of the Bible as the genuine word of JHWH.

In some cases, while going through transition process from Atheism to religious plurality it was not possible to discern any similarities with for example liberation theology,⁸⁴⁷ whose *Mission view* is widely politicized, but in others some analogies could be seen. I noted many 'conscious' (those thinking outside of just their life) citizens adhered to the Messianic Movement and had their own political opinions and were prepared to discuss their opinions to some extent together, but kept them separate from the Bible. One reason to keep politics outside the Messianic Jewish Movement may be that members of the movement are basically composed of different ethnic groups, so that any type of strong politicization could bring severe problems. There were Ukrainians, Russians, and many other ethnic groups who may have differing political opinion of how and by whom Ukraine should be governed. However, the struggle against the poverty with its many symptoms is the same for all citizens. The leaders of Messianic congregations have been able in part to relieve suffering stemming just from such serious problems by their close community (e.g. giving food to an orphanage).

Nonetheless, there was clarity concerning the questions of Zionism and Israel. The movement was clearly pro global Jewishness and Israel was assessed from a Biblical viewpoint. Belonging to the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine might mean to be more multicultural than generally in Christian denominations which might focus more on their traditional, homogenous adherents. This is an educated guess, not a fact. Anyway, according to my observations, pastors of Messianic congregations stressed the fact that not only Jews, but all ethnic groups are equally welcome.

In general, Messianic congregations used to function visibly from Jewish basis much more than from basis of traditional Christianity. Some spiritual features, however, in the Ukrainian Messianic congregations have come out of Protestant churches and others especially from Pentecostal, revival assemblies.⁸⁴⁸ What is the difference? According to the RISU, the Religious Information Service of Ukraine 2001-2008, Pentecostalism came at the beginning of the 20th century to the Russian Empire and from there to Ukraine. RISU categorizes Pentecostalism to the other Protestant branches with Baptists, Lutherans, Seven-day Adventists, and Sub-Carpathian Reformed.⁸⁴⁹ In the 20th-21st century Worldwide Pentecostalism is a large Christian movement that emphasizes the experience of spirit baptism and speaking in holy tongues. Protestantism, including Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Zwinglianism, with the Church of England, is one of the major divisions within the Christian movement, which emerged at a certain time as a rejection of Papal authority.⁸⁵⁰ No doubt, in the big country of the 'church bells' old Christian traditions have put their strong fingers, perhaps more or less indirectly, on the practices of Messianic congregations in the way that one could claim: 'this congregation is Pentecostal,' or 'this is Protestant'. Yet even here we have to take into account the transition situation, everything is just a little upside down, or better to say 'mixed.' For example, an officer of the Lutheran church said that all Christians, including Orthodox Christians, and all Messianic Jews used to co-operate in arranging Gospel meetings once or twice a year in this city. This case indicates that the parish boundaries are disappearing (at least in this case) and members work according to the common approach of the *Ecclesia* (in Greek; an assembly of believers).

⁸⁴⁶ Read: Appendix 5 referring to Judaism and Appendix 6 to Christianity in Ukraine.

⁸⁴⁷ Gutiérrez 2008.

⁸⁴⁸ See: Pentecostalism 2008.

⁸⁴⁹ Juster 1995, 107. See: Pentecostalism in Ukraine; also: Pentecostalism. Also: Lemcio 2003.

⁸⁵⁰ See: Protestantism .

I have found reasons why the Pentecostal tradition lives so strongly in the Messianic Movement. During many years before the collapse of Communism, the Pentecostal Movement worked in Eastern European countries supporting underground Christian assemblies. Their message seemed to have especially reached poor and needy people. The strength of Pentecostalism has been seen elsewhere. For example, to take the case of Brazil with its 130 million Catholics, these people do not become secular like Catholic people generally do over time in other countries, but rather turn to the Pentecostal Movement that is working in Brazil among people of a lower social stratum.⁸⁵¹ In Ukraine, there are also the poor who willingly want to come to Messianic Jewish Congregations. I observed in 2000 how pastors were personally involved in such projects, by means of which they wanted to improve the living conditions of the poor with respect and love. In addition, the three generation period of Atheism has greatly influenced society so that knowledge of religion and spirituality are generally at a low level or zero, whilst remembering the spiritual heritage of the underground church. Subjective preferences guide people's decisions where to go, and their emotional experiences and feelings are often more important than rational considerations.

The style of the Pentecostal Movement with its openness, warmth, live music and activities for the whole family is appealing to many people. Meetings can often be humorous like in any show. People are able to relax singing and horah, Jewish worship dancing with people of similar faith and outlook on life. Intellectual of Messianic Judaism, Dan Juster reports that the worship style in congregations should be like this, emotionally touching Jewish and Hebraic.⁸⁵² Emphasizing a key point Juster says: "We teach that the Jewish follower of Yeshua is still a part of Israel as well as the universal people of God. Therefore, Jewish members of these congregations are encouraged to maintain appropriate methods of worship which is Biblically grounded in Jewish practices and identity."

Knowing the history of religion of Ukraine, another reason why Pentecostal congregations are popular might be that they have not been 'legitimized' like other 'real churches', which kept a register of members. In theory, it is possible that people think Pentecostal churches are not guilty of the 'past sins of churches'. It is no secret there are Jews who have questioned the Christian churches' real power during the Second World to prevent Shoah and massacres. They did 'nothing effective' (minimal resources and acts) as I have also quite often heard. Therefore, the threshold for a Jew to enter any Christian church may perhaps be higher than to enter any Messianic Jewish Congregation whose background in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement can safely be traced to the first century with its great zeal according to Messianics. With such things in mind it seems likely Christian churches can hardly hope to gain any kind of popularity among Jews at least in near future, if ever.⁸⁵³

As a matter of fact, in 2000 I recognized Messianic congregations were quite popular in Ukraine. Informant Pavel's (67 years old ex-musician) is not only one whose modest appearance shows suffering. He like many others says that in Messianic congregation he has started to think about his Jewishness.⁸⁵⁴ Similarly hundreds of people took part in their Sabbath meetings; many were non-Jewish and I also noticed leaders of the Messianic congregations tried to create an atmosphere where everybody could feel free and equal with each other notwithstanding race, age, gender, social status, mother tongue, etc. The observation that minorities generally find each other seems also to be true in this case. I saw people from all types of ethnic background mixed together sitting side by side: Jewish, Armenian, Cossack, Russian, Ukrainian Jewish, Ukrainian non-Jewish, Ukrainian Russian Jewish, Ukrainian Russian non-Jewish and other different ethnic minorities. For Jews or 'candidates' to become Jews (Jewish) this is important not only from the point view of religion, but also from the point of view of getting Biblical information. Such as the history of ancient Palestine, ancient patriarchs and generally Jewishness and Jewish ethnicity, so that any assimilated seekers could continue the search for their ethnic heritage. Their mixed, frail and uncertain identity may generate emotional turmoil if the question, 'who am I originally?' is asked. 'They have the right to know their original roots', seems to be a general opinion among Jews in the Messianic Jewish

⁸⁵¹ See: Miller Llana 2007.

⁸⁵² Juster 1995, 107.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Keysor 2010.

⁸⁵⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1, 6.

Movement. It is the question of a process: I refer to the concept *identity work* which refers to the changing process in any Social Movement (the chapter 5.2. 'Identity').

During 2000, in my research of the situation and the process of Jews in Ukraine it was exciting as they told, '*I want to find*' and '*I found*' my ethnic roots and religion. Everywhere I visited there was an atmosphere of excitement among Jews and candidates to be involved in the process of re-rooting Jewishness and was for me a quite new experience. I wanted to study this phenomenon in depth by collecting a rich supply of empirical material. This situation among Messianic Jews was in no way forced, but handled flexibly and creatively. In the congregations and community there was much hope, astonishment, but also painful, perceived experiences and many '*why*' questions. Everybody was allowed to find their own ways to explore and to resolve personal problems in a personal way. The atmosphere was supportive. People were not registered and therefore they felt free to come and go to discover something new which suited to them.

It is not surprising that Ukraine has a great variety of different missionary organizations. At least some if not all Messianic congregations co-operated in 2000 with international Messianic Jewish organizations which function as sheltering umbrellas for newly started Messianic congregations often supported by American Messianic Jews. Among others things, the MJAA⁸⁵⁵ (The Messianic Jewish Alliance of America) and the UMJC⁸⁵⁶ (The Union of Messianic Congregations) arrange international conferences, educational programs and produce readings.

Although the Messianic movement arose globally among Jews, since its emergence two basic visions of it have been established. First, the Messianic Jewish congregations should be a bridge between Christians and Jews on the local level, as we see from the previous text. Ideologically, both Jewish and Christian believers are seen to be followers of Yeshua. Second, that according to intellectual reasoning of the Messianic Jewish Movement, its congregations should be built up in every country among all nations and ethnic groups. This task is viewed to be culturally similar to the ancient Messianic Jews of 1st century CE, where just Jews became the first followers of Yeshua and preached a Gospel to the non-Jewish world.⁸⁵⁷

TO SUM UP, based on the theoretical and empirical source material there are reasons to argue that although Ukraine has not been able to recover from the economic wounds of its past history in one or two years, socio-historically Ukraine had however changed a lot. I suppose that the most rapid development after the Russian revolution in 1989 and the independence of Ukraine in 1991 has been in the domain of religion, in which field usually females have been first to take a step over the threshold. Religion with different denominations has returned and flourished. Although Messianic Jewish congregations are small the movement is however the place where assimilated Jews could receive help not only while searching for their ethnic and religious roots, but also emotionally becoming connected to such people to whom Jewishness still make the difference.

⁸⁵⁵ The MJAA is formerly known as the Hebrew Christian Alliance of America until 1975. It is founded in 1915 and is the largest association of Messianic Jews worldwide.

⁸⁵⁶ The UMJC is founded in 1979 to help establish, strengthen, and multiply congregations for Yeshua within the House of Israel. See: UMJC 2010, 2005.

⁸⁵⁷ Fruchtenbaum 1977,1989, 2004; Stern, D. H. 2007.

4. THE RESULTS OF THE SHELL ANALYSIS

4.1. Adherents

Factors in the Shell

Chapter 3 previously reviewed factors in the context of political-history, socio-culture, economy, and religion, which have had influence on the emergence of the Mission view of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine, from the near past through centuries to thousands of years ago. Referring to the figure 1, in the OOM the *context* is the broadest circle where different aspects and factors are encountered and confront the researcher by the analysis. So, this context is the largest and deepest background for this study (the chapter 3.). The *shell* highlights potentials and realities which the Messianic Jewish Movement utilizes in order to create the Mission view. The number of factors in the shell are more limited than in the context, therefore this part of the study report is also shorter (Chapter 4.). The action itself, the content of the Mission view, is presented in the *core* of the OOM. The analysis consists of a large range of factors and at the end it links all factors together. The importance and the weight of the outcomes of this study will therefore be on display especially in the core (in the chapter 5.). This chapter, in turn, focuses on four aspects of the shell: Adherence, leaders, structure and social objects. The purpose is to investigate and analyse the potential and the realities of adherence that leaders, structure and social objects have in the process of creating and shaping the Mission view.

Adherents

Any Social Movement needs its basic adherents which consist of people who feel one way or another that they belong to the movement. They have some kind of dependency on the movement. Adherents support the movement by acting at practical level. According to the OOM (Figure 1), adherents of the Messianic Jewish Movement are positioned in the *shell* including necessary potentials and realities in order to prepare for operation in the core. Adherents are people, who are participants, members and potential followers. Although individual adherents may create new kinds of social activities⁸⁵⁸ in the Social Movement, the basic idea is that “spontaneous gatherings of individuals serve as the basis for an emergent collective identity which however cannot be explained merely with its individual members.⁸⁵⁹”

Scholars of Social Movements Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison state that, “a movement is what it does and how it does it, not what its members think and why they think the ideas that they do.⁸⁶⁰” In this case, female and male adherents are involved in Messianic Judaism and its ideology with worship, service, festivals, education and communication in the Messianic Jewish Movement. Generally in the Messianic Jewish Movement adherents foster a Messianic lifestyle and Jewish tradition.⁸⁶¹ In Messianic congregations women have own responsibilities and tasks.

Adherents are people, who can criticise and resist things within the movement⁸⁶² although they do not lead the movement, nor are its intellectuals. It is common to almost every Social Movement that criticism

⁸⁵⁸ Eyerman & Jamison 1996, 2.

⁸⁵⁹ Eyerman & Jamison 1996, 13.

⁸⁶⁰ Eyerman & Jamison 1996, 13

⁸⁶¹ Cf. Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 75ff.

⁸⁶² Cf. Telchin 2004.

is an important tool for specifying ideological aspects and practices.⁸⁶³ In Ukraine critics represent often Orthodox Judaism. No doubt, the range of adherents may be large, meaning that different people, with different social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds belong to the Messianic Jewish Movement. Female and male, rich and poor, old and young, Jewish and non-Jewish, Ukrainians and Russians of origin can belong to the adherence of the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine.

As the Messianic Jewish Movement is a new movement there are no official statistics to describe persons who are taking part in different activities in the movement's orbit, such as worship in a congregation, Bible study groups in the home, soup kitchens, festivals and teaching in the Bible Institute. My overall impression is that all age groups are to some extent represented: children, young, adult and elderly. They belong to the local or global '*mishpaha*' (Hebr. family, in Eng. *mispacha*).⁸⁶⁴ I did not recognize just this Jewish term at the grassroot level. The breakdown of types of adherents whom I met in Ukraine belonged to various social strata, e.g. the working class represented by occupations such as salesperson, housekeeper, cleaner, taxi-driver, construction worker, and sailor. They also belonged to the middle class e.g. entrepreneurs, engineers, financial inspectors, technicians, secretaries, music teachers, and musicians. Some of the adherents were housewives, students, school boys and girls. Two Messianic Jewish leaders from abroad were originally what can be termed academics. Also, I met elderly pensioners and some adherents were unemployed.⁸⁶⁵ According to sources it seems that the adherence clearly consists more often of people of a lower social stratum in Ukraine than in the USA.⁸⁶⁶ It is fair to assume the background of adherents has quite an influence on which direction the movement will take and how it will develop.

In Ukraine, members often took part in the congregation on Sabbath. If one person likes the programme,⁸⁶⁷ she/he asks other family members and friends to come with her/him. I met some women who told me that they were praying that their husbands would one day come with them to a meeting. Usually, the programme in worship services was organized in such a way that all age groups were able to take part. Children and young people were together with adults which gave the impression that the programme attracted everyone. Children took part in music and dance performances during worship which was family centred. In fact, I recognized only a few 'whole families' together in meetings, but it is obvious that pastors'/Rabbis' families are an important role model for participants. In 2000, according to my observations, both genders were represented in equal proportions with the authority in meetings being in the hands of men. At least, there was no a shortage of men, as in many of the Western churches where men are often missing from the religious action altogether. Though the leaders were men they shared complementary roles with their wives and women did not display negative attitudes or feelings of being oppressed by males. On the contrary, their husbands were in desirable male roles; generally they praised their wives at meetings and women were willing to hear the gospel by them. Some wives of pastors/Rabbis were charismatic and they often used their spiritual gifts in prayers.⁸⁶⁸

Based on the source material and my analysis I SUMMARIZE and conclude that although the adherents like members of the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine are clearly at a stage of fermentation in 2000 it clearly has great potential for sustaining activities.

⁸⁶³ Critical adherents within the Messianic movements are able to shape the Messianic movement positively, if criticism is seen as yeast which keeps progress on the move. However, critical opinions may separate adherents from each other, or on the other hand smooth the road in order for other competing groups to emerge.

⁸⁶⁴ The term '*mishpaha*' has ancient roots. In: Levine 1983. See: Chapter 1.3. Concept of Family.

⁸⁶⁵ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO4.

⁸⁶⁶ Harris-Shapiro 1999, Kollontai 2004, 197; Samuelson 2000.

⁸⁶⁷ In congregations, worship has its own features. According to Juster and Hocken "the strong charismatic element in much of the Messianic Jewish Movement is most evident in the sphere of worship. The Messianic movement has been very creative in its production of music and texts for worship, with many songs being composed in Hebrew and sang throughout the world. This creativity is also evident in the forms of Israeli dance that are now quite common during times of praise in Messianic Jewish worship" (Juster and Hocken 2004, 38).

⁸⁶⁸ In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO1-4.

Common Interests of Adherents

I shall continue my analysis concerning adherents of the Messianic Jewish Movement examining what types of common interests are shared by adherents of one group (collective identity) so that these particular adherents have their own special significance among other religions in Ukraine. The analysis came up with 12 factors: authority of the Bible, Zionism, family-centred, collective identity, social activity, coping skills, consolation, everyone is valuable (honour and dignity), Jewish and non-Jewish together, Jewishness, to say 'no' to replacement theology, and hunger for religion. These factors produce 'action itself' for the movement.

The Hebrew and Jewish Bible are accorded high authority for understandable reasons. For example, during the height of Stalinist purges (the 1920s and 1930s) many Jews abandoned Hebrew and Yiddish,⁸⁶⁹ but in 2000 everybody could read the Bible without fear at home, however without their original languages. In addition, everybody is conscious that the political system in the West is tied with the history of Christianity and the message of the Bible. Some may make a direct conclusion that the Bible's prohibition in the East brought about misfortune and in the new age of transition the Bible and the West are the way forward to happiness. In this connection it is fascinating that in traditional Judaism one can see Jews kissing the Torah Scrolls for example in a synagogue. It is an act of love towards JHWH. Among Messianic Jewish Movement I have also seen how some people kiss the Bible.

According to my analysis in Ukraine in 2000 adherents are growing towards so called 'Fundamentalism' including Biblical Maximalism and Inerrancy theological aspects. While honouring the Bible as the crucial factor in their lives Messianic Jews also try to interpret it into their modern, everyday life situations. Although many had only received a little Biblical teaching they had usually started to apply Biblical verses to their lives in a blunt and straightforward manner. Messianic Jewish Movement intellectuals, Dan Juster and Peter Hocken crystallize their trust in the authority of the Bible unambiguously: "For almost all Messianic Jews, the Bible, both the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Covenant Scriptures is of unique canonical authority."⁸⁷⁰ Faith in JHWH's Word has been regained by Jews in the movement. The informant Helen like many others said that she was eager to know more about religious things while emphasizing that the Bible comes originally from the Jews.⁸⁷¹ I also noticed how female adherents made comparisons with how things are in Ukraine in 2000 and what the Bible says about these things. Often comparisons concerned morality in society and family life. Clearly, these women thought that the Bible has the power to resolve these problems. For me, a Finn, these kinds of comparisons were captivating experiences because in largely secular *Finland* people seldom honour the Bible as a real authority in this way and they rarely compare their lives with the Bible's literal teaching. Instead in Ukraine, e.g. Gina, another informant is concerned about the family situation that is chaotic and she asserted that, 'the original model of the family is based on the Bible'.⁸⁷²

Adherents of the Messianic Jewish Movement are usually growing sympathy towards Zionists⁸⁷³ who want to take a pro-Israel stand whatever happens. Although the popularity of Zionism has even fallen in Israel its popularity in the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine in 2000 has increased. If the pilgrims from the Black Sea region who took part in the Passover (Pesach) festival at Jerusalem during the time of first Apostles were Zionist in the Biblical meaning of the Word,⁸⁷⁴ then Messianic Jews, especially the intellectuals and leaders in Ukraine in 2000 were following their path with their whole hearts. Obviously, the movement's ultimate purpose in Ukraine in 2000 was to promote the gathering of all Jews into Palestine.⁸⁷⁵ From the point of view of the social and political atmosphere in Ukraine where anti-Semitic at-

⁸⁶⁹ Braziel 2008, 15.

⁸⁷⁰ Juster and Hocken 2004, 35.

⁸⁷¹ In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO1/3 and 6.

⁸⁷² In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO1/10.

⁸⁷³ Stewart 2007.

⁸⁷⁴ The Zionist Movement was founded late the 19th century.

⁸⁷⁵ The Biblical, geographical name of the ancient land of the descendants of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

tacks still occurred and where the Jewish community had not yet been reconstructed Israel as a real Zion was an attractive alternative alongside e.g. the USA and Germany. Emigration enticed many although the difficulties in Israel were well known (e.g. language problem) however Messianic Jewish congregations and generally the Messianic Jewish Movement were first and foremost places, where ex-Soviet citizens could adopt new, realistic and also attractive thinking concerning Israel.

In Messianic congregations, Biblical Zionism especially penetrates thinking and acting in an enthusiastic way so it seems that its message is derived directly from the Bible and generally very far from everyday politics. With its beautiful new and old Hebrew songs, with worship dancing, with the flags of Judah, menorah and joy, Zionism offers something in its presentation-performance for the whole family with family-centred activity as one of the priorities of the movement.

It cannot be discerned from American literature that the position of children would be given such a prominent role in the Messianic movement in the USA. In Ukraine, children's welfare⁸⁷⁶ has become an essential issue because orphans⁸⁷⁷ and neglected children are in the streets. Additionally the longing for a Jewish upbringing is equally visible. Tamara, an informant and mother of three sons, emphasizes that she pays a lot of attention to the Jewish upbringing of her children. She points out that her Jewish father used to raise her in a specific way and now she wants to use the same method with her children.⁸⁷⁸ Messianic Jewish women are encouraged to be devoted to the ideal of being good mothers not only for their own offspring, but also for those of the Jewish community in general. So, Messianic Jewish mothers are orientated towards achieving change which is seen in their *identity work* with a sense of becoming collectively united in their beliefs, goals, and actions towards their opposition, the ex-Soviet societal system. Collectivity is the construction of women's collective identity including belonging, fellowship, social relationships and social activity in the movement illustrated by how easy it was to recognize that most Messianic Jews appreciated the opportunity to be socially acquainted with one other. As sociologists of the Social Movements Rachel L. Einwohner, Jo Reger and Daniel J. Myers underline according to current research, activist's *identity work* draws on both 'sameness' and 'difference', although the line between 'us' and 'them' may be blurred rather than distinct.⁸⁷⁹

I had noticed this also during my trips in Russia and Poland where dialogue between Jews is constant reflecting they have a feeling of freedom and right to be open in society that the Soviet era had denied them: Verbosity seemed now to be a virtue. On the other hand, according to studies, the risk of becoming lonely or being lonely is great. Scholars of social science Esther Iecovich et al. points out elderly Jews in Ukraine have had fewer social networks and have felt lonelier compared to Jews in Russia.⁸⁸⁰ The Messianic movement offers opportunities to meet other Jews which is one method to create communal belonging (a general attitude of 'solidarity') as a part of social activity. Other Social Movements, like the Orange Movement and women's emancipation have concurrently stimulated activity in the whole of society. Through *identity work* it may be a long process for ordinary citizens to find a way to get rid of common passivity and to become active participants in a new democratic state because all channels are not constructed. The modern Messianic Jewish Movement is only, but however one important channel where Jews are treated respectfully, enabling informant Sabina's opinion, 'Jews like to act in public', and, 'Jews are very open'⁸⁸¹ to come true and enhance their well-being.

Family-centred, collective identity and social activity are included in coping and survival skills as⁸⁸² informants of this study underline that in general Jews are survivors.⁸⁸³ Over time they have developed permanent skills for preventing the risk of becoming marginalized, something that depends on severe

⁸⁷⁶ In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO1/28.

⁸⁷⁷ See: People Who Care 2010. Problems of Jewish Orphans in Ukraine.

⁸⁷⁸ In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO1/8.

⁸⁷⁹ Einwohner & Reger & Myers 2008, 1ff.

⁸⁸⁰ Loneliness among elderly Jews in Ukraine and Russia in: Iecovich et al. 2004.

⁸⁸¹ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/12.

⁸⁸² Handbook of Coping by Zeidner and Endler (eds.). 1996. Coping theories are widely seen as Jew's special interest. Cf. the coping theory of Tuula-Hannele Ikonen, published in 2000 by Helsinki University Press.

⁸⁸³ In the archive of author, in 2000, FSR/NO2/13-18.

material deprivation as identified by social scientist Ellen B. Mullaly.⁸⁸⁴ On the other hand, as this study shows Messianic Jews in Ukraine in 2000 are mainly poor so generally speaking, especially elderly Jews, but also other Jews have a real risk of becoming socially marginalized. This serious problem was palpable everywhere. Leaders and members of congregations try to struggle against this negative development every day. They gave food to the poorest, plus clothes and home help as much as it was possible under severe financial limitations reliant on the money, capacity and generosity of volunteers. When pondering those material needs I became convinced of the truth spoken by a Rabbi of a Messianic congregation who said that they may not have money, but what they do have is the Bible and consolation. The consolation in this context means shared consolation like informants Jasha and Rina described it with these words, 'together' and, 'all together'⁸⁸⁵ Jews will manage through these miserable years of hunger and poverty. To live in more or less similar circumstances with a sense of equality in the Messianic Jewish Movement forms a good starting point for sharing common consolation. For example almost all elderly Jews had emotional wounds when recollecting tragic memories concerning wars and human losses and when these are met with respect and in honourable ways the sharing becomes consolation.⁸⁸⁶

I met in Ukraine informant Anna who still suffered a lot of these symptoms and told me that she still remembers how the Nazis gave the order to put a Jewish star on every Jew's door as a mark to show where Jews lived.⁸⁸⁷ These 'stigma symbols' showed to Anna that she and her family did not belong to the Aryan side. However, in the Warsaw Ghetto where 500,000 Jews were living as slave labour prisoners some Jews did transfer to the Aryan side and they were allowed to use 'prestige symbols' such as a wedding ring or reading glasses giving the appearance of 'normality'. Presumably in Ukraine Jews did not pass to the Aryan side, so they used only 'stigma symbols', which strategically formed their *identity work*.⁸⁸⁸

Comforting moments of remembrance can be part of an unofficial program in congregations, e.g. in such cases as informant Sergei who wondered whether persecutions/the Shoah were the punishments of JHWH and if so, the persecutions/the Shoah symbolically reflected JHWH condemnation. Sergei said that he had met a man some time ago, who held the opinion that hard times come to Jews as a punishment from JHWH. This had led this man to repent of all things he had done wrong (Hebr. teshuvah); during his life.⁸⁸⁹ Sergei's reflection is not unusual among concentration camp prisoners. It is natural for Humans to seek to somehow explain why awful episodes happened. If we as Humans could find a reason so the suffering can be rationalised and the vulnerable self would be healed. To encourage suffering people to cope and search for meaning is a part of the methodology enabling them to re-pass into '*normality*', and authenticate their continued life.⁸⁹⁰

In consideration of the historical background of Jews, honour and dignity belong also to common interest of adherents in the Messianic Jewish Movement. For the most Jews their history is of at the least humiliation, although Einwohner highlights that in the Shoah it was kept more honourable for Jews to die while fighting. However, it is a misconception that many allowed themselves to be murdered in the gas chambers.⁸⁹¹ The individual or the group are at a distinct disadvantage when faced by the primacy and supremacy of the State authority and Jews as 'pariah' were at even greater disadvantage. In congregations to sense, feel and see in practice that each person is treated as a valuable and honourable person generates credibility which according to Weisman refers to willingness to believe in other's integrity⁸⁹² and com-

⁸⁸⁴ Myllaly 2007.

⁸⁸⁵ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/17.

⁸⁸⁶ As mentioned before in the chapter 1.7. Chodoff points out the long-term effects after the Shoah period can be diagnosed as 'survivor guilt' and 'concentration camp syndrome' that cause acute anxiety levels which has been observed in many research settings. Chodoff 1986, 407-413; about the faith after the Holocaust, in: Berkovits 1973.

⁸⁸⁷ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/14.

⁸⁸⁸ Einwohner 2008, 121ff.

⁸⁸⁹ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/50.

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. Weisman 1993, also: Tillich 1952, Frankl 1969.

⁸⁹¹ Einwohner 2008, 127.

⁸⁹² Weisman 1993, 232.

passion to appreciate the suffering and distress of other people.⁸⁹³ Also, this idea of respect of every human being stems from the thinking and attitude of ancient Judaism; that Jews do not merely value only successful persons, but every single human being - *even she or he would be a loser in life - is valuable*. For example, in Ukraine the Law of JHWH and charity was told taken as challenge to live by; I heard this more than once among Messianic Jews: 1) To give food and drink to those who need it, 2) to give clothes, 3) to visit the sick, 4) to bury the dead and to comfort those who grieve, 5) to redeem the captives, 6) to educate those who have no father and shelter those who have no home, 7) and to provide poor maidens with dowries.⁸⁹⁴ Messianic believers highlight these human instructions and surely want to follow them if possible.

In Ukraine, the idea that also those, who do not belong to Jewish community, should also be honoured and helped would be a *bridge* towards non-Jewish candidates of the movement. This aspect has the similar significance than it had in the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement in the first century when the first Messianic Jews rejected ethnic segregation.⁸⁹⁵ In an orphanage near Zhitomir I met dozens of little bright-eyed children, orphans and the depth of feeling and attitude of the Messianic Pastor that he did not distinguish between Jewish and Gentile child struck me like a bolt from the sky: That Messianic pastor let me know Jew, Finn, Russian, Arab... the origin and the ethnicity doesn't matter. He highlighted about 100 different ethnic groups live in Ukraine and although he was a leader of a Messianic congregation he did not categorize people according to their ethnicity: But, still it would be important, vital to Jews to know their ethnicity...

Segregation statistics may be sharper in America. There is some criticism reflected in noting when the former Messianic pastor Stan Telchin gives an example of how in the Messianic congregations in the USA, more than 80 % of those who come each week to meetings are not Jewish,⁸⁹⁶ although the programme is Jewish thoroughly with symbols of Judaism: Davidic dancing, yarmulkes (head coverings), tallits⁸⁹⁷, tsitsit⁸⁹⁸, shofar⁸⁹⁹ and kosher food.⁹⁰⁰ He gives other examples where it is estimated that only about 40 % of the congregation is Jewish.⁹⁰¹ Also critical is anthropologist H. Bruce Stokes who categorizes the group of non-Jewish adherents in the Messianic movement into five sub-categories: 1) The group of non-Jews, who are described as 'wanna-be Jews'⁹⁰². 2) The group of non-Jews, who find copying Jewish ethnicity attractive and meaning and fulfilment in a Messianic style of worship.⁹⁰³ 3) The group of non-Jews, who has reached a theological position, in which the Torah is equally binding on Jews and Gentiles. 4) The group of non-Jews, who have married Jewish spouses.⁹⁰⁴ 5) The group of non-Jews, who have become involved in the Messianic movement because of a desire to see an authentic Messianic Judaism that can be presented to the Jewish community with integrity.⁹⁰⁵

But, we see that those five sub-categories do not work in Ukrainian context because the socio-historic background and present day situation is very different. Additionally, again we have to make the difference between Jews in America and Jews in Ukraine. Becoming a Jew in Ukraine might show much moral

⁸⁹³ Weisman 1993, 233.

⁸⁹⁴ Patai 2007, 524-540.

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. Dunn 2009; Skarsaune and Hvalvik 2007, Stark 1996, Stegemann & Stegemann 1999.

⁸⁹⁶ Telchin 2004, 81.

⁸⁹⁷ Tallit is a Jewish prayer shawl.

⁸⁹⁸ Tsitsit are 'fringes' in the prayer shawl (Num. 15:38).

⁸⁹⁹ Shofar is a horn, traditionally that of a ram, used for Jewish religious purposes.

⁹⁰⁰ Kosher food belongs to the Jewish religion (Jewish dietary laws, kashrut).

⁹⁰¹ Telchin 2004, 86.

⁹⁰² From the view of America, PhD. H. Bruce Stokes points out that in many cases, the role of non-Jews in the Messianic congregations and the larger Messianic Movement is unclear. Stokes 1997.

⁹⁰³ From the point of view of America: Stokes reminds us that there is nothing wrong with the Hebrew dancing and singing, but this is not the essence of what JHWH is doing in reviving Judah, and this group should focus their study more on the Torah commands related to non-Jews. Stokes 1997.

⁹⁰⁴ From the view of America: According to Stokes it is clear that maintaining the identity of the children is a significant goal. Conversion of non-Jewish spouses is a possibility, although the problem of acceptance by the larger Jewish community still exists. Stokes 1997.

⁹⁰⁵ Stokes highlights that this group has the need to be informed in the content and observance of the Torah so that Messianic Judaism is encouraged to grow in authentic observance. Stokes 1997.

courage which is a form of courage going against conventional beliefs and moral standards that are supported by the majority of citizens. Becoming a Jew will not bring any additional benefits, but rather the contrary it means to attract and possibly become an *object of anti-Semitism* or *anti-Judaism*⁹⁰⁶. On the other side although it does not raise a person's status in society it can make it very likely there will be a need to buy a one-way ticket to Israel or to an alternative country. So, to become openly a Jew is a moral act, like a protest, and in this way this kind of activity - oddly enough - helps extend society's 'moral language' and provide creativity and innovations in public life.⁹⁰⁷

However, not everyone can leave Ukraine so this advantage concerns the more fortunate ones. For Jews in Ukraine, Jewishness is important as a return from Soviet-exile to ancient Jewish roots and as Stokes points out, although the movement includes non-Jews, it accentuates Jewishness because the Messianic Jewish Movement is based on the belief that Yeshua (Jesus of Nazareth) is the Messiah promised to Israel. It is easy to agree with Stokes' view that the Messianic movement is a revitalization of Jewish ethnicity.⁹⁰⁸ However, the rise of Jewishness may be a problem from the point of view of the Church's replacement theology. The modern Messianic Jewish Movement rejects strongly the idea that the Christian Church has somehow replaced Israel/Jews, and that Christians and the Christian Church⁹⁰⁹ could or would replace, fulfil and complete the Torah (the Mosaic Covenant). This means that the Messianic Jewish Movement is against such approaches of replacement theology which according to it does not provide a Biblical place and position for the Jews, but rather it highlights unilaterally pagan Christians and this pagan Christian Church.

The final factor in this analysis is hunger for religion that was touching to watch. Historian of religion Catherine Wanner also points out the same thing.⁹¹⁰ This hunger might be one of main reasons why Messianic Jewish congregations have so many adherents because the entry threshold seems to be low.

SUMMARIZING this, based on source material there are reasons to highlight the common interests which are shaping the collective identity of Ukrainian Messianics so that they have become *one group* in the Messianic Jewish Movement. Although the movement is small, it has its own special significance among other religions. However, the analysis shows also that Messianic Jews in Ukraine differ considerably from Messianic Jews in America. In Ukraine the search for Jewish identity among Messianic Jewish women stems mostly from overall suffering, poverty and inner emptiness after the collapse of values of Communism, in addition from the disappointment with secular Feminism (Soviet, ex-Soviet) which does not attract many women's participation. These factors are associated with longing for the ancestors' religion and the need to produce their own Mission view. Clearly, social pressure gives women strength and they have the will to change.

4.2. Leaders

Some Women as Semi-Leaders

In general leaders of the Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine in 2000 are men however they work with the help of their colleagues, wives and members of congregations. I categorize the leaders of the

⁹⁰⁶ Cf. Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy, in: Shepardson 2008. Simplistically, anti-Judaism refers to the concept of doctrinal content while the anti-Semitism refers to the concept of social phenomena.

⁹⁰⁷ See review of James Jasper's study the *Art of Moral protest* (1997), in: Snarr 1999, Jasper 1997.

⁹⁰⁸ Stokes 1997.

⁹⁰⁹ *Universal church idea* became common after Christian author Tertullian (Lat. Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus), as bishop Augustine says this: 'The church consists of the communion of the whole world', in: McDonnell and Montague 1991, 106. - Tertullian has been called 'the father of Latin Christianity', the founder of 'Western theology' and of 'a Trinitarian theology'. Church Father Tertullian's anti-Jewish polemic work is called *Adversus Judaeos/An Answer to the Jews*, ca 200 CE.

⁹¹⁰ Wanner 2007.

movement into two groups. They are formed firstly from intellectuals, who develop doctrine,⁹¹¹ and secondly from practical leaders, as organizers. Both groups can also have other flexible and changing roles in the movement such as promoters who are like accelerators or catalysts. Then there are social reformers, who are links between the social reality of society and the Messianic movement. Some leaders can also be seen as prophets and also women might be in this task as well as leading prayer and intercession groups.⁹¹²

Intellectuals in the global Messianic Jewish Movement write books and articles about Messianic Judaism, but because global written texts are usually published in English, many visitors from America have to come to Ukraine with interpreters.⁹¹³ In general, intellectuals highlight their application of different aspects of Messianic Judaism, although basic doctrine (the Torah/Jewish halackhah and the New Testament/the Gospel of Yeshua) is the same. It is noteworthy none of the actual Messianic intellectuals is any 'famous role model' in the movement. Instead, intellectuals are seen as coeval contemporaries, born in the 20th century and so, on a totally equal footing as the adherents. 'But we are too young a movement to extol them (means adherents) at this time',⁹¹⁴ underlines Daniel Juster, an intellectual, who also writes that 'Of course, Yeshua, the Jewish Messiah and Saviour of the world, is THE Role Model...'⁹¹⁵

All the most well-known intellectuals are Americans. Presumably, some of them first belonged to different traditional Christian denominations, perhaps as Hebrew-Christian, or Orthodox Judaism and to secular non-religious groups. There are also some well-known scientists who have specialized in observing and studying phenomena in Messianic Judaism and the Messianic Jewish movement.⁹¹⁶ In any case, key Messianic Jewish intellectuals are often 'university men' that may have degrees both in Christian theology and Judaism. Intellectuals of the Messianic movement might know the Jewish roots of Christianity better than Christian scholars and be able to analyse the differences between Judaism, Messianic Judaism and Christianity without such a bias as I have noted among some Christians. Some Christians say that Messianic Jews are Christians and some that they belong to the branch of Classical Judaism. However, Messianic believers usually know very well the differences between Judaism and Messianic Judaism and how these correlate with Christianity.

Although none of the well-known intellectuals is a woman in some local Messianic congregations I met women who had the authority within the movement via their husbands. These were pastors'/Rabbis' wives whose position can possibly be described as *semi-leaders*.⁹¹⁷ Generally, men are leaders in Messianic Judaism, however, the place of women is debatable in the global Messianic Jewish Movement as we have seen from Tim Hegg's analysis.⁹¹⁸ In the new movement in 2000 in Ukraine Messianic Jewish women fully accepted the authority of a man in the assembly and at home so, from the point of view of

⁹¹¹ There are many theories and theological approaches, but at least two bigger than other theological approaches, which seem to competent with each other. The 'Two House teaching' and the 'One Law theology' are sensitive issues among Messianic congregations globally. According to the 'Two House theology', the 'House of Judah' refers to Jews, and the 'House of Israel' refers to the Ephraim, Ten Lost Tribes. The House of Israel and Judah will again be 'one stick' according to Ez. 37: 15-23. According to the 'One Law theology' anyone who is a part of Israel is obligated to observe the Covenant, the Torah, and also non-Jewish Gentiles in the Messianic Movement should be required to observe the entirety of the Torah in the same way than Jews are. However, generally non-Jews do not adopt Jewish cultural traditions if they do not want. - I did not notice any discussions or debates between these theologies in Ukraine in 2000. See: Fruchtenbaum 2003, 437,438; Kleiman 2006, 60-88. Historian Flavius Josephus, in *Antiquities of the Jews - Book XI (Ch. 5)* writes: "...wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers". In: Josephus Flavius 2010.

⁹¹² Cf. Kollontai 2009.

⁹¹³ However, today, unlike in 2000, the web serves especially younger members in their language.

⁹¹⁴ See: Juster 2010a.

⁹¹⁵ See: Juster 2010b. Juster is the first president of the Union of the Messianic Jewish Congregations (UMJC) and founder of Tikkun Ministries International. He has been involved with the Messianic Jewish Movement since 1972.

⁹¹⁶ In this context I refer to Professor Emeritus of Judaism Dan Cohn-Sherbok and Professor Pauline Kollontai.

⁹¹⁷ In Rabbinic Judaism where women can serve as rabbis, the first female rabbi ever to be ordained was Regina Jonas of East Berlin in 1935. See: Hein 2010. See also: *The Bibliography Women in Judaism* (2010).

⁹¹⁸ Hegg 1992.

religion they are seen to belong to the trend of Biblical, Messianic Feminism with Complementarian, traditionalist position.⁹¹⁹

Next I introduce two intellectuals whose works are used in this study. First I mention Messianic Judaism scholar, Arnold G. Fruchtenbaum, although I did not hear his name in Ukraine in 2000 he had in the late 1960s and 1970s already developed the first drafts for 'Hebrew Christianity'⁹²⁰ (later he uses 'Messianic Judaism'). It seems that Fruchtenbaum is able to clarify concepts of doctrine on the borders of Christianity and Messianic Judaism. Fruchtenbaum's doctrine is strongly tied up with future and history of Israel. As a Two House theologian he refers to Jeremiah 3:18, and emphasises that Israel will be reunited as a nation, never again to be divided into two separate kingdoms. Fruchtenbaum points out that all descendants of the patriarch Jacob (the 12 tribes of Israel) will return to Israel.⁹²¹ This is one of Fruchtenbaum's key messages. Fruchtenbaum's doctoral thesis concerns Israelology and it is a study of systematic theology (2001), published in the USA. Born in Siberia as the son of a prisoner of the Communists Fruchtenbaum's has a touching personal life story of his family escaping to the West

Secondly, I refer to David H. Stern - the American doctorated scholar moved to Israel - who is well known among Messianics in Ukraine, especially because of his works Complete Jewish Bible⁹²² and Jewish New Testament Commentary⁹²³. Additionally, his work, 'Messianic Judaism, A Modern Movement with An Ancient Past,' clearly presents a doctrinal basis for Messianic Judaism. Stern asserts that Jewish Messianic believers (from either the mother's or the father's side) and Christian gentile believers will be united at one time.⁹²⁴ As seen in previous text, non-Jews also have a place in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement as they had in the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement in the first century CE.⁹²⁵ Stern's model has inspired Messianic Jews,⁹²⁶ but obviously Stern also understands the problems of assimilated Jewish women and men in the Diaspora such as Ukraine because he encourages them to strengthen their Jewish identity with Jewish traditions and new Jewish customs.

We can see that leaders of *local* Messianic congregations are first and foremost organisers, who implement Messianic Judaism in practice e.g. in worship services. In 2000 I met some local leaders who were of Ukrainian origin and one married couple from America. I noticed how the local unofficial discussion outside worship meetings continually concentrated on a lack of money because both adherents and congregations lived more or less in poverty. Although this is just a detail it however reflects the reality in everyday life. One of the pastors lived in the room where the floor was made from earth and his colleague said that this pastor was freezing in the winter. I also met some Messianic Jewish leaders from the global American Messianic Jewish Movement arranging the International Music and Gospel festival. As a Scandinavian female researcher I was surprised at how American global leaders behaved, but for the Ukrainians this kind of behaviour seemed to be accepted as normal and natural. Among American Messianic Jews there were also women however the patterns of behaviour were the same. In my eyes those American leaders behaved like a 'military commando' ordering and instructing people around. Then a process started whereby they separated Jews from the Gentiles in seminar sessions. American Messianics clearly prioritize 'original Jews'. In some prayer meetings, first all Jews have to lift their hands and after that all non-Jewish members. Sometimes leaders ordered the Jewish participants to pray different prayers from the non-Jewish. I did not encounter this kind of segregation in local Messianic congregations in Ukraine,

⁹¹⁹ Scholz 2005.

⁹²⁰ Arnold G. Fruchtenbaum is the founder of Ariel Ministries. See: Ariel Ministries 2009. Read also: Fruchtenbaum 1977, 'Hebrew Christianity. Its Theology, History and Philosophy'. This study is one of first systematic analyses of modern Messianic Judaism.

⁹²¹ Fruchtenbaum 2003, 437,438. In: 'The Footsteps of the Messiah. A Study of the Sequence of Prophetic Events'. Fruchtenbaum refers to Jer. 23:8. "but, As Jehovah liveth, who brought up and who led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I had driven them. And they shall dwell in their own land". According to American Standard Version.

⁹²² Stern, D. H. 1998.

⁹²³ Stern, D. H. 1992.

⁹²⁴ Appendix 2.

⁹²⁵ Dunn 2009; Skarsaune and Hvalvik, 2007; Stark 1996, Stegemann & Stegemann 1999.

⁹²⁶ Appendix 2. 'The Cultivated Olive Tree'. The Church and the Jewish people through History. In: Stern, D. H. 2007, 47-59.

but I had seen similar features in Israel years before. In my opinion the result was that this international American group efficiently sowed seeds of inequality into this prayer seminar.

Among assimilated, mixed Jews in Ukraine it can feel confusing to try to assess whether one is 100%, 75%, 50%, or 25 % Jewish. American Jews used to assess these ages in Israel, although the meaning of the basic concepts - whether you observe Jewish ethnicity or Jewish religion - were unclear. In Ukraine, the paradox came to my mind that in Ukraine first Jews were forced to be obedient to the Soviet system, and now, after the Russian revolution Messianic leaders seemed to be obedient to Americans. Obviously, some Messianic leaders and adherents in Ukraine wanted to be submissive – sometimes almost without criticism, as I observed, because many of them almost blindly admired Americans.

As a scientific observer (based on my empirical source material) from my analysis I came to the conclusion that if Ukrainians had been betrayed, the betrayer was Finance (in particular the ‘almighty Dollar’). It is certain that Messianic Jewish congregations in Ukraine needed money because they were penniless and thus from the view of the leaders they had no other choice than to follow the American lead in all matters. The aid from Christian European countries was conspicuous by its absence.

4.3. Structure and Social Objects

Structure

From the point of view of a social movement socialization always takes place in the context of special social structure because symbolic universes are created to provide legitimation to the created institutional structure.⁹²⁷ Social structure and social objects which are in focus in this chapter, construct and reconstruct society. Every social movement like the Modern Messianic Jewish Movement needs structure in order to achieve its purposes according to created strategies. Generally structure handles power concerning the distribution of agenda-setting.

However, in 2000, when I gathered empirical material, I received no straight answer to how the movement was officially structured and organized. Some referred to North Americans, who had come years earlier in order to establish specifically Messianic Jewish congregations and groups. Ukrainians did not know how all happened or they did not speak about it openly. UMJC⁹²⁸ was however one organization, whose workers I met in Ukraine in 2000 and in 2003. In 2003, I also met some leaders of the organization, Hear O’ Israel!⁹²⁹ when I followed their action in a seminar. Thus surprisingly, I was told in 2000 that there was not any formal local structure like the church because Messianic congregations in Ukraine had not yet started to register their members. They wanted members to feel free to come and go and it was put to me that it was important that people feel free and independent, especially after what they had experienced during Communism. But if the members were free why did leaders want to be tied up with...(American money)? This proves that, to grow to become ‘free’ is also a process. On the other hand, to become aware of hard realities in society gives birth to a new kind of partnership.

I met four pastors/Rabbis (A, B, C and D); two of them (A, B) had very close relationships to the American Jewish Messianic organizations, although they belonged to different branches of it. These two (A, B) spoke English well, one (A) was originally from the American continent. The other two (C, D) were Ukrainians who said they were independent, but one (C) of these two pastors hoped to get some contacts with Americans in order to get financial help from them. Another pastor (D) was waiting for a licence to emigrate to Germany. In my opinion, then, global American Messianic organizations were the financial background to Messianic relationships. At the local level, they had members who organized action in practice.

Personal relationships and roles have become very important because the small movement has not been organized and structured hierarchically like Christian churches. Put simply, the success of the

⁹²⁷ Berger and Luckmann 1967.

⁹²⁸ See: UMJC 2010.

⁹²⁹ See: Hear O’ Israel 2010.

movement in any given place rests squarely on the shoulders of the local leaders. The leaders had much to do in developing and expanding the movement. Therefore it is helpful if the leaders would work together and could share responsibilities. However, as was said above, the lack of a permanent structure at grass-roots level meant lack of permanent financial support. But, who can imagine that the widow's tithe from the monthly pension of ten dollars could provide programmes in the Messianic movement in Ukraine? This makes American Messianic umbrella organizations of paramount importance for pastors who lead local action in practice. It is remarkable there were only American supporters. I did not meet any Finns, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Britons...intending to help poor Messianic Jewish groups and congregations.

Western countries have recognized the wartime killings and injustices in the courts. But have Western churches still not been able to deal with why they did not officially help and save a number of Jews from annihilation? What were the factors in their internal workings which led them to at least acquiesce and tragically in places to support anti-Semitism to an extent across Europe. An undisclosed reason for rejecting Jews not only concerned jealousy, but more practically, the economy and worries about GDP in Europe. Germans constructed concentration camps based on slave labour work and benefited from the utilization of all Jewish physical and mental capital available in an attempt to build an Aryan, non-Jewish world economy. At times in the extremely difficult situation (1939-45) Churches and Governments functioned side by side according to this vision leaving little or no room in their thinking for the real life and death circumstances of European Jewry. Such was the way of Nazi ideology and military prowess that for a time it seemed as if Jews could be swept from the map of Europe. At least in Finland⁹³⁰ which is a predominantly Lutheran country, I have not been aware of any discussion at least at an official level which could shed more light on this question.⁹³¹ Presumably, the Lutheran church would not have wanted to directly and officially support Jews (=Messianic Jews) in general, if it considers Messianic Judaism as a heresy, however to what extent the back was turned on members of another Faith is still open to debate.

The USA or the churches of the USA are understandably more or less innocent concerning the matter of the destiny of Jews in Europe in that era. The USA became the refuge for thousands of Jews during the Second World War. It is understandable that descendants of those refugees want to help European Jews to the present day. The drive to help the Jews has remained steadfast. Without doubt, the main stream of money comes from the American volunteers. This informal structure of the movement may be strategically fruitful because it is flexible enough to give impetus to expand its function and reach new places and adherents. In 2000, I visited St. Nikolaev where a Messianic festival/meeting took place. Now years later, I can see from YouTube that a Messianic congregation is working there, apparently successfully.⁹³² In such congregations people feel comfortable and homely around symbols like menorah which is classified as an ancient social object.

Social Objects and Symbols

Symbolic ethnicity has a dedicated place everywhere in Jewishness. Sociologist Herbert J. Gans points out that 'among Jews, symbolic ethnicity may have been fostered early by self-selection...⁹³³': *To know who are you*. Gans defines symbolic ethnicity: "It is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture ..., or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour."⁹³⁴ Gans refers to feelings and highlights that people may even sincerely desire to 'return' to the past. The Messianic Jewish Movement have emerged on the basis of the overall

⁹³⁰ Traditionally Finland is regarded as a country without anti-Semitic attitudes among people. See: Arutz Sheva 7 (2009), Ynet news.com 2010. This does not seem to be the case in Sweden (See: The Local 2009). According to Nick Meo, Jews leave Swedish city after sharp rise in anti-Semitic hate crimes; in: The Telegraph 2010.

⁹³¹ An international Jewish conference in October 1944: Finland was referred to as 'the only country under the influence of Nazism that resisted all pressure and refused to deprive its Jewish citizens of their constitutional freedom and rights' (in: Vuonokari 2003 according to Torvinen in 'Kadima' 1984: written in *Helsingin Sanomat* (24th October in 1944). Cf. Torvinen 1989.

⁹³² See: Messianic Jewish Community of Ukraine 2010 (St. Nikolayev).

⁹³³ Gans 1996, 146.

⁹³⁴ Gans 1996, 146.

deep longing for their ancient past in one or another way. It is obvious that symbolic ethnicity in different cultural patterns is transforming into concrete *ethnic symbols* which are so clear and visible that every member of a community is able to recognize them in their internalized ethnic messages. They inform that these symbols belong to *reality*. The manipulation of symbols by intellectuals of the movement is central in creation of meanings and identity in social movements.⁹³⁵ Symbols form an effective factor which categorize adherents into two groups: ‘us’(Jewish) and those ‘others’ (non-Jewish) presenting ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’.⁹³⁶

Jewish symbols from the perspective of four thousand years would need their own separate investigation, but here I concentrate only on the essence⁹³⁷ although we can note the whole study as a ethnographic narrative somehow expresses symbolic ethnicity. So, when in late 1980s Judaism as well as Messianic Judaism gradually started to re-root in Ukraine, so Jewish culture became visible in society as a system including for example synagogues, the Torah scrolls, Jewish schools and on the other hand Jewishness created new symbolic ways to everyday practices such as mothers bake Sabbath challah and light candles at the Sabbath evening. These were old and sometimes even ancient ways, but ‘new’ in this ex-Soviet situation. In this way symbols started to give new meanings for those who wanted to become familiar with Jewish heritage. However, I do not know to what extent these ‘old-new’ symbols actually are used because I saw also how some elderly people might hide these symbols because outsiders could recognize them as Jewish. On the other hand, because the symbolic universe was presented with Hebrew words (like a ‘menorah’ instead of a ‘candelabra’) the ongoing Hebraization influenced peoples’ thinking like Nerel points out: “So did their growing awareness of the need to develop a genuine Jewish mentality”.⁹³⁸

Put simply, the increasing symbolic universe within which Jews and ‘candidates of Jews’ met e.g. in congregations, re-constructed and re-parsed them into Jewish culture.⁹³⁹ My personal experience and knowledge of Jewish symbols and expressions of Jewish lifestyle has been an adventure not only based on theoretical literature, but also on exciting empirical excursions: I have visited Jewish museums, synagogues, art entertainment, concentration camps, Jewish book shops, restaurants and homes. On the other hand my goal has been to better inform myself of Jewish lifestyle ‘here and there’ in different situations: To analyze how ethnic symbolism is constructed and how it contributes to Jewish lifestyle, shaping everyday life practices. Also to find what is the role of Jewish symbols in identifying female and male Jewishness and how the identity of Jews is connected with symbols in Messianic Judaism.

According to my overall analysis, Jewishness is mostly the product of ideals of Judaic ancient heritage, mixed with local cultural circumstances and trends in society. The most exciting moment in a country as enormous as Ukraine that had basically attempted ‘human judenrein’ during the Second World War was seeing Jewish ethnic symbols returning in a quite small, but systematic manner. Nobody can hinder it.

However, if we study carefully all symbols are certainly not of Jewish, Israelite, or Hebrew origin. Jews have received influences from many sources during their wanderings beginning from Ur of the Chaldeans. These influences have been ground down in the ‘milling’ process⁹⁴⁰ so that it is sometimes impossible to know how much symbols are mixed with characteristics from other ‘idol cultures’. Tadmor

⁹³⁵ Cf. Eyerman and Jamison 1996.

⁹³⁶ Einwohner et al. in 2008, 1-17.

⁹³⁷ Before, between and after both my trips to Ukraine (2001, 2003), I took part in ‘Messianic meetings’ in Jerusalem and before that in Tiberias (1991-1997); also in Warsaw (the underground Messianic meeting, 2001), and in St. Petersburg (1996, 1997). Additionally I had gathered empirical experiences and gathered material in Israel in the 1990s, in Amsterdam (Anne Frank’s museum), and in Poland like in Lodz and in Krakow (2001); in Poland in Lublin (late 1990) and in Auschwitz (in 2001). Also, in ancient Carthago (present day Tunisia), there in the Bardo Museum, where I found ancient Jewish symbols like menorah. Read: Israeli (ed.)(1998); Goodenough 1992.

⁹³⁸ Nerel 2005, 5.

⁹³⁹ Cf. Sewell 1999.

⁹⁴⁰ The sociologist Herbert Blumer constructed the concept of ‘milling’ in order to analyze collective behaviour. ‘Milling’ refers here to the process, wherein the mission view is shaped. ‘Milling’ happens in the unstructured situation in society, even with a minimal physical and verbal activity. See: Muukkonen 2005, Turner and Killian 1959/1987, Blumer 1953, 1969.

gives some examples.⁹⁴¹ During the Babylonian exile Jews adopted Babylonian male and female names. They even renamed the months with Babylonian names, such as Nisan, Iyyar, Siva, and changed the original Israelite system of numbering them serially as the first, second, third month, etc. Additionally, it is worth noting many Jews outside Judaea and Christians wrote from the beginning not in Hebrew or Aramaic, but in Greek as scholars of religious history Edwards et al.⁹⁴² reveal. Tadmor also points out that Aramaic, the *lingua franca* replaced the ancient Hebrew script in some parts of Babylonia and the western part of the Persia.⁹⁴³ As seen above, Jews living in different Diasporic regions had adopted different languages, manners and symbols. For example, today it is seen that symbols and living style expressions between Askenazi Jews and Sephardic Jews may differ widely from each other in different eras.⁹⁴⁴

Social objects and symbols in the Messianic Jewish Movement are important mirrors of collectivity. These social objects and symbols efficiently segregate Jews from other ethnic groups and religions in order to become to identify as ‘one people’ before JHWH. In the Messianic Jewish Movement social objects and symbols consist of 1) holy places like Jerusalem; or the altar (in Hebr. ‘mizbeah’),⁹⁴⁵ tabernacle,⁹⁴⁶ the dwelling place of the Divine presence, the Holy of Holiest, 2) Sabbath and other festivals, 3) synagogues⁹⁴⁷, 4) menorah (a seven-branched lamp stand, a symbol of Judaism since ancient times, the emblem of the modern state of Israel),⁹⁴⁸ and other decorative things, 5) food practices (kosher food according to Jewish dietary laws), 6) famous Jewish people mentioned in the Jewish Bible, 7) songs and horah –dancing, and 8) other figures of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement, like it: Rabbis/pastors manner to wear a prayer shawl (Hebr. tallit).⁹⁴⁹

Symbolism is focusing on needs to honour and serve JHWH by the people, Yehudim, (Hebr. ‘Yehudi’ means a Jew, pl. is ‘Yehudim’). The differentiation stems from the unambiguous belief that Jews serve JHWH, others serve idols.⁹⁵⁰ Tadmor underlines that the Jewish religion passed through peaks and troughs, but when it was renewed and profoundly shaped during the Babylonian exile it had a fundamen-

⁹⁴¹ Read also e.g. Harland 2009, Sekine 1999.

⁹⁴² Edwards, Goodman, Price and Rowland 1999, 2; Goodman (ed.).1998.

⁹⁴³ Tadmor 1999, 163f.

⁹⁴⁴ Majority of the Jews in Ukraine are seen descendants of Askenazi Jews with Askenazi symbols (Yiddishkeit, that is, Jewishness in Yiddish language), however with many different emphasises in different religious branches.

⁹⁴⁵ The altar. An Example. Gen. 13:18. “And Abram moved his tent, and came and dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, which are in Hebron, and built there an altar unto Jehovah.” According to American Standard Version.

The altar was the exclusive domain of the priests. The altar, in Hebr. ‘mizbeah’ is derived from the root ‘zbh’, ‘to slaughter’, ‘to sacrifice’, and these words indicate that the altar is the place animal offerings were slain. According to the Bible, Israeli/Jewish people served JHWH in the altars. Especially ‘altar of earth’ (Hebr. ‘mizbah adama’, Ex. 20:34) and ‘altar of stones’ (Hebr. ‘mizbah abanim’, Ex. 20:25). In: King and Stager 2001, 339.

⁹⁴⁶ The tabernacle. An Example. Ex. 25:9. “According to all that I show thee, the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the furniture thereof, even so shall ye make it.” (American Standard Version)

⁹⁴⁷ About the role of the synagogue in the Jewish national awakening, in: Ro’i 1991.

⁹⁴⁸ The menorah. An Example. Num. 8. 1. “And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, 2. Speak unto Aaron, and say unto him, When thou lightest the lamps, the seven lamps shall give light in front of the candlestick.” (American Standard Version). Cf. Israeli (ed.). 1998.

⁹⁴⁹ I want to refer to three interesting aspects to this question concerning symbols and social objects. Firstly, the religion is always a product of import and the method is labelled as missionary work (Ahonen 2006). In 2000, American religious imports flow successfully into Ukraine, including the symbols and social objects, which attracts people in the way they become curious and dare to go over a threshold to the movement. Secondly, most Jews at the grass root and also Academic level are pro the mother country of Jews (Israel). For example, see: the Association of Jewish Studies. It pledges “We stand in solidarity with our fellow Israeli Academics.” Thirdly, however, like scholar of Jewish philosophy Byron L. Sherwin underlines, American Jewry has not been taking Jewish theology very seriously and raises the possibility its influence on Judaism may wither giving more space to the spread of Messianic Judaism. My point however to these questions is that although Messianic Judaism is marketed as a product of America *the content of Messianic Judaism among Jewish women in Ukraine is not American*. The symbolic world of American style has not influenced women as much as *the original message of the Bible*. Additionally, the connection to Israel in Ukraine among ordinary Messianics may base more on the Bible than on direct political interest. This is seen as why many Jews if they migrate may move to other countries than to Israel. Ukraine is not Russia, neither is it America, and vice versa.

⁹⁵⁰ Tadmor 1999, 163.

tal influence on the minds and consciousness of Jews.⁹⁵¹ Social objects and symbols represent Israel's wandering generation after generation. For example, the menorah is an ancient symbol, but the 'kipah' came later alongside the Talmud, which says: "Cover your head in order that the fear of heaven may be upon you." Thus, every symbol has its own historical story and myths.⁹⁵²

From the point of history Messianic Jews do not often use the Christian symbol, the *Cross*. For example, in general Messianic Jewish women do not use as their necklace the cross. It is also unlikely that Messianic Jewish women would put the crucifix on the wall in their prayer rooms. This is due to the fact that in the Jewish world the sign of the cross indicates persecution by Christians. Basically, social objects and symbols are linked with the history of Yehudim over centuries, even millennia, not with the history of the Church.⁹⁵³ Messianic Jews underline that the rich symbolism stems directly or indirectly from the Bible, whereas the Church symbols may rise from teachings of the Church, of the Christian saints and of non-Biblical festivals.

Messianic Jews will often refer to Yeshua and his followers living according to the Jewish law (the Torah/the Scriptures), worshipping in the synagogue (the holy place) and embracing the same traditions as their fellow Jews.⁹⁵⁴ Thus, like in Ukraine Messianic Jews used to regard themselves as part of the Jewish community.⁹⁵⁵ Also, the intellectual of Judaism, Dan Cohn-Sherbok writes that standing within this Jewish tradition Messianic Jews today see themselves as the *true heirs* of the early disciples of the risen Lord.⁹⁵⁶

In Ukraine to adopt Jewishness to everyday life often starts with teaching the meaning of the Sabbath, the seventh day of week, which is one of the oldest religious practices commemorating both creation⁹⁵⁷ and Israel's liberation from slavery.⁹⁵⁸ Sabbath is first and foremost a family celebration, when the family consists of his own nuclear family, but also the congregation family (*mispacha*). Usually a lot of children and young people take part in it and the program is full of gladness, *simcha* (Hebr.). Also, Messianic Jews hold that male believers must be circumcised (perhaps not an opinion of all Messianic Jews?),⁹⁵⁹ and baptism as a sign to accept Yeshua as Messiah and Saviour are important for Ukrainians in the country where citizens have been without any religion. In Ukraine I took part in a touching family celebration where converted Messianics were baptized by the Rabbi.⁹⁶⁰ Though it was not the river Jordan the incredibly beautiful Dnieper river in afternoon sun of late August was a place for baptism. In gleaming white baptizing dresses each person looked really as if ready to become Yeshua's disciple.⁹⁶¹

In Sabbath meetings because the Messianic Jewish Movement is a charismatic movement the issue of creating a warm and devoted atmosphere with Jewish symbols and connections is especially important for women. Women may organize for example flowers, child care, singing, and intercessions and also meals if they are offered. The Rabbi/pastor with assistance of his wife and volunteer workers leads the programmes with prayers (in Hebr. 'tefillah') often with a prayer shawl 'tallit' (Hebr.),⁹⁶² the Davidic dance with Biblical lyrics,⁹⁶³ Holy tongues with healing sessions, and the 'breaking bread' ceremony with the

⁹⁵¹ Tadmor 1999, 163.

⁹⁵² About myths in: Hiebert 2008, 99.

⁹⁵³ Appendix 1. Table 5. The Central Points of Jewish History.

⁹⁵⁴ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 87.

⁹⁵⁵ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 87. Stegemann & Stegemann 1999.

⁹⁵⁶ Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 87.

⁹⁵⁷ Read: Ex. 2. ; Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 89ff.

⁹⁵⁸ Read: Deut. 5:12-15.

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. Bagatti 1971.

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Ferguson 2009.

⁹⁶¹ In the Biblical symbolism the Ecclesia (the church) is Yeshua's bride and Israel is Yeshua's wife. In the Bible Followers of Yeshua are called disciples.

⁹⁶² Scholar of Biblical languages Timothy P. Jones points out that in the time of Yeshua, *prayer* was not merely a function, it was definitely a *lifestyle*. Prayer was a persistent expression of their life in JHWH, the unspeakable name of God (Hebr. Adonai, in English 'Supreme Lord'); Hebr. HaShem (in English 'the Name'); Hebr. Ehyeh (in English 'I AM'). Jones, T. P. 2005.

⁹⁶³ See: Messianic Jewish Dance in Ukraine 2000.

blessing like ‘Baruch ata Adonai, Eloheinu Melech ha'olam, hamotzi lechem, in ha aretz’⁹⁶⁴ so impressively that these moments combine different kinds of Ukrainian people (different age groups, social status and backgrounds) in a unity of purpose.

Also other Messianic Jewish feasts and festivals might celebrate carefully. Because every feast includes one Biblical or otherwise traditional story, congregations are decorated with symbols which describe the content of these stories. Children and adults often are actors who perform in these presentations with a lot of singing and music. Messianic Jews may celebrate Bar Mitzvah, the coming of age ceremony for boys aged 13 and Bat Mitzvah for 12 year old girls.⁹⁶⁵ Jom Kippur⁹⁶⁶ is the great feast during the Jewish year when people fast, repent and ask forgiveness for sins. Passover (Hebr. Pesah) is the feast of deliverance from the oppression of Egypt.⁹⁶⁷ The feast of First Fruits, Shavuot – Pentecost, Rosh Hashana, Succot (Booths or Tabernacles), Simchat Torah, Purim, Yom Ha Shoah, Tisha B’Av⁹⁶⁸, Chanukah (Hebr. Hanukkah) are other feasts based on historical facts and Biblical stories. Juster also mentions Israel Independence Day (Hebr. Yom Ha Atzmaoot).⁹⁶⁹

Feasts create and maintain Jewish togetherness in the situation when Ukraine is still in transition and *identity work* is going on. From the point of Messianic Judaism these ceremonial feasts represent the vivid and living connection, the *bridge* between the teaching of the Old Testament and the New Testament. In other words, these feasts connect the Old and New testament teaching so that the whole Bible become together and hopefully internalised. For example, the Passover is not only the feast in which liberation from ancient Egypt is recalled, but it represents the suffering and the victory of Yeshua on the cross.⁹⁷⁰

TO SUM UP: The analysis shows a ‘*modus operandi*’: Messianic Jewish women belonging to adherents of the movement are slowly constructing their own territory wherein they could act independently and semi-independently according their own values and interests. Everything is at the beginning. All the same, they share important responsibilities like bringing Jewish life tradition with symbols and objects into the focus of congregational action. There are many other realistic potentials which Messianic Jewish women possess and they can take them into practise as we can see later from their Mission view. Although the amount of female adherents is not great⁹⁷¹, their action and function not profoundly established, their advantage is the knowledge of everyday life in society and the many practical problems of family with which their life is involved. It is obvious that women will take part in the broader scale of intellectual processes as educators and intellectual specialists especially in the familiar field of home and family.

⁹⁶⁴ In English: “Blessed are You, O LORD our God, King of the Universe, Who has brought forth bread from the earth. This blessing is said as a general tradition in Jewish homes at the beginning of the family meal.” Luk. 24:30, 35; Acts 2:42, 46.

Many Messianic congregations, according to my knowledge, call the ‘breaking bread’ ceremony the ‘Lord’s Table’ or ‘the Lord’s Supper’ instead of ‘communion’.

⁹⁶⁵ It involves the young man being called to read the Torah at a Shabbat (Hebr. Jom ha Shabat), which is the most important feast according to Deut. 5:15 and Ex. 31:13.

⁹⁶⁶ The Shabbat’s Shabba. The Day of Atonement, according to Lev. 23:27-28.

⁹⁶⁷ Lev. 23:5-6.

⁹⁶⁸ Tisha B’Av is an annual fast day, the ninth day (Tisha) of the month of Av in the Hebrew calendar (Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 475ff).

⁹⁶⁹ Juster 1995, 200-213. Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 474-482.

⁹⁷⁰ Juster 1995, 200-213; Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, 87-155; Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2009, 474-482.

⁹⁷¹ Many are elderly; emotionally wounded and have met discrimination and hatred. Adherents or those who by chance go to a congregation, are different people with different backgrounds, but often somehow Jewish. The most important factor of them may be their growing belief as well as the desire to find their own ethnic identity and cultural roots. They are not forced to come to congregations instead they must *make a choice* and is the perfect contrast to the life lived during the Soviet era when *they were forced* into certain ways, e.g. to reject their own Jewish heritage. Common interests of female and male show that they are now in the new path wherein they are able to construct their Jewish life circumstances not only with new knowledge and understanding of Jewishness, but also with concrete, practical things e.g. including establishing congregations with services.

‘No-gender position’ as a dream of a Soviet worker seems to be ‘off the menu’ among Messianic Jewish women. Messianic Jewish women in the Messianic Jewish Movement have been aware of the ‘connection between Biblical meaning and social change’ and applying directly Susanne Scholz’s words women ‘were not content to read Biblical literature as historical and literary texts only, but they wanted to develop interpretations that sought *real change*⁹⁷² in women’s lives’.⁹⁷³ That is precisely the question in the Mission view.

⁹⁷² Italics by the author.

⁹⁷³ Scholz 2007, 120f.

5. RESULTS OF THE CORE ANALYSIS

5.1. Ideology

The main task of this study is to analyze how Messianic Jewish women in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine in 2000 contribute welfare in society. There are very strong links between this and the ideology of the movement.

There is a minor dispute about the origin and progression of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine, however I highlight the emergence of the religion in Ukraine since its independence. In this study Messianic Judaism *per se* is defined as a religion by the scholars who are at the core of the organization and leadership of the Movement; they could be called the ‘insiders’ of the Movement as they are central to its direction.

First however, I provide some opportunity for criticism of the Movement such as that of the contemporary scholar of Judaism Faydra Shapiro however, she can be said to be an ‘outsider’ of the movement. Thus, according to hard criticism we are able to see how ideology is the point at which theory separates Messianic Jews from Judaic Jews. Recently, Faydra Shapiro refers to sociologist Peter L. Berger, who generally handles religious phenomena in his studies. Berger points out that heresy is one of the unavoidable hallmarks of modernity. Thus, heresy is an issue of new phenomena in society. Shapiro adds to this by underlining that religious ‘hybridity has come to be accepted, even lauded effect of pluralism’.

According to Shapiro in principle the question is of the fight against Jesus Christ (Hebr. Yeshua Ha Mashiach) who is named among Orthodox Jews with the letter ‘J’, or with a word ‘Yoshke,’ and which is with Stuart Charmé’s terminology, ‘the radio-active core of *goyishness*’. Today, everywhere mainstream Judaism which is monotheistic and *familial religion* rejects Messianic Jews and like in America many Messianic Jews are considered not only traitors for leaving the fold, but also liars for claiming they are Jewish. Critics like Shapiro however pay attention to the success of the Messianic Jewish Movement and she highlights that success makes this movement threatening within the Jewish world.⁹⁷⁴

In practice, a Jewish community which in principle means ‘sameness’ and belonging is incoherent, because Judaic/Orthodox Jews define Messianic Jews with the literal figure of ‘stranger’, that is those who hold alien, ‘out of place’ concepts. This surely raises existential and ontological uncertainty in the wider Jewish community,⁹⁷⁵ especially when Messianic Jews are not moving away from the ‘legitimate status’ of the Jewish Community by referring to the proofs of their Jewish ethnic roots. Thus, ideology is the cornerstone at the inter-section where Judaism, Christianity and Messianic Judaism try to find their legitimate place which would be derived from the heritage of ancient Jewish and Hebrew religion.

From the point of view of Messianic Jewish Women in Ukraine they study Messianic Judaism in congregations and home study groups and the one key term for members of Messianic Judaism is *restoration*⁹⁷⁶, meaning to re-root and reconnect their faith to the Bible from which their fathers and mothers were uprooted. Scholar of religion Gershon Nerel uses an expression ‘clear aspirations’ for restoring for themselves an archaic and authentic Hebraic nationality, which was found in the first century related to the first Jewish believers in Yeshua⁹⁷⁷. In other words, women ‘faithful to the Bible’ can be said to follow a Biblical Feminism movement which gathers them together to highlight the authority of the Bible. One emphasis of Messianic Judaism is Complementarianism,⁹⁷⁸ which among Messianic Jewish women seems to be the basic flow at least in 2000. Complementarianism highlights gender essentialism meaning that JHWH created a man and a woman. So, men and women work often in different status and positions in

⁹⁷⁴ Shapiro 2011.

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. Bauman 2001.

⁹⁷⁶ Cf. Nerel 1993, 1996, 2005. Nerel (at the Hebrew University) has studied the restoration of Jewish Yeshua-Believers in the Land of Israel.

⁹⁷⁷ Nerel 2005, 3.

⁹⁷⁸ Scholz 2005.

society and also in Ecclesia (congregation) on the basis of their gender.⁹⁷⁹ According to this a man and woman are co-operators in a reciprocal process which satisfies both genders. JHWH has given different kinds of gifts and talents to both genders according to their natural created essence. Therefore, it is important in a mutual relationship in family that both partners are allowed to use those gifts from JHWH for physical and spiritual enrichment in family life. Home is such a place; where offspring internalize parental values. From the point of view of children this *Complementarialistic model* is seen to be 'natural' because JHWH provides agape⁹⁸⁰ to everyone in a family through this model.⁹⁸¹ Thus in general the Movement's ideology is the sole basis for how women have shaped their Mission view in Ukraine.

In this *core* section of the report I analyze what is the ideology of Messianic Judaism from which the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women stems. The ideology of Messianic Judaism encompasses all activity in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement, so that it forms the mission statement or statement of faith alongside approaches to Messianic Judaism such as Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism. Ideology also penetrates aspects of Jewish identity which I shall handle here, but the actual identity partition is treated later in the second core category where I will focus especially on Jewish women's identity.

In order to understand women's function and mission in the Messianic Jewish Movement, we - referring to the OOM - start asking, what does the term 'ideology' in general mean? Surely each movement has its own ideology which distinguishes it from others. The word 'ideology' was used for the first time in 1801 by philosopher Destutt de Tracy referring to the radical empirical analysis of the human mind. Philosopher John Locke uses this word which contained 'new ways of ideas' and Napoleon Bonaparte referred to those 'ideologues' with republican and revolutionary ideas. Karl Marx referenced the ideology of group interests and Jürgen Habermas associated ideology with 'technocratic consciousness'.⁹⁸²

From the above we might assume ideology is a quite new notion in the world, but the idea of ideology is very old.

There is a well known expression concerning Jewish people that they are known as the 'people of the Book' and literally it is true at least some of the ancient Hebrew people could read many thousands of years ago.⁹⁸³ E.g. the story of Moses and the Ten Commandments when JHWH wrote with his finger on the Tablets of Stone on Mount Sinai/Horeb these commands to Hebrews⁹⁸⁴. How were the ancient Hebrew people able to use written and especially oral knowledge successfully in order to form their own ideological-religious basis for their people experiencing the threat of exploitation, war and later expulsions?⁹⁸⁵ Without literary knowledge there could have been no written version. The 'women of the Book' also took up the teachings in their ideological/religious foundation as part of the justification for their life. Generally in Jewish tradition there are 613 mitzvot, commands, but Jewish women must perform only: 'niddah' (the ritual bath), 'nerot' or 'neironim' (lighting candles to introduce the Sabbath), and 'challah' (the Sabbath bread).

Sociologist Karl Mannheim emphasises that ideology is clearly linked with knowledge.⁹⁸⁶ Our knowledge is also tied with our experiences which are stored in our minds' unconsciousness and spiritual and emotional existence.⁹⁸⁷ For example, the 'experience of existence' is unique to every person, and it

⁹⁷⁹ Scholz 2005.

⁹⁸⁰ Agape (Greek) is the Biblical word, which means the love of JHWH. According to the 'Bible faithful women' agape is seen to run through the whole Bible.

⁹⁸¹ Often a religious based feast in token of friendship and more especially in religious reference to the 'fellowship' shared by the faith.

⁹⁸² Mohan and Kinloch 2000, 10; in: Kinloch and Mohan (eds.). 2000.

⁹⁸³ Cf. literacy spread and became common in Finland about 500 or 600 years ago.

⁹⁸⁴ Mount Sinai is a symbol of Jewish tradition referring to the Mountain of the Covenant. Mount Zion refers to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

⁹⁸⁵ Ex. 24: 12. "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Come up to me into the mount, and be there: and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law and the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayest teach them.

13. And Moses rose up, and Joshua his minister: and Moses went up into the mount of God." According to American Standard Version.

⁹⁸⁶ Mannheim 1952. He was the Jewish Hungarian-born sociologist (1893-1947).

⁹⁸⁷ Berger & Luckmann 1972.

changes over time.⁹⁸⁸ It is worth noting so far as ‘we’ can be certain the Human is distinct from every other creature because ‘we’ are conscious of our mortality and of course religion is a form of answer to that sense of inevitability. Nobody is able to forget, or get rid of everything that has influenced his/her life, worldview and belief system. Everything that has happened to a person⁹⁸⁹ has its own meaning for her/his life, shaping her/his worldview and knowledge basis. Thus referring to foregoing text Messianic women’s ideology in Ukraine represents a wide forum composed of belief system, doctrines, myths, different writings of the intellectuals of a movement and ending up finally to its more or less well-formed ‘theology’. If the ideology is stored in women’s mind as knowledge each woman will employ this ideological knowledge in her relationships. Mannheim argues that people use knowledge to adapt to their environment. It means, in practice that every social and religious group would have its own ideology.⁹⁹⁰ Mannheim also speaks of false consciousness, every cognition of which is necessarily wrong, where the lies lay in the soul.⁹⁹¹ Thus, ‘a timeless homo Religiosus’⁹⁹², for example a female member of the movement shares her ideology with others in the Messianic Jewish Movement and in this way women construct their Mission view including ‘theological factors’, over time; therefore, in 2000, we are only in the early stages of the movement.

By way of contrast, sociologist Graham C. Kinloch points out that ideology may be viewed as the product of societal differentiation and development.⁹⁹³ Kinloch insists that different reactions to social change and development are also behind various ideologies as well as a belief system which shapes culture.⁹⁹⁴ From this point we are able to comprehend how ideology of Messianic Judaism is constantly in motion and exerts additional influence on the culture of the movement, of the Jewish community, and of society in Ukraine.⁹⁹⁵

This study points out Jewish women’s inner transformation process as they become ‘in-touch’ with Messianic Judaism and at the same time is reason for why Messianic Jewish women have changed; a process started from the moment they dared to enter a Messianic congregation, or a home where Messianic Jews gathered, or (as I witnessed) where they found a long queue and companionship in the wind and freezing temperatures in winter for one of its soup kitchens. These kinds of encounters were significant with further usually fruitful consequences. That’s it; Jews had taken a first step toward an unknown ideology. On the other hand, this social scientific study is not able to reveal all motions, emotions and motivations under the surface of the visible reality of Messianic Jewish women, however it surely does reveal something valuable from in it, i.e. how the movement’s ideology with religious emphasis made people curious and they were drawn in or were instantly ‘hooked’. In practice, Jewish women began to digest the message of the Bible preached to them and they developed/evolved new attitudes and power to study it. From that gradually came their realisation their needs and demands could and should be seen in a different light.

When I took part in the Bible study meetings the atmosphere was exciting and I heard women ask directly: “What does the Bible say of this, and this?” Even as they ate and drank women did not discuss the frivolous as one might expect at such occasions. My curiosity was aroused observing *their need to know*. This ideological debate was led by a messianic Rabbi, who had clear pedagogical gifts. In this concrete

⁹⁸⁸ Nores 1990, 1993, 1994, 1997a, 1997b, and Ikonen 2000. In these studies the concept of the ‘experience of existence’ is defined as the basic concept illustrating ‘human experience’ in a human-being’s living process.

⁹⁸⁹ We have to think about the hard destiny of many Jews.

⁹⁹⁰ Mannheim 1952.

⁹⁹¹ Mannheim 1952, 70.

⁹⁹² Cf. Dubuisson 2003, 147.

⁹⁹³ Kinloch 1981, 10-13.

⁹⁹⁴ Mohan and Kinloch 2000, 11.

⁹⁹⁵ Here, I refer to philosopher Jacob Needleman’s criticism. According to him, religion is studied unilaterally as a belief system, as a moral code, as a political force, and as a source of ethnic and cultural identity, but not much from the view point of the idea of religion as a practical method for deep *inner change*, nothing less than the transformation of our beings. Needleman 2009, xiii. From the point of view of practical social policy and social work, the purpose of which is to improve destructing models of citizen’s behaviour and lifestyle Needleman’s finding is interesting.

way the religious and social conditions intertwined together, so, ideological and theological aims came to be tied together.

Ideology is a measure, which not only categorizes religions but also representatives of religions. ‘Jewish believers of Yeshua’ is only one categorising, and ‘Messianic Jews’ is another.⁹⁹⁶ What about those Jews in the first century who belonged to Jewish synagogues? For example, could the Apostle Paul be defined as a Messianic Jew with Messianic Jewish ideology? It depends on how we want to define the ideology of that ancient movement on which he exerted such an influence. If we regard the first assembly of the followers of Yeshua in Palestine as Messianic, so then we can perhaps call Paul a Messianic Jew and his religion Messianic Judaism, as generally contemporary Messianic Jews seem to do concerning the ancient Messianic Jewish Movement.⁹⁹⁷

For example, New Testament scholar of religion Charles H. Talbert interprets the conversion of Paul in a special way. According to Talbert:

Paul converted from one form of *Judaism* to another form of *Judaism* in the first century. From being a highly committed Pharisee, Paul became a highly committed Messianic. According to Talbert’s interpretation, Paul was Jewish before converting from one form of Judaism to another form of Judaism and *remained Jewish all the time*. Paul’s religion was first Rabbinical Judaism and then he moved into Messianic Judaism. It was solely a question of Judaism all the time.⁹⁹⁸

However, theologians of contemporary Christianity often speak rather about early Christianity or Hebrew Christianity, but not about Messianic Judaism. Were they re-rooted Jews or new Christians: This is a question that has gone down through the ages? A Jewish researcher and Christian theology scholar, David J. Rudolf argues in 2005, in *Pro Ecclesia, Journal of Catholic and Evangelical Theology*, that Messianic Jews have been overlooked in contemporary Christian theology.⁹⁹⁹ He gives many examples of this oversight.¹⁰⁰⁰ Rudolf states that there is however, an increased awareness of Messianic Jews in the sphere of Christian theology in the 21st century.¹⁰⁰¹

Common Mental Model of the Messianic Jewish Movement:

Messianic Judaism versus Revival Christianity

In order to clarify ideology in this study I analyse Common mental models with each other: Messianic Judaism, Revival Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. Many members of Revival Christianity (one form of Christianity) may assume that Revival Christianity is close to Messianic Judaism. For a more complete answer we have to return to the first century and study Jews and Gentiles. What about Goyim (Gentiles, non-Jews) in the first century? According to Talbert, the Goyim (non-Jews) whom Paul later ‘won’ to Yeshua converted from paganism to a new religion, Messianic Judaism.¹⁰⁰² Thus, Messianic Judaism was a new religion for non-Jews, pagans, but not new for Jews. According to this interpretation Messianic Judaism is seen as the original religion, a branch of Judaism, in the Apostolic times in the first century. The Bible tells us that the disciples of Yeshua were called Messianics according to the book of Acts first in Antioch. According to Acts 11:26, “and when he found him, he brought him unto Antioch. They met with the congregation there a whole year taught a sizeable crowd. Also it was in Antioch that the talmi-

⁹⁹⁶ See concepts of followers of Yeshua, for example in Skarsaune and Hvalvik (eds.). 2007.

⁹⁹⁷ Scholars of religion and theologians: Nerel 2005, Dunn 2009, Ferguson 2009, Harvey 2009, Kee 1995, Ohana 2010, Skarsaune and Hvalvik 2007, Stegemann and Stegemann 1999, Zetterholm (ed.). 2009. Social scientists have also paid attention to the time of Yeshua, his disciples, and the Apostle Paul: Hanson, K. C. and Oakman 1998, Stark 1996.

⁹⁹⁸ Talbert points out that Paul’s conversion is treated in three different strands of early Christian traditions: the genuine letters of Paul, the deuteron-Paulines, and Acts. In: Talbert 2005, 88.

⁹⁹⁹ Rudolph 2005, 2-10.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Correspondingly, it means that Messianic Jewish women are overlooked. Perhaps because of this there have been few, if any studies of Messianic Jewish women in Ukraine, before this study.

¹⁰⁰¹ Rudolph 2005, 10-15.

¹⁰⁰² Talbert 2005, 89.

dim for the first time were called Messianic.”¹⁰⁰³ So, the term ‘Christian’ comes from Greek and the term ‘Messianic’ comes from Hebrew, but originally both meant the same. But who were those (Jewish) Messianics originally?

It's worth noting that those Messianic Jews who have placed more emphasis on the question of religion argue that Jews belong ethnically to the one people. Although there have been converts into Judaism during its history the new genetic research (2010) supports the idea that Jews are genetically one people.¹⁰⁰⁴ This study shows that Messianic Jewish women are very proud of their Jewish ethnicity although I did not recognize any anti-Goyim attitudes towards non-Jewish groups.

It is fruitful to compare characteristics of Messianic Judaism with contemporary western Revival Christianity applying and complementing factors given by Messianic Rabbi, Michael Wolf.¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰³ According to Complete Jewish Bible. Translation by David H. Stern. Talmidim (Hebr.) means disciples.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See: Siegel-Itzkovich 2010.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wolf, M. 2005.

Table 1. Messianic Judaism versus Revival Christianity

Characteristics of Messianic Judaism (= Common Mental Model of Messianic Jewish Movement)	Characteristics of Revival Christianity
<p>1* Messianic Jews identify themselves with Jews, and as co-operators/worshippers with non-Jews who believe in Yeshua haMashiah as Jesus Christ (Christians).</p> <p>2* Messianic Jews have an Jewish authentic identity.</p> <p>3* According to the Jewish Bible, Jewish people have a special status in the Bible. Historically and spiritually they are JHWH's own people.</p> <p>4* Messianic Jews (Jews) receive blessings from Revival Christians.</p> <p>5* Messianic Jews follow the Jewish calendar and celebrate Jewish Sabbath (on Saturday) and other Jewish festivals according to the Jewish Bible.</p> <p>6* Messianic Jews do not accept replacement theology, according to which the Church has replaced Israel and Jews.</p> <p>7* Messianic Jews believe in the Old and the New Testament. And they emphasize in prayers the Old Testament's Our Father, Num. 6: 24-26, and the New Testament's the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:9-13.</p> <p>8* According to Messianic Jews the Word is inspiration of JHWH, the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>9* Jewish and non-Jewish Messianic believers worship together in the Messianic congregations.</p> <p>10* Non-Jewish Messianic believers can put limits on how much they want to adopt Jewish tradition and cultural habits in their live.</p> <p>11* The core of doctrine is 'mercy', that means salvation through the cross of Yeshua. Messianic Judaism is Apostolic and usually, but not always, Charismatic. # Many people may be under the false misconception that there is no grace in the Tora, but, see for example Ps. 109: 21. "But do you for me, O GOD the Lord, for your name's sake: because your mercy is good, deliver you me." (According to American King James Version). #</p> <p>12* Messianic Judaism is focused on Israel (like Messianism, Canaanism, Zionism).</p>	<p>1* Revival Christians identify themselves as Christians.</p> <p>2* Revival Christians have Revival Christian identity.</p> <p>3* According to the Bible non-Jewish Revival Christians are not JHWH's own people, but pagan Revival Christians.</p> <p>4* According to the Bible non-Jews are called to bless Jews. Num. 6:27."So shall they put my name upon the children of Israel; and I will bless them." (American Standard Version)</p> <p>5* Revival Christians follow the Christian calendar and celebrate Sunday and other Christian festivals (not all mentioned in the Bible).</p> <p>6* Revival Christians sometimes accept the replacement theology which is dominant in the Christian Church</p> <p>7* Revival Christians believe in the Old and the New Testament, but often they emphasize more the New Testament. And they emphasize in prayers the Old Testament's Our Father, Num. 6: 24-27 and the New Testament the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:9-13.</p> <p>8* There are different opinions as to whether the Bible is direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.</p> <p>9* Usually Revival Christians worship together without Jewish believers.</p> <p>10* Generally Revival Christians do not adopt Jewish tradition or cultural habits.</p> <p>11* The core of doctrine is 'mercy', that means salvation through the cross of Jesus. However, the doctrine of Revival Christianity follows its own church and branch of Christianity. Some branches may be Apostolic and Charismatic.</p> <p>12* Revival Christianity is not focused on Israel (like Messianism, Canaanism, Zionism), at least not to the same extent.</p>

As it is seen in the Table 1, *the common mental model* of the Messianic Jewish Movement is special:

- 1) Messianic Jews identify themselves with Jews in the Messianic Jewish Movement, also as co-operators/worshippers with non-Jews, who believe in Yeshua Ha Mashiach as Jesus Christ, thus, with Revival Christians. Nevertheless, Revival Christians identify themselves as Christians.
- 2) Messianic Jews have a clear Jewish identity, but instead of this Revival Christians have a Christian identity.
- 3) Messianic Jews stress that they belong historically and spiritually to JHWH's own people. Revival Christians do not belong to it in the same meaning.
- 4) It is written in the Bible that everyone and every nation should bless Israel. Messianic Jews receive blessings from Revival Christians.
- 5) Messianic Jews and Revival Christians follow a different calendar and they often celebrate different festivals. Messianic Jews point out that JHWH gave them the calendar (according to the moon) and feasts which are mentioned in the Bible.
- 6) Messianic Jews do not accept the opinion that the Christian Church replaces Israel and Jews. Revival Christians sometimes accept this replacement theology, but generally not.
- 7) In Messianic Judaism, the Torah and the whole Bible (the New and the Old Testament) is valued, but in Revival Christianity observing the Torah is often considered less important than the New Testament.
- 8) Generally according to Messianic Judaism, the Word of JHWH is inspired literally by the Holy Spirit. Revival Christians have various interpretations of the Word. Some of them believe in it in the same way as Messianic Jews do.
- 9) Jewish Messianic and non-Jewish Messianic believers worship together. Generally, Revival Christians act in their own groups without Messianic Jews.
- 10) When Messianic Jews and Messianic non-Jews act together, non-Jewish Messianics are free to decide whether to adopt Jewish traditions and cultural habits or not. Generally, Revival Christianity does not adopt Jewish habits.
- 11) The core of doctrine in Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity is 'mercy' that means salvation through the cross of Yeshua. Messianic Judaism is a movement, which is often charismatic and apostolic. Revival Christianity may also be charismatic and apostolic, but follows the contents of its own branch of Christianity.
- 12) Messianic Judaism focuses on Israel but usually Revival Christianity does not, at least not to the same extent.

This compact analysis shows that Messianic Judaism is quite far from Revival Christianity although both religions' key is the doctrine of salvation in Yeshua (Jesus).¹⁰⁰⁶ I would like to add that in practicing Messianic Judaism the basic atmospheric-flavour is gratitude which we should take into account. Gratitude surrounds and penetrates Messianic Judaism as well as Judaism. It appears in doctrines and teaching, Jewish symbols, as well as in performances and the behaviour of Jews. Gratitude is based from the very beginning on the relationship between JHWH and man, specifically between JHWH and the '*chosen people*'¹⁰⁰⁷. The Hebrew and Jewish Bible are full of verses of 'thanks-giving.' In the context of the creation, YHVH had already taught people to look at how good everything is that He has created. Jewish people have learnt to bring to YHVH the first fruits (in Hebr. bikkurim), and many other offerings. Messianic Jewish services are so full of thanks-giving symbols that non-Jewish observers may even criticize them. If we look at the Messianic Jewish calendar, we can see that there are weekly feasts beginning with the Sabbath and each feast includes several motives for praise.

This study also confirms that gratitude has an emotionally positive influence on the well-being of those classified as 'suffered peoples.' I myself saw in Ukraine, how people were happy when given the opportunity to praise and honour JHWH/Yeshua although many were poor and sick. Messianic Jewish teaching emphasises that people owe JHWH for their life, health, sustenance and salvation. People learn to feel and express gratitude for their existence and life.

SUMMARIZING this part usually Messianic Jewish congregations carry out worship services with a large proportion of Messianic thanks and praise. Messianic Judaism focuses on three *isms*, Messianism, Canaanism, and Zionism, which I shall handle next.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Schoeman 2003.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Am. 3:2. "You only have I chosen of all the *families* of the earth. Therefore I will punish you for all of your sins." According to the Hebrew Names Version of the World English Bible. According to English Standard Version: Am. 3:1-2: "...O people of Israel...You only have I known of all the *families* of the earth...". Italics by the author.

Common Mental Model of the Messianic Jewish Movement:

Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism

Among Messianic Jews in Ukraine I saw 'Israeli and King David's lion flags' and maps of the land of Canaan; I heard songs of Zion and watched at dancing the Horah which declared honour to the Israeli Messiah. This kind of symbolic language speaks of Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism, which are – 'isms' influencing on Messianic Judaism although the concepts may be unknown or unclear. The concepts of Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism are not interpreted uniformly among Jewish and Christian intellectuals. Interpretations may differ fundamentally on some vital points.

The word *Zionism* is derived from Zion which is the name for Jerusalem in the Hebrew Bible. During the period up to the end of 19th century, Zionism became a concept for those who encouraged Jews to return and settle in Palestine. In 1897, the Zionist Organization (ZO) was established in order to promote the creation of a 'home-land' for Jewish people. However, some intellectuals emphasized especially cultural phenomena in Zionism like Martin Buber¹⁰⁰⁸, who also spoke much of a peaceful process between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. According to Buber, there is a place for both nations in the same territory/country because Jews are not against Arabs (the 12th Zionist Congress).¹⁰⁰⁹ During World War One the United Kingdom (at that time considered The Global Imperial power), Foreign Minister in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 recognised the right of Jews to a 'home-land' in the Middle East. On the 14th May 1948, the State of Israel was established by the efforts of Zionists, the victorious Allies of wartime and the approval of the United Nations. ZO has refined its mission in 1951, 1968, and in 2004, when it dedicated itself to 'strengthen Israel as a Jewish, Zionist, and democratic state.'¹⁰¹⁰ To be exact both Political Zionism and Biblical Zionism have their own connotations and tones. Often these two concepts are mixed, but basically Messianic Judaism does not have any political agenda, although supporters of it may represent political Zionism. Thus, one important factor in Messianic Judaism is Biblical Zionism.¹⁰¹¹

In fact, Messianic Jews in Ukraine are involved with Zionism in many practical projects: Just one of them is Aliya, the Israel immigration project. According to David Engel scholar of Hebraic, Judaic and Holocaust Studies, the name 'Palestine' is connected with the people called Philistines in the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible called them 'Peleshet' and the Greek historian Herodotus 'Palaistinei'. Jews traditionally called the same region '*Eretz Yisrael*' (the Land of Israel), but used 'Palestine' when speaking European languages. In the 1920s, 'Palestine' became again a clearly-defined political unit when Great Britain had a League of Nations mandate in this territory. As a matter of fact, awaiting the Messiah, adoring the Holy Land, and acting pro-Israel are typical factors of the Messianic Jewish Movement's discourse.¹⁰¹²

Because of this admiration immigration to Israel is a dream/ambition for many in Ukraine and then the Law of Return seems to be like a much preferred 'final solution' because according to it every Jew has the right to dwell in Israel. Sociologists Moshe Semyonov and Noah Lewin-Epstein emphasize the importance that citizenship is conferred automatically upon arrival.¹⁰¹³ In practice, the Law of Return does not automatically concern Messianic Jews as they are not seen to be like those Jews who fulfil Jewish identity markers. Messianic Jews belong to a different category. In Ukraine, I met some people who tried to find some method to effect a move to Israel even if they did not meet the immigration criteria set by the state. Often these people expressed their love for Israel and Jewishness and some were quite desperate knowing they had little chance of qualification.

Ancient and *modern* Messianism in Judaism has specific differences. However, many factors in modern Messianic Judaism are derived from ancient Rabbinic Judaism.¹⁰¹⁴ Moshe Idel, a scholar of Jewish

¹⁰⁰⁸ Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz 1995, 241ff.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Buber 1993, 8ff.

¹⁰¹⁰ Engel, D. 2009, 1ff. Cf. Stewart 2007.

¹⁰¹¹ On the other hand, Political Zionism refers more often to contemporary politics in Israel of today, and Biblical Zionism refers more to ancient Israel in the Bible.

¹⁰¹² Cf. Zetterholm 2007. Engel, D. 2009, 1ff.

¹⁰¹³ Semyonov and Lewin-Epstein 2003, 328.

¹⁰¹⁴ Zetterholm (ed.). 2007

thought, states that long before the emergence of historical Kabbalah, Messianism had become part and parcel of Rabbinic spiritual universe.¹⁰¹⁵ Idel also points to Messianism as much more than an abstract idea, but a whole range of Messianic texts which were composed in Hebrew and added to already existing Rabbinic apocalyptic material.¹⁰¹⁶ In this way Messianism has a metaphysical basis that implies according to historian David Ohana, the *Messianic hope* comes gradually into focus because of the Jews' dramatic history: In exile, persecutions and destructions the wait for the Messiah enabled hope and strengthened Jews.¹⁰¹⁷ Historian Salo Wittmayer Baron crystallizes this with words 'Suffering is part of the destiny of the Jews, but so is repeated joy as well as *ultimate redemption*'.¹⁰¹⁸

In Messianic Jewish ideology, according to the Scriptures, there is the promise of two 'comings' of the Messiah. His first coming is promised in Dan. 9:24-26. Its purpose is to focus on atonement for sin.¹⁰¹⁹ The second promised coming focuses on Messiah's coming in the air to receive believers to Him.¹⁰²⁰ After that, according to Messianic Judaism, Messiah returns to the earth so that the Redeemer shall come to Zion.¹⁰²¹ Israel's spiritual redemption and New Covenant will be fulfilled according to the Bible. Israel's national restoration is to recover the remnant of His people Israel from the four corners of the earth, and restore the Davidic Kingdom.¹⁰²²

In today's contemporary modern Messianic Judaism, Messianism is at the centre of faith with belief in the 'second coming' of Yeshua.¹⁰²³ In Christianity - in my understanding - Messianism has never been in focus like it is in Messianic Judaism. Christianity focuses more on Jesus on the cross, a fact which is not lacking in Messianic Judaism theology, but has been given a different emphasis.

In the ideology of Messianic Jews and in practice in the worship services of Messianic Jewish congregations, old Messianic Psalm songs and new, recently written songs are intertwined with each other. These songs describe a longing for Messiah's coming and at the same time, a longing for Zion. The leaders and ordinary Jews in the Messianic Jewish Movement share Biblical Zionist ideology proclaiming the state of Israel as a 'home-land' of every Jew.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰¹⁵ Idel 1998, 56.

¹⁰¹⁶ Idel 1998, 56.

¹⁰¹⁷ Presumably, there are thousands of Messianic songs in this area.

¹⁰¹⁸ See: Baron 1989. It is said that Baron inveighed against what he termed the '*lachrymose*' *conception of Jewish history*'. He is recognized as one of the 20th century's great scholars of Jewish history.

¹⁰¹⁹ Also in: Isa. 53; Rom. 3:21-31; Heb. 9-10; John 3:16-17.

¹⁰²⁰ I Thess. 4:13-18; John 14:1-6; I Cor. 15:51-57.

¹⁰²¹ Isa. 59:20-21; Zech. 14:4. Also: Zech. 12:8-13:1; Rom. 11:25-27; Heb. 9:28; Jer. 31:31-40.

¹⁰²² Isa. 9:6-7, cf. Luke 1:30-33; Jer. 23:3-8. According to Isa. 11 - to re-establish the throne and kingdom of David, which will last forever.

¹⁰²³ Ohana 2010, 2ff. See also: Fruchtenbaum 2001, 2003.

¹⁰²⁴ The Declaration of Establishment of State of Israel. "Erez-Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here, their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here, they first attained statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave the world the eternal Book of Books. After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration of their political freedom... The state of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the In-gathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or gender/sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations... We appeal to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and up building and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream - the redemption of Israel". See: Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2010).

The Declaration of the Establishment of State of Israel is clearly based on Zionist ideology¹⁰²⁵ and while referring also to political theology¹⁰²⁶ concentrates on Israel's restoration with the belief of 'a happy end'. The basic forms of Messianic ideas assume that at the end of history, all human contradictions will be resolved,¹⁰²⁷ and the end of the human race (ethnicity) will resemble its beginning.¹⁰²⁸ Despite there not being any legal recognition of a 'State'/'nationhood' the Zionist movement adopted the song 'Ha-Tikvah' (Hebr. meaning in English: 'hope') unofficially in 1905 and formally in 1933 as the Jewish national anthem.¹⁰²⁹ This anthem expresses the core of Zionism.¹⁰³⁰ The Holy Land is/has been like a dream for many Messianic Jews as I experienced among Jews in Ukraine.

In science, the term *Canaanism* refers to a national, geo-cultural ideology. According to Ohana, a certain piece of land defines the collective identity of its inhabitants. Ohana adds that Canaanism promotes Hebraism which is territorial nationalism.¹⁰³¹ Canaanism offers a Biblical perspective with Biblical promises and the modern Israel presents the forum where redemption (restoration) will happen. In formal Christian theology Canaanism may be a quite unknown term although particularly older revival Christians, for example in Finland, used to sing songs about the land Canaan with this meaning. Messianic Jewish sermons clearly include many aspects of Canaanism which increase the honour of the Biblical land of Canaan. Usually, Messianic Jews use Biblical maps of Israel and other old symbols of the Holy Land which relate to their commitment to the Holy Land – ideology. Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism are not only theological concepts, but also social and political concepts and these ideologies guide Jews in the decisions of everyday life. Canaanism can be mixed with political ideology and theology¹⁰³² and then can have political interests like today's political Zionism.

SUMMARY: Many conscious Messianic Jews in Ukraine may strongly express their support of Zionism. This is understandable because the 'pro-Israel' attitudes of Jews have roots as far back as ancient connections in the Black Sea region. Therefore it is not surprising that many political Zionist leaders in Israel were originally Ukrainians¹⁰³³ and this strong, fate-like relationship between Ukraine and Israel still exists.

A Common Mental Model of the Messianic Jewish Movement:

Comparison between Rabbinic Judaism, Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity

Messianic Jewish women were interested to know how Messianic Judaism differs from Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism.¹⁰³⁴ Leaders of Messianic congregations are those, who usually describe the differences between different denominations. Women's history and the role also get their emphasis in different religious branches. In the next table I set out a comparison (based on previous analyses) between Rabbin-

¹⁰²⁵ In 1906, the leaders of Russian Zionists (Zeev Jabotinsky, Itzhak Greenbaum, Leib Jaffe, and Ariel Metzkin) had a meeting in *Helsinki, in Finland* where they established a basis for international, political Zionism. Herzl 1981, 8; also Frankel 1981, 166.

¹⁰²⁶ Ohana 2010.

¹⁰²⁷ Ohana 2010.

¹⁰²⁸ Ohana 2010, 2.

¹⁰²⁹ According to the historian Jonathan Frankel. Frankel 1981.

¹⁰³⁰ HaTikvah is Israel's National Anthem. The words in English: "As long as the Jewish spirit is yearning deep in the heart, With eyes turned toward the East, looking toward Zion, Then our hope - the two-thousand-year-old hope - will not be lost: To be a free people in our land, The land of Zion and Jerusalem." The words are written in 1886 by Naphtali Herz Imber who is originally from Bohemia. The melody is by Samuel Cohen an immigrant from Moldavia.

¹⁰³¹ Ohana 2010.

¹⁰³² Cf. Kwok 2005, 150-167.

¹⁰³³ From Ukraine to Israel: Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, second President of Israel (1952-63); Shmuel Dayan, Zionist activist, Israeli politician (Shmuel Dayan was the father of Israeli general and politician Moshe Dayan and the grandfather of politician Yael Dayan and director Assi Dayan); Levi Eshkol, Israeli Prime Minister (1963-69); Ephraim Katzir, fourth President of Israel (1973-78); Golda Meir, Israeli Prime Minister (1969-74); Moshe Sharett, Israeli Prime Minister (1954-55).

¹⁰³⁴ Martin Buber presents in his study 'Zwei Glaubensweisen' (1950) two different types of faith: The Hebrew type of '*Emunah*' (total trust on JHWH) and the Christian type of '*Pistis*': focus on individual salvation.

ic Judaism, Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity with five factors: the basis of doctrine, the faith, Messiah, Israel, the doctrine of salvation. The table presents ‘similarities’ and ‘differences’ and clarifies the common mental model of Messianic Jewish Movement in general.

Table 2. A Common Mental Model of Messianic Jewish Movement: A Comparison between Rabbinic Judaism, Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity.

	RABBINIC JUDAISM	MESSIANIC JUDAISM	REVIVAL CHRISTIANITY
1.Basis of Doctrine	The Tenach (Holy Scriptures; the Old Testament).	The Tenach (Holy Scriptures; the Old Testament) The B’rit Hadasha (New Covenant; the New Testament).	The Old and the New Testament.
2.Faith	JHWH (Echad = One). There is Ruach Ha Kodesh (Spirit of JHWH) and there is the Messiah (coming).	JHWH (Echad = One, who is in three persons: Father, Son, the Holy Spirit).	GOD (the Trinity: Father, Son, the Holy Spirit).
3.Messiah	According to Rabbinic Judaism, the Messiah is coming (the first time). He is not Yeshua (Jesus) of Christianity or Messianic Judaism.	According to the Messianic Judaism, the Messiah (ha Masiah) is coming (the second time). He is Yeshua.	According to contemporary Revival Christianity, the Messiah is Jesus, who is coming the second time.
4.Israel	Rabbinic Judaism is an Israel-centred religion.	Messianic Judaism is an Israel-centred religion.	Generally Revival Christianity is not so much an Israel-centred religion.
5.Doctrine of Salvation	Doctrine of salvation based traditionally on the Temple and animal offerings. The Bible however speaks of sins, ‘mercy’ and the need to repent in front of JHWH, like in Psalms.	Doctrine of salvation based on Yeshua on the cross.	Doctrine of Salvation based on Jesus Christ on the cross.

The table 2 shows that a common mental model (= the basis of doctrine) is the same in Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity, but not in Rabbinic Judaism which does not accept the New Covenant. The table also shows that Rabbinic Judaism has JHWH, Ruach Ha Kodesh and the Messiah who has not yet come and who is not Jeshua ha Mashiah as Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity believe. We see that Messianic Judaism and Revival Christianity have a quite similar conception of JHWH and the Messiah, but Messianic Judaism uses often Hebrew terminology and Revival Christianity more often Greek terminology. It is common that Christians believe that the original New Testament was written first in Greek. The table shows that Rabbinic Judaism and Messianic Judaism are Israel-centred religions, but generally Revival Christianity is not to such a great extent. We see that the doctrine of salvation is the same in Messianic Judaism and in Revival Christianity, but in traditional Rabbinic Judaism the doctrine of salvation was based on the Temple and animal offerings before 70 CE. The Bible however speaks of sins, ‘mercy’ and the need to repent in front of JHWH as it is presented for example in Psalms.

The influence of America in the Messianic congregations in Ukraine has been remarkable. It may however include threats which bother scholar of religion Jeffrey Steven Wasserman¹⁰³⁵ who asks whether the members of Messianic congregations in America genuinely follow first Yeshua and secondly Jewishness, or vice versa? Wasserman asks: “Have you ever turned on television on a Sunday morning and flipped through the various religious broadcasts and come upon the worship of a vibrant African-American congregation? They might be singing and dancing to soul-inspired music. Certainly your foot

¹⁰³⁵ Wasserman 1997a.

begins to tap along the music. But have you ever seen some big white guy like me up on the platform trying to dance along with them? It looks kind of silly doesn't it? I wonder if sometimes our American Messianic congregational practices don't look silly to those who are genuine members of the Jewish traditions. As Israeli Messianic leader Yosi Shulam says, 'Jews see this stuff and they can smell the bacon!'—The issue it seems for Americans is not as much being a believer as it is being Jewish as a believer."¹⁰³⁶ Wasserman writes that Messianic congregations in Ukraine, "could focus on genuinely and forthrightly giving expression to that which is real, that which comes out of their faith encounter with Yeshua deep within their beings, than whatever form, symbol, or style which was adopted would carry with it the genuine power of God to salvation"¹⁰³⁷.

From my observations in Ukraine the love of Jewish symbols can be at least partly interpreted as belonging to the process whereby Jews have found their ancient Jewish roots. The analysis shows that in Ukrainian history, the 70 years separation from Jewishness were so total and painful an experience that exaggerated reactions are possible and accepted because they do not harm anybody. I also noticed things that some observers would regard as oddities. Some might argue that in some performances not everything can be derived from the Bible, but perhaps resembles superstition, or even magic as in Ukraine, 2003: Dancing wildly on the flags of lion on the platform, or anointing the earth in front of ex-concentration camps, etc. On the other hand, despite incompleteness and misunderstandings Messianic Jews usually have a positive attitude towards Jewishness and their deep affection and joy at personal re-discovery of it is clearly felt and visible to all. Jews want to address this process in so many emotional ways.

Of course there are doubters. There are some theological observers who question the spirituality of 'pure' Messianic Judaism and whether or not it is based on the Bible-scripture? According to the Bible false prophets have always existed in Judaism and Christianity, and it is legitimated to consider are there false prophets among the Messianic Jewish movement to which Messianic leaders might respond.

SUMMARIZING this section I conclude based on source material and analysis that there are reasons to argue that the ideology of Messianic Judaism is significantly different to the ideology of Rabbinic Judaism or Revival Christianity although the message of salvation seems to be congruent with Christianity. This means that the doctrine of salvation is based on the atoning work of Yeshua/Jesus on the cross in Messianic Judaism and in Christianity¹⁰³⁸. On the other hand, Messianic Judaism like Rabbinic Judaism sticks to Israel (Biblical and present day Israel), so that Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism belong to the core of their ideology.¹⁰³⁹ These emphasises are not included in such a striking way in Christianity, not even in Revival Christianity.

The modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine is regarded as a new and small movement. Members are identified as belonging to a 'different' movement than the Christian church¹⁰⁴⁰ or Rabbinic Jewish synagogue. According to Messianic Jews, they represent a genuine alternative especially for Jews (but also for non-Jews) in the family of different religious branches. Intellectuals and pastors/Rabbis of the movement underscore clearly that the modern Messianic Jewish Movement has its own ideological significance: First Yeshua, second the Apostolic time, and third Jewish heritage,¹⁰⁴¹ and these themes were also openly discussed in Ukraine.¹⁰⁴² This unique ideology of Messianic Judaism exerts an influence in shaping the Messianic Jewish identity which is in focus of the next chapter.

¹⁰³⁶ Yosi Shulam. Interview by Wasserman. Tape recorded, Jerusalem, Israel, 30 January 1997. In: Wasserman 1997b.

¹⁰³⁷ Wasserman 1997b.

¹⁰³⁸ Migliore 1991.

¹⁰³⁹ Cf. Schoeman 2003.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Generally, Messianic Jewish women's religious identity is shaped in the sphere of Messianic Judaism. Christian tradition shapes the identity of Christian women; cf. Lacelle-Peterson 2008.

¹⁰⁴¹ Jewish heritage traditionally includes: Covenant, closeness, and faith, the relationship between JHWH and Jewish people. Pearl and Pearl (eds.). 2005.

¹⁰⁴² See: Messianic Jewish Community of Ukraine in 2010 (in St. Nikolayev).

5.2. Identity

Post-modern writer Paul Benjamin Auster's sarcastic words in his writing: "But in the end, he manages to resolve the question for himself - more or less. *He finally comes to accept his own life*, to understand that no matter how bewitched and haunted he is, *he has to accept reality as it is, to tolerate the presence of ambiguity within himself*."¹⁰⁴³

Messianic Jewish Identity: 'When a Jew finds his/her Messianic Jewish identity, his/her life will change from the ambiguity to *Shalom*'.¹⁰⁴⁴

Hearts in the Palm of the Hand

A few words concerning the priorities of this study before I handle more precisely identity. The modern Messianic Jewish Movement is one of the so called 'new movements' like peace movements, animal rights, minority ethnicities, environmental movements, women's rights and fundamentalist Religious Movements. Usually the study of the new movements focuses on the meaning of morphological (the 'words/language system') changes in their structure and action, but also to transformation in society. This study's priority is just the transformation process. From the point of view of social policy I try to find factors which could reflect and expose the changing processes. The *context* of the OOM (in the Figure 1: political-history, socio-cultural, economical and religious dimensions) is categorized in one theme, i.e. via socio-history of Ukraine to describe the scope of the 'master frame'¹⁰⁴⁵ of the Messianic Jewish Movement. The emphasis in the *shell* is, how adherents, leaders, structure and social objects construct the core dimensions and finally the basement for the Mission view of women. The core shows the final results after the entire path of the OOM is gone starting from the *context* going through the *shell* and ending up at the *core* (identity, ideology and the Mission view). The Mission view, vision, 'comes to flesh' in the typology of Messianic Jewish women which provides the possibility to recognize how through the whole process of women's activities the ultimate target is the construction of family welfare.

Due to the multi-layered and wide-ranging scope of this study I am forced to place limits on how to report results of my analysis. Thus I do not concentrate in this study especially on the identity of women, or *identity work* in the Social Movement which could be especially interesting and relevant from the sociological and socio-political standpoint and nor do I investigate in great detail the role of women (I have to some extent avoided the concept of the 'role'). However, my critical idea is to investigate from a socio-historic perspective such attributes that belong to ideals of function and tasks of women which have demonstrable importance to the Mission view. True, we cannot deny that identity has a clear and direct role in it, how and why a vision/a Mission view arises, but as seen in previous text and analyses made in this study it is much more than an identity study and reaches aspects beyond it. But focusing now on identity, individuals in the movement construct their vision with their identity work which gets strength and nutrition from their common ideology or searching for new influences - when seen some grievances in society - for their identity. Identity is growing, evolving, changing, and breaking or renewed in the course of individual and common subjective history. Everything a human being meets on this planet in some way is stored within them however not being God so we cannot exactly know how these preserved experiences in our mind may directly or not influence our identity, but we are aware they change you.

As a matter of fact, I only refer to what Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann with their previous colleagues and followers of them have already said (in a number of publications) only adding the aspect, that our 'conscience' is an instrument which controls our mind. It is like a filter which lets us know and

¹⁰⁴³ These words belong to contemporary post-modern writer Paul Benjamin Auster who is descended from Polish Jewish parents. Auster's themes concern often identity, anomaly, the feeling that something is missing, solitude, loss of language. Auster, about the protagonist of 'The Locked Room', quoted in: Martin Klepper (1996). Italics by the author.

¹⁰⁴⁴ In the archive of author, in 2000.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 'Master frame' in: Snow and Benford 1992.

understand special things, or not. Some things we can really put on the lowest storage of our mind, so these can do no more harm to us. This is similar than a police official investigating murders said that if a person murders once, so it is normalcy that she/he feels very, very bad after that, but after two, three killings these acts do not feel so extremely bad and it could be the new normalcy; and about after five you do not sense anything. I believe this was a part, but by no means the only part, of the case when Nazis hardened their hearts in order to kill systematically, deliberately and cruelly (there has to have been a fundamental alteration of their human nature). Can we identify this so specifically: Their original internal *self* had died? Therefore, I want to point out that the state of a society's 'conscience' will have a bearing on the direction of citizens' identity and its possibility to grow. Different social-political tendencies are such that they feed certain models, role models, behavioural types and attitudes. Thus, actors in society have a great responsibility; they hold citizens' hearts in the palm of their hand. With Berger and Luckmann's words 'Identity is...a key element of subjective reality'.¹⁰⁴⁶

Identity is a unique and collaborative concept. In the next four categories I will handle: 1) Jewish identity, 2) changing identity; 3) identity of non-Jewish Ukrainian women in the 'three posts' society and 4) identity of Jewish Women.

Jewish Identity

Many Ukrainians confronted the issue of their Ethnicity: I.e. who are they in reality? The concept of identity, especially Individual *identity* has many facets including what are a person's attributes e.g. a Jewish woman might see herself as a person devoted to family, she may think that she is a homemaker; and after becoming aware of religious freedom, she perhaps wants to return to religion and become a believer in Yeshua. So, slowly via different socio-mental processes via *identity work* she is able to adopt a Messianic Jewish woman's identity. The process may be short, like a lightning bolt in the dark, but also long, because like breaking up of ice, melting, and the emergence of a new flow it will take time. In this identity context some women around the Messianic Jewish Movement wondered whether they are 'pure' Jewish, or, like in most cases how mixed was their Jewish genes with other ethnicities. Ironically this was also a question that occupied the ideology behind Nazi discrimination against Jews.

So, what does identity means and how does it manifest itself in practical terms? Broadly we can say personal identity quintessentially emerges via social inter-action experienced at home, in the Jewish community and in society. Collective identity refers to group membership within the Jewish community, and public identity of it: I.e. how the external public, like adherents of Messianic Judaism think about themselves in the Social Movement.¹⁰⁴⁷

Although expressions of an individual and collective identity can be shaped and changed to a certain extent some Jewish scientists and ordinary people may argue one component of identity is that a fundamental, age-old phenomenon of Jewishness, is quite permanent¹⁰⁴⁸. Identity can also be seen as the reflection of personal human being's history within turning points and individual experiences as expressed in thought, feelings, behaviour¹⁰⁴⁹ and personal lifestyle. Jewish identity is regarded as one's sense of self with regard to being Jewish,¹⁰⁵⁰ as in 'the inner experience of self in relationship to the religious, political, ethnic,¹⁰⁵¹ and/or cultural elements of Judaism, the Jewish people, and Israel'.¹⁰⁵²

It is pointed out that *feeling Jewish* (identity) and *doing Jewish* (identification) are in the same experiential package.¹⁰⁵³ The Jewish identification process is then the process of thinking and acting¹⁰⁵⁴ also in

¹⁰⁴⁶ Berger and Luckmann 1972, 173.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. Johnston, Larana and Gusfield 1994.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Referring to the case Ukraine, this hidden remembrance may occur whenever or it may be laying dormant.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cf. Arnow 1994, 30.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Arnow 1994, 29; Himmelfarb 1982, 57.

¹⁰⁵¹ Jewish Populations 2010: Jewish Genetics; also: Siegel-Itzkovich 2010.

¹⁰⁵² Arnow 1994, 30.

¹⁰⁵³ Arnow 1994, 30.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Himmelfarb 1982, 57.

relation to Jewish ritual observance,¹⁰⁵⁵ Jewish organizational involvement and matters related to Jewish life.¹⁰⁵⁶ The above text may seem exaggerated or superfluous for Jews who have internalized their Jewishness so it, 'goes without saying' ('I am Jew/Jewish'). However, for those candidates who wonder whether they are Jewish these kinds of identity speculations are typically emotion-laden and at times distressing. Some informants had what they took to be a Jewish mind,¹⁰⁵⁷ and felt they were Jews although they did not know their roots. This 'Jewish mind' is seen as one part of Jewish identity.

Changing Identity

Basically, from the viewpoint of Messianic Jews (women and men), Jewish life and identity are rooted in the Torah, expressed in tradition, and renewed and applied in the context of the New Covenant. Additionally, Modern Messianic Judaism has an ancient paragon, the first century's Jesus movement.

Members of the Modern Messianic Jewish Movement are those who want to follow Yeshua as it is written in the Bible. The first century scholars and Christian theologians, Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann assert that the *followers of Yeshua* of Nazareth were the group of women and men, who were linked with Yeshua during his lifetime¹⁰⁵⁸ and that they were called *Nazarene*.¹⁰⁵⁹ Stegemann and Stegemann maintain that the followers of Yeshua come from three sources: 1) The actual Yeshua movement, that is the group of Jew connected with Yeshua during his lifetime, whose members are usually termed disciples by the gospels. Note, that this group also included women. 2) The Jerusalem early church, which arose after Yeshua's death (about the year 30 CE); Paul calls it the 'Church of Judea'¹⁰⁶⁰, and expressly distinguished it from the 'Churches of the Gentiles'¹⁰⁶¹, 3) The Messianic churches from the time after 70 CE toward the end of the first century.¹⁰⁶² Stegemann and Stegemann use the word the 'church', however from the point of view of this study we could use the word the 'Ecclesia' which is a Greek word.¹⁰⁶³

In this identification process of Messianic Jews, David H. Stern's the Complete Jewish Bible helps Messianic Jews to find the link to followers of Yeshua in the first century. Stern's Jewish Bible differs from normal Christian Bible versions in that Stern uses Hebrew terminology. In this way, Stern cites things, narratives and occasions with the Hebrew language¹⁰⁶⁴ in the ancient Jewish context. For example, when the Christian Bible speaks about disciples he employed the Hebrew word 'talmid' (singular,) or 'talmidim' (plural). He also makes a difference between forms of JHWH using HaElyon, or Elohim, or Adonai, or Yeshua, if the original Hebrew text shows to which form of JHWH the text refers. Stern uses

¹⁰⁵⁵ As mentioned before, generally Messianic Jews hold that male believers must be circumcised since it is a part of keeping the Covenant. However, all Messianic Jewish male believers are presumably not circumcised.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Arnow 1994, 29.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The term 'the Jewish mind' is the premis of culture anthropologist Rafael Patai (Patai 2007). According to him the Jewish mind wells and brings substance from connections with the Gentile world where Jews live. Jews' relate with host countries' cultural, environmental, social and economical life while also receiving meanings from this Gentile world. Everything that exists there has its own influence on the Jews who live there. Patai however considers the Jewish mind as a psycho-cultural process of individual persons, so that Jews' reactions and how they express them in different situations change with spatial, temporal and worldwide dispersion aspects. Thus, every Jew has their individual story to tell even if these stories include a lot of things in common for all Jews. Patai emphasizes fundamental, age-old phenomenon of Jewishness always exists which has also resulted in developing different tools for surviving. The adaptation to some society or environment includes preconditioning to be able to survive at individual and societal level.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann use in the text the name Jesus, and as a scholar of Christianity they use the world 'early church' although the term would be ecclesia simply meaning originally a group or an assembly.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 187-189

¹⁰⁶⁰ Gal. 1:22; 1 Thess. 2:14.

¹⁰⁶¹ Rom. 16:4.

¹⁰⁶² Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 187-189ff.

¹⁰⁶³ In the course of history Jewishness is tied with the Hebrew language, but today in an ordinary Christian text context Hebrew words are quite seldom used. Instead of this, Greek words are more commonly employed because of the use of the Septuaginta (the Greek version of the Old Testament) and the Greek New Testament.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Robert, St. John 1972.

Hebrew nouns, like Jochanan (John), Kefa (Peter), Mattityahu (Matthew), Yaakov (James); also Shomron (Samaria), Cohen (priest), Cohanim (priests), Cohen HaGadol (the High Priest), Goyim (non-Jews), Ruach Ha Kodesh (the Holy Spirit). Though only a few examples, they however show that David H. Stern offers associations from ancient Jewish cultural life for modern Messianic Jewish believers in order to clarify Messianic Jewish identity. Stern emphasizes that his first purpose is to restore the unified Jewishness of the Bible and to show that the books of the New Covenant (the Tanakh, the Old Testament; and the Brit Hadashah, the New Testament) are Jewish.¹⁰⁶⁵ The identity of Messianic Jewish believers could also be constructed on the fact that Yeshua, the Bible, and the first followers of Yeshua were thoroughly Jewish allowing newcomers to the Messianic Jewish Movement to join their old Jewish heritage.

The next table 3 describes the changing identity of Jews in Ukraine through four historical epochs which influenced the collective and public identity of Jews. The identity changed from a strong traditional Jewishness through secularization (Soviet citizen's identity) back again to the roots of Jewishness. The main features of the four epochs are presented following only some drastic socio-historical events in society, therefore table 3 should be considered as social *scientific caricature*. However, it can help us to analyze more especially Jewishness and to understand 'something' from those dramatic conditions under which Jews lived in the course of history and which have had an effect on Jewish identity changes.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Stern, D. H. 1998, xv.

Table 3. Changing Identity of Jews in Ukraine

CHANGING IDENTITY	THE FIRST EPOCH Before the First and Second World War	THE SECOND EPOCH During and after the Second World War in the Communist countries	THE THIRD EPOCH After Independence (1991) from the Soviet Union	THE FOURTH EPOCH In 2000
1. Personal, Individual Identity 2. Collective Identity (public)	Generally Jewish identity was clear# <i>Kohut 2000, 343-358.</i> Jews belonged to Jewish community# <i>Chapin and Weinstock 2000.</i>	Jews lost their identity (religion, culture and traditions)# <i>Gessen 2006.</i> <i>About Jewish culture and identity in the Soviet Union, in Becker, A. and Ro'i (eds.).1991; Gitelman 1991.</i> They changed their identity, and reconstructed the identity of a Soviet citizen# <i>Hrytsak 2000, 264-281.</i>	People started to search for their Jewish roots# <i>Abramson 2003, 203-212.</i> Collapse of identity of a Soviet citizen# <i>Attwood 1996, 255-266; Pavlychko 1996, 305-314.</i>	Jews, who had found their Jewish background and roots, tried to reconstruct their Jewish identity# <i>Gitelman 2000, 137-163 and Bohachevsky-Chomiak 2000, 49-69.</i> The Jewish community is re-established in Ukraine# See: Zissels 1997 and collective identity is in a shaping process (the Mishpacha# <i>Blenkinsopp 1997, 79.</i>
3. Institutions of Jewish Collective Identity	There were Jewish schools, synagogues, and Jewish activities# <i>Ettinger 1999.</i>	Jewish institutions were destroyed# <i>Ettinger 1999.</i>	People started to establish Jewish institutions again# <i>Abramson 2003.</i>	Many institutions were established: Messianic congregations# <i>See for example: Messianic Jewish Community of Ukraine 2010.</i> Orthodox synagogues# <i>See for example: The Jewish Community in Ukraine 2009.</i> Jewish schools# <i>See for example: The Jewish Community in Ukraine 2009.</i> Other Jewish activities# <i>See for example: The NCJW (National Council of Jewish Women) 2009.</i>
4. Basis of Identity	Orthodox Judaism# <i>Ettinger 1999.</i>	Communism# <i>Magocsi 1998, Marsh (ed.). 1996, Wilson, A. 2002.</i>	Free market economy ¹⁰⁶⁶ . From the gap of values towards Jewish values# <i>Kuzio 2003.</i>	Globally: Messianic Judaism # <i>Fruchtenbaum 2003/2004; Juster and Hocken 2004, Stern, D. H. 2007.</i> Globally: Rabbinic Judaism# <i>Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000b, 2003/2009; Cohn-Sherbok, L. and Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2010.</i> In Ukraine: Jewish identity is at the stage of re-construction in 2000. (Conclusion) ¹⁰⁶⁷ #

The analysis¹⁰⁶⁸ shows that during the first epoch before the First and Second World War, Jewish identity was in principle generally clear and most Jews were rooted in the Jewish community. They attended programmes in Judaic institutions such as synagogues, where Judaism and Jewish life style were prac-

¹⁰⁶⁶ See: The chapter 3.3.

¹⁰⁶⁷ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/9.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The literature refers to history of Jews in Ukraine/Russia or to history of Jews in general.

ticed and honoured. Jewish and non-Jewish people were on different sides within society. Crossing the social divide was rare; it was not desirable and there had to be a compelling reason. *Jehudim* and *Goyim* had their own spheres in private life. Whereas, in public life, they had connections due to trade and other occupations. Although a simplification generally this was the case.

During the second epoch, within and after the Second World War the life of Jews was so utterly destroyed that the *Jewish lifestyle* could not remain in Ukraine. Jews officially lost their Jewish identity along with the Jewish religion, culture and traditions. Scholar of political science Zvi Gitelman expressed it in this way: *Passive Jewish identity* led to *passive Jewish culture*. He refers to Alexander Voronel's analysis that Jews 'have no choice but to see themselves through the eyes of others'.¹⁰⁶⁹ Over three to four generations Jews gradually adopted new values because of enormous pressure from the anti-Semitic environment. Eventually, those women, whose grandmothers and great-great-grandmothers had been Jews gave birth to children conscious of themselves only as Soviets citizens with a Soviet identity. They possessed no knowledge concerning their ancient Jewish heritage or more or less of any Jewish background. Soviet Communism was a strong, extreme ideology intent on eradicating religion from the earth. The Jewish religion was viewed as if it was a plague and the large Jewish population victimised into making a choice: Give up the Faith or suffer dreadfully and inevitably die. Some gave up only outwardly, but by their grandchildren's generation even spiritual defiance and memory had failed (passivity).

When there is no longer Jewish home tradition or synagogues are not functioning then belief will gradually be extinguished. For this reason in 2000 many descendants of Jews no longer knew that they had Jewish ancestors. Besides not knowing, many of them did not care about it anymore. They were *rather ashamed* of their Jewish roots and did not speak about this subject voluntarily. It was a family secret and a stigma (many had changed their whole names). However, in Ukraine just as there were those who resisted the Soviet Totalitarianism so there had always been those individual people who had not denied their Jewish roots and in some way managed to survive with at least a portion of their faith intact. I met some who told me about these paradoxical miracles. Yet, conditions in exile and the Diaspora were hard and if they wanted to survive they must at least be externally subservient to the 'masters of their evil kingdom'.¹⁰⁷⁰

During the third epoch after independence it seems that all ex-Soviet citizens, the citizens of the New Ukraine, were somehow lost with no direction to go in. These values they had once admired had faded away and no longer existed. Ethnicity raised its head again and people started to look for their ethnic and cultural roots including the Jews. Gradually Jews came *back into society* as ethnic Jewish persons and started to be active in establishing Jewish things: synagogues, congregations and schools. However, the number of Jews decreased dramatically during the epoch before independence. So, Jews knew that if they will 'reawaken' from the long sleep (find their Jewishness) the reality is that then they belong to a very small minority of the population. For the greatness and glory of Jews in this country seems to disappear forever and they must live in the shadow of mental memorials of their Jewish ancestors.

The fourth epoch focuses on the year 2000. Many have made Aliya, i.e. moved to Israel. Many Jews tried to strike up contacts with people abroad because the borders were now open, but if you are penniless, the border crossing is often denied. Simply stated, Jews across Europe had experienced much oppression, misery, distress, suffering, fear, sadness and bad memories. The Jewish worldview gradually broadened because Jews has widened their territory to abroad. Many Jews of Ukraine have a fanciful dream that others will help them. It is true that American Jews have offered material support and also established the first Messianic groups in Ukraine. - On the other hand Jewish identity of Ukrainian Jews in many cases in 2000 is unclear and is at the stage of re-construction. The re-construction process will proceed slowly, however if we trust on Patai's claim that age-old Jewishness never changes then the core of the Jewish mind is constant. This re-construction process was visible in Jewish communities in Ukraine like in Lviv, Odessa, Zhitomir, where I gathered empirical material from Jews and 'candidates of Jews'. This fourth epoch could be at the stage, in which Patai's words would sound true, that Jews again

¹⁰⁶⁹ Gitelman 1991, 15.

¹⁰⁷⁰ In the archive of author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/16-18.

live within the inter-action between two influences. One was “whichever and again impinged upon it from the outside, from the gentile world into which fate had placed Jews since their exile from their ancestral homeland; and the other which was exerted by unceasing process of internal ferment and distillation, resulting in constant modifications - but never in a total transformation - of the age-old essence and substance of Jewishness”.¹⁰⁷¹

What I have written above includes some important indicators which show us the emotional turbulence and passionate feelings of citizens. ‘Identity crisis’ could be one expression, but in general referring to a condition where citizens live *on the border of mixed socio-cultural and political influences* the concept could be ‘shared identity’, ‘split’, or ‘multiple identity’ as told in the footnote in the chapter 3.2.1. The long list of processes of different political, social and economic revolutions that people have gone through indicates a deep ‘*mental revolution*’ with turmoil and ambiguity. Before the 1989 Russian revolution and the independence of Ukraine in 1991, Jewish women belonged to the category of secular Soviet citizens like other non-Jewish women. In 2000, on the border between *new* and *old* they ask, who they really are: ‘ethnic Jewish’, or ‘Ukrainian’, perhaps ‘both’, or perhaps none of the above? To SUMMARIZE I conclude that such confusion among Jewish women’s identity is one feature of a transition society in Ukraine.

Identity of Non-Jewish Women in Ukraine’s the ‘Three Posts’ Society¹⁰⁷²

***The Salvation of our Nation is – Woman?*¹⁰⁷³**

In this chapter I reflect on identity of non-Jewish women in Ukraine, in the ‘Three Posts’ Society, but this chapter does not contain a specific comparative analysis between Jewish and non-Jewish women, although it does contain some observations from this area too. The historical observations from both groups - based mostly on literature - give however important additional knowledge from social-political trends and women's social aims.¹⁰⁷⁴

Historian Marian Rubchak emphasizes that a newly independent post-colonial society, Ukraine, strips away layer upon layer of accumulated colonial baggage and it begins to rediscover its historical memory and construct its identity. According to her, the process starts with the repudiation of the pseudo-myths of identity and the false perceptions that have been imposed upon it.¹⁰⁷⁵ Rubchak describes this as a collective process of all people of Ukraine as she writes: they “are striving to reclaim their lost heritage – cultural, linguistic and spiritual traditions – by reviving the national myths and ancient rituals in which their social values are seen to be encoded. They have made the restoration and revitalization of their historical traditions, a conscious programme as a way of authenticating their collective being”¹⁰⁷⁶. This process concerns everyone in society.

During Soviet history, ‘to be equal with men’ was the watchword for women. Natalia Pushkareva, a Russian anthropologist writes that ‘Russian women of that period sincerely believed that Bolshevik decrees would bring about their own emancipation and they were willing to forgo their happiness so that their children and grandchildren could enjoy the promised bright future. They were not to blame for their belief, but the situation turned out unhappily. The actual position of Russian women, both among the urban population and among the peasantry became complicated in the late 1920s and early 1930s’.¹⁰⁷⁷ Pushkareva highlights that ‘The building of the new society demanded an enormous effort, and women were forced to expend their strength, health, and time toward that end...A real liberation of women, one

¹⁰⁷¹ Patai 2007, 231.

¹⁰⁷² Pavlychko (ed.). 1996, 306. Post-Colonial, post-Communism, post-Totalitarian society.

¹⁰⁷³ Rubchak 1996, 319.

¹⁰⁷⁴ The term ‘non-Jewish women in Ukraine’, needs an explanation. The original ethnic and cultural background may be Ukrainian or Russian or mixed, or other nationalities, but they are not Jewish. In the same manner Jewish women in Ukraine have a different cultural and national background, they may be born in Russia or Ukraine, and accordingly their mother tongue may differ.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Rubchak 1996, 315-330.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Rubchak 1996, 315f.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Pushkareva 1997, 259.

that would allow them to choose whether to enter the workforce or to concentrate solely on their families remained an unfilled dream...Soviet Russia simply could not manage without the productive capacity of hundreds of thousands of women workers and peasants. More than half of these (53.3%) had few skills, yet they were drafted into building of Socialism. However, there were also incentives – for example, housing was provided almost free of charge. But even the housing was problematical: The old owners were forced to share their homes with new residents and often as many as ten families shared the same communal apartment¹⁰⁷⁸.

The turning point started in the independent Ukraine when a woman's identity could no longer be based on that of Soviet identity status of women viewed as 'workers like men'¹⁰⁷⁹. Thus, scholar of women issues and public activist, Solomea Pavlychko crystallizes that women's identity in Ukraine is in relation to numerous reminders of Soviet rule¹⁰⁸⁰ (also in the chapter 3.2.2. 'Homo Sovieticus' on the Borderland¹⁰⁸¹). Also historian, Rosalind Marsh points out that under the rule of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, women have possessed even less political power than in earlier periods of Soviet history.¹⁰⁸² Pavlychko brings interesting counter-factors to this discussion: while a new, non-Soviet attitude toward women is being formed in Ukraine all kinds of patriarchal mythologies are being revitalized in the course of so-called national revival. In addition, there is a simultaneous invasion of mass culture from the West: Barbie dolls, mediocre video films and beauty contests, all with their well-known gender stereotypes.¹⁰⁸³ Pavlychko's implication is:

“These two utopians, local and imported, these two neighbouring worlds do not intersect, although they have similar double standards and a similar misogynistic message¹⁰⁸⁴.”

Finally, she states pessimistically that *nothing has changed* in the official understanding of the role of women despite all the political changes: Women's concerns are motherhood, childcare, home and family.¹⁰⁸⁵ Pavlychko's analysis concerning the social-political situation of women in Ukraine includes many questions? It may be too blunt to ask: Do non-Jewish women in Ukraine generally not value family life, children and the home as a positive resource in their female life experience in comparison to the value placed on them by Jewish women and especially Messianic Jewish women. The 'women's question' in relation to the '*aggressive re-masculinization*'¹⁰⁸⁶ is to a great extent fragmented and requires further analysis.¹⁰⁸⁷

Motherhood, childcare, home and family have not been regarded as a burden for the Jewish community. They have rather been tools for survival and welfare and at least they are living elements which prove that Jewishness and Jews are alive. Hostility towards the family and the home simply does not fit into the traditional Jewish worldview and perception. Jewish feminist role models such as Alice Salomon and Bertha Pappenheim did not urge women to live unmarried or childless. They wanted to improve the life of women (become economically independent and to get an education) so that family life could be satisfactory and women could enjoy it with their children. The traditional attitude of Jewish women is more to protect family and children than to see family and children as an obstacle to a successful life and self-realization. Ukrainian women's liberator and historian, Natalia Pushkareva, says this in other words:

¹⁰⁷⁸ Pushkareva 1997, 259.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The '*workers like men*' – identity status is a concept by the author. Pushkareva 1997, 263-266.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Pavlychko 1996, 306ff, also in: 1992.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ukraine was seen as a colony of the former Soviet Union.

¹⁰⁸² Marsh in (ed.). Marsh 1996, 11.

¹⁰⁸³ Pavlychko 1996, 306.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Pavlychko 1996, 306. Misogyny means 'hatred of women'. Kate Millet brought the idea of misogyny (1970) and Adrienne Rich defined misogyny as 'institutionalized, organized, normalized hostility and violence against women', in: Scott and Marshall 2009, 476.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Pavlychko 1996, 307.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The term the '*aggressive re-masculinization*' in: Attwood 1996, 255.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Esping-Andersen refers also to the '*masculinization*' of women's life course in the modern world, in: Esping-Andersen 2009, 20ff.

“Real liberation of women, one that would allow them to choose whether to enter the workforce or to concentrate solely on their families, remained an unfulfilled dream...¹⁰⁸⁸”

Political scientist, Theda Skocpol, asserts that social revolutions have been the only forces for changing at work life in the modern era although it failed in the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁸⁹

How did the Russian revolution change the status of women at work in general? In all ex-Soviet states women had to cope with many, heavy social and cultural restrictions with varying consequences for their labour market. I take women in Belarus as an example: After the collapse of Communism, Belarus has exhibited severe political and social instability and it is reported the status of women on the labour market is even worse than before the 1989 social revolution when women workers were extensively affected by poverty.¹⁰⁹⁰ The situation is not much better among worker women in Ukraine. The revolution has not been able to help woman workers. On the other hand, it is also reported that the social political transformation has given rise to new models and ideals in all ex-Soviet states, although citizens were disappointed and felt betrayed by the initial outcomes of the revolution. E.g. Sociologist Vladimir Tismaneanu's description of the situation in ‘the Revolution of 1989’ runs as follows:

“...no matter what the men and women of the revolution of 1989 had hoped, the results of their endeavours have turned out to be extremely disappointing, allowing for political scoundrels to make it and use the new opportunities to establish their dominations”¹⁰⁹¹.

It looks as though the deep disappointment of Ukrainian citizens could be one reason why some new Social Movements made a quick start allowing among others the Messianic Jewish Movement to rapidly emerge because it somehow adopted a dream of social revolution implicitly, not officially.

De facto, everybody was surely dreaming of a better pension, of being employed in any job, of having more resources to live with. I refer back to sociologist Lynne Attwood's critique of the Ukrainian society¹⁰⁹². The economic situation and other social, political, economic, and gender reasons for example, create a productive environment for the trafficking¹⁰⁹³ of vulnerable women in Ukraine. Obviously, there may be an *everlasting war* somewhere (societal conflict of interests and needs) between the two genders in the secular world. In turn, I did not notice any such matters among people in the Messianic movement, neither have I read articles about that¹⁰⁹⁴ although in discussion questions of sex/gender roles were often present. I rather understood that they were disappointed in the system that had deceived them and where they had been forced to live... long time. By the same token, negativism among non-Jewish women in Ukraine is rooted in the failure of the Soviet Union as a society of democracy and equality. It is important to pay attention to the fact that Ukraine, as a post-Colonial, post-Totalitarian and post-Communist country seems to generate bigger burdens for non-Jewish women than for Jewish women (in their community) even if Jews are assimilated, but nevertheless greatly rejoice that ‘slavery’ has finally ceased in Ukraine. Thus, to find their own ethnicity and its recognition gives a whole new positive meaning and personal power for their experience of existence. In this situation ethnicity lifts as a position of a victory over the destructive Soviet forces and this makes the price of living in the middle of anti-Semitism easier to overcome.

From the point of view of non-Jewish women's history in Ukraine it shows *bitterness* of citizens has more or less fed the search for culprits, culpable persons or group/s within society. Evidence shows women activists behave in this way and have struggled aggressively to achieve their own interests¹⁰⁹⁵ and generally they also present many accusations. Pavlychko has the following criticism that the ‘Soviet reality’, the ‘Homo Sovieticus’ and ‘Totalitarianism’ still exist in the social structure and human attitudes and

¹⁰⁸⁸ Pushkareva 1997, 258f.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Skocpol 1979, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Smith T., Sonnenfeld, and Pellow 2006, 97ff.

¹⁰⁹¹ Tismaneanu 1999, 2.

¹⁰⁹² Attwood 1996, 255-266.

¹⁰⁹³ Rudd 2003.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Perhaps criticism will emerge later.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Feminism in Ukraine. See: Polyakova 2009.

remain a profound social stratification of society ...but also parts of the community is a fertile tool for totalitarian consciousness.¹⁰⁹⁶ On the other hand, Kateryna Motrych's article in the *Zhinka* (Woman) monthly magazine in January of 1992 insists that women in Ukraine have not lost their dreams and look to the future. True, history shows, if people have dreams they can overcome bitterness and move on. Motrych emphasizes that woman has a great hugely responsible mission in the family referring to authentic Ukrainian womanhood and Ukrainian femininity with ancient mythical symbols:¹⁰⁹⁷

"The Ukrainian woman has a responsible mission...In a free and democratic Ukraine, the first thing that we must do is to liberate women from heavy and debilitating work, and provide the means that will enable them to devote themselves to child-rearing for the first seven years of the child's life. So commands the Almighty God. Our ancestors knew well that during these initial seven years it was the mother's biosphere that protected her children from disease, and healed them...The salvation of our nation is – Woman¹⁰⁹⁸."

SUMMARIZING: The identity of non-Jewish women in Ukraine is being shaped in the middle of often quite miserable human history with Females struggling against the State monopolised by Males.

How about Jewish women in this scenario: What are their struggle and coping mechanisms?

Identity of Jewish Women

To be Feminine like the Biblical Matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel

In their works, Rubchak and Pavlychko analyze women in Ukraine, but not just from the viewpoint of ethnic minorities. Likewise, Rosalind Marsh's study,¹⁰⁹⁹ consisting of 21 analyses of women in Ukraine and in Russia, gives only tiny references to ethnic, Jewish women. It seems that Jewish women are not visible in social discussion in Ukraine or in the East.¹¹⁰⁰ The reason could be that Ukrainian and Jewish women have been categorised for long time under the same subject (Soviet citizens) without an ethnic emphasis. Why should a distinction be made? This study however differentiates between Jewish women and non-Jewish women in Ukraine and therefore addresses what kind of identity do Jewish women have.

As mentioned in previous studies of Jewish women the course of Jewish women's lives has historically passed through different periods starting from patriarchal Judaic society through secular Soviet society and ending up with the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukrainian transition society. From the long term perspective, every historical period has applied its own emphasis to women's identity. During those periods, Jewish women certainly searched for their authentic model of womanhood. Authenticity is a concept used widely in sciences, as in religions (Rabbinic Judaism, Messianic Judaism and Christianity) and social sciences.¹¹⁰¹ 'Authentic' comes from the Greek word 'authentikos' meaning, inter alia, 'genuine' or 'original'. Synonyms or connotations of authenticity in this context are: honesty, fidelity, reliability, trustworthiness, genuineness. On the other hand a human being is always somehow incomplete, not a fully authentic 'natural man' because in principle authenticity is a characteristic of God, it means truth, fullness, beauty, love, joy and ecstasy.¹¹⁰²

'Authenticity' in philosophy began to develop towards the end of the eighteenth century. Philosopher Brian J. Braman states that authenticity is built on earlier forms of individualism. It has connections to Romanticism. It is identical with subjectivity. Authenticity is solipsistic which takes the view that the

¹⁰⁹⁶ Pavlychko 1996, 305-314.

¹⁰⁹⁷ See this whole text in: Rubchak 1996, 319.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Rubchak 1996, 319.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Marsh (ed.). 1996.

¹¹⁰⁰ American, European, Israeli Jewish women have been studied by many scientists, like Baskin (eds.). 1998, Hyman 1998, Kaplan 1991, 1998; Melammed 1999. Russian women while marginally referring to Ukrainian women and/or Jewish women have been studied - Engel (Alpern Engel), B. 2004, Pavlychko 1996, Pushkareva 1997. Ukrainian Jewish women are marginal in all studies.

¹¹⁰¹ Cf. Rubchak 1996, 315.

¹¹⁰² Dubay 1997, 26.

'self' is the only reality of existence.¹¹⁰³ Stuart Z. Charmé, scholar of religion, states that authenticity has become the key term for post-modern re-constructions and 'renewals' of Jewish identity.¹¹⁰⁴ Authentic Judaism was presented in the 1960s by Rabbi Leoard B. Gewirtz.¹¹⁰⁵ A Catholic Scholar of Biblical theology Thomas Dubay writes that most people want to be authentic, but few attain authenticity in any fullness. The term of authenticity is not much interpreted in various texts of Messianic Judaism.

According to Dubay, authenticity has nine dimensions, which I shall apply to the context of Messianic Jews: Spiritual direction (Yeshua, the Holy Spirit); Growth in prayer (the sign of the Holy Spirit); The worship of the Father, Interpreting Scripture (JHWH's word as a Divine and human task); Giving advice (in all wisdom¹¹⁰⁶); Seeking advice (living the truth); Speech and silence (inner authenticity shows itself in outer words); The wide vision (authenticity implies wholeness, comprehensiveness, large-mindedness); Vocational fidelity (one's own vocation).¹¹⁰⁷ Dubay further insists that authenticity refers to God because God is Authenticity.¹¹⁰⁸

Jewish religion scholar, Sherwin maintains authentic Jewish deeds can only flow from authentic Jewish religious thought¹¹⁰⁹ so, 'Jewish theology can play a role in helping to determine the authenticity of various beliefs and practices that dominate the Jewish communal agenda'¹¹¹⁰. Returning to David H. Stern he emphasises that Messianic Jews have underscored authenticity¹¹¹¹ and claim to be 'authentic Jews.'¹¹¹² It might be said that Stern means that Messianic Jews are *bren* (Yiddish), persons who have great vitality, charisma and energy for serving Yeshua.

This study's analyses show that Jewish women are searching for their authentic model of a Jewish woman during this present historical transition period, not only spiritually, but also concretely in every day practices. Then, although authenticity includes characteristics of women they are however manifest in society and positive characteristics affect/react positively on social action. In this sense, authenticity of Jewish women would represent pre-conditional factors which are opposed to ex-Soviet views on women, as if it happens in a social counter-movement. From the material available I have found that authenticity of Jewish women includes such factors as: Jewish vulnerability, confessing Jewishness, female Jewish spirituality¹¹¹³ and Jewish femininity.

I describe these factors and reiterate that Rabbinic and Messianic Jewish women share the traditional heritage of Jewishness in womanhood and femininity together, plus the vulnerability of being Jewish. Although every wounded woman has her own story many wounded women were tied/linked together with their past as oppressed, and persecuted Jews often experiencing some kind of social misery. Additionally, we have to remember that huge numbers of Ukraine's Jews perished in the Shoah, killed by Germans and also by their Ukrainian neighbours. With informant's Olga words: 'The Germans killed her mother. *She still remembers* her feelings'¹¹¹⁴. Vulnerability is however not only an emotional wound (a paralysing state of mind), but also a socially handicapping limitation that brings dubiety in how to react, how to cope with living and how to manage in different kinds of situations. From the point of view of women studies Christian theology and scholar of spirituality, Kwok Pui-lan confirms the understanding that *women's experiences are historically constructed*.¹¹¹⁵ Those experiences which stem from things women know in practise construct their identity.

¹¹⁰³ Braman 2008, 3-6.

¹¹⁰⁴ Charmé 2000.

¹¹⁰⁵ Gewirtz 1961.

¹¹⁰⁶ Col. 3:16.

¹¹⁰⁷ Dubay 1977, 30-35.

¹¹⁰⁸ Dubay 1997, 25.

¹¹⁰⁹ Sherwin 2009, 37.

¹¹¹⁰ Sherwin 2009, 37.

¹¹¹¹ Stern, D. H. 2007.

¹¹¹² Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a, xii; Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2000a 167-181; Stern, D. H. 2007.

¹¹¹³ Umansky 1998, 2009; Umansky and Ashton (eds.). 2009.

¹¹¹⁴ In the archive of the author, 2000. FSR NO2/16.

¹¹¹⁵ Kwok 2005, 55.

Here the serious question must be dealt with as to how to cope with living as a Jew with Ukrainian neighbours whose fathers and grandfathers killed their Jewish family members.¹¹¹⁶ Jews know that one way has been to keep a low profile and another is to go to where other Jews seem to have gone: To Messianic Jews. According to my analysis women (in this ‘wounded women’ category) have a great interest in Messianic Judaism although understandably some of them do not want to speak much about their personal background.¹¹¹⁷ Marina is one of them. I met her in the Messianic gospel festival and afterwards stayed overnight at her home. She carried all the time in her hands the Jewish Bible on the cover of which was a picture of the Star of David. I felt she was a woman who is looking for the way out from her emotionally stressful situation. He was unsure and excited at the same time. The atmosphere at her home was creepily oppressive and her husband and daughter aggressively denied all Jewishness by shouting anti-Semitic remarks at us (*Verbal harassment* is one form of phenomena of anti-Semitism¹¹¹⁸). I felt afraid. Despite this Marina gave a strong impression that she may have somehow ethnic Jewish roots which she could not reveal in this family.¹¹¹⁹ Perhaps studying the Bible gave her inner strength. The Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine has encouraged women to *undergo deep inner philosophical change to let their humanity be transformed*.¹¹²⁰

Every single individual has their story:

Informant Julia’s father is Jewish; she is a 34 year old mother and not the only woman who exposed her case with the sentence: ‘*I made a decision to be a Jew*’. If you have some Jewish roots, but if you have assimilated then in ‘new’ Ukraine 2000 you have to choose which side you are on. Julia chose to identify with her Jewish heritage. She said: “Often people in Ukraine do not know if they are Jewish or not, or if they are a little Jewish. This question is a little problematic to me too. I made a decision to be a Jew”¹¹²¹.

Informant Tanya is another who had changed her life direction. First, she worked in a cosmetic company, but after understanding that she wanted to grow as a human being, she said that she adopted new Jewish values into her life. Although she did not know her Jewish background with any certainty she started to take care of old and needy people presumably because of a Messianic congregation’s support. Charity work had become close to her heart. Tanya belonged to the group of intercessory prayers of this congregation.¹¹²²

Generally *identity work* may be a very stressful experience. In this situation spirituality seemed to strengthen the women’s inner life. I met women who spoke about the Holy Spirit and as I have observed in other Diaspora countries I heard how some Messianic Jewish women prayed with holy tongues. In this context we could refer to women’s spiritual empowerment. Some Messianic Jewish women acted and behaved as if they were ‘spiritual mothers’, mentors or supervisors. Especially, the wives of pastors/Rabbis in Messianic congregations seemed often to be that type of person. I think, their attitudes and behaviour were mature and they could give counselling to others. What was the most striking to the neutral researcher was that those mature personalities even in extremely difficult circumstances were able to express and teach *gratitude*.

¹¹¹⁶ Anti-Semitic attitudes in Ukraine reveal how the history of Ukraine is not yet openly discussed; at least some non-Jewish Ukrainian citizens have blind-spots with the Jewish question. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/71-73. Also in: Khasin 1998.

¹¹¹⁷ Many Jews don’t tell their Jewish origins (because they have a ‘phobia’), and they use deception (they only want to emigrate). In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/20.

Read: Zborowski and Herzog 2003. See: Life is with people.

¹¹¹⁸ According to the report of the USA between the first July 2003 and the 15th December 2004 anti-Semitic *verbal harassment* occurred in 28 different states of Europe and Eurasia. In: Kuperinen 2008, 362. FRA, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights collects and handles material from anti-Semitic attacks in Europe. See: FRA.

¹¹¹⁹ In the archive of the author, 2000.

¹¹²⁰ Needleman 2009, xiii.

¹¹²¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/43.

¹¹²² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/43.

As has been mentioned before, gratitude has a deep source in Judaism. Scholar of Judaism Solomon Schimmel states that gratitude may serve as one of the keys to human flourishing.¹¹²³ Psychologists Rollin McCarty and Doc Childre underline the psycho-physiologist effects of gratitude: "...you feel a deep sense of peace and internal balance – you are at harmony with yourself, with others and with your larger environment"¹¹²⁴. These words sound similar to the content of Shalom which includes gratitude and the purpose is to grow towards it.

A Rabbi's wife, Informant Sarah's behaviour and attitudes toward life included according to my observation much joyful gratitude, which she showed for example reading Psalms of thanks-giving. She also taught women to offer gratitude to JHWH for His beneficence and love, although women would have many family and social problems in Ukraine. Gratitude/thankfulness/gratefulness is according to studies in relation to experienced *well-being* and these attributes may prevent depression and feelings of being under too heavy burdens.¹¹²⁵ Informant Sarah was concerned that if a woman does not know JHWH's mercy, so she can not be grateful to JHWH for her life and everything. Sarah thought this could be one reason for women not understanding their place in the family well enough. Sarah was a mentor; she gave me jokingly the following prescription to enable women to grow into being a perfect wife.¹¹²⁶ But according to her women can learn it and every woman can enjoy her feminine survival in everyday life.

As a matter of fact, these ten 'good wife' precepts belong to the old Jewish, Rabbinic heritage with a dose of healthy Jewish humour:

1: Be cautious when your husband is annoying. At this moment, be neither cheerful, nor quarrelsome - smile and speak quietly. 2. Do not keep a husband waiting for a meal. Famine is father of anger. 3. Do not wake him up when he is sleeping. 4. Be cautious with his money. Do not hide monetary affairs from him. 5. Keep his secrets. If he brags hold it also as a fiduciary 6. Does not approve his enemies, and do not hate his friends. 7. Do not object him, and do not approve that your advice is better than his. 8. Do not expect the impossible from him. 9. If you will be attentive to his requests, he will become your slave. 10. Do not speak anything that would wound him. If you will behave with him as with a King, he will treat you as a *Queen*.

Identity of Jewish women stems from their reality. Therefore Geertz emphasises from the point of view of research that it is important to know what people think and say of their experiences of reality.¹¹²⁷ In 2000 informant Hannah points out Messianic Jewish women are constructing *their new reality*. They do this when they express their aspiration to grow into a feminine identity, to become 'just women'¹¹²⁸ after being more or less neutral Soviet citizens.¹¹²⁹ Matters concerning feminine personal and collective identity, meaning here *feminine self* and *Jewish self*, were often met in discussions in one way or another: 'Jewish women should just be women.' Women seemed to struggle individually and collectively in order to discover their feminine Jewish identity and Jewish femininity at home and in society. With a view to discovering the dignity and worth in woman and womanhood via finding out feminine potential they increasingly employed tools for self-understanding and self-development by which they could skim off undesirable masculine elements from their feminine being.

Messianic Jewish women read the Bible which, in their opinion, clearly describes feminine role models for women (matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and others).¹¹³⁰ This model includes also moral factors of sexuality, because traditionally sexuality is an important aspect in Jewishness since Genesis with the

¹¹²³ Schimmel 2004, 37.

¹¹²⁴ McCarty, J. D. and Childre 2004, 231.

¹¹²⁵ Emmons and McCullough 2003; Emmons and McCullough (eds.). 2004.

¹¹²⁶ In 1620 CE a Jew from Poznan, Yitzhak Ben Elyakim, wrote a small book for his daughter. This book 'Kind heart' became extremely popular on the spot among Jewish women and was repeatedly republished in the 17th century. Also Prov. 31:10-31.

¹¹²⁷ Geertz 1988, and also: Bishop 1999, 150.

¹¹²⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/10.

¹¹²⁹ Cf. writings of the Tillie Olsen, who was a daughter of Russian Jewish emigrants and political refugees about 'Identity and memory – What makes a woman herself?', in Baskin and Tenenbaum (eds.). 1994, 107.

¹¹³⁰ In Ukraine many women referred to Queen Ester, who was beautiful, clever and wise. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/53.

story of the creation of man and woman.¹¹³¹ A Biblical and satisfactory sexual life according to traditional Rabbinic Judaism and Messianic Judaism, takes places within a marital relationship, between a man and a woman in a committed relationship.¹¹³²

One example of ‘good’ Jewish women is Eshet Chayil¹¹³³ (a woman of valour), which is a legend but also a role model of Jewish feminine identity as a perfect wife. Another example is the fighting women, Deborah and Jael,¹¹³⁴ which are portrayed as strong independent builders of society. The third example is the Hebrew ‘Lappidoth’, which according to Biblical scholar Jonathan Kirsch seems to refer to Deborah’s qualities of courage and daring.¹¹³⁵ Accordingly, more recently, historians have highlighted a ‘double’ vision which sees Jewish women not only in the spheres of public and private, but also in a more complex social reality in ‘connecting spheres’.¹¹³⁶ For example, women’s charitable endeavours in society can be reinterpreted as public and even political extensions in Ukraine. In this way, ordinary Jewish women are like social workers, mostly laity, few are professionals. It is necessary however to note that the Biblical stories about the poor,¹¹³⁷ sinners¹¹³⁸ and sick¹¹³⁹ underscore the fact that Jewish culture not only values successful people, but their eyes and conscience also look¹¹⁴⁰ on needy ones.

If we juxtapose two groups, so it is often seen in different sociological comparisons that ‘we’ are better than ‘those’ in some way. Ranking to be better can rise from deep inside your heart. Referring to this issue, there is also another Jewish Esther than the Biblical Esther (a category ‘we’) in the memoir by Masha Gessen who gives a good example of a fundamental old identity of *Jewess* (a category ‘those’). This Russian ‘secular’, ex-Soviet women’s Esther in her heart sounds like an authentic ancient voice of Jewishness. “...the grandmother Esther was married with a non-Jewish Russian man...she could never explain completely to him how Esther’s Jewish origin, the language which she did not understand, and the religion, for which she did not care and a far-off country, could anyway be in the centre of his experience of existence.”¹¹⁴¹

The situation of informant Vera is different:

Informant Vera (76 year old) is a quite typical poor Jewish helped by the Messianic Bible Institute. Vera lives in a shabby, poor home and is an example of a person re-rooted into Jewishness after three non-Jewish generations. Vera describes her childhood Jewish family life. Her family was German Jewish and lived in a German village in the western part of Ukraine. She knew that her father was originally a butcher and at that time, it was an important ritual task in the Jewish community. She knew that her parents kept some cattle, but when the Communists came they took everything. Later marrying a non-Jewish Ukraine Vera changed her Hebrew name to a Russian one. Today, she does not have any nationality written in her identity card however she said she is Jewish from both of her parents (a pure Jew). Vera can speak Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian, Polish, German, and Yiddish and

¹¹³¹ Gen. 1: 27. “And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. 28. And God blessed them: and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the heavens, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” (According to American Standard Version)

¹¹³² Cf. Malka Landau 2009, 96.

¹¹³³ Eshet Chayil (a woman of valor) is a model of a perfect wife (Prov. 31:10-31). See: Eshet Chayil 2010.

¹¹³⁴ Read: Judg. 4-5.

¹¹³⁵ Read: Judg. 4-5. Kirsch 2001.

¹¹³⁶ Cf. Boxer and Quataert 1987, 2000.

¹¹³⁷ Read: Job 29: 12. Because I delivered the poor that cried, The fatherless also, that had none to help him. (According to American Standard Version)

¹¹³⁸ Read: Psalm 25:8. Good and upright is Jehovah: Therefore will he instruct sinners in the way. (According to American Standard Version)

¹¹³⁹ Read: Matt. 10: 1. “And he called unto him his twelve disciples, and gave them authority over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of disease and all manner of sickness.” (According to American Standard Version) Deut. 32: 39. “See now that I, even I, am he, And there is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal; And there is none that can deliver out of my hand.” (According to American Standard Version)

¹¹⁴⁰ The ‘*voice and the eye*’ is a term in Alain Touraine’s (1981) analysis concerning the Social Movements.

¹¹⁴¹ Gessen 2006, 356. Translated and written freely by the author of this study.

describes her inner feelings as an emotional struggle with herself every day because she does not have any Jewish identity card and according to her that is the reason she cannot move to Germany. It is her deepest desire and wish. At the end of my visit, she dances and sings old, famous Yiddish *freilings* like 'Tumbalalaika' and 'Jerusalem' touchingly with joy and vitality. Vera says she believes in JHWH but not in Yeshua.¹¹⁴²

This study reinforced the view that for Jews to survive in society they have at all times had to adapt to changing political and social circumstances. However, in 2000 Messianic and other religious Jews (women and men) want to show and prove their Jewish identity openly, if they are able to do it. Within the transformation has come a sense of being and of wanting recognition. There were some signs that Jewishness became more or less fashionable. There is perhaps a question of the self-glorification of Jewishness. As mentioned before, the beloved one (Jewishness) is found again. Young boys wore traditional Jewish pants, jackets and hats. They wanted to be genuinely real traditional Jews in their appearance and behaviour. Young women grew their hair long and tried to find original elements in their self-identity. They wanted to achieve something, which no longer exists, from the past history. This was seen also in the Messianic congregations¹¹⁴³ and seemed touching and charming, especially as the revolution had occurred hardly 10 years ago.

Knowledge is a key word in the process to adopt characteristics of Biblical matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel. If Jewish women want to discover their Jewish femininity, womanhood and motherhood with Jewish characteristics of these role models, according to Hannah every woman needs *more knowledge*. Accordingly, in order to receive spiritual insight (intuition), understanding and wisdom from the Ruach Ha Kodesh women need education. I also see a slight connotation with scholar of Eastern European Jewry Shaul Stampfer's emphasis with the concept 'beautiful Jews': "'Beauty' for them (Eastern European Jews) was not an aesthetic characteristic of physical features but a reflection of the behaviour, manners, and particularly the Talmudic knowledge of the 'beautiful' Jew."¹¹⁴⁴

But who wants to study in transition society? According to informants and my findings in general Jews are studious people. Among the characteristics they are conscious of is an actively enquiring mind (intelligence) and generally they are concerned with broad issues and events in the world. In this matter there is no difference between secular and religious Jews.¹¹⁴⁵ At that time informant Miriam told that 'reading' is her one coping method.¹¹⁴⁶

SUMMARIZING this, I find the process to develop a new kind of Jewish woman includes an increasing awareness of what values from their previous existence women want to remove and what new values they want to re-establish or develop and adopt in their new lifestyle. Messianic women believe Biblical female role models will help them in this great progressive task which is a current process. The aim through this process for Messianic women is to create and produce goals for a properly constructive family life in keeping with traditional values.

¹¹⁴² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/5.

¹¹⁴³ See: Jewish Folk Music Festival in Ukraine 2010.

¹¹⁴⁴ Deutsch N. 2011, in: Stampfer 2010, 147. The Talmud can be replaced here by the Bible.

¹¹⁴⁵ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/9.

¹¹⁴⁶ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/15.

5.3. The Mission View

5.3.1. The Emergence of the Mission View

This chapter presents the main results of long-lasting and broad-based research process by which the research questions are (see chapter 2.1): 1) What is the Mission view of Messianic Jewish women? 2) Why and how did it emerge? 3) How do women produce family welfare according to this Mission view? 4) What are the ideal types of Messianic Jewish women for contributing welfare to society? The Mission view is defined here as consisting of the goals of Jewish women, and an *ideal typology* describes, how women achieve their goals.¹¹⁴⁷

The research questions are wide-ranging and multi-layered, and so are the main results. Methodological solutions have motivated a systematic and structured process in order to arrive at the scientifically valid final conclusions. The next figure 2 represents aspects of the emergence of the Mission view, which are derived from a theoretical and empirical knowledge basis: History of Ukraine; religious and social situation after the Russian revolution and the independence; women's and families' testing life conditions; the need to improve family life; and finally, Jewish family-centered traditional and religious heritage. The broader view (the people of JHW) shown in figure 2 includes three aspects to Jewish people: 1) Religion of Jews, and Messianic Judaism as one branch of religion, 2) The Jewish Culture and Tradition including the so-called Jewish mind, the status and tasks of Jews and Jewish women in the community, and 3) The 'Global Belongingness' to the Jewish People which are based on social memory, collective experiences of the past generations and of present social conditions, and finally Jewish women's devotion to family and home. These aspects and factors are explicitly described in figure 3 and usually they are shown explicitly and implicitly in the texts of this study intertwining together in empirical and theoretical material (data).

It is important to return again to the fact the emergence of the Mission view is linked with a process of social inter-action, I remind about the theories of Geertz, Berger and Luckmann. Sociologist Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian bring to this study concept 'emergent norm' proposing that the 'milling' process will find its stability when 'an emergent norm' will arise from chaotic reality.¹¹⁴⁸ Correspondingly, intellectual Raymond Williams provides a larger view offering the concept of an 'emergent culture,' which is a larger concept than an emergent norm. According to Williams we require not only distinct kinds of immediate cultural practice, but also crucially new forms or adaptation of forms.¹¹⁴⁹ True, as we see in Ukraine the whole culture is changing; everything in Jewish life is undergoing change; Jewish religion, tradition, the way of life and education. So, the Mission view is a product of an emergent new culture with a new emergent norm, which are however still in shaping process.

We can see from figure 2 that the core of the Mission view is defined with the words *family welfare*; it is not a new concept in the Jewish context, but in western social policy 'family policy' is perhaps more common. However 'family policy' is often understood to be more a technical term concerning social services from the point of view of economic redistribution, legislation, custody issues, and other social security systems' benefits. Improvements cannot, however, be only obtained by a single form of family policy service or by targeting financial transfers to a family. As seen from the Ukraine and by comparing its social problems to Western societies, it is easy to be convinced family welfare is much more than money. The concept family welfare would be seen as the practical tool which brings us not only the scientific opportunity to analyse welfare as a whole and most especially how citizens' feel concerning the state of their welfare and well-being, but also the tool for adjusting practical social policy. For example, to recognize how citizens personally and subjectively react to perhaps the condition of poverty (we see: Poverty

¹¹⁴⁷ In search of an ideal typology we have to look at history wherein 'Jewish type' (Ger. Jüdische Typus) or 'original Jew' (Ger. Urjüde) were known as concepts that had led researchers to conclude that environmental and cultural factors mostly accounted for so-called cultural characteristics. Deutsch N. 2011, 58ff.

¹¹⁴⁸ Turner and Killian 1987.

¹¹⁴⁹ Milner 2004, 270 in: Elliott, A. and Ray (eds.). 2004. Williams, R. 1977.

gives rise to multiples of social and moral problems) we could discover and develop different kinds of new tools to improve citizen's general living conditions, not only with methods of social security policy (although important, they are not enough), but by seeking to directly improve family welfare. Family welfare is dependent mostly on the lifestyle, values, coping methods and goals in life, plus a world view: Unlike material entities the above attributes are not found on a shelf or from social service institutions, but must be a part of an individual citizen's overall personal strategy (coping mechanism).

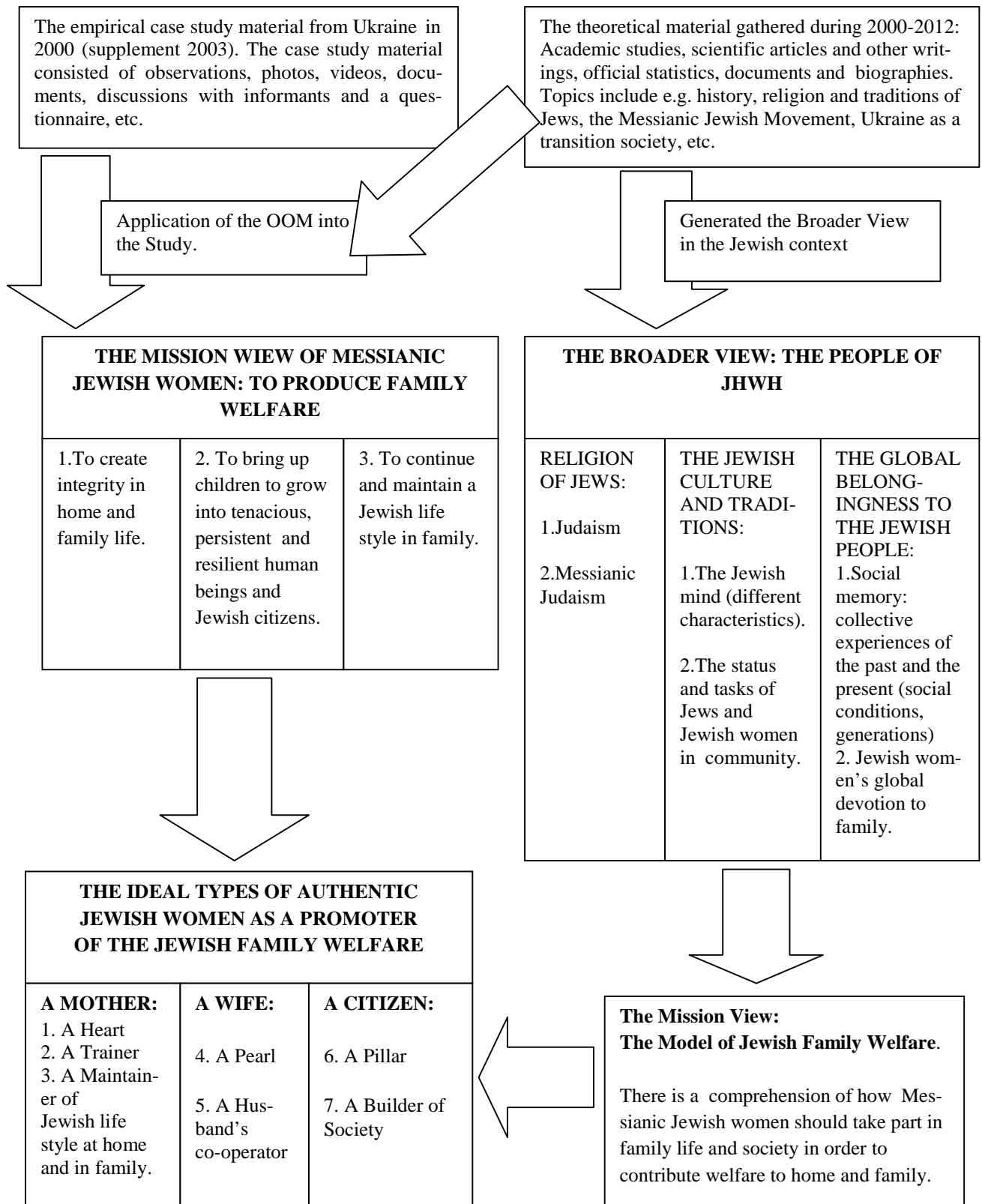


Figure 2. The Emergence of the Mission View of Messianic Jewish Women in the modern Messianic Jewish Movement in Ukraine in 2000.

In respect of loving kindness I am referring to women's individual social work: *loving care*, with eminent deity manifest at their home will increase as an important educative instrument which aims to provide guidance and helps children and other family members to internalize such wisdom that they need for their life. It is more a question of the whole of citizen's life with continuity of traditional Jewish family life; and of women's tasks to adopt ideal types of Jewish women. From the point of view of women's aspirations "the Bible also does not defend the *status quo* for the idea of social revolution is integral to Biblical thoughts."¹¹⁵⁰ This sentence implies that Biblical women have social revolutionary power. Family welfare includes different revolutionary goals - compared to the situation in Ukraine - which Messianic Jewish women should achieve. They are presented in figure 2 as follows: 1) To create integrity in the home and family life, 2) To bring up children to grow into persistent, resilient human beings and Jewish citizens, and, 3) To continue and maintain a Jewish lifestyle in the family.

I unite these goals with the concept of *authenticity*, one of widely adopted concepts in Jewish literature (see for example David H. Stern), that for authenticity protests against characteristics which are not acceptable or desired. Therefore, the aim is for women to find the ideal model of Jewish women with *full authenticity* as the promoter of family welfare. The ideal typology which is generated from the empirical source material consists firstly of the ideal type of a mother as a heart, as a trainer, and as a maintainer of a Jewish lifestyle at home; secondly of the ideal type of a wife as a 'pearl' (a superb element within the family unit), and as a husband's co-operator; and thirdly the ideal type the 'citizen' as a pillar and as a builder of society. I deal with these later in the chapter 5.3.2

Figure 3 illustrates the concept of the family welfare linked with environmental issues, which are connected with the model of the OOM in its three area/categories: context, shell and core. Firstly, the concepts are generated from the context's political history, socio-cultural, economic and religious factors. These factors exert influence on the emergence of Messianic Jewish women's Mission view. Primarily such factors like the Shoah, suffering, Jewish traditions and heritage as well as poverty and Judaism (ancient and Rabbinic) have a lot of weight in the Messianic Jewish women's thinking and decision-making process in shaping the Mission view. Secondly, the concepts are generated from the shell's adherents, leaders, structure and social objects factors. Primarily such factors like assimilated ex-Soviet Jews, intellectuals from America, freedom and support from the USA, and Jewish symbolism have a lot of weight in the Messianic Jewish women's thinking and decision-making process in shaping the Mission view.

Thirdly, the concepts are generated from the core's ideology (Messianic Judaism with Messianism, Canaanism and Zionism) and identity (the feminine identity of Messianic Jewish women including vulnerability, recognition of Jewishness, female Jewish spirituality and Jewish womanhood have a lot of weight in the Messianic Jewish women's thinking and decision-making process in shaping the Mission view.

¹¹⁵⁰ Frymer-Kensky 2002, xv.

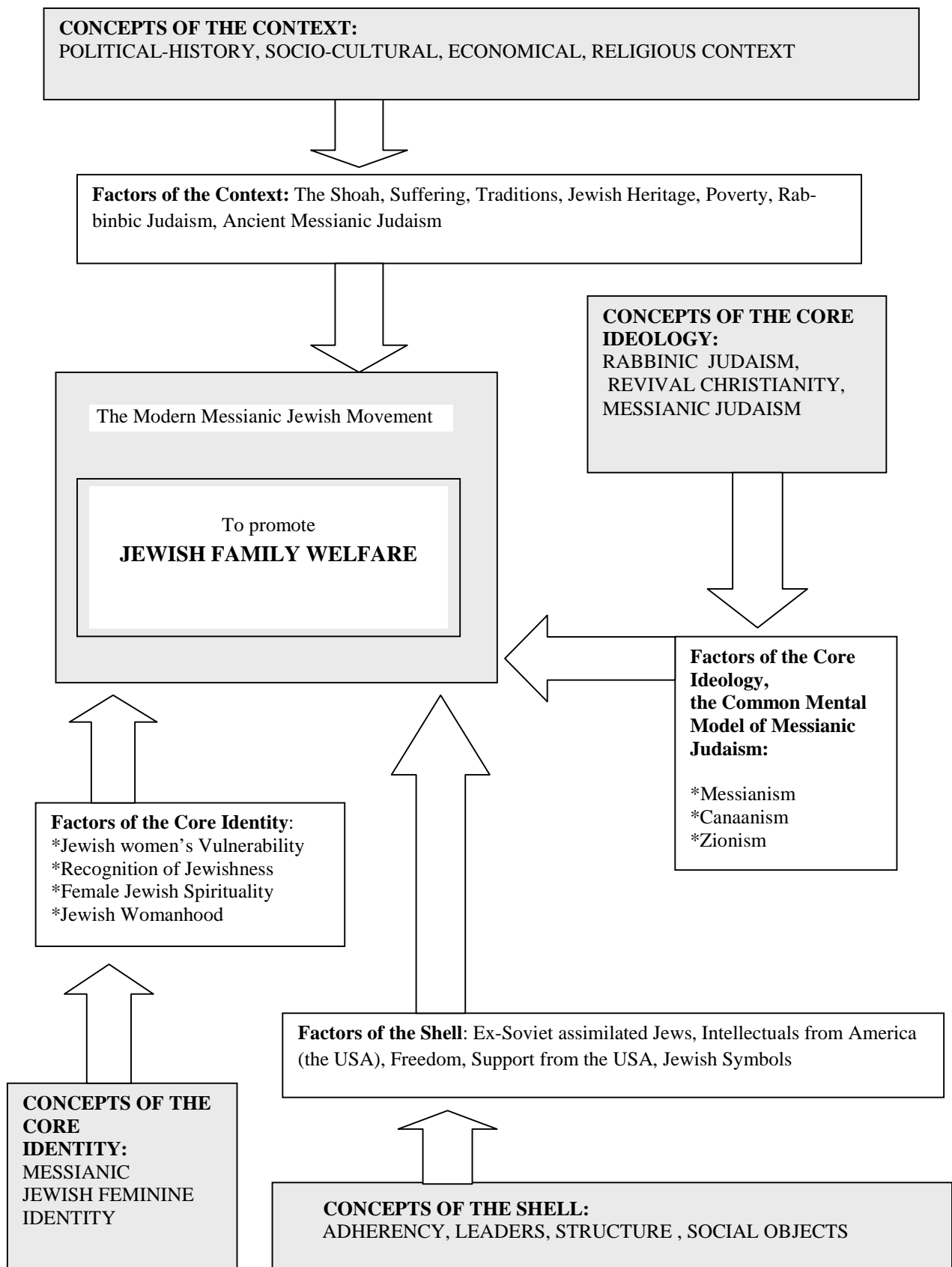


Figure 3. Basic Concepts and Factors of Jewish Family Welfare in the Context, the Shell and the Core of the OOM.

5.3.2. Seven Ideal Types of Authentic Messianic Jewish Women

Ideal Typology of Women¹¹⁵¹

To use in this social political study ideal typology is the practical way to present concretely the main goals of Jewish women according to their vision. The seven ideal types of authentic Messianic Jewish women¹¹⁵² are described in Figure 2 and Table 4.

In social policy studies *ideals* of family and mothers are quite rare, but not totally exceptional. Messianic Jewish women's emphasis is quite near for example to Nel Noddings' work 'Starting at Home: Caring and Social Policy' that focuses on the ideal of mother's invaluable position in family from the point of view of children. From the point of view of Noddings' studies as well Messianic Jewish women's thinking we could categorize them in the new Social Movements, more specifically, to Biblical Feminism and in this direction to Complementarianism. The Biblical Feminism and Complementarianism highlights that religion is a part of our culture and therefore we should teach religion to our off-spring.

Additionally, this empirical case of Ukraine shows that religiosity of Jews correlates strongly with voluntarism. Basically 'everything' was made by volunteering, which activates Western society - borrowing Noddings' terminology – to take care of their children 'naturally' and 'ethically,' so that children could feel, *I am here*¹¹⁵³, the mutual presence and reciprocity. Noddings refers to the role of social policy and according to her we should know what part of life in *ideal* homes can be transferred to the wider world and how what has been learned there may guide social policy.¹¹⁵⁴

Sara Ruddick is another Feminist scientist who specialized in '*maternal thinking*', and who emphasizes women have different tasks which target children. They are foremost: 1) preserving the life of the child, 2) promoting her or his growth, and 3) shaping an acceptable child. Also Ruddick offers a view of religion as a cultural and supernatural order in society.¹¹⁵⁵

In table 4 I show the ideal typology including models of women. The types are generated from empirical case material from Ukraine and also from theoretical literature. Thus, the typology describes a deep transformation process which relates to the development of society as a whole. The typology consists of seven ideal types of Jewish women as authentic women.¹¹⁵⁶ We could also use the word the *counter-models* referring to urgent needs and pressure for changing family life in Ukraine, but it is perhaps too close to political terminology like a political protest which does not describe the tender, gentle and supportive atmosphere in the Messianic Jewish Movement. So, from the point of the faith in this connection the counter movement or the counter-models were misleading concepts in this connection.

¹¹⁵¹ In social sciences typologies are often used, like I in my previous studies (Nores 1990, 1993). I agree with sociologist Ted Benton, who emphasises that the ideal type is an abstract model that, when used as a standard of comparison, enables us to see aspects of the real world in a clearer and more systematic way. Benton mentions that things can be described as ideal types by identifying their essential characteristics, their essence, in a pure, somewhat exaggerated form that is unlikely to actually exist anywhere than in our minds (Benton 1977, 150).

¹¹⁵² Referring to the authenticity, see: Chapters 5.2. (Identity of Jewish Women); 5.3.1. (The Emergence of the Mission View) and 6. (Conclusions).

¹¹⁵³ Noddings 2002, also: Montgomery Haltford 1998/1999. The expression *I am here* is practical in two meanings, from the side of a mother and a child. A child would feel, that she or he is at the stage *I am here*, if she or he is respected and becomes heard and seen. Also a child could feel that her or his mother is at the stage *I am here*, if her or his mother is devoted to her or him as a child.

¹¹⁵⁴ Noddings 2002, 230.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ruddick 1980; Ruddick 1989, 78.

¹¹⁵⁶ Authenticity is a priority concept in Messianic Jewish literature. David H. Stern used the concept of an 'authentic Jew' (Stern, D. H. 2007).

Table 4. The Ideal Types of Authentic Jewish Women.

Sphere	I <i>A Mother at home, in the family</i>	II <i>A Wife</i>	III <i>A Citizen in society</i>
The ideal types 1-7	1. A Heart 2. A Trainer 3. A Maintainer of Jewish life style	4. A Pearl 5. A Husband's co-operator	6. A Pillar 7. A Builder of the society

The results of this socio-historical analysis show that Messianic Judaism and welfare are interlaced in society, though this is at times only indirectly visible. The types (a Heart, a Trainer, a Maintainer; a Pearl and a Co-operator; a Pillar and a Builder) represent both an ancient traditional and modern Jewish comprehension of it, what kind of status, position and tasks women should have in order to generate welfare to their families.

So, in order to proceed, Jewish women need their visions and myths in present day Ukraine, so that women could update their traditional image of women in Judaism where one woman's precious value has been seen especially in motherhood. Although historical concepts such as 'the Jewish mother' and the 'Yiddishe mama' are stereotypes they however reflect in the course of time some concrete factors (characteristics) of Jewish women in reality and hoped vision. Also, the concept of Ruddick '*maternal thinking*', is accurately applicable to these stereotypes because at the ideal level it describes aptly Jewish women's devotion to family as self-sacrificing mother.

We Finns do not know such a stereotype of a Finnish mother (although Finnish mothers are very good mothers and grandmothers perhaps in the feminine spirit of ancient Finnish Kanteletar),¹¹⁵⁷ in the country of snow and ice and I would expect most Finns could say the same.¹¹⁵⁸ Instead of this, a Finnish man with his characteristic 'sisu' (in Finnish meaning tenacity, persistence, resilience - a certain 'steadfastness' that are admired characteristics) is known even outside the country. The 'sisu' has become mythologized and refers to the victory against the Russians during the Second World War (the Winter War), but also to ancient historical times and to Finland's national saga-epic, the Kalevala in which a great hero, Väinämöinen (Finnish) is still celebrated today¹¹⁵⁹. It seems that our survival struggle has needed these 'sisu'-sons of their fathers. In the same way, the 'Jewish mother', or the 'Yiddishe mama' has become greatly mythologized; in general culture it is eulogized that they have raised Israeli and Jewish "sisu"-sons and daughters able to struggle and survive in the Diaspora since ancient times.¹¹⁶⁰ One could say: They are builders of *l'art de vivre*.

In 2000, again, Jewish women apparently need this kind of "Yiddishe Mama" heroes who put self-sacrifice on behalf of children and family into centre of their life¹¹⁶¹ and although perhaps idealizing their tasks and status in society they look for ancient role models from the Bible, like matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel as well as Mary (the mother of Yeashua) and Queen Esther who are seen as great givers of love.¹¹⁶²

¹¹⁵⁷ Kanteletar (a Finnish folk poetry) is considered to be a sister collection to Kalevala (the Finnish national epic).

¹¹⁵⁸ Cf. Nätkin 1997, Nätkin and Vuori 2007.

¹¹⁵⁹ Lönnrot 2009. Martin Buber edited Kalevala into German in 1914.

¹¹⁶⁰ See: Winston-Macauley 2007. Also: Herweg 1995.

¹¹⁶¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/15.

¹¹⁶² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/24.

Read: Love and society, e.g. Allardt 1993, see also works of Allardt: 1976a, 1976b, 1981, 1989; Allardt & Uusitalo 1972. Leiby 1984, 526; also in connection to social welfare and social work: Leiby 1967, 1987; 1997, Ruddick 1995, 65-81 (preservative love).

The First Ideal Type as a Mother: A Heart

Next, from the empirical case material by informants I shall present factors which refer to women as the Heart type. These factors describe unambiguously the meaning of motherhood as informants identify it.

I am here –mothers have qualifications and power to communicate with their *I am here* –children. The relationship is not only physical and emotional, but practical too because mothers with great love have responsibility to rear children to meet often the hostile world. Very similar to the ancient Jewish ‘caring-and-sharing’ community and in the Ghetto - where it displayed and utilised such properties as ‘sameness’ and the absence of ‘Others’¹¹⁶³ – Jewish mothers can be admired and revered because their families took care not only of their own, but also of other Jewish families’ children. The empirical material speaks with the voice of informants:

Jewish mothers are warm, kind; they can listen carefully and deeply understanding; mothers enjoy mothering; they are supportive, merciful to others, strong, unique, self-sacrificing; mothers are nice, wise, and they have inner insight; mothers are source of love; they are humble, but smiling persons giving hugs; mothers are comforting people; they are intuitive, flexible, gentle, concerned, patient, skilled in raising children; mothers have power in the heart; they give everything for the good of her children; Jewish mothers have special love for their family creating a sense of comfortableness; they are great love givers; mothers are just and fair; they can cope with everything; a Jewish mother trustworthy; Jewish mothers make good food, they bake good cakes; mothers’ home is in good order and clean; a mother is the centre of the home; they have forgiving faithful to JHWH; they bring the wisdom of JHWH to her family; mother is the most precious and closest friend in family.¹¹⁶⁴

A mother as a Heart includes tasks of natural caring - a sort of caring in intimate circles - which according to Noddings is ‘a form of caring that rises more or less spontaneously out of affection or inclination.’ It concerns both everyday activities as well as to pay attention to the cosmic, spiritual dimension.

As a matter of fact there is no sharp line between traditional and Messianic Judaism when we only observe Jewish traditions and culture. The ‘following’ of JHWH is also much the same. For example, usually both Jewish women in traditional and Messianic Judaism highlight JHWH (God, Jahve, Abba, Father, Lord) not only as the Creator and the Leader of mankind, but also as the Source of intuition. For example quite a lot of informants told that every Jew has a strong sense of inner insight (*intuition*¹¹⁶⁵) as the gifts of JHWH.¹¹⁶⁶ This gift they believe without question leads and helps women, so that they have better opportunities to serve family and bring up children. They also think that Jewish women bring the wisdom of JHWH to the family,¹¹⁶⁷ thus it is thought to help all family members.

To understand how natural the role of a Heart mother is for a Jewess, it is necessary to understand what is unnatural for a woman. In traditional Jewish culture it is natural that a woman fulfils her highest calling which is to participate in marriage and to take care of her children and her husband. In general, a spinster, the unmarried mature female is seen to have a very difficult life and within the community they were considered pitiful.¹¹⁶⁸ Also historian Anna R. Igra shows how deserted women can occupy a limited

¹¹⁶³ Cf. Bauman 2001, 111. Additionally, ‘mothering’, taking exceptional care of their children and husband, or to be real ‘Jewish mothers’, or great ‘Yiddishe mamas’ may sound verbiage for those, who are unacquainted with Judaic historical sources, like the Bible, which elevates motherhood to its own significance place. Cf. The scholar of philosophy and Women Studies Sara Ruddick (1995) and scholar of education Nel Noddings (2002) pay much attention to the role of mother.

¹¹⁶⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

¹¹⁶⁵ In spiritual literature ‘intuition’ is described to be linked with the guidance of the Ruach Ha Kodesh.

¹¹⁶⁶ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/14.

¹¹⁶⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/26. Jews According to Jewish philosophy, Jewish women have Divine power. Cf. Lubarsky 2004.

¹¹⁶⁸ Igra 2007, 11; Igra 2008. Note: Although Igra’s study context does not concern Ukraine, but the USA and New York (in the beginning of the 20th century), many of its findings are universal.

category ‘wives without husbands,’ because marriage is seen as the foundation of a successful society.¹¹⁶⁹ On the other hand poor mothers without husbands (widowed, unwed, deserted) who work to support themselves and their children are regarded as heroic, respectable and worthy.¹¹⁷⁰

This study demonstrates that today at least in Ukraine some Jewish women are still enchanted with their task as a mother because a child is seen as a gift and a creation from JHWH. The first ideal type as a mother, a Heart is rooted in narrations of Biblical archetypes¹¹⁷¹ presented in Judaic literature, Jewish folklore, poems and songs.

Such Biblical feminists like Noddings underline as do informants of this study that Jewish women are often identified as *home-makers*.¹¹⁷² They are like Queens of the home.¹¹⁷³ In Western world where women are educated and where they have more or less high positions in working life they need to go through the painful, inner struggling process of it: How much attention they want to put into their home, family and children and how much they want to invest in their freedom and self-fulfilment outside their home and family. Secular Western Feminism has rather supported women to choose working life instead of family life. This model of a Jewish mother, a Heart, however unambiguously presents an alternative for as historian Hasia Diner and author Beryl Lief Benderly expounds:

“Education increases rather than decreases the number of children Jewish women hope to bear, unlike more educated Christian women who want fewer off-spring. Among Jews, the long-sacred tasks of motherhood and homemaking –the sense of creating and raising a family, though not necessarily of cleaning and maintaining the house they inhabit – remain integral to many people’s conception of fulfilling womanhood –even among those who have shed Shabbat, kashrut,¹¹⁷⁴ niddah,¹¹⁷⁵ and nearly everything else that marks the traditional faith. The more strongly a modern woman feels her Jewishness, the more intensely she wants to make a Jewish home.”¹¹⁷⁶

The home symbolized not only transmission of class and ethnic identity, but the constancy of gender roles and tasks as well.¹¹⁷⁷ In principle, the home would be also for Jewish Heart women a place to fulfil their personal and societal visions and bearing children would be one of them. According to traditional Judaic scriptures to grow and develop as a partner refers to a woman’s noble mission in giving birth to children. This depiction has a love-filled mellifluous frame as it is in Shir-HaShirim (Hebr.)¹¹⁷⁸. A woman is like a beautiful vessel or a house. A woman as a vessel should be filled with her husband’s seed, for wives who bear children are respected and capable wives are jewels in their husband’s crown.¹¹⁷⁹

In my concept I refer here to the extensive/extended home in which Jewish women took care of children who are not their own and not only children, but any of those who were considered in need of help/support. This kind of work can fulfil their life’s purpose. The mystic Leah Sharabi was such a woman; a person, whom it is possible to raise to one role model of Jewish women, although at least in Ukraine they presumably did not know her story. Leah was a homemaker residing in Jerusalem with not only her closest family members, but also offering care to the needy and the poor in the Jewish community. She worked feeding the elderly, mopping their floors, did laundry and arranged caring parcels of clothes to poor young mothers, teaching, and administering to the immigrants who had moved there from all over

¹¹⁶⁹ Igra 2007, 2.

¹¹⁷⁰ Igra 2007, 100.

¹¹⁷¹ Cf. Muukkonen 2004.

¹¹⁷² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/13. Diner and Benderly 2003, 422.

¹¹⁷³ Jewish mothers are called ‘*Queens of homes*’. Cf. historian Holly Snyder’s concept ‘*Queens of the Household*’, Snyder 2001. Also, in the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1.

¹¹⁷⁴ ‘Kashrut’ means Jewish dietary laws. ‘Kosher food’ means food made in Jewish way.

¹¹⁷⁵ ‘Niddah’ refers to the rules of Jewish law concerning ritual purity/menstruation. In common usage, it is said that a woman is a niddah, when she is menstruating.

¹¹⁷⁶ Diner and Benderly 2003, 422.

¹¹⁷⁷ Kaplan 1991, 195, 229.

¹¹⁷⁸ In the Bible: Song of Songs, Song of Solomon.

¹¹⁷⁹ Nidith 1998, 29. Also 1. Gen. 29: 20. refers to the great *love*: “And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to her.” According to American Standard Version.

the Middle East. In this way, Leah restored people's dignity, and she elevated thousands of lives. Leah taught Jewish women placing emphasis especially on a person's emotional soul which according to her should be nourished through human relationships, the nutrition for which is love and belonging together. Leah's story is only one example of female wisdom which is surrounded in oral and written stories since ancient times and influenced a world view on values and social patterns.¹¹⁸⁰ She encapsulated the essence of the Heart mother.

The Second Ideal Type as a Mother: A Trainer

The second ideal type as a mother is to become a good *trainer* of her children.¹¹⁸¹ As mentioned above, traditionally Judaism places great stress upon education and training. Judaic sources state clearly that this does not only mean formal knowledge, but also refers to a person's inner upbringing which needs a special home atmosphere. It is not a surprise that the informants underline that usually Jewish mothers bring the holiness and peace of JHWH (Yeshua), sometimes with prophetic gifts¹¹⁸² to their homes. Niditch points out that prophecy is a form of wisdom.¹¹⁸³ Metaphorically we can see the ideal of the home as a temple, a castle, a asylum, bird's nest, everything that represents security and is considered to be free, safe, and happy. In such homes trainer mothers are able to transfer their unique patterns of Jewish heritage like Haggadah to younger generations, for in Jewish homes learning is highly valued. Home-centric life style is proven in some studies which have compared the average non-Jewish and the average Jewish home. The quality of the home environment including atmosphere differs positively from the non-Jewish family even if both belong to the same socio-economic stratum.¹¹⁸⁴

In Ukraine, I heard the aim would be to grow into Shalom.¹¹⁸⁵ The word *Shalom* has a very wide-ranging meaning: completeness, wholeness, health, peace, welfare, safety soundness, tranquillity, prosperity, perfection, fullness, rest, harmony, and the absence of agitation or discord.¹¹⁸⁶ Perhaps it is best to assume some rather than all these are attained in most homes and even so they are usually judged to be thoroughly positive within a home.

Again the empirical case material is through the voice of informants:

Jewish mothers are teaching persons, asking questions¹¹⁸⁷ and giving answers in the same sentence; mothers ask using the word why; they are skilled in raising children, speaking with articulation; a mother transmits to her children the truth of life, culture, traditions and laws; mothers teach them how to live and how to survive; mother's word is the law, she is severe and tough if necessary, but still smooth, sensitive; a Jewish mother has strong human nature and strong opinions, but is tolerant; children respect and honour mothers; Jewish mothers can bring out the best characteristics of their children, so that they grow up cultivated, eminent and useful persons in society.¹¹⁸⁸

The great sense of coherence in family takes over and lasts *beyond physical separation* between family members. For example, the memoir about Lilli Jahn recounts, how her wise trainer mother, while living as a prisoner in a concentration camp taught her children firmly and lovingly through letters about the

¹¹⁸⁰ Leah Sharabi (1919-1978) lived in Jerusalem. Firestone 2004, 176.

¹¹⁸¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/15.

¹¹⁸² Herweg 1995.

¹¹⁸³ Niditch 1998, 35. Also, some Jewish women, scholars and mystics and also ordinary women, were recipients of heavenly revelations and visions; they were prophets and visionaries in medieval and early modern Judaism.

¹¹⁸⁴ Patai 2007, 302-303.

¹¹⁸⁵ Shalom means peace, but also health, when every piece in me and in my life is in the right position and place, complete, full and in harmony.

¹¹⁸⁶ See: Strong's Concordance 7965.

¹¹⁸⁷ "The Jew answers every question with another question", Edmond Jabès, the Book of Questions.

¹¹⁸⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

skills of everyday life and also how to withstand difficulties and how to maintain health.¹¹⁸⁹ Sociologist Aaron Antonovsky underlines the sense of coherence as a source of health.¹¹⁹⁰ Additionally, the sense of coherence is in studies with a family context from the viewpoint of three dimensions: Comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness by family experts.¹¹⁹¹ From the practical level these concepts fit well with some personal experiences from the period long ago in Jerusalem. I met a 'child' (at that time she was over 70 years old), who went to meet her mother in Tel Aviv (the mother was well over 90 years old). The meeting was sensitively instructive as I noted that this 'child' spoke to her 'mama' as if they really lived in a deep mother and child relationship under the sense of coherence. The relationship included tenderness and as I knew was continued into the next generation for this 70 year old 'child's' own child whom I had also met, so the coherence repeated itself: In fact, through 4 generations for the great grand-daughter aged 14 had also been raised-nurtured in the identical emotionally supportive manner. This was a delightful experience for me and a reminder that motherhood *per se* never ends in some respects. Thus, the sense of coherence is an important element which is able to create mutual understanding and inner health.

Resilience from the point of view of family has also been studied by contemporary scientist and social work scholar Maha N. Younes. According to Younes family and cultural resilience is a mere derivative of commitment to family and Jewish traditions, faith, communication styles and a strong recuperative energy that unites all groups.¹¹⁹² High-risk life situations and challenging life circumstances in which Jews had often to live are demanding and therefore it is understandable that a Jewish mother wants to train her children with all skills, one of them is resilience.¹¹⁹³

The voice of the informants provides the empirical case material:

Jewish mothers are history and tradition tellers; they transmit to their children culture and traditions; they teach their children how to live and survive. As educators,¹¹⁹⁴ Jewish mothers tell instructive stories, which are often based on the Holy Scriptures. Usually, such stories reveal some facts concerning threats or other problems in their lives, underscoring the fact that, although Jewish life is demanding, it can be eminently successful and happy. Jewish mothers teach their children how to be thankful.¹¹⁹⁵

In this connection (the Second Ideal Type as a Mother: A Trainer) I must once again return to *gratitude* as a virtue of Jewish women and presumably one of the strengths by which women are able to support the resilience of their children.¹¹⁹⁶ Jewish mothers give much emphasis to this gratitude aspect in the ideal type role of a Trainer. That's why it is shaping the whole personality and attitude towards family/home, community and society. Referring again to Schimmel, he linked gratitude to human flourishing¹¹⁹⁷. In the same way does McCarty and Childre with attributes of 'harmony' concerning inner life and environment¹¹⁹⁸. Psychologists Nathaniel M. Lambert, Steven M. Graham, Frank D. Fincham and Tyler

¹¹⁸⁹ Doerry 2003.

¹¹⁹⁰ Antonovsky 1979.

¹¹⁹¹ McCubbin, Thompson, Thompson and Fromer (eds.).1998.

¹¹⁹² Younes 2007, 101-118.

¹¹⁹³ Greene 2010. 'A Study in Resilience' by the scholar of social work, Roberta R. Greene.

¹¹⁹⁴ An old female informant told me that Messianic Jewish women focus on education, and the need to grow as a human being. Today many elderly are socially well informed and follow time like this elderly informant who used to read newspapers, go to the theatre, concerts and synagogue, where she met other people. Like many others in Ukraine, she is however very poor. Poverty has not prevented her from being socially active. In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/11.

¹¹⁹⁵ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

¹¹⁹⁶ In religion the object of gratitude is however JHWH. In Dan. 2:23: "I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom..." Jewish women need wisdom, however, fathers have a great role in upbringing of children, but both parents have own responsibilities and tasks in it.

¹¹⁹⁷ Schimmel 2004, 37.

¹¹⁹⁸ McCarty and Childre 2004, 231.

S. Stillman summarize this: Gratitude is one part of social welfare related to mental well-being producing positive life outcomes.¹¹⁹⁹ Some scientists also show that ‘a *grateful heart* is a *nonviolent heart*’¹²⁰⁰. In Ukraine among Jews I was often touched by how grateful they were despite having almost nothing to show for it: They were still alive. This attitude has been a precious gift over centuries and is an attitude Jewish mothers want to transfer to new generations.

The Third Ideal Type as a Mother: A Maintainer

Jewish theologians Lynn Davidman and Shelly Tenenbaum claim that historical, anthropological, sociological, and literature studies show that Jewish women have developed rituals that imbue domestic activities with holiness and that they often define moral and religious behaviour in terms of interpersonal relations.¹²⁰¹ Rituals support social well-being and quality of life at home in Jewish community. As said before, many ‘ritual works’ of the home have belonged to Jewish women since the times of the ancient *mispacha* (family, clan, tribe¹²⁰²). According to analysis the third ideal type as a mother is a *maintainer*, but without doubt in the case of Ukraine in 2000, tasks of Messianic Jewish women concern more of reconstruction and bringing back of Jewish traditions and Jewish life-style than of a maintainer. Under the Soviet era everything Jewish was forbidden and in the mind of many returning/re-rooted Jews those sanctions were still alive and thus if a Jew saw I wore a Star of David necklace they called upon me to hide it. Jewishness with symbols was destroyed as a social phenomenon and surely my experience is the lesson it takes time before the Jewish life-style could return to Ukraine at the largest open scale, or perhaps may never be back in any significant role.

Elderly Jews live in their memories like informant Ina who related that during the 70 year reign of Communism, her family lost everything Jewish and in 2000 she is saddened that she didn’t have anything Jewish in her home. She still recalled with love the old days and especially her ‘mama’ who maintained Jewish traditions. Miriam is now 87 years old.¹²⁰³ Another informant Vali had also found in Ukraine his Jewish roots and said that he had been totally changed after this ethnic discovery. He has a feeling that, finally, every piece of the puzzle had been set in its own place.¹²⁰⁴ Although similar transformations (converts) had happened for many descendants of Jewish families it cannot come about in one inner/internal moment of Jewish recognition - or this is quite rare, but not impossible - although they could identify that they were Jewish.

Those who went to Messianic Jewish congregations have however the opportunity to learn slowly and gradually about Jewishness. As already pointed out the beginning of exploration of ancient roots often starts via women. Mothers and wives might start to change their life at home and to adopt some elements of a Jewish lifestyle such as attending to Jewish feasts, and introducing some aspects of Jewishness/habits

¹¹⁹⁹ Lambert et al. 2009, 462-470.

¹²⁰⁰ DeWall, Lambert, Pond Jr. , Kashdan and Fincham 2011. According to the authors gratitude has two main forms: gratitude as an affective trait (‘grateful people’), and gratitude as a mood (describes the tendency to experience fluctuations in felt gratitude within and across days).

¹²⁰¹ Davidman and Tenenbaum (eds.), 1994, 12.

¹²⁰² Meyers (1997) describe families in ancient Israel.

¹²⁰³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/7.

¹²⁰⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/10.

within their family and friends in Messianic congregations, in a sense digests the Jewish atmosphere. It is noteworthy that in some cases it may be a painful and distressing slow process.¹²⁰⁵

This kind of situation may also exist elsewhere. Author Esther M. Broner reveals how the situation is among Jewish women in the USA where everything is allowed and open. She poses a serious question: How do Jewish women bring light/s back into the home?¹²⁰⁶ She sighs that almost everything Jewish has been taken away. She refers to the Sabbath candles, but also to all other female ritual works of Jewishness and Judaism in the family which have traditionally been the province of mothers at home.

The Fourth Ideal Type as a Wife: A Pearl

The fourth ideal type as a wife is a *Pearl* meaning that women should be just women, wives and mothers, not for example like 'bosses' in their family.¹²⁰⁷ This gives a neutral platform where men could respect their wives as parturient of their children; or even as Queens of homes points out, meaning that men were proud that they have found great women with whom to establish their version of family. The empirical case material speaks with the voice of informants referring to the ideal type of a pearl:

Jewish wives are not spoiled persons, not dirty; wives are like a pearl; they have honour; they are protecting with their love; wives' behaviour is wise to their husband.¹²⁰⁸

The ideal type a Pearl is allegorical to Judaic teaching and the Bible. In his studies, Grossman explains that a woman is seen as a reflection of the *Shekinah* (Divine Presence) and therefore a man is privileged to be attached to the Shekinah by virtue of his connections to his wife. Sefer ha-Zohar underlines that the relations between God and the Shekinah are similar to those between husband and wife.¹²⁰⁹

So, it is unsurprising that the ideal type of a Pearl with its different characteristics refers especially to purity. Men it is claimed, respect pure women. Sex is traditionally a respectful thing in Jewish culture and in marriage. According to informant Tamara such words as modesty, coyness, and bashfulness, are attributes that belong to Jewishness. This means that there are limits set in society concerning behaviour which from its perspective keep that society in good standing and morally healthy. All societies have developed

¹²⁰⁵ Adopting a new identity can be a lengthy mental process. I tell a small, nice story about a man, who was very funny, but also earnest in everything. I met him some years ago, his roots are Jewish. He moved to Finland. First according to him he was like a Soviet citizen. Then, one day he took the Jewish Bible and put it on the top of his head and he told himself that 'I am Jewish', 'I am Jewish'... and 'I must know this book'. Some times he used to walk at home the Bible on his head. It helped him somehow. At the same time suddenly he decided he wanted to be and live as Finns are and live. He actively tried to change his pattern of mind (his mental model), thinking and behaviour according to his assessment of the Finnish way. It was a hard time for him. He told that the most difficult was that at the beginning when he did not know how the Finns used to think: what is 'inside a Finnish head'. Over time he adapted new Finnish thinking models and he said that he became as a Finn and a Jew because *Finnish* and *Jewish* had filled him. According to him, he feels now *Shalom* and his life is much better.

¹²⁰⁶ Broner 1999.

¹²⁰⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/10.

¹²⁰⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

¹²⁰⁹ Sefer ha-Zohar is a 13th century book written mostly in Aramaic and the greatest classic of Jewish mysticism. It is a mystical commentary on the Torah. The Shekinah does not rest upon a person and the multitude of blessings is not drawn down from above except through the joining together of male and female; if one does not marry, his soul does not merit being included within the realm of Divine holiness (Hebr. *kadosh*) in the life of the World to come. Grossman 2004, 29.

Similarly: The Talmud teaches (Tractate Sotah 17a): "Rabbi *Akiva* expounded: If a husband ('Ish') and wife ('Isha') are worthy the Divine Presence dwells between them; if they are not fire consumes them. *Rashi* explains that the Divine Presence rests between them because God apportions the letters of His own name such that they 'dwell among' the letters of the words husband and wife: The letter 'Yod' is taken from God's name and placed in the word 'Ish'; the letter 'Heh' from God's name and placed in the word 'Isha'. If, though, they do not merit such 'fire consumes them', for God removes his name from their midst and all that remains is fire (when these same letters are removed from the words 'Ish' and 'Isha' one ends up with 'Esh' and 'Esh' - fire and fire)". See in: Rabbi Avraham HaLevi Kilav; Kitov 1984.

moral codes and each considers morality is important because it helps people to behave in supportive and persevering ways within the society including during different and stressful situations.¹²¹⁰

Tamara, like any mother burdened with responsibility argues that the roots of morality grow during the child's upbringing. As a mother, she does not appear naked or undressed when her sons are present, for example, in a bathroom (or in a Finnish sauna). She believes her sons will not only grow to respect their mother, but women in general and woman's body, the virginity of a woman and its inviolability. Tamara refers to Jewish sculptures which never designates naked persons because in general Jews respect the body of human beings as a creation of JHWH. She insists that this is the reason the body of human beings is not seen in a Jewish community in such a shameful and insulting way as in Western countries.¹²¹¹

The purity of women is an aspiration, but on the other hand women have paid a heavy price for pureness. 'Tears are common among women,' as a teacher of Judaic women, Leah Horowitz, reported in the 18th century and as the title of this study reminds us, 'Daughters of the vale of tears' refers to the power of tears. Leah Horowitz's fascinating idea is that women have a special power to bring redemption to the family - partly because of the redemptive power of tears¹²¹² - by using a lovely, emotive prayer, a *tkhine*.¹²¹³ Like the genuine pearls reflect light beautifully, so also do the ideal type of Pearl. But not only the Shekinah beautifully reflects light flowing from the relationship with JHWH, but also from wives' subordination to their husbands. Women's obedience to their husbands is traditionally seen to be a great virtue in Jewish community and like Horowitz argues, 'a worthy woman does the will of her husband.'

It can be observed that in reality *wives'* subordination to their *husbands* is, under most circumstances, a fact of life. This does not mean 'women's subordination to men' in society.¹²¹⁴ The same opinion is also dominant in Biblical, Messianic Feminism including Complementarianism and also Messianic Judaism,¹²¹⁵ although the sound, however, might be much softer because of love. The love is the key motivation for such a hierarchy between a man and woman. Many Messianics (in the literature and discussions) refer to Proverbs 31, a passage concerning the ideal type of wife: "Value a worthy woman when found. For her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband trusteth in her, And he shall have no lack of gain. She doeth him good and not evil All the days of her life."¹²¹⁶

Perhaps, in the secular Western world where erotic love, to fulfil sexual needs, is a trade we do not understand that another kind of love with commitments and care is also a dynamic power in society.

The Fifth Ideal Type as a Wife: A Husband's Co-operator

The fifth ideal type as a wife is a husband's *co-operator*, which means from the point of Complementarianism, that a man and a woman complement each other.¹²¹⁷ Co-operation in traditionally Jewish families was self-evident in patriarchal, reciprocal community¹²¹⁸ and Jewish used to marry Jews. The reciprocal relation according to sociologist Zygmunt Bauman is not generally based on the fight or power and rights between spouses, but on a contribution.¹²¹⁹ He points out that a reciprocal relationship means characteristics of trust, to give meaning, to respect individual significance and societal aspects.¹²²⁰

¹²¹⁰ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO2/18.

¹²¹¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/16.

¹²¹² Read more about Leah Horowitz (c. 1720- c. 1800), originally Sarah Rebecca Rachel Leah Horowitz, in: Baskin 1998, 169-207.

¹²¹³ A *tkhine* is one of supplicatory prayers in Yiddish recited by Central and Eastern European Jewish women.

¹²¹⁴ Baskin 1998, 169-207. Also, Baskin 1998, 183.

¹²¹⁵ Read: Ef. 5:22. "Wives, be in subjection unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord." According to American Standard Version.

¹²¹⁶ According to American Standard Version.

¹²¹⁷ Cf. Stein 1996, 59-85.

¹²¹⁸ Weisberg 2009, 52.

¹²¹⁹ Bauman 2007, 112-134.

¹²²⁰ Grossman 2004, 29.

The voice of informants provides the empirical case material that refers to the ideal type of a co-operator:

Jewish wives honour their husband; she is at the side of her husband; they are advisers to their husband; a Jewish wife is an invisible rudder which is important for direction and motion of the boat, without which the boat cannot exist; wives are man's co-operators, they are their man's helpers in the family and society; they are able to provide support if possible.¹²²¹

Grossman states that the Jewish husband is traditionally required to make his wife happy. In the 14th century in Medieval Europe, Christians recognized a husband's right to hit his Christian wife in order to educate her and to force her to accept his authority. A Jew, Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg responded by saying that, 'such is the way of the Gentiles' (non-Jewish Goyim), meaning that it could not happen among Jews.¹²²² There are still extraordinary exceptions to this which reflects the influence of the norms of non-Jewish society.¹²²³

'Believe it or not, Jewish husbands are the best husbands in the world'¹²²⁴ *because of their skills to manage family life and life in general*'. During many, many years I have heard this opinion many, many times among Jewish women and when I looked at them, it was clear they were serious. We cannot be sure if this a question of Jewish tradition maintaining this echo concerning male and female so that family-centric Judaism has appeared to succeed in 'producing' good parents in society¹²²⁵. A female informant Nadeszda in Ukraine however describes that 'Jewish men can survive, they know how to live, and they know how to be flexible'.¹²²⁶

However, in Ukraine mix-marriages became possible under the ex-Soviet era and traditional Jewish roles of men and women mixed in many families.¹²²⁷ Messianic Judaism includes teaching that a marriage can give special blessings to a husband and a wife. So, new and old teaching may emphasize that love between man and woman is an outpouring from an Infinite God (JHWH) meaning that love between man and woman is a metaphor for mystical union with the Divine.¹²²⁸ If the house (home) is properly established and two partners perform their marital relations with love and affection, JHWH rests His Spirit upon them; their perfect union, to the point of their becoming one body and a soul, is a condition of their receiving holiness and of the Shekinah dwelling upon them.¹²²⁹

Also, informant Hannah maintains that women and men can feel better when they find their original, designated functions in the family and in life in general as it gives a feeling of success and fulfilment.¹²³⁰ Hannah's personal experience supports Grossman's studies, according to which a man and wife are traditionally seen as full partners.¹²³¹ Historians Emily Taitz, Sondra Henry and Cheryl Tallan also emphasize that during the early modern period most Jewish wives worked alongside their husbands as shopkeepers or in small businesses.¹²³²

In this connection Leah Sharabi's concept the *Third* is thought-provoking as she presents an ideal of the shared Third between couples/spouses. According to her the partnership between a husband and a wife must be built on some ideal that is greater than either of its partners. She says that "a shared sense of

¹²²¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

¹²²² Grossman 2004, 214.

¹²²³ One Babylonian sage says: 'And women are required to honour their husbands...And she is not permitted to raise her voice to him, and even if he strikes her she should be silent in the manner of modest women. In the same document, the wife is required to stand when her husband enters the house, as if he were a ruler or a king, and to feed him with her own hands as one would a small child.' In: Grossman 2004, 214f.

¹²²⁴ I have heard this idealization figure at least in Ukraine and Israel.

¹²²⁵ Cf: Deutsch, F. M. 1999.

¹²²⁶ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO3/5.

¹²²⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/10.

¹²²⁸ Lowney 2005, 185.

¹²²⁹ Grossman 2004, 29

¹²³⁰ In the archive of the author, 2000.FSR/1/10.

¹²³¹ Grossman 2004, 29.

¹²³² Taitz & Henry & Tallan 2003, 223.

devotion to a mutually meaningful third element is necessary to feed a couple spiritually.” The shared purpose, the Third goes beyond simply caring for each other.¹²³³ From this study’s viewpoint, the shared Third could be when parents develop the mutual task of re-construction and then maintaining a Jewish life style in the family.

The Sixth Ideal Type as a Citizen: A Pillar

The issue of an ideal citizen labelled a *pillar* does not only concern individuals, but the whole society in which Jews live. I have previously explained how Jews together form the Jewish community (Jewry) in Ukraine, but theoretically that Jewish community locates in Ukrainian non-Jewish society. So, Messianic Jewish women influence more or less the Jewish community in Ukraine however because of mix-marriages and working life, and by other social premises they also influence Ukrainian society as a whole. This influence was more tenuous as the border between the Jewish community (‘us’) and general society (‘others’) became blurred when Jews compulsorily had to become secularized.

In new Ukraine the situation is changing. Messianic congregations are made up of Jewish women whose life-religion continually shapes their attitudes and behaviour patterns through spiritual and emotional connections in their everyday life at home, at work and with new Jewish friends. Somehow, the *identity work* in society is seen as ‘opposition’ to the ‘past’ attitudes and behaviour and in minds of Jewish women the ‘present’ and ‘future’ are entirely moving in directions that entirely negate the past. The present religious life in Messianic Jewish congregations takes a form that protests against the ‘old, secularized past,’ and against any idea that it should be the norm system of society.¹²³⁴ However, we must keep in mind this ‘oppositional’ perspective within the Messianic Jewish Movement is not a political protest movement on the contrary, its tools are religious and spiritual.

Some informants thought that Jewish women would have some authority over many people.¹²³⁵ Perhaps they had authority; for example in Russian and German history some Jewish women are known as social activists, but the situation in the present day Ukraine is not the same. Older Jewish women neither have power nor authority. Younger Jews are aware their ethnicity can make the price of advancement in society and career very high as they start looking for their new destination. For example informant Alexander told to become an Academic scientist is not possible for a practicing Jew however if you are willing to make some changes it may be achieved, e.g. a person should start by changing their Jewish family name and then they dissolve their Jewish background. This is however the first step. Cases like this used to happen frequently during the Communist era, but also occur today as the reported case of one doctor in 2000 reveals.¹²³⁶

The empirical case material contains the voice of informants referring to the ideal type of a pillar:

Jewish women as citizens are like pillars; they submit to society; they do charity work; they are hardworking; they are wise; they are experts among colleagues in society; in society Jewish women behave unpretentiously and modestly; Jewish women influence society by supporting and helping their husbands’ work; Jewish women can cope with everything; they are persistent, resilient.¹²³⁷

The characteristics show that to be a pillar in Ukraine would mean that Jewish women could bring inner stability to Jewish community, but could not act like their great progenitors in the Bible. Jewish women should wherever possible be out of the eyes and minds of their ethnic majorities, non-Jewish Ukrainians and Russians. Their active role is as members of Messianic Judaism.

¹²³³ Sharabi 2004, 176-212.

¹²³⁴ Cf. Klandermas, Kriesi and Tarrow 1989, Snow and Benford 1992; Traugott (ed.).1995.

¹²³⁵ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/26.

¹²³⁶ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/21.

¹²³⁷ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

According to informant Olga, Jewish women and Jews in general can live only if they do not argue or protest against political authority or, as a matter of fact, against anything. In Ukraine this means that Jewish women have to understand their benefit: do not cause any harm. This Diasporic situation is not new rather it has been the general rule. An informant quoted a proverb like this: 'If a person tries to construct a boat, there must be someone on the boat who knows how to steer it in the right direction?'¹²³⁸ One direction would be to stay as *ethnic minority* in this large country which means to keep a low profile and to be as if a *secret pillar* for the benefit of Jews in the Jewish community.¹²³⁹ Informant Jura points out that Jews have usually looked for helpers¹²⁴⁰ and some hundreds of years ago it was Polish nobles, but in 2000 they are almost certainly Messianic Jewish congregations with their Rabbis/pastors and congregation members.

In this way an ideal type of a pillar again becomes involved with the concept of Shalom. Informant Rina said that she can live in Ukraine because she wishes peace and harmony for everyone and because she has peace in her heart and because she is in balance.¹²⁴¹ In this way, Jewish women are backbones of Jewish heritage and from the point of view of religion they can keep the Jewish community afloat in the Messianic Jewish Movement.

The Seventh Ideal Type as a Citizen: A Builder of Society

Herein for this study I present some observations referring to Jewish women as a citizen in society, as an ideal type of a *builder of society*. According to informants, Jewish women generally have a positive influence in society.¹²⁴²

The voice of informants refers to the ideal type of a builder of society:

Jewish women are flexible for achieving their goals in society; they are strongly influencing society; in society they have power; they are persistent, and they can achieve goals; they are able to take care of responsible tasks in society at any time; they have a positive influence on society; they have important status and tasks/posts in society: they have been doctors, teachers, professors; they have strong opinions; they are critical, accurate, independent; they can communicate; they are expressive, not afraid of anything; Jewish women are respectful to other persons; they have talent; they like to act in public.¹²⁴³

Informant Svetlan points out that Jewish women can also be very critical and judgmental and they have their own way of thinking and according to her it is founded on the experiences of previous generations of their history. Also Svetlan points out that Jewish women are usually clever and argumentative persons.¹²⁴⁴

This role model can reflect primarily the ancient social need for acting as crisis worker, as in two examples mentioned in a previous chapter, i.e. Abraham's wife, Sarah, or the Queen Esther. More concretely an ideal type of a builder of society refers also to those epochs when Jewishness blossomed and in turn to epochs when Jews confronted suffering.¹²⁴⁵ As described in previous chapters the 19th century Jewish social feminists Bertha Pappenheim and Alice Salomon - although they are not seen directly role as models of Messianic Jewish women - functioned in a transition epoch when women's position was very weak. These pioneer social workers tried to break historical and socio political ties that had condemned Jewish women to miserable circumstances within Judaic heritage. Pappenheim and Salomon were experts with

¹²³⁸ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/30.

¹²³⁹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/14.

¹²⁴⁰ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/15.

¹²⁴¹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/14.

¹²⁴² In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/26.

¹²⁴³ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1-4.

¹²⁴⁴ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO1/21.

¹²⁴⁵ See: The Museum of Family History 2000.

using social power in contrast to Messianic Jewish women who try to use the power of faith in every individual human case.

In 2000, Messianic Jewish women were attempting to break secular historical ties that had led women into a miserable family life within the Soviet heritage. I believe, in the future, Messianic Jewish women may adapt and become more like 'spiritual' crisis workers or social workers, however not openly in society, but under the umbrella of the Messianic Jewish Movement. Because the Messianic Jewish Movement includes also non-Jewish members from the point of view of Jewish ethnicity their position was viewed differently. So, non-Jewish members could and should accept and respect 'others' also in the role of a builder of society in their *otherness*. Political theorist Hannah Arendt says that 'individuals are more than instrumental, but less than intimate.'¹²⁴⁶ Arendt's thoughts lead us to the concept of responsibility for other people, although they are different in different positions within society.

On the other hand, like in the first century the abandonment of socio-economic ties by Yeshua and his followers 'meant participation in the fate of poorest...and thus dependency on support.'¹²⁴⁷ In 2000, as a *builder of society* Messianic Jewish women may perhaps carry the burden of all the needy and need in Ukraine. Considering the concepts of private and public broadens the realm of this aspect: The Bible says that JHWH created every man to live¹²⁴⁸ and every man is valuable *per se*. Jewish women may act as a builder of Jewish community in the private realm which consists of family and home, places where individual and collective understanding of Jewishness is created. Jewish women may also act in the *public realm* where all Ukrainians with 100 ethnic groups are able to construct life-sustaining, prosperous mental and realistic, practical world and Ukrainian citizens. Basically it is a question of Universalism. Applying Isidore Epstein's thoughts to this connection:

We can see how Messianic Jewish women draw from life wherever found (Hebrew/Jewish theoretical and practical Wisdom), and admit that to other groups even nations too possess the knowledge of their source of human reasoning derived from their general experiences and observations of life. Messianic Jewish women's Wisdom thus transcends all that is local and temporary.¹²⁴⁹

SUMMARIZING the seven 'ideals': Messianic Jewish women want to begin the re-construction of family and their relationships with men as husbands and fathers. The informants' voices reveal there are several key ways for Messianic women to contribute. However the most important surely from the Mission view may well be the first step in the re-construction of a Jewish life style in the Diasporic Ukraine.

¹²⁴⁶ Hansen 2004, 27, in: Elliott, A. and Ray (eds.). 2004.

¹²⁴⁷ Stegemann & Stegemann 1999, 203; also Stark 1996.

¹²⁴⁸ Read: Gen. 1:27. "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." (According to American Standard Version)

¹²⁴⁹ Epstein does not speak of Messianic Jewish women. His work is titled 'Judaism'. Epstein 1968, 77f.

PART III: DISCUSSION AND EVALUATION

6. CONCLUSIONS

Interesting Questions in Comparison with Previous Studies

The purpose of my study was to examine the relationship between social welfare and religion. I wanted to find out whether religion can produce social welfare into society. I chose as a target group Jewish women who live in transition society in Ukraine in 2000. The target group of Jewish women had a more or less solid relationship with religion which is represented in this study of Messianic Judaism in the Messianic Jewish Movement. I did the field work in Ukraine by gathering a variety of empirical field materials and theoretical literature. In analysing the material I used the OOM -model and interpreted the results also with other theoretical literature.

The results of this study raise interesting questions in comparison with previous studies especially in the field of religion *per se*, Social Movements, identity and *identity work*, maternity and family (See the chapter 1.5.). I start referring to such classics as Comte, Weber, Durkheim etc who investigated carefully religion's meanings and models from their society and in history of their time. My study affirms clearly these classic notions that Religion has a great importance in society and is at the core of their work. Although there are those who would like to annihilate its meaning for one reason or another: So did Marxism, Nazism, Stalin's Totalitarianism, whatsoever -ism. However, from evidence in my study it is possible to conclude that at least in the long run any society seems to need religion, or at least a large number of its citizens seem to need religion. How else could be explained the enormous explosion of religious pluralism to which the Ukraine revolution gave rise? Former and new congregations emerged and became important activity centres and Jewry's age-old Jewry religious heritage began to recover after the era of suppression.

The text above implies that since religion is woven in the long-term woven with the social support of humanity it is beneficial to study religion not only as a belief system and mental models, but also as a Social Movement. This means that a potential research time-span would reach far back (even thousands of years) and in addition social historical interpretations would be more often encountered in the studies. This means that the knowledge shall be increased and multi-faced in human scientific activity.

The ancient Hebrew or Babylonian social responses do not necessarily leave us 'cold' anymore, but create a dialogue between cultural borders across time. The study underlines religion, family and welfare have belonged to ancient societies and in the end - if viewed from this point - there are an amazing amount of similarities to be found. Every ancient and modern society has the structure, function and the public (citizens) sphere. All this we can examine on the basis of religion since an individual/citizen seems to be religious. The question of their values and priorities is the determining factor.

We have already seen that religion is in the core of such Social Movements like Zionism and Kibbutzim. In these Social Movements' examples religion influences on micro-, meso- and macro levels of society structuring and functioning life. As we have seen the Zionist Movement has influenced through citizens especially into the *whole society* and the Kibbutz Movement has influenced through individuals especially into the Jewish *community*; and, in the same manner this study shows how the Messianic Jewish Movement influences especially through Messianic Jewish women on the *family*. These examples explain and reveal in the Jewish world it is traditionally natural to understand religion's positive impacts - for example concerning morality - on social welfare. Referring to non-Jew sources mentioned in this study like Max Weber's 'The Protestant Ethic,'¹²⁵⁰ Ada María Isasi-Díaz' Mujerista Movement and Gustavo Gutiérrez' Theology of Liberation Movement it is possible that religion can be harnessed to effect social

¹²⁵⁰ Weber 1995.

change and development everywhere. However, the analysis also confirms the difference between Messianic Jewish Movement and non-Jewish movements mentioned before: Messianic Jewish Movement's social power is based directly on the Gospel and the Bible, not on any political sub-targets.

This study shows how sociologist Rachel L. Einwohner's two concepts: '*find themselves*' and '*identity work*' well reflect in this context what is happening to Jewish women when they transferred from secular female identity to religious Messianic identity. They found their Jewish heritage (religion/faith and ethnic roots). I have not found in other studies, perhaps because of Ukraine's unique history, similar depictions where Jewish women describe processes of finding their Jewish identity through *identity work*. This is an experience when 'all the pieces fall into the right place' in a female/male when they 'found themselves,' i.e. the state of Shalom.

Not only this study, but many other Jewish studies confirm that Jewish scholars seem to be familiar with the concept of 'authenticity.'¹²⁵¹ This concept penetrates deep into the heart of Jews where Jewishness has been preserved for thousands of years to this day. According to field work experience I felt that many 'candidate' Jews had a burden of how to find out this authenticity and authentic identity. In my experience as a Western woman and from other studies I conclude no other ethnic group than Ukrainian Jews are so interested in their ethnic and human authenticity. Presumably the global Jewish family (mis-pacha) consisting of so many Diasporic nationalities (Ukrainian Jews, Russian Jews, Finnish Jews...) means that the question what is 'authentic Jewish' will always be the burning issue. I think that this 'authenticity' is the key in the identity work through which Jews experience 'all the pieces fall into right place in them.' Einwohner writes of how activists 'hide' themselves or of 'passing' meaning that women felt they could not reveal their real identity for one reason or another. As the social situation in Ukraine is by no means stable and often not safe my understanding is that there is still a lot of 'candidates' who have not come out. There are reasons to wonder whether it will ever be 'their time'.

It is an interesting observation that the study clearly shows that Messianic Jewish women do not think of belonging to either the traditional secular Feminist Movement or to traditional Nationalism (although they do not use these concepts). However, the idea of Biblical Messianic Complementarianism meaning that woman and man complements each other (are not in competing positions; do not fight for equality) seems to be their vision bringing supportive attitudes and inner peace in their experience of existence. My concept *Biblical Messianic Complementarianism* is new and derived directly from Susanne Scholz's conceptualization in her writing 'The Christian Right's Discourse on Gender and the Bible' (2005).¹²⁵² From the point of view of this study's findings 'Complementarianism' would be a natural response to it; how to improve 'family welfare' with the co-operation and the new understanding between women and men in families.

Finally, I want to raise into the light of discussion how philosopher Sara Ruddick's more or less theoretically constructed concept 'maternal thinking' and my more or less from empirical material constructed concept 'family welfare' complement each other. Ruddick¹²⁵³ however operates in a much wider scientific domain such as peace politics. According to her "a politics of peace identifies violences wherever they occur – boardrooms, bedrooms, factories, classrooms, battlefields...asking in detail who is hurt and how."¹²⁵⁴ From the point of view of this study's findings peace means first and foremost simply 'inner peace' and Shalom which however refers also to larger environments than home and family like society (the public sphere). Peaceful citizens or better to say *citizens of Shalom* will contribute concrete peace into their environment. My study however does not concern peace education of itself nor that of peace politics although I now remember how I as a little girl asked my daddy: "... what did you do in the war, you do not suppose you had to ..." My speech was interrupted, the words got stuck in the throat...

¹²⁵¹ I also prefer the concept of 'authenticity'. I present a model of an authentic caring process in: Olemassaolokokemus (in English: 'The Experience of Existence'). This is a Conceptual and Empirical Analysis Concerning the Experience of Existence of Elderly Female Patients, in: Nores 1993, 104-109.

¹²⁵² Scholz 2005.

¹²⁵³ Philosopher, Dr. Sara Ruddick lived 1935 – 2011.

¹²⁵⁴ Ruddick 1995, xviii.

'Killing' was too terrible a word and thing in the little girl's mouth. My daddy shook his head, no, no, 'I did not ...'. I remember that his voice was dark and it included something incomprehensible to me – deep grief. Now, many decades later ... *I know* more.

What I especially want to underline in the light of research findings is that Ruddick's concepts 'abstract' and 'concrete' thinking is very appropriate to my Mission View, 'family welfare', or vice versa. The conclusion is that the Mission View (Figure 2, an ideal model for children's upbringing) includes an idea of a *cognitive instrument for mothers'* capacity to apply the Mission View -knowledge for 'concrete thinking'.¹²⁵⁵ In Ruddick's and my study women/mothers are in the centre of children's conscious world, mothers whose preservative love affects unconsciously on their children's emotions, thinking, body, even a spinal cord - day and night, year after year - we could guess, forever. The big difference between Ruddick's and my model is that I focus on Jewish families and she on families in general. The great similarity between Ruddick's and my model is that the background of both models is the 'Big Reason'. Ruddick as philosopher uses the term 'Reason,' and I, as social policy ethnographer take JHWH meaning the same within the world of my target group.

Jewish women in Ukraine hope that they would bring 'family welfare' into society. In Western secular societies I have not seen many such studies which would imply the same thing occurs, i.e. that *family, home, is a source of life and subjective well-being in society*. Therefore I turn to the scholar of history and literature, a Finn, Karmela Bélinki who analyses the role of women in Jewish family. He writes that in general *family* is often the only *refuge* for those people whom the world has badly treated and abused. This study shows that women, men and children in Ukraine needs such a refuge, a real family. Bélinki as a Jew also underlines that for Jewish people *family is a large concept*: Every family member has their own place in it and therefore, 'family' is a safe community.¹²⁵⁶

Religion in a Social Context

According to sociologist of history Philip Abrams society must be understood as a process constructed historically by citizens who are in turn constructed historically by society.¹²⁵⁷ Every generation has its collective history, however, burdened by previous generations' vulnerable experiences, which impact citizen's needs to generate new social functions in new Social Movements. Thus, Messianic Jewish women in Ukraine can construct a new religious world and social policy, but only on the basis and within the framework of what predecessors have constructed for them. So, every Jewish woman living in the Diaspora in the historical continuum, bears her ethnic and social heritage inside her, not only implicitly in her thinking, but also explicitly in her aims, strivings and action. On that basis and within the framework referring allegorically to Abrams's conceptualization the content of Jewish women's social activity may re-make or un-make society when they make the particular choices leading to either success or failure.

Known Social Movements are categorized differently: One way is that the modern Messianic Jewish Movement can be analyzed in respect of its welfare emphasis firstly from the viewpoint of an *initiator movement or a spin-off movement*.¹²⁵⁸ The terminology originates with sociologist Dough McAdam.¹²⁵⁹ An initiator movement, like the civil rights movement in America in the 1960s is regarded as a powerful protest movement which later became a dominant master-frame for many other liberation movements (spin-off movements)¹²⁶⁰ all over the world. From this perspective, it may be said that ancient Rabbinic Judaism is an initiator movement providing the framework for many other Jewish movements.¹²⁶¹ But, the

¹²⁵⁵ Ruddick 1995.

¹²⁵⁶ Bélinki 1991, 105.

¹²⁵⁷ Abrams 1982, 227.

¹²⁵⁸ Tarrow 1998.

¹²⁵⁹ McAdam, D. (1995) in: Traugott (ed.) 1995; also Tarrow 1998.

¹²⁶⁰ E.g. Mujerista theology, in: Isasi-Díaz 1996.

¹²⁶¹ There are many religious Jewish movements, whose roots are found in ancient Judaism, like Haredi, Karaite, Hasidic, Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative and Modern Orthodox Judaism.

modern Messianic Jewish Movement cannot then be seen as an initiator movement, but as a spin-off movement. Its dominant master-frame is not just in Judaism, but also in the first century's Messianic Jewish Movement, or, as Christian scholars like to emphasize, in the Christian revival movements of the 19th century in Europe. I only want to point out that what Messianic Jewish women in the movement have emphasized links with their historical background, perhaps far more than we are normally aware of. Analysis shows the process has gone via seven stages including the following: 1) Social welfare includes a component of religion; 2) Russian revolution of 1989 gave the possibility to bring religion back to society; 3) Process where many Jews want to return back to Jewish religion, 4) Jewish religion emphasizes family and puts it into the core of society, 5) Jews want to bring family back from *family exile*, 6) Messianic Jewish women know that traditionally women's role is crucial in family, 7) women created an idea, a Messianic view: family welfare. In the new historical period at the crossroads between the old and new *social norm* in Ukraine it is for Jewish women like a religious performance using an incomplete manuscript of what is the best way to proceed toward full and meaningful social welfare for the family.

As said before sociologist Ron Eyeran and Andrew Jamison mention that every movement has its own right time to appear.¹²⁶² The main question however is: Whether this small, modern movement and Messianic Judaism could really bring welfare into society. This question is a unique one in the social policy study context because it would in effect build a scientific bridge between recognisable indicators of social welfare and the recognisable influences of religion.

I continue and refer to sociologist and cultural anthropologist Martti Muukkonen who after analyzing social welfare and making conclusions about religion's influence on society highlights Clifford Geertz' thesis that claims religions are both models *of* the society and models *for* the society continues, religions interact with societies, adopt their customs and values and sacralise them: "After that, they provide a powerful value-system that forms the basis of the social ethics of the same societies."¹²⁶³ Similar ideas are presented by scholar of social policy, Nick Manning claiming that religion can be the main organizing principle and structural division in the national society.¹²⁶⁴ The Mission view of Messianic Jewish women includes such ancient, but now re-shaped values which can form new social ethics that affect at least to some extent structure and functioning welfare.

We cannot however exaggerate religion's meaning for our modern society for it is quite irrational to refer to the supernatural episodes of Faith as factual. "Right is right everywhere, wrong is wrong everywhere,¹²⁶⁵" as Isidore Epsteins says. Reality is the same with secular citizens, but how Messianic Jews interpret this *reality* is different than those whose truth is based on realism without Faith. JHWH is reality¹²⁶⁶. Then the faith of Messianic Jewish women may direct quite uncommon conclusions. One is that they underline that it is possible to be satisfied and happy subjectively in 'experience of existence' without being satisfied in society, that is, without having achieved their social goals in reality.¹²⁶⁷ The Good News says that a poor person is able to feel satisfaction in life, although he would remain poor. Essentially happiness and life satisfaction (subjective well-being, social welfare) depends on the relationship between mankind and God. In principle this emphasis, the independence of social circumstances, is similar with the initiator movement i.e. Judaism. According to sacred text if you are close to 'Him' (Ruddick refers to Reason) you can feel purposeful life although all your needs are not fulfilled in society. This does not however mean that we should necessarily pursue life accepting hard circumstances or vice versa. From the point of view of religion (like Messianic Judaism) or the Reason or Him, we have to struggle

¹²⁶² Eyeran and Jamison 1996.

¹²⁶³ Muukkonen 2007.

¹²⁶⁴ Manning 2003, 68ff. Manning shows by referring to statistical analysis that welfare in Western industrial societies is combined with Catholicism. This study shows additionally and unequivocally that Jewishness and Judaism, the mother of Christianity/Catholicism, have generated welfare especially in the family for centuries and more. Undertanding this, there are no arguments to continue disregarding religion in studies as a valuable factor of well-being and welfare.

¹²⁶⁵ Epstein 1968, 57.

¹²⁶⁶ Cf. Epstein 168, 133.

¹²⁶⁷ Isasi-Díaz 1996.

against poverty, humiliation, violation, war, everything which opposes human-kind's welfare with the power of religion, but not only with it.

It is my intention via this study to raise anew to the Academic debate that our secular societies cannot be completely understood without including the impact element of Faith/religion, if not very evident in present day Europe, but however from the point of view of understanding of our past socio-history. This study presents an only one alternative approach to this issue.

Return Home from 'Family Exile'

'Return our people from *exile*, Adonai,
as streams fill *vadis* in the Negev.
Those who sow in tears
will reap with cries of joy.
He who goes out weeping
as he carries his sack of seed
will come home with cries of joy
as he carries his sheaves of grain.'¹²⁶⁸

When Messianic Jewish women started to adopt their Jewish roots in a process, Jewish heritage and family welfare gradually started to become a priority in their lives. The analysis shows how *family welfare* has displaced the 'self-interest' of women with demands for 'equality'. Also, in the West, it seems that some scholars put family in the core instead of women's equality challenges.¹²⁶⁹ This Biblical Messianism with Complementariastic emphasis does not oppress women or men, but tries to encourage them to struggle together as complementary pairs for family life. Raising family life and children to a place of visibility instead of promoting unilaterally equality can also be seen in modern social developments in Scandinavia where young fathers want to take paternity leave after the birth of a child alongside mothers' maternity leave. It is shown, when a man fathers a child, a process of human growth occurs by which he makes his family and children a priority in his life.¹²⁷⁰ *Familial vocation* is a suitable term, which takes into account the subjective well-being of all family members.¹²⁷¹ Thus, it can be viewed as a part of the broader concept of family welfare and well-being in general. This complementary model includes an ideal that both spouses respect each other and jointly take care of responsibilities. This means that *equality* is not at all the right or sufficiently accurate concept to describe the purpose of their relationship; a better description would be sociologist Erik Allardt's and scholar of social work Leibys's concept, *love*,¹²⁷² which is seen in this study as the social power, source, cause and effect in human life, and a strong basis of mutual commitments and relationships in mutual presence and immediacy. Also, as said before women's 'maternal thinking',¹²⁷³ bases just on preservative love,¹²⁷⁴ which bursts out continuously in mutual presence and reciprocity as *I am here* –mothers know.¹²⁷⁵ So, love, caring and concern are suitable concepts of social power in our modern reality.

If social problems in the Western world are compared with those of Ukraine it is immediately obvious that many are quite similar though more extreme in Ukraine with almost 50 million popn. Women's

¹²⁶⁸ Psalm 126:4-6. According to Complete Jewish Bible.

¹²⁶⁹ Cf. Morgan 2006.

¹²⁷⁰ Eerola 2008. Young couples seem to place such a great accent on family life that there are young parents in Finland, who say that they are more concerned with spending free time *with their family* than attending to working life. Also, cf. *Child welfare* through Nordic lenses, in: Forsberg and Kröger (eds.). 2010.

¹²⁷¹ LaCelle-Peterson 2008, 147 and in: Deutsch, F. M. 1999.

¹²⁷² Allardt 1993; Leiby 1984, 526.

¹²⁷³ Ruddick 1995.

¹²⁷⁴ Ruddick 1995, 65-81.

¹²⁷⁵ Noddings 2002.

equality, women's access to work, child protection, high-quality education and good social security prevalent for example in Finnish and Swedish society have been supported by the Christian church organizations which traditionally had used strong moral authority over families in society, but in the last five and six decades have gradually become subordinated to secular state ones. Religion has gradually lost its power to shelter family welfare. The opposite direction is prevalent in some other European states like France where religion has enjoyed a constrained power role. So, religion could be an efficient buffer protecting good familial deeds.¹²⁷⁶ In some countries governmental policy has fuelled the transformation into a model of *universal breadwinners*, in which all partners participate in paid work in the name of the equality of women.

For example, presumably I believe Swedish women in their wanted equality position as mothers have moved to a more difficult position with added work, family and other societal burdens.¹²⁷⁷ It seems however that in the Nordic countries, the role of religion in society is unlikely to be more intense in the near future because secularization of citizens and the emphasis on Egalitarianism of Western Feminism in Lutheran and free churches will apparently continue. It can be argued women's misery (might be the unawareness state of mind) in Western democracies is the loss of the prime role in the family/home by erosion of the family itself that has led to the gradual destroying of the legitimate human children's right in society to have a stable family and home environment. In modern times home and family seem often to be represented by divorce/separation, second/third new parent, redistributing income and property with children seemingly dealt with in the same manner through custody battles.

The case of Ukraine does however provide us with *another perspective* to this issue in the post-Soviet era: The return from family exile to the basic family as the nucleus cell of society offering a cohesive unit missing from many of the alleged sophisticated modern society.

It is expected – this my strong experience - that especially Biblical, Messianic Feminism instead of Egalitarianistic emphasis, but with Complementariastic emphasis will keep family welfare on the agenda for discussion in the near future in Ukraine and also in Western welfare states where the lack of social cohesion is proving very costly in physical and mental terms.

In Ukraine citizens became isolated from their own ethnic frame groups. We know that Communism applied into society marginalized many; difficult living conditions and poverty belonged to everyday challenges and there were not appropriate or adequate support mechanisms in place. The result was family dysfunction and child-care problems.¹²⁷⁸ Gradually family lost its role as the nucleus of and in society. Also, although parents are solely responsible for their children not all parents were able to care for their families, i.e. not all children had any sort of family, not all women had husbands (& vice versa), not all men had homes etc. Women's activities did not resonate as being effective or fulfilling, they remembered historical disappointments. Also, assimilation with the changing roles of women influenced the breakdown of families in over the long run.¹²⁷⁹

From this and all the available evidence not only in Ukraine, but continental Europe, surely there is real truth in the observation that family breakdown is rooted in ethnic, economic, class, gender, and radical oppression.¹²⁸⁰ The case is that: These negative characteristics of their socio-history focussing on family took hold; the bowl of Messianic Jewish women became filled with tears and prayers. In suffering the Messianic Jewish women constructed the ideal model of a Jewish mother, wife and citizen, not however referring to the Berehynia, a model of the 'Ukrainian Slavic Heart Mother',¹²⁸¹ but to mothering as a realistic way of thinking and acting. The Messianic Jewish women are as if *Homo Poeta*,¹²⁸² 'meaning makers' stemming from their own religious heritage.

¹²⁷⁶ Morgan 2006.

¹²⁷⁷ Morgan 2006. Cf. Green & Owens (eds.). 2004.

¹²⁷⁸ Cf. Cameron and Freymond 2006, 8.

¹²⁷⁹ Cf. Hyman 1995, Pressma 1981.

¹²⁸⁰ Hetherington 2006.

¹²⁸¹ We do not know, but perhaps Berehynia has received some features from ancient Jewish mothers who have lived in the Black Sea region since the Babylonian exile, or vice versa.

¹²⁸² The concept is of cultural anthropologist Ernest Becker, 'Man is the meaning maker', In: Becker, E. 1973.

7. ISSUE OF GENERALIBILITY

The OOM

The issue what I handle in this chapter concerns the OOM, reliability of the study and generalizability of the results. My purpose has been to carry out this study according to guidelines for good scientific practice and procedures by the Academy of Finland (the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics).¹²⁸³

This study belongs to the family of ethnographic studies. From the point of view of methodology my ethnographic analysis is based on conceptual writing. This means that the dictum is to write conceptually, by making theoretical statements about the relationship between concepts. The OOM, the Organization Onion Model) by Muukkonen is my theoretical frame and it includes the basic concepts for the analysis. What is also important, the long-term perspective offers a fascinating socio-historical frame for this study process.

Methodologist, Barney G. Glaser emphasises credibility with the terms 1) Integration, 2) relevance and 3) workability as tools to evaluate the research process.¹²⁸⁴ In this study, *integration* means that all parts of this study are systematically integrated with each other. Ukraine case, the literature sources, and the OOM form a logical and coherent whole through which key concepts are described. *Relevance* means here that all used concepts should be relevant from the point of view of this study's tasks. This analysis depends on the empirical and theoretical sources. As a researcher I find that the analysis of this empirical material is the best part of this study because it authentically describes Jewish life and characteristics of Jewish women's identity in Ukraine. However, the empirical material is quite small from the point of view of the OOM, and therefore the study requires a very large theoretical source material. The generated new concepts from the sources are compatible with and match-up with those of the OOM. In my research project I have not found this type of work has been done before.

Workability is the provision of the results of the study describing what they were supposed to describe, such as the content of the Mission view. 'Family welfare' is a natural result and places the Jewish family life into a co-ordinate system: the horizontal axis indicates that family welfare is an eternal value from ancient times till today, and the vertical axis tells us that the Jewish family and its welfare will be created on the relationship between a human being and YHWH in the Messianic Jewish context. As we can see, only one set of factors of welfare consists of economical things, but mostly welfare includes other social factors. Welfare and family welfare are broad concepts including many individual as well as community aspects.

The OOM is a model rich in concepts. It has taken much scientific ambition and time to gather the material for generating an analysis with the OOM. In addition, the triangulation and inter-disciplinary approach applied to this study process has been a demanding challenge due to the extensive study undertaken, although I have applied triangulation in my previous study.¹²⁸⁵ As a social policy researcher I have had to obtain knowledge from many other scientific fields, each one of which is a vast task in itself. It has been necessary to study the ancient and modern Judaism, exiles and dispersions, Messianic Judaism, the Shoah, pogroms, Christianity, the early Church in Palestine, the Roman Empire, history of Russia and Ukraine, Jews in America, Israeli religious leaders, Jewish women's status and societal tasks in different time periods, secularization, Communism, ex-Soviet citizens etc, all of which are themselves broad sets of sub-studies. Finally, combining everything with the OOM under the main components of religion, wel-

¹²⁸³ See: Academy of Finland 2003.

¹²⁸⁴ Glaser 1978.

¹²⁸⁵ Nores 1993.

fare and family from the view of social policy has demanded from a great deal of energy and similarly of patience.

I have to conclude that although this study is large, unique and extensive, it has however, its own limitations. This study has concentrated on a specific group of Jews in Ukraine in 2000. If we would use different empirical material and use other theoretical model than the OOM, surely also new factors would arise from different empirical sources. In this way, using different sources and methods, the story of Jews in Ukraine would become more crystallized and we could get new, interesting results. However, as I emphasized at the beginning of this study my informants have articulated their own, unique, original and exceptional voices. From this point of view the follow-up studies cannot, however, reduce this study's original value. In this study the informants' voices have been heard and expressed. From the point of view of the meta-level we understand in every moment our lives are changed by them. By 2013 informants inevitably have many new experiences influencing their world view, opinions and perhaps also Messianic Judaism. Perhaps just the 'cross-over lighting' of their existence is one exciting result of the study: It shows us – not all, but certainly it casts light on an important part of this phenomena – the Jewry of Ukraine is emerging and moving on...

Reliability and Generalizability

In order to be able to correctly understand and describe this new, modern Messianic Jewish Movement, I use socio-historical information on the Jewish people and circumstances not only from Ukraine, but also from other host countries where I visited before and under this study process. Thus, I used reminiscence with continuous reading of theoretical source literature. Its value lies in the fact that it gave me the inner security to go through this quite large research process generally only thinking, developing these things on my own. Because memories are part of everybody's identity, over time many of the excursions influenced my general orientation and world view however the science is guided by the rule, that memories even when they have crept into any research are mostly subjective capital which another researcher may question. I made a decision that from this ethical point of view my theoretical source material had to expand and become wide-ranging with ten autobiographies plus other people's recollections. I had expected to find something from within the collective understanding and was not disappointed: Finding, as a matter of record much which makes this study even more of a substantial experience. This research can be connected as a single pearl into a string of pearls which already contains a lot of the studies of this valuable pariah peoples/nation (referring to Weber's and Arendt's terminology) which in the Bible is said to be metaphorically God's '*apple of his eye*' people.¹²⁸⁶

However, the question arises, was I able to analyze and interpret the material in a thorough and competent manner? In this respect, it has been a substantial assistance that the material I have consulted/researched have to a very large extent supported each other enabling me to consistently move forward with the project. The recognized, established quality of contributors to my source material is clear for all to see. In addition the interview material supports biographical materials, which are supported by statistics. In fact, as an ethnographic researcher I dig through many layers, so that I have found answers to my research questions from different sources. In this study process I used Geertz's methodological emphasis to try to be 'inside in villages' (inside the Messianic Jewish Movement from the point of view of Jewish women), not only study villages (from outside).

Although I have not lived in Ukraine, but gathered empirical material and was able to intuitively recognize their inner Jewishness. To arise from a Communist Soviet citizen to a religious Messianic Jewish woman was a miracle, a unique process that I was personally witnessing. Presumably many of informants of this study felt a need to live on the borderland of Jewish and non-Jewish identity, although the ideal was clear: To become Jewish, to honour and admire Jewishness.

¹²⁸⁶ Zech. 2: 8. "For thus says the LORD of hosts: For honour he has sent me to the nations which plundered you; for he who touches you touches the apple of his eye." According to: Hebrew Names version of the Web Bible.

From the very beginning of this study I have collected and analyzed research data scientifically and validly in accordance with high ethical principles such as honesty, accuracy and respect for other scientists' results.¹²⁸⁷

I noted the understandable strong criticism aimed at the Soviet Union, Russia, the wartime Nazi regime, etc by many Jewish scientists and informants and where possible have sought to present those views accurately and fairly (without taking sides). Nevertheless, it was impossible not to find it disquieting there is still such reluctance to accept or take ownership of the wrong-doings particularly in Ukraine. Jews in Ukraine have a clear understanding of it, who has been their persecutors and oppressors. Generally I checked the facts of what the informants told me in order to ensure its accuracy. Where there was over-reaction towards Jewishness I understood that admiration and glorification was an integral part of Messianic Judaism in the Messianic Jewish Movement in 2000. Elimination of these exaggerations would distort the results. It is a question of nostalgia and longing for a Jewish world in a still frequent anti-Semitic society which *per se* is an important research finding.

From the point of view of source criticisms to use studies of Jewish researchers/authors is a big advantage but it increases the reliability of this study: To observe, understand and describe phenomena of the Jewish world through Jewish scientists. All main authors who have studied the Jewish world and Jewish women and whose works I use are for the most part recognized international Jewish scholars. Likewise, all main authors who have studied Judaism and whose works I use are usually internationally well known Jewish scientists. Sources of Messianic Judaism which I use in this study are quite new, but they belong to the growing basic literature of the modern Messianic Jewish Movement and are well known across the Messianic world movement. I have avoided the literature which by general consensus is considered false or biased.

Those readers who are outside of Jewish study tradition may sometimes experience difficulties to quickly access the Jewish world with for them some strange phenomena in the text and so I have used a lot of references and footnotes to assist to figure things out as well as the glossary of Hebrew and Jewish words at the beginning of study.

Bridge between Traditional Western and Traditional Jewish Comprehension

This study would have an advantage if I had analyzed more systematically the relationship between non-Jewish Ukrainians and Jews with the terms of 'sameness' and 'difference' because identity is performing with these two attributes.¹²⁸⁸ Really, I was often uncertain in the use of those terms and sometimes as an alternative used the words 'we' and 'others', 'insiders' and 'outsiders' etc. The state of identity among Jews was often blurred because of the strong shaping process and this was one reason I decided to ignore the systematic comparison of 'sameness' and 'difference' to focus more carefully on *transition characteristics*: Many people lived just on the 'edge of these terms'. Informants' reflections may also be symbolically like on the bridge between 'strange' Jewishness and Western scientific understanding.

In this study building a *bridge* between traditional Western and traditional Jewish comprehension has been challenging however the science is neutral *per se* and works outside and within these preconditions.

I ask from Western social scientists: Can 'religion' be found 'here and there', if you do not know 'something' about it beforehand? Can you recognize how Jewishness manifests in general and in particular situations like in family life? Is it possible to interpret its characteristics and meanings in the same manner as Jews do? The Messianic Jewish Movement brings this polarity (West/Jewishness) into light

¹²⁸⁷ The reason why I did not use to a greater extent theories and concepts of previous social movement's studies e.g. sociologists Eyerman and Jamison's 'cognitive approach' or the concept 'milling' as the idea of such methodology like the grounded theory methodology (by Glaser and Strauss) is unambiguous: The new generated concepts and theories should stem directly from the empirical material. On the other hand, by using the OOM as a scientific technical instrument I was able to produce such new significant concepts – like the main concept 'family welfare' and others around it which stemmed from the empirical case material of Ukraine.

¹²⁸⁸ Benski 2012; Einwohner & Reger & Myers 2008, 1-17.

not only in theory, but also in practice. Therefore, this study attempts to bridge this gap (in our knowledge, view, values, understanding, traditions, etc), so that there is the possibility to understand human history and human life in a deeper and broader context.¹²⁸⁹ This study shows how social science - at least when it penetrates the sphere of *religion* - stems from deep ground-waters flowing from these ancient sources.

In 2000, in Ukraine Messianic Judaism seems to be strongly tied with the history of their territory. So Messianic Jews became mediators and carriers of traditional Jewish culture, on the other hand in the beginning of the movement it had adopted modern Jewish characteristics of America (the USA) meaning that an 'American style' is one model that shapes contents of ancient Judaism and Messianic Judaism into the modern world. It is clear that religion and spirituality seemed to strengthen the Messianic Jewish women's inner life, so, with social policy terminology: Women's religious/spiritual empowerment occurs. The social everyday pressures give strength to women to handle 'family welfare' as a natural part of religious encounters.

There are reasons to forecast that the created Mission view of Messianic Jewish women will in time bring new perspective for discussion of the family-welfare-religion combination also outside of Ukraine and the traditional Jewish world.

This kind of study if not the only one, is rare, and I therefore try to update religion's mandate in society from the point of view of social research and prove the importance and uniqueness of family, welfare and religion in a social context.

¹²⁸⁹ I think if I would use only my Western scientific knowledge with Scandinavian emphasis, I am sure I would scientifically *ignore* many interesting, important and fascinating points which stem not just from the ancient, but from modern Jewish world view and thinking. Whether science is 'neutral' when linking to our Western knowledge would be an interesting philosophical question to discuss?

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Central Points of Jewish History

The next table 5 lists *some basic features* of the history of Jews in chronological order applying sources of Ben-Sasson (ed.). 1999; Malamat 1999; Bromiley, G. W. & Harrison; E. F. & Harrison, R. K. & Sanford Lasor, W.S. & Smith, E. W. 1979; Evans and Porter (eds.). 2000; Zetterholm (ed.). 2007; Braziel 2008, and Albertz 2003; see: Timeline for the History of Judaism. The years can be different in different sources.

Table 5: The Central Points of Jewish History

The Central Points of Jewish History.	<p>I The Dawn of History ca. 3760 BCE Adam & Eve created (Year 1 of Jewish calendar). ca. 2500 (ca) BCE First houses built in Jerusalem.</p> <p>II To the Land of Canaan ca. 2000-1700 BCE Israel's Patriarchal period: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. ca. 1800 BCE First Jerusalem city wall built. ca. 1700-1250 BCE In Egypt: Moses, Ten Commandments. ca. 1700-1300 BCE The sojourn of Hebrew groups in Egypt. ca. 1280 BCE <i>Exodus</i> from Egypt, the Sinai Torah. Tribes in the land of Canaan: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin. Note: Joseph divided into Manasseh and Ephraim.</p> <p>III The First Temple ca. 1100 BCE The United Kingdom and the period of Judges. ca. 1035 BCE Saul. ca. 1000 BCE King David conquers the Jebusites and makes Jerusalem his capital. ca. 950 BCE King Solomon. ca. 970-931 BCE <i>Solomon builds the First Temple</i> on Mount Moriah in Jerusalem. ca. 931 BCE Israel divided into Northern and Southern Kingdoms. Judah: 13 kings, Israel: 19 kings. ca. 722-719 BCE Northern Kingdom (Israel) destroyed by Assyrians, and 10 tribes of Northern Kingdom exiled (the '10 lost tribes'). Ten northern tribes never returned (not yet), but moved to Mesopotamia and Media and later on to other regions. ca. 587/586 BCE Fall of the Southern Kingdom (Judah), <i>the First Temple destroyed</i>. The Babylonian <i>exile</i> starts (Judah, Benjamin, also part of Levi and Simeon, who dwelled with Judah). <i>As a matter of fact there were three deportations: ca 598/597 BCE, ca. 587 BCE and ca. 583 BCE when many Jews flee to Egypt and a possible third deportation to Babylon).</i></p> <p>IV The Second Temple ca. 541 BCE First Jews return from Babylon in small numbers to rebuild the city and its walls. ca. 539/538 BCE Return to Jerusalem begins from Babylon under Persian control; beginning of the Persian period. Seventy years of exile terminated. ca. 539/538-333 BCE Jews under the Persian rule. ca. 520-515 BCE. In Jerusalem: <i>The Second Temple built</i>. ca. 450 BCE The Torah (Pentateuch = first division of Jewish Scriptures) begins to gain recognition as Scripture. ca. 445-433 BCE Nehemiah is in Jerusalem for the first time. 333/331 BCE Alexander the Great conquers the Land of Israel: Jews under the Roman rule. ca. 333-63 BCE Hellenistic (Greek) period. ca. 332 BCE Alexander captures Jerusalem. Jews and Palestine under the Roman rule. ca. 200 BCE -135 CE Jewish Qumran community.</p> <p>V Yeshua of Nazareth ca. 20 BCE Herod the Great creates Temple Mount and <i>begins to rebuild the Temple</i> in Jerusalem.. ca. 30-100 CE <i>Messianic communities</i>, later the first Christian Church. ca. 3 BCE The Roman general Pompey captures Jerusalem. ca. 27 BCE-14 CE. Reign of the Roman Augustus. ca. +- 0 <i>Birth of Yeshua</i>. (<i>Different variation from the birth year of Yeshua is presented</i>). ca. 14-37 CE Reign of the Roman emperor Tiberius. ca 30 CE <i>The first (ancient) Messianic Jewish Movement emerged</i>. ca. 33/30 CE <i>Yeshua of Nazareth is crucified</i>.</p>
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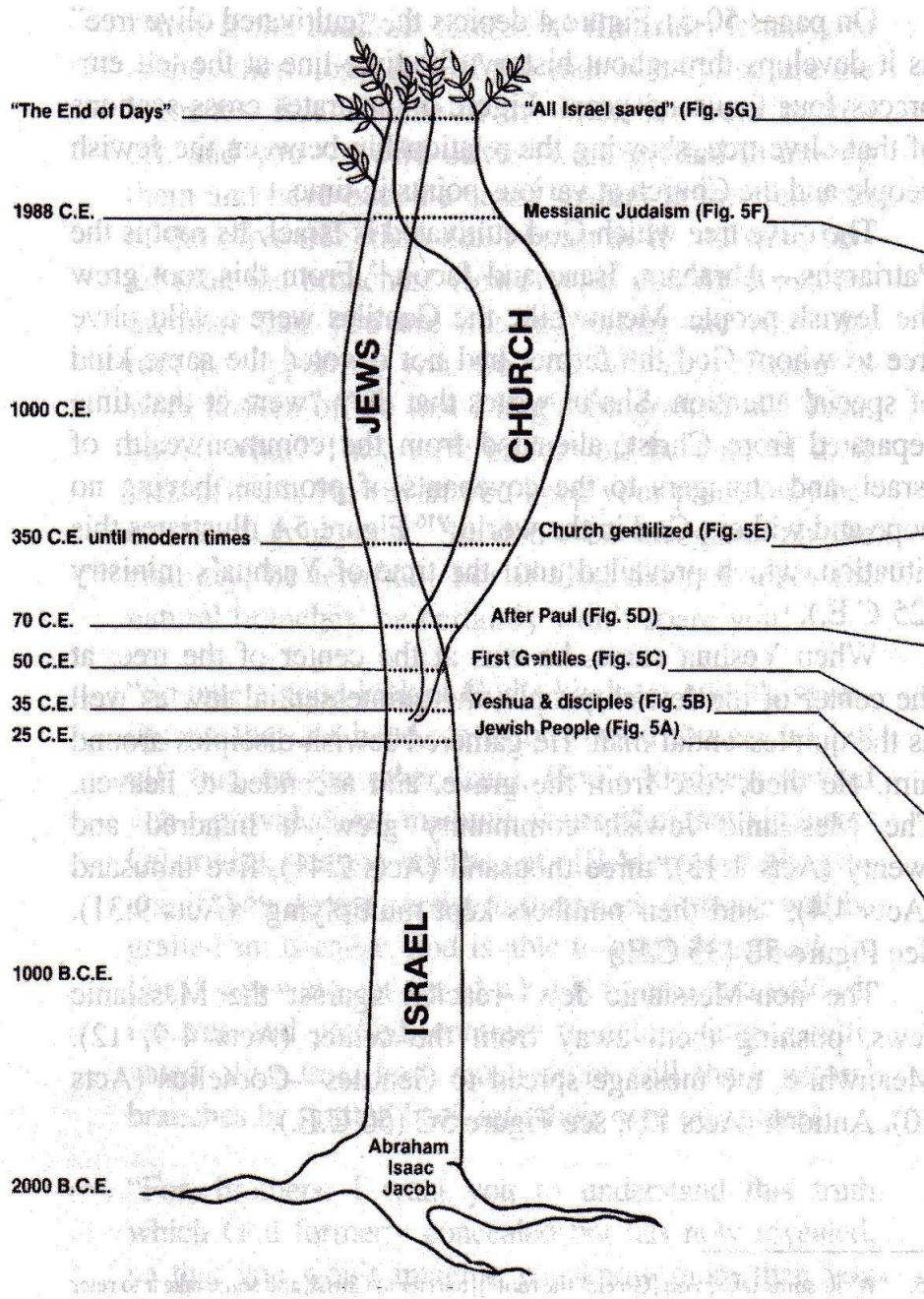
	<p>37 CE <i>Herod rebuilds the Second Temple</i>.</p> <p>ca. 50-55 CE Apostle Paul writes his letters.</p> <p>ca. 50-125 CE. The New Testament (NT) writings.</p> <p>ca. 66-70 CE First Jewish war against the Romans.</p> <p>ca. 70 CE Roman capture Jerusalem destroying the city.</p> <p>ca. 70 CE <i>Destruction of the Second Temple</i>.</p> <p>ca. 70 CE The Jewish Diaspora.</p> <p>ca 70-ca100 CE Period during which the four canonical Gospels are written.</p> <p>ca. 330 CE Jerusalem becomes part of Constantine's Byzantine Empire.</p> <p>ca. 368 CE Jerusalem Talmud compiled.</p> <p>ca. 380 CE <i>Christianity</i> becomes the religion of the Roman Empire.</p> <p>ca. 426 CE Babylonian Talmud compiled.</p> <p>5th and 7th century CE Final redaction of Babylonian Talmud.</p> <p>VI 1948 CE Independency of the modern State of Israel. The return from the <i>Diaspora</i> after the Second World War.</p> <p>VII Jews living in Israel and in the Diaspora.</p>
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Israelites

Historian Robert M. Seltzer emphasizes that instead of the term 'Jews', we should today use the term '*Israelites*'. Why? At the outset, all Israel was basically composed of 'Israelis'. When the Northern Kingdom of Israel was destroyed and the most of its people were dispersed, and some groups were captured and brought to Assyria, then the Southern Kingdom of Judah ruled the Israeli tribes alone. Judah was also placed into captivity (the Babylonian exile 587-538 BCE) and after this the term 'Jew' was widely used referring to all descendants of the twelve tribes/Israelites, not only to the tribes of Judah. The religion of the Jews developed during the Babylonian exile and its name Judaism refers to the heritage of 'Judah' and Jews. According to Seltzer, the proper name for Jewish people is 'Israel'. He refers to Deut. 6:4. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one", and Am Israel (the people of Israel), or, especially in Biblical times, B'nai Yisrael (Children of Israel, Israelites). 'Am Israel Chai' (Hebr.) is a often heard saying meaning 'Long live Israel'. As a matter of fact, Seltzer states that the English term 'Jews' comes, via Latin 'Judaus' and the Greek 'Ioudaios', from the Hebrew 'Yehudi'. Seltzer also mentions that, in the Greek and Roman world, Jews were the people whose tradition was derived from the country of Judea. 'Judea' in turns comes from 'Judah', the southern of the two kingdoms of the Biblical period, and earlier, one of the twelve tribes. (Seltzer R. M. 1980, 9) 'Hebrews' is, according to Seltzer, occasionally used for ancient Israelites and for modern Jews, but its earliest usage relates to a general social status rather than to the people as a whole (Seltzer R. M. 1980, 9). In some sources, it is mentioned that 'Hebrews' refers simply to an ancient, Biblical people, whose original language was Hebrew.

Appendix 2: The Cultivated Olive Tree

According to David H. Stern: The Church and the Jewish people through History (Stern, D. H. 2007, 50).



Appendix 3: Photos



Photo 1. An old Tombstone in the old Jewish cemetery (near the city of Berdichev in 2000). Photo by the author.

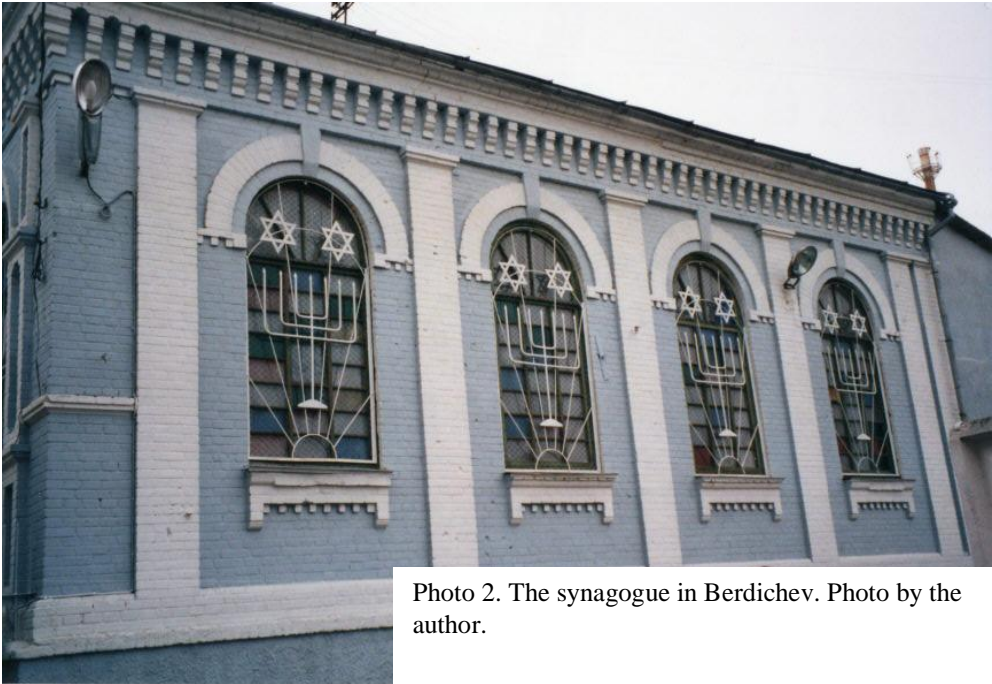


Photo 2. The synagogue in Berdichev. Photo by the author.



Photo 3. Masha reads the Torah.
Photo by Rabbi X.



Photo 4. The Bible Institute. (The author of this study standing in the class room of a Bible School in 2000). Photo by the author.



Photo 5. Children in Worship Service. Photo by Rabbi X.

Children worship in a Messianic congregation. On the stage can be found e.g.: children celebrating, musicians, two Tables of the Law of Moses, the Star of David (Hebr. *Magen David*) and the Prayer Shawl (in Hebr. a *Tallit*).

Appendix 4: Maps



Map 1. The Map of Ukraine. In: Rosen, R. 2010. (URL: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/vjw/ukraine.html> 2012-12-17).



Map 2. The Place for Expulsion – the Pale. (URL: <http://www.berdichev.org/mappaleofsettlement.htm> (2012-12-17)).



Map 3. Map of Canaan – 12 Tribe Portions. In: Bible History. URL: http://www.bible-history.com/geography/maps/map_canaan_tribal_portions.html (2012-12-17).

According to the Bible Jacob (named later as Israel) gave Joseph a double portion, so that both of his sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, became a tribe rather than just one tribe of Joseph. Jacob (Israel) was Abraham's grandson and he had twelve sons, listed here in order of age: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin.

There is written in the Bible (Italics is by the author):

Gen. 15: 18. "In that day the LORD made a *covenant* with Abram, saying, To your seed I have given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates." (According to the Hebrew Names Version of the World English Bible)

Gen. 17: 8. "I will give to you, and to your seed after you, the land where you are traveling, all *the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession*. I will be their God." (According to the Hebrew Names Version of the World English Bible)

Gen. 12: 2. "I will make of you a great nation. I will bless you and make your name great. You will be a blessing. 3. *I will bless those who bless you, and I will curse him who curses you*. All of the families of the earth will be blessed in you." (According to the Hebrew Names Version of the World English Bible)

Appendix 5: Judaism

Moses Believers on the Volga and Dnieper Waters

“...although a mother would raise her child an atheist, so in such difficult times, Jewish people had the will to turn to JHWH, even those who did not believe...”¹²⁹⁰

Previous chapters of this study have already touched on Judaism, so some repetition is seen in the text. In this appendix I however try to handle Judaism from the point of view of being an inspiration to Messianic Jews. While ending up with this kind of expression I have to remind the reader that it is difficult to draw a sharp line between traditional Judaism and Messianic Judaism: While searching for religious roots some Jews who attended Messianic Jewish congregations in Ukraine might in the end prefer to join the path of traditional, Orthodox Judaism. This is not as strange as Judaism and Messianic Judaism have the common ideological roots in the Torah: Both religious branches highlight *the family as the core cell in society*. From the point of a person the difference however is clear: Basically *Judaism is a familial religion* and *Messianic Judaism an individual religion*.

As we have seen the Jewish religion is not a new phenomenon in Ukraine. The Jewish religion has been practiced¹²⁹¹ in the region of Ukraine since the time, when Jews first came to live in the Black Sea region.¹²⁹² Practicing the Jewish religion is described in Christian literature often also with the term ‘judasizing’. Resistance to judasizing is one crucial factor for the suffering of Jews (e.g. Jews as Judaizers were burnt at the stake during the Inquisition).

Though as we have recorded at times in places the Jews succeeded in various societies/communities. Finland is not an exception. We have the old name for Jews which is ‘Moses believers’ who, according to Santeri Jacobsson traded for example with furs and leather down the Volga and Dnieper water trails right to the coast of Finland. Those Jewish traders, descendants of Traditional Judaism, renewed with characteristic Judaistic features during the Babylonian exile circa 600-400 BCE, were a thousand years later, in the era of the *Vikings* enjoying fruitful, positive relationships with people in the north, i.e. 800-1050 CE.¹²⁹³

Thus, Judaism is probably the oldest monotheistic religion in the world to have touched many civilizations in the south, east, west and north and that included the Black Sea region¹²⁹⁴, and Nordic Sea regions. Clearly these inter-communal trade relationships cannot have carried on in isolation from everything concerning the various peoples. It must have been inevitable that ‘welfare’, the theme of this research, will have been brought/shown/utilized by followers of the Jewish religion over a wide area of the known world.

In Roman times there were Jews from Phrygia and Pontos (Southern shore of the Black Sea) at the festival in Jerusalem¹²⁹⁵. The Bible describes that religious Jews travelled hundreds of kilometres to the south in order to take part in Judaic festivals during the time when the Apostles lived there. The Bible is an important literary source and I have found no other sources that have paid particular attention to the momentous fact that Jews had practiced the Jewish religion there in that Apostolic era. However, we should keep in mind only those who were seriously religiously motivated and/or rich enough could make such a long pilgrimage to the Holy land. These Jewish pilgrimages made people aware of ‘Moses believers’ and it seems were respected as a people who have one God - JHWH. *De facto*, the historical periods when Jewish culture blossomed eminently are based on rich ancient traditions and the spiritual heritage of Judaism. In the private sphere of life this meant a sheltered family culture with family education and, in the public sphere, Jews made trade with foreigners using different coping and surviving skills.

The Appreciation of Ancient Prophets, the Rabbis’ Teaching and Ancestors’ Ideas

The Judaism to be found on the soil of Ukraine combines these everlasting roots with the challenges of modern ex-Soviet society however it also needs that Idealism of the past carried through in the present and which is a striking point in Judaism.¹²⁹⁶ In the philosophy of Judaism, Idealism originates inter alia with for example ancient prophets, idealistic contemplation, the Rabbis’ teaching¹²⁹⁷ and ancestors’ ideas with those very elements which Jews have used to put into work.¹²⁹⁸ How is this revealed in this empirical study material? In many ways, like Queen Esther’s behaviour in the Bible motivated female informants of this study. The informant Tanya told me that she compares

¹²⁹⁰ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/50.

¹²⁹¹ Sacks 2000.

¹²⁹² Ohlinger and Münz 2003, 9.

¹²⁹³ Jacobsson 1951.

¹²⁹⁴ Sacks 2000, Evans and Porter (eds.). 2000.

¹²⁹⁵ According to Acts 2: 9-10.

¹²⁹⁶ Judaism is a religion, which extends to all aspects of life in humanity and this is clearly also seen in Messianic Judaism.

¹²⁹⁷ Steinberg 1975, 6.

¹²⁹⁸ Steinberg 1975, 145.

her life to that of Queen Esther. This leads her to call the synagogue by the name of Esther.¹²⁹⁹ The informant Lena asserts that she has her own models in her head - derived from ideals as well as from Idealism both from Biblical and traditional Jewish sources – as to how women and men should behave correctly and concretely in a marriage relationship.¹³⁰⁰

Over time, Judaism has become intermingled with prophecies containing the supreme religious ideal. This ideal connects culture and the physical world tightly together with the spiritual, Biblical world. So, prophecies have their own specific, very important place among people practicing Judaism. The prophecies concerning the Diaspora have guided Jews through hard circumstances in the Black Sea region, i.e. Jews there can feel that they belong to the Biblical nation with promises of JHWH.¹³⁰¹

The Task is to put Ideals to Work in Life

As seen before, Western philosophical Idealism has other/alternative emphasis than Judaism and the links of Western philosophical Idealism to Judaism are very limited.¹³⁰² Philosopher Herman Cohen who can perhaps be regarded as the most important Jewish philosopher, highlights that Western philosophical Idealism is based on Idealism of *nature*, but Judaism rejects this idealistic basis because nature is nothing in itself. Therefore, Cohen points out that *Judaism has nothing to do with Western thought, such as Plato's Idealism* because Platonic courage has only an ending.¹³⁰³ Rabbi and philosopher Milton Steinberg also highlights this issue, and he additionally points out the practical function of Judaism.¹³⁰⁴ According to him, "Law is an element in Judaism, last of all, because of the intense Jewish preoccupation with ethics and because of the historic Jewish insistence that ideals need to be put to work. If they be personal they must be translated into habits and disciplines. If they be social they must be incarnated in institutions, folkways and law. Otherwise, their cogency and content will evaporate, and they will be left in the end empty vessels."¹³⁰⁵ In this meaning, Heschel's declaration that Judaism would highlight both a *way of living* and a *way of thinking*¹³⁰⁶ seems to be correct.

To put things simply, in Judaism, there are two important factors: *Ideals* and *Practice*. *Thinking* concerns 'ideals' and *life* concerns 'practice'. *The task is to put ideals to work in life*. It then includes the dignity of a person¹³⁰⁷ and sanctity of human life and becomes reality in the partnership between humanity and JHWH.¹³⁰⁸

In other words, simplifying this: *Platonic and Hellenistic influence* on western culture is meant to place more attention on the admiration of 'external success' (beauty, money, best in sport, best in working life, etc) than does Judaism traditionally. One could claim that to adopt unilaterally Platonic ideas would lead to 'hard values' in priority. This does not mean whether Jews would work 'hard' for their own success, but referring to the moral Law of JHWH, the success of human beings is not achieved through oppression of others. One of the important principles in Jewishness refers to the rule: Do not forget those people who have not been lucky ones in their life. If we follow only 'hard values', i.e. if we prefer 'competition' between all citizens then perhaps your inherited individual skills, inherited money and your inherited social status will dictate the level to which you will achieve in society. Generally in the secular Western world people are assessed from the point of their external success. I think, this might be the path of society and some of their citizens becoming *socially excluded* by modern day practices and services. This kind of consideration with social morality arises from this study context.

The 'markets' might seek cost savings, and ask whether it is worth helping such kinds of people ... like elderly, handicapped and chronically ill (in Finland, Ukraine, elsewhere) who cannot produce the financial profit for society. I think such a cold calculation, where a life is assessed from the point of view of the social profit and the costs leads our human-kind sooner or later to destruction. Instead of the western sophisticated casuistry traditional Judaism offers a social way of *inclusion*. Judaism/Messianic Judaism offers spiritual and social support and traditionally it served also as a seat of judgement. All this meant security and *integrity* inside a community. The power of Judaism

¹²⁹⁹ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/52f.

¹³⁰⁰ In the archive of the author, in 2000. FSR/NO4/64f.

¹³⁰¹ Jeremiah 31:35. "Thus saith Jehovah, who giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, who stirreth up the sea, so that the waves thereof roar; Jehovah of hosts is his name: 36. If these ordinances depart from before me, saith Jehovah, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before me forever. 37. Thus saith Jehovah: If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, then will I also cast off all the seed of Israel for all that they have done, saith Jehovah." American Standard Version.

¹³⁰² Cohen, H. 1995, 46.

¹³⁰³ Cohen, H. 1995, 257, 292, 437f.

¹³⁰⁴ Steinberg 1975.

¹³⁰⁵ Steinberg 1975, 145.

¹³⁰⁶ Heschel, A. J. 1976; cf. 1983, 1997.

¹³⁰⁷ *De facto*, what is written above are ideals of Judaism. Sociologist Ted Benton proposes that in Idealism reality consists primarily of how people think about it and this depends on *human ideals* and theories. Benton stresses that people are not 'blank slate' on which external reality writes impressions of itself. Benton, 1977, 150

¹³⁰⁸ Sacks 2000, 59, 75.

for inclusion can be seen for example in practice in how Israel since 1948 has treated immigrants from all over the world in order to integrate them successfully in Jewish society.

Ethos of Pity

In the middle of a European financial crisis and economic hardship Jews in Ukraine search for efficient ways to go through 'turmoil'. Unlike the Greek and ancient Roman culture, in the history of the Jews poverty is met with compassion in Judaism. Because *poverty is considered a misfortune*, Judaism does not encourage people to enter into voluntary poverty as a form of piety unlike some forms of Christianity. I am reminded while referring to Mark R. Cohen, Jewish history scholar that *pre-Christian Greek or Roman philanthropy had little to do with the concrete needs of the people because there was no ethos of pity, or of helping people just because they were indigent*. Instead, pre-Christian Greek or Roman philanthropy was motivated by a *reputation* for oneself. Not until Christianity (whose roots are deep in Judaism) took pity on the poor was their suffering taken into account. Social work researcher Arthur L. Swift crystallizes this by saying that synagogues are the progenitors of charity. Out of ancient Israel's concern for justice and mercy towards the sick, the poor, the motherless, the widowed, from Micha and Hosea, Jeremiah and Isaiah, grew the compassion and devotion of Paul." In other words, charity, welfare, and Shalom refer to the same kind of phenomenon.

Collecting gifts for the poor, distributing food and clothing, providing shelter, providing a soup kitchen (Hebr. tamhui) and 'basket' (Hebr. quppa) form part of the weekly dole of bread or cash for residents (local or foreign). These belong to practical functioning of Judaism along with social policy services and social work, although implemented under the umbrella of Jewish communal charities. It is worth noting that Messianic Jewish women are intertwined with those Jewish factors with their vision (a Mission view) to put ideals to work in life.

Finally, I refer again to *tzedakah* (Hebr.), to which I have already referred as regards words of charity and charitable work. In simple terms, charitable work in Judaism means different practical acts on behalf of *those who have property and something to give*, e.g. help, to those who do not have such benefits. It is not surprising that charity is becoming a tool of regulated everyday social policy in Jewish communities in Ukraine. Theoretically, referring to the Torah, charity includes factors of righteousness such as social justice (in Hebr. mishpat). However, in Ukraine everything is in the first stages because financial resources are insufficient.

Judaic Institutions

Although the number of Jews has decreased in the country, Ukraine is home to the third largest Jewish community in Europe and the fifth largest Jewish community in the world. Different branches of Judaism, such as Conservative, Reformistic and Orthodox Judaism, have their own doctrinal accents. Other trends, such as Hasidic Judaism¹³⁰⁹ or Karaism¹³¹⁰, have also emerged in the Ukrainian region.

Since independence, Ukrainian Judaic institutions have grown rapidly and provide different religious and social welfare services supported mainly by wealthy Judaic organizations from among the 6.4 million (estimate in 2006) American Jewish community. Most support and donations come from the USA where prosperous adherents of Judaism live.

The number of Jews in the world was estimated at 13,090,000 at the beginning of 2006.¹³¹¹ According to other estimates, the largest Jewish populations are to be found in Israel (5,313,800), the USA (5,275,000), France (491,500), Canada (373,500), the UK (297,000), and Russia (228,000).¹³¹² These figures are indicative because the situation is changing continuously. The 250 organizations counted in more than 80 cities attest the rebirth of Jewish life in Ukraine.¹³¹³ In 2008, there were 14 pre-schools, 14 day-schools and 74 supplementary schools for Jews serving a total of 8,100 students.¹³¹⁴ In the beginning of 21st century, there were some 24 Rabbinic synagogues in

¹³⁰⁹ Hasidic Judaism is the most prominent group among the Orthodox. It is the Religious Movement that originated in 18th century in what has now become Ukraine and soon spread to Poland, Russia, Hungary and Romania. The word 'Hasidic' is derived from 'Hasidut' meaning 'piety', the word 'Hasidim' means 'the pious'. Ukraine has been a stronghold of Hasidim. In 2003 around 10,000 Hasidic pilgrims spent Rosh Hashana (the Jewish New Year) in Uman in Ukraine (Shevchenko 2005). It is worth noticing that Hasidic Judaism was founded in Ukraine in 1740, and by 1800 Ukrainian lands included nearly 3 million Jews. See: Uman 2010, and also Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2003a, 233-239, 293, 351, 440, 445, 463, 465; Seltzer, R. M. 1980, 485ff.

¹³¹⁰ Karaite Judaism or Karaism, meaning 'Followers of the Hebrew Scriptures' first emerged in the 8th century CE. Karaism rejected the oral law, but the Tanahk was their scripture. The movement emerged in the Persian Jewish community (Bagdad) in present day Iraq. In: Cohn-Sherbok, D. 2003a, 142-149, 175; Seltzer, R. M. 1980, 337ff.

¹³¹¹ DellaPergola 2007.

¹³¹² See: Mandell L. Berman Institute 2006.

¹³¹³ See: The Jewish Life. RISU 2001-2008.

¹³¹⁴ See: The Jewish Life. RISU 2001-2008.

Ukraine.¹³¹⁵ Judaism is also taught at the International Solomon University¹³¹⁶ in Kiev, at yeshiva schools and synagogues.

The Reform Movement of Judaism

There are over 40 Reform congregations in Ukraine. The movement concentrates on the reconstruction of the destroyed Ukrainian Jewish community by providing social services and social work such as voluntary charitable work among children (homeless children on the streets, orphan homes) and youth (physical, emotional and religious help). Additionally, the Reform movement is in charge of running many projects for elderly Jews, e.g. social service projects in Odessa. One main purpose is to *help assimilated Jews to reconstruct their Jewish identity* so that they can feel that they belong to the Jewish community through knowing its Jewish traditions. In this process, the basic purpose of education is to maintain religion and a Jewish life style in society. In the middle Ages, the Ashkenazi (Eastern European Jewish) system was composed of the kehillot (Hebr. singular kehillah). These were local Jewish community organizations. Each local kehillah according to historian Robert M. Seltzer elected a committee of trustees that collected taxes from its members and insured that basic educational needs were fulfilled. Education is at the heart of Yeshivas which are schools where Jews learn the Scriptures.

The Love Letter

The Torah is at the centre of religion everywhere in the Judaic world. The Torah is translated into English with the word 'Law' and according to Isidore Epstein the 'moral Law' includes two classes: Justice (refers to the human rights) and Righteousness (refers to the acceptance of duties).¹³¹⁷ But, although the Torah is translated with the word 'Law', its connotation is not only moral law, the Ten Commandments, but more teachings, or a *love letter*. Especially in the Christian world, the 'Law' may be interpreted as a juridic term, but this is not true according to intellectuals of Judaism. Spiritual leader, Rabbi Terry Bookman highlights the reality of the Torah by quoting Rabbal's words that 'the Torah is like one of those romantic historical novels, a love story between God and the Jewish people complete with moments of passion and *at-oneness*, lot of fights and crises with Moses, the Marriage therapist working to keep the marriage together'¹³¹⁸, (this refers to spiritual symbolism). In every synagogue, the Torah is lifted, honoured and admired, so that Jews, Synagogue (Hebr. Shul) plus the Torah belong seamlessly together. – Traditionally *Soferim* (Scribes, generally identified with the Men of the Great Assembly) taught the Torah in Synagogue and school.¹³¹⁹

The photo in Appendix 3 is an illustration of the synagogue in the city of Berdichev. Synagogues are places where Jews meet their holy Lover, JHWH. The Star of David and the Menorah on the windows are common Jewish symbols. This synagogue in the photo is only one of two left after the destruction of about 80 synagogues during the Second World War.

When I went inside this renewed, beautiful synagogue at the middle of the grey and cloudy day, I met some elderly Jewish men there sitting on a bench, dressed in brown leather jackets and fur caps on their head concentrated on playing some game before the worship service. They did not look like religious men, rather the contrary though while looking at them I came to understand they were somehow happy and 'felt at home there'; they could relax, feel safe and be consoled. Socializing with others in the synagogue belongs to social cultural fabric of Jewish community and results in a feeling of togetherness and commitment. Then I remembered that there are just a few, who are still alive and live here after the Second World War. When the Rabbi (originally from America) arrived, the men stopped playing and focused on the worship service. While nodding prayers in Hebrew by the Rabbi I wondered how much those men understood the message of the Torah. Perhaps, this was not the most important thing; perhaps more important was that Judaism provided them a place of tangible shelter among the non-Jewish majority. They had returned home from their spiritual exile, to their synagogue.

¹³¹⁵ Shevchenko 2005.

¹³¹⁶ The International Solomon University teaches: 'Philosophy' with a specialization 'Judaica', and 'History' with a specialization, 'History of the Jewish people and culture'. According to information the purpose of the Faculty is to give rebirth to the Jewish tradition in the field of education, studying and scientific research of the materials concerning Jewish cultural heritage in Ukraine. Compulsory foreign languages for studying are Hebrew and English. See: The Solomon University.

¹³¹⁷ Epstein 1968, 19ff.

¹³¹⁸ Bookman 2005, 70.

¹³¹⁹ Epstein 1968, 86.

SUMMARIZING this we can see that Judaism is based in principle on a worldview that challenges every Jew to help and protect every human being as a whole, as a created person, whose life is dignified and holy through the relationship with JHWH. The holiness includes the domain of morality, the sage (Wisdom of JHWH) for humanity. For example Talmudic practical teaching says: “He who lifts a hand against his fellow although he did not strike him is called a wicked man”¹³²⁰. There is a practical link between welfare, religion and the *responsibilities* of Jewish community.

¹³²⁰ T. Sandherin, 58b, in: Epstein 1968, 146.

Appendix 6: Christianity

Ukraine: The Bible Belt of Religion and a Hub of Evangelical Church Life, Education and Mission

This appendix describes how Christianity revived in Ukraine after the Russian revolution in 1989. Underground Christian assemblies did not need to work anymore in silence, in hiding, individuals and groups were no longer under threat because of faith.¹³²¹

The new, modern Messianic Jewish Movement emerged quite suddenly between Judaism and Christianity however, not totally separate because for example Messianic Jewish women worked together with Christian women in Ukraine. Also Yeshua is the same for both groups, cf. in a previous chapter we saw that JHWH is the same God for Messianic and Judaic Jews. The process in Ukraine was so powerful that it is not entirely a surprise that when anthropologist Catherine Wanner went to Ukraine in 1990 to do research on the nation-building process, she ended up recognizing in amazement that *Ukrainians' attention was turned not so much to politics*, but to religion and spirituality. According to Wanner, since the early 1990s, Ukraine has become not just the 'Bible Belt' of religion, but also a hub of evangelical church life, education and missions.

De facto:

there is no denying the simultaneity of the resurgence of Religion and the demise of Socialism.¹³²²

Evangelicalism is by definition a Protestant Christian movement and emerged first in Great Britain in the 1730s. In part the Evangelical movements were a reaction to the rapid changes brought on in society, particularly the lower classes, by the Industrial Revolution and rapid population increase in the British Isles. Its chief characteristics are: a belief in the need for personal conversion that is, being born again (Greek 'metanoia'); a high regard of Biblical authority; an emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus.¹³²³ However, in present-day Ukraine, there is renewed interest in very many varieties of religious traditions. The Christian sector is really pluralistic, and more or less complex.

History of Christianity in Ukraine

Christianity came into the Black Sea region after Jews and the Jewish religion. Ukrainians (Slavs) were originally pagans, but it is worth noting that culture meant as a matter of fact religion above all in the first millennium CE. Christian features came from Byzantium to Ukraine. Although the first efforts to bring Christianity to the Black Sea coast had already taken place before the Council of Nicea (325 CE), the formal governmental acceptance of Christianity did not occur until 988 CE. According to Wilson, there is a tradition that the whole of Rus was baptized into the Christian faith by Prince Volodymyr of Kiev in 988 CE.¹³²⁴ Christianity proved to be successful in the Kievan Russian culture and economy. On the other hand, according to studies, pagan cults were very slow to disappear and were often mixed with Christian customs.¹³²⁵ Various phenomena in society, such as the influence of monasteries and libraries, a school for clerics (in Novgorod) and chronicles of Ukrainian history, 'Povesti vremennyh let,' (Engl. Tale of Bygone Years), gradually started to shape the identity of Ukraine. Innumerable churches and the Golden Gate became symbols of that time of blossoming.¹³²⁶

This was, however, an unstable time and the Mongols sacked Kiev at the beginning of the 13th century. When later Poland and Lithuania conquered great parts of Ukraine, Roman Catholic nobles from Poland brought new papist influences with respect to the Pope into Ukraine, although the masses/services in churches complied with Greek Catholic¹³²⁷/Greek Orthodox custom. In this way, the Uniate Church was formed. It was independent of the archbishop of Moscow, but united in 1595 to form the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with 3,317 communities, the second largest number of religious communities of the churches present in Ukraine.¹³²⁸ Thus, the modern-day Ukrainian religion dates back to the first millennium.

Despite the rapid growth of Protestants, Ukraine remains a largely Orthodox country with different branches. I have categorized branches in five groups: 1) Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kiev Patriarchate¹³²⁹. Re-established in

¹³²¹ Cf. Herlihy 1993, Little 1998.

¹³²² Wanner 2007.

¹³²³ Cf. Bebbington 1989.

¹³²⁴ Wilson, A. 2002, 33.

¹³²⁵ Magocsi 1998, Wilson, A. 2002; Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997.

¹³²⁶ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 37ff. See also: Krawchuk 2003.

¹³²⁷ See: The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, 2009.

¹³²⁸ Magocsi 1998, Wilson A. 2002, Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997.

¹³²⁹ See: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church., Kiev Patriarchate, 2008.

1992, over half the population belong to it. 2) Ukrainian Orthodox,¹³³⁰ Moscow Patriarchate,¹³³¹ about 26 % of the population. It operates as an autonomous church under the Moscow Patriarchate. 3) Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church¹³³². Since 1993, it has been re-organized into an independent church. It has 1015 parishes and almost 697 churches. Over 7% of the population is members of this church. 4) The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church¹³³³ has about 8% of the population as members after being re-established in 1989. It was originally formed after the Union of Brest in 1596. It has 3317 parishes making it the third largest domination in Ukraine. There are small churches, such as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church and Roman Catholic Church¹³³⁴ (2.2 % of the population). The Ukrainian Uniate Church had 2,700 Uniate churches in 1992¹³³⁵. One of the smallest religious entities is the Ukrainian Lutheran Church with 2500 adherents, 25 congregations and 11 mission stations¹³³⁶.

This Basic Biblical Teaching after the Collapse of Communism

After the collapse of Communism, evangelism gathered a lot of interest and huge numbers of American and other missionaries came to Ukraine. They assisted in the development of an evangelical infrastructure e.g. seminars and printing religious literature, and they also started charitable work.¹³³⁷ Many of Ukraine's urban evangelicals participated in politics, like the Orange Revolution in the winter of 2004 with hopes of pushing the balance toward democracy.¹³³⁸ In some Kiev churches nearly every member participated in the demonstrations.¹³³⁹ Evangelical prescriptions on morality arrived presumptively at a moment when people were quite prepared to hear them.¹³⁴⁰ With so many new converts, *education* was number one in priority: *This basic Biblical teaching* was important for new Christian proselytes who were starting to study the Bible from point zero. Yet, some have criticized current evangelical churches as being too conservative though it is understandable that they have taken a somewhat narrow doctrinal view based their Bible interpretation. Even Pentecostal churches tend to be traditional in Ukraine. It is said that they practice moral asceticism, e.g. women wear headscarves.¹³⁴¹ It is certainly difficult to analyze Religious Movements from the outside without understanding, as one informant perceptively pointed out, just how enormous a step it is to confess to being Christian in the ruins of 70 years of 'Soviet theology'/ideology. Many have taken this step however and I witnessed hundreds and thousands of persons who wanted to know more about religion at the sport stadium in Lviv (2003) and in cultural centres in Odessa (2001) and other places (2001, 2003). Observing these Ukrainians it was impossible to categorize them coming as they did from for all sections of the community, females and males, small children to elderly people.

Political Life and Religion

Churches are certainly heavily engaged in social (and political) development, although it may be difficult to confess it. An article written by the Lutheran Church categorically emphasizes that, 'the church is not involved in political life of the country. However, through its educational, humanitarian activities, through revival of spiritual values, the ULC (the Ukrainian Lutheran Church) contributes to strengthening of the democratic Ukrainian state'.¹³⁴² About ten years after the freedom of religions, Zhurzhenko noticed that the traditional opposition of the Uniate and Orthodox churches, the growing contradictions between the orthodox churches of the Moscow Patriarchy and the Kiev Patriarchy, have become more and more politicized¹³⁴³. Religion might be to some extent a forum of political battles; I refer the fact that over 100 ethnic nationalities live in Ukraine: Ukrainian 77.8%, Russian 17.3%, Belarusian 0.6%, Moldovan 0.5%, Crimean Tatar 0.5%, Bulgarian 0.4%, Hungarian 0.3%, Romanian 0.3%, Polish 0.3%, Jewish 0.2% (103, 591)¹³⁴⁴, other 1.8%. of a total of 48.5 million.¹³⁴⁵ It is amazing how quickly Ukraine evolved into a country of religions in about twenty years, but in comparison, this is hardly anything when viewed alongside the long, arduous journey made by Ukrainian Jews.

¹³³⁰ Cf. Gerus 2003.

¹³³¹ See: The Ukrainian Orthodox Church Moscow Patriarchate, 2008.

¹³³² See: The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 2008.

¹³³³ See: The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

¹³³⁴ See: The Ukrainian Roman Catholic Church 2009.

¹³³⁵ See: The Ukrainian Uniate Church 1992.

¹³³⁶ See: The Ukrainian Lutheran Churches. Magocsi 1998, Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, Wilson, A. 2002.

¹³³⁷ Wunderink 2008a.

¹³³⁸ Wunderink 2008b.

¹³³⁹ Wunderink 2008c.

¹³⁴⁰ Becker, A. 1991, Bebbington 1989.

¹³⁴¹ Wunderink 2008a.

¹³⁴² See: The Ukrainian Lutheran Churches.

¹³⁴³ Zhurzhenko 2002.

¹³⁴⁴ In different statistics the number of Jews is told differently.

¹³⁴⁵ Pilipenko & Kasjanov 1997, 10.

SUMMARIZING this we can see that the situation in Ukraine is unclear and unstable in many ways even concerning Orthodox Christianity. Nonetheless, at the local level, *Ukraine has returned to its religious roots*. After the wearying, stagnating Communist era the everyday occurrence of the ringing and sound of church bells reaching out to all Ukrainian citizens symbolizes there is now freedom of thought and therefore freedom religion/worship for all.

The Empirical Case Study in the Shadow of the 'Old Pale' in Ukraine

Empirical and qualitative approaches, used also in this study, have given new understanding to the Jewish life. *The life is the main interest for social policy*, because it forms a basis for the other phenomena of societies. I have obtained first-hand material from social life and I have developed concepts, insights, and understanding in the context of the past and present situations of my informants.

In December 2000 (4th - 17th), I visited Ukraine and gathered empirical case material from places wherein the 'Old Pale' was existed and located.¹³⁴⁷ I analysed empirical material from January 2001 to September 2003, so that a preliminary study report was ready by August 2003. I made another journey to Ukraine (August 21st - September 1st) and then some key informant in Zhitomir and Lviv then read it. They gave me feedback, and also certified that I had written things accurately and truthfully. Empirical source-material gathered from Ukraine is seen as possessing an important role - it is a '*colossus*,' a unique and invaluable corpus in this study. However, in order to apply the fascinating and complex demands of the OOM I also made extensive use of much theoretical literature and source material to contribute to the overall research and conclusions.

The empirical material consists of *discussions* with informants in Odessa, Zhitomir, Berdichev and in St. Nikolayev. At that time, the Messianic Movement was rooted in the Western and Southern parts of the country. In 2000, I gathered material from 47 informants (female and male) during *discussions* that lasted from approx. 20 minutes to 5 hours. I met some informants twice and others many times. I had the possibility to be *continuously* in contact with some key informants throughout this period because I lived and travelled with them. For example, in 2000, I made a long train journey from Odessa to Zhitomir and had the possibility to interview one key informant the whole day and night. I met with another key-informant, a Rabbi's wife, for almost two days at her home: she was one of four Rabbis'/pastors' wives I had contact with who were active in the Messianic Movement and regularly talked with them.

Observations

Most of my informants I met by arranging appointments in places they frequented like soup kitchens and congregations, but also in their homes. I took part in different happenings and actions such as worship services of Messianic congregations, in Bible study and prayer groups at homes, a baptism on the bank of Dnieper River, visits to the homes of key informants, an orphanage, market places, shops, etc. Later, in 2003 I took part in the Messianic Gospel Festival (for example see web-pages: Jewish Folk Music Festival 2010) and in an International Messianic seminar. Additionally, I took part in informants' everyday lifestyle activities, e.g. eating at their homes and restaurants, shopping, a walk on a Black Sea beach and in a car ride on the black soil plains. With each and every informant meeting I made notes and recorded some *discussions*. Every day I took photos, (collected documents), made observation and notes by pen to my book, and generally *at evenings I wrote everything to my laptop computer*. The next morning, I was emotionally very charged, because I had internalized the previous day's 'issue' and now I wanted to get ahead.

Informants of Discussions and Interviews

The empirical material from 31 informants was gathered in the Southern part of the country in Odessa, and 16 informants encountered in St. Nikolayev in the South, and also in Zhitomir and Berdichev, near Kiev. Most of the informants in contacts and *discussions* identified themselves as Jews (36 from 47 informants; 11 said they were non-Jewish). Those who said that they are Jewish obviously already knew their ethnicity, or they had found their ethnic Jewish roots during this transition process in Ukraine. Perhaps some of informants did not want to reveal their ethnicity because to be non-Jewish was the safest way. *Jewishness meant ethnicity for them*. However, most of the Jewish informants said that they believed in JHWH and many also in Yeshua *making them Messianic Jews*. It is worth noting that they really had identified themselves as being Jewish. Not all bore official papers testifying to this. Elderly Jews sometimes had passports with a description of *their Jewish nationality*.

From the 47 informants, 26 were female and 21 men. The average age of adult informants was 47.6 years. Of these informants, 23 were single or they did not express their marital status; 18 persons were married and 6 persons

¹³⁴⁶ I refer to the chapters 'Ethnographic Writing (2.2.) and the OOM (the Organization Onion Model, in: 2.3.).

¹³⁴⁷ In April 2001 (17th - 28th), I met Diaspora Jews in Poland, in towns such as Warsaw, Katovitz, Krakow, Auschwitz and Lodz. Although I do not use Polish material directly in this study, however contacts like holocaust survivor Benjamin (whom I invited to Finland), and the leader of the Chewra Humanitarian Foundation in Warsaw were important, as well as visits to camps (Auschwitz, Birkenau), and the Isaac Synagogue in Krakow. During these trips, I started to search for Jews and ethnic phenomena in the Eastern European culture.

lived with some family. The occupations or status (present or previous) of the informants in society were composed as follows: secretary, teacher, music teacher, musician, engineer, financial inspector, instrumental worker, salesperson, housekeeper, housewife, cleaner, Rabbi/pastor, wife of Rabbi/pastor, student, school girl, school boy, helper of the elderly, taxi-driver, helper in the Orthodox synagogue, pensioner, soldier, sailor.

A Supplementary Questionnaire

I also conducted the gathering of supplementary material in the Bible Institute by means of a questionnaire. Three questions were put to 33 informants: How would you describe Jewish women in Ukraine? What kind of women are they according to your own experiences? Could you mention some characteristics of Jewish women in Ukraine? People wrote their answers on paper. From 33 students 10 stated clearly that they had Jewish roots; 17 informed me that this was not so, and 6 did not mention it. There were, however, students, who were not sure of their ethnic background. The average age of the 19 female and 14 male students was 26 years.

discussions = in discussions and interviews I had an interpreter and with texts used a translator from Ukrainian/Russian into English/Finnish. In some cases, I spoke German as with the German the pastor who supported orphan children.

Biographies – A Hunger of Memory

During these 12 years I have read continuously a great deal of material, studies and other literature about my study questions. As known every publication may give something new and important that constructs and re-constructs your previous thinking and conceptualization. An ethnographer is making studies as if ‘inside’ a stream, where water of the stream will continuously bring new vital experiences that s/he has constantly to analyze.

As one important source material I chose ten memoirs (autobiographies¹³⁴⁸ and confessions)¹³⁴⁹ using them with an ethnographic reading and writing approach¹³⁵⁰ in order to place my study within the larger framework of the Jewish world through these stories.¹³⁵¹ The memoirs helped me as a researcher to understand Jewish life in its dimension of *Particularism* and *Universalism*¹³⁵² as a part of its own significance and also as a part of humankind. Those 10 selected memoirs of Jews were important because I could see in general terms whether my informants spoke of similar kinds of experience than those who had written their memoirs. To some extent my informants and memoir-writers belonged to the same global Jewish family with quite similar social historical experiences. From the point of reliability my research confirmed I could trust in my informants’ narratives: They interpreted the Jewish life more or less with their common ‘code language’ drawn from their collective Jewish memory and understanding, although every individual had unique, subjective expressions. My personal experience with them let me place trust and have confidence in my Ukrainian informants’ veracity. So, the role of the 10 memoirs from the viewpoint of this empirical Ukrainian case study is rather to be the *cross-checking*, the reference, control material for reliability in this triangulative study process.

¹³⁴⁸ Cf. Bourdieu 1986.

¹³⁴⁹ The biographical and confession memoirs were written by Frédéric Baudin (2000), Zvi Barlev (1991), Mary Berg (2007), Harry Bernstein (2007), Martin Doerry (2003), Masha Gessen (2006), Aavram Khasin (2000), Roma Ligocka (2001), Heidi Tuorila-Kahanpää (2003) and Eliel Wiesel (1986).

¹³⁵⁰ Rubin 1989, 1999; Bishop 1999, Freeman & Frey 2003, Kiadó 2005, Suleiman Rubin 1995, 2002, 2008. Also Atkinson, P. 1990, Atkinson, P., Coffey, Delamont, Loftland, J. and Loftland, L. (eds.)(2005).

So, that you can write autobiography, you need ‘hunger of memory’. This concept ‘*hunger of memory*’ is borrowed from Richard Rodriguez, writer of an autobiographical essay (Rodriguez 1981).

¹³⁵¹ Cf. Bertaux (ed.) 1981, Bertaux & Kohli (1984), Bourdieu 1986, Carr 1986, and Church 1995.

¹³⁵² Cf. Heilman’s (2001) study includes this problematic.

SUMMARIZING this chapter it is easy to say that I value my *results* of the empirical case material from Ukraine as a precious Pearl. For example, at the micro-level many Jews know personally much about their oppression over time in Ukraine. On the other hand, the most comprehensive material from the point of view of the whole triangulative study process with emphasis on religion and socio-history of Ukraine is however theoretical literature sources. Only macro-level statistics can reveal precisely how great was the destruction in Ukraine, when, where and what happened there. - On the other hand, although the theoretical literature sources consist of much texts by different authors and include official statistics, documents, academic studies and articles¹³⁵³, *in order to reveal what really happened there* e.g. in Messianic Jewish congregations in 2000, this empirical case material is needed – definitely: ‘empirical’ and ‘theoretical’ sources are connected to each other.

¹³⁵³ The theoretical source material focused on the Social Movements (like Melucci 1980, Melucci 1992a, Melucci 1992b, Neidhardt & Rucht 1991; McCarthy and Zald 1977, 2002; Rammstedt 1978), history of Ukraine, social problems like poverty, history of Jews, religion, the emergence of the Messianic Jewish Movement, and the Diaspora.

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