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**Negotiating New Territory: Indian Jewish Women  
in the Family in Toronto**

*This article explores the obstacles that Indian Jewish women faced in the immigration and settlement process in Toronto between 1964 and 1980. I argue that the feminization of domestic labour created new and unforeseen challenges for Indian Jewish women in family life in the aftermath of arriving in Toronto. These challenges reflect not simply that they became solely responsible for the mundane performance of domestic labour and childcare, but also the importance of these tasks in maintaining Indian Jewish culture and identity within the family.*

*Cet article analyse les obstacles que les femmes juives indiennes ont rencontrés lors de leur immigration et installation à Toronto entre 1964 et 1980. J'estime que la féminisation du travail domestique est à l'origine de défis nouveaux et inattendus pour les femmes juives indiennes dans leur vie familiale après leur arrivée à Toronto. Ces défis reflètent comment ces femmes sont non seulement devenues les seules responsables des tâches domestiques quotidiennes mais reflètent aussi l'importance de ces tâches dans le maintien de l'identité et de la culture juive indienne de la famille.*

When Indian Jewish immigrants arrived in Toronto between 1964 and 1980, their first priority was to attain socio-economic stability and settle into Canadian life. But for Indian Jewish women, settlement in Canada meant a different experience than for their male counterparts. Many of these women arrived with significant educational credentials and professional work experience, but they were not prepared to embrace mundane domestic labour duties. In India, these women had enjoyed being part of the professional middle class. This privilege included having a range of servants to perform all domestic duties. After immigration to Canada, husbands expected their wives to be solely responsible for housework and childcare that they associated as “women’s work.” Indian Jewish women expected a drop in their standard of living upon arrival in Toronto, but they struggled to perform these household tasks, all of which had been relegated to hired help in India.

This article explores the obstacles that Indian Jewish women faced in the immigration and settlement process in Toronto. I argue that the feminization of housework and childcare created new and unforeseen challenges for Indian Jewish women in family life after arriving in Toronto. These challenges reflect not simply the mundane performance of domestic labour and childcare, but also the importance of these tasks in maintaining Indian Jewish culture and identity within the family.

This study is based on in-depth interviews with nine Indian Jewish women, five of whom immigrated as adults between 1964 and 1980. Ages ranged from 29 to 77 years at the time of the interviews and are referred to by pseudonyms. Their oral histories shed light on the unique settlement experiences of Indian Jewish women through their own voices, and the obstacles they encountered that were different from that of their male counterparts. Housework and childcare were feminized work in India

performed largely by female hired help from the poor, working class. After immigration to Canada, Indian Jewish men assumed that household labour and childcare responsibilities belonged to their wives and other female family members. Their own role in the family was that of “breadwinner,” even while, in many cases, their wives worked in professional careers before and after immigration. These oral histories highlight how women play an important role in transmitting Indian Jewish culture and identities in their families and communities through their gendered association with domestic labour and motherhood.<sup>1</sup>

All of the respondents interviewed saw themselves as “Indian Jews” with distinct and specific cultural, historical, regional and linguistic identities of being “*Bene Israel*,” “Cochin Jews” or “Baghdadi Jews.” While these divisions were significant in India, the rivalries between the three communities disappeared after immigration when Indian Jews found themselves to be a small minority within the Ashkenazi (European) dominated Jewish community in Toronto.<sup>2</sup>

The Indian Jewish community in Toronto includes all three communities. The *Bene Israel* represent the vast majority of Indian Jewish immigrants in Canada, most of whom arrived from cities in the Konkan region such as Mumbai, Pune, Ahmedabad, Kolkata, and Karachi (now part of Pakistan). The Baghdadi Jews settled in India in the early 1800s from Arab lands such as Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and other parts of the former Ottoman Empire, and emigrated from cities such as Mumbai and Kolkata. The Cochin Jews include two distinct communities that emigrated from the City of Kochi and the Kerala region. Indian Jews use the terms “Indian Jews,” “Jews of India,” “*Bene Israel*,” “Baghdadi Jews” and “Cochin Jews” to refer to their identities and to distinguish themselves from both Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews.

This article focuses on the events that led to the immigration of the Indian Jewish women interviewed, as well as their immediate and long-term experiences of settlement in Toronto. I begin by exploring feminist analyses to explain the feminization of housework and motherwork in Indian Jewish women’s lives prior to and after immigration. I examine changes to Canadian immigration policy in 1962 that allowed Indian Jewish families to immigrate to Canada. I discuss everyday life for Indian Jewish women in the family in India, how this changed in the aftermath of settlement, and how Indian Jewish women dealt with these changes. Finally, I explore the importance of the role of Indian Jewish women in maintaining the family’s Indian Jewish culture and identity in Canada.

### **The Feminization of Domestic Labour and Childcare**

Socialist feminists have highlighted the historical processes through which women became associated and solely responsible for housework and caregiving (child

and elder care) in families. This unpaid labour is vital to the survival of the family, while also remaining unrecognized, invisible and therefore not valued.<sup>3</sup> Anti-racist feminists built on socialist feminist analysis, drawing attention to how women's experiences within the gender division of unpaid labour in the home (and in paid labour) shaped the lives of immigrant women and women of colour differently from their white counterparts through the intersections of race, class and gender, placing them in positions of subjugation and oppression in both national and international contexts.<sup>4</sup> A feminist political economy approach is based on socialist feminist and anti-racist feminist analyses, highlighting how women are differentially located within unpaid and paid labour with respect to domestic labour, caregiving and paid work through capitalist relations of production, state forces (including immigration policy), patriarchal heteronormative assumptions, and racism. A feminist political economy approach demonstrates how women's lives are constituted and shaped by these forces into family, state and market relationships.<sup>5</sup>

Prior to immigration, the lives of Indian Jewish women were shaped by their middle class, gendered, heterosexual social location within Indian society. They were able to hire poor, working class South Asian women to perform the bulk of the domestic labour and caregiving tasks. After immigration to Canada, these women and their families underwent a process of downward social mobility. Helen Ralston notes that the work of domestic labour and caregiving fell entirely into the hands of Indian (Jewish and non-Jewish) immigrant women. It became governed by the husband's work schedule, the children's school and after-school activities, public transit systems, the accessibility of other forms of transportation, access to shopping, access to household mechanization, plus their paid workforce participation outside the home. Ralston notes that none of these post-immigration changes affected men who made no, or very little, contribution to housework or childcare.<sup>6</sup> As Pramila Aggarwal and Tania Das Gupta argue, socialist feminists demonstrate that it is the women in the family that are assumed to be entirely responsible for the tasks of mothering and housework, whether or not they are employed in paid labour.<sup>7</sup>

A feminist political economy approach highlights how immigration policy, specifically the "family class" category of the Canadian points-based system, transforms women into legal dependents of their husbands and disadvantages immigrant women through patriarchal, heterosexist assumptions that expect the husband to apply as the "head of the household" through the immigration application process. For single women, there was greater likelihood of being turned down for immigration by the state on the patriarchal assumption that women were a financial liability and unable to support themselves. Only through specific programs, such as the Foreign Domestic Movement and the Live-In Caregiver Program, were single women admitted to fulfill a particular kind of labour as live-in domestic workers. These programs were aimed to bring in women of colour from the Global South temporarily

under a migrant worker visa with little possibility of permanent residency.<sup>8</sup> Cohen and Messika's study of North African Jewish immigrant families hints that Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) reproduced these patriarchal, heterosexist assumptions by concentrating on helping Jewish immigrant men find work while assuming their immigrant wives would take up the supporting role of housewife and mother.<sup>9</sup>

Indian Jewish families, unlike the Jewish immigrants who arrived in Canada prior to the 1950s, experienced downward social mobility. Their white Ashkenazi counterparts who arrived between the 1880s and the 1950s were almost entirely destitute and poor. The latter's standard of living generally rose slightly within the immigrant generation, but saw upward social mobility from poor, working class to lower-middle and middle class with their children's generation. By contrast, Indian Jewish families, like their non-Jewish South Asian counterparts, experienced downward social mobility, making immigration and settlement a very difficult experience. Indian Jewish immigrant women found themselves having to take on the double burden of being responsible for the housework and childcare, as well as working in paid labour. Those with young children found themselves socially isolated at home; responsible for all of the domestic labour and caregiving, while also removed from their extended family members and social networks they left in India or whom they saw emigrate from India to Israel or England. The research on South Asian immigrant women in Canada reveals that these women (Jewish and non-Jewish) all faced issues of overt and covert forms of discrimination (racism/sexism) that shaped their experiences within the paid workforce, even as professionally trained women, as well as in other social spheres.<sup>10</sup>

### **Indian Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Toronto**

Indian Jews began to leave India in large numbers throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, in the wake of Indian Independence in 1947 and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. From ancient times to Indian independence, the Jews of India never experienced any form of anti-Semitism or persecution. Under Hindu rule, tolerance of religious minorities had served as the cornerstone of Indian society allowing Jews, Christians, Parsis and Muslims to practice their religions and participate in all aspects of Indian society.<sup>11</sup>

When the British left, it created feelings of economic instability for the Baghdadi Jews. Baghdadi Jews had arrived in India in the 1800s to take advantage of the economic opportunities that opened up under British rule, and saw their economic, social and cultural interests aligned with the British. Baghdadi Jews left after Indian independence out of concern that their economic opportunities would disappear with the departure of the British. Many worked in the import-export business and worried that their economic success would be hindered under the new Indian gov-

ernment's trade legislation. The closure of these businesses also resulted in job loss for many Baghdadi Jews and some *Bene Israel* who were employed in these Baghdadi-Jewish owned businesses. Most Baghdadi Jews left India and settled in England and Australia. Smaller numbers arrived in Israel, Canada, and the United States.<sup>12</sup>

Indian independence was not an issue for the *Bene Israel* or Cochin Jews. They were completely assimilated within Indian society and identified with the non-Jewish Indian population. Although they, like their Baghdadi brethren, had benefitted financially under British rule, they saw their interests aligned with their Hindu and Muslim Indian brethren. By 1947, the vast majority of Bene Israel and Cochin Jews were supporters of an independent India. Their religious and spiritual devotion to return to the Jewish homeland served as a primary influence for their mass migration to Israel after Israel's independence in 1948.<sup>13</sup> All Cochin Jews immigrated to Israel. After 1990, only two Cochin families settled in Toronto seeking economic opportunities for themselves and their families after experiencing discrimination in Israel.<sup>14</sup>

A small number of *Bene Israel* went to English-speaking Western countries, including England, Australia, Canada and the United States. Those who immigrated to the West were part of the university-educated, English-speaking, professional, middle class that emerged during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They had been educated in British-run institutions and accepted Western values as signs of modernization and advancement. These *Bene Israel* men and women earned university degrees and held professional jobs in fields such as law, medicine, teaching, social work and engineering. The men tended to be educated in male-dominated professions, while the women held professional or white collar managerial or semi-managerial employment in feminized work. Das Gupta and Ralston note that South Asian women arrived in Canada with higher levels of education in comparison to other immigrant women, as many came from middle class families that encouraged and facilitated women's access to education in their home countries. The 1986 Canadian Census reported that over 80 percent of South Asian women were university educated and that over 40 percent were employed in professional and managerial positions in Canada. Das Gupta and Ralston also note that highly educated South Asian women tend to be concentrated in feminized professional and managerial positions as teachers, medical and health professions, and social service workers.<sup>15</sup>

Those who came to Canada did so seeking economic opportunities for themselves, and especially their children. They had professional employment and upper-middle class lifestyles in India. But their concern was that their children's future career prospects would be hindered if they stayed in India. The women interviewed stated that their children would have greater opportunities educationally and professionally if they immigrated to an English-speaking Western country, such as Canada. Schooling in India was moving away from the language of instruction in English to

Hindi and the provincial languages of India, and away from a Westernized style of education. Sarah Reuben, born in Mumbai in 1942 to a Baghdadi father and Bene Israel mother, stated:

There was never anti-Semitism or discrimination experienced by Jews in India. Many professional, upper-middle class, Westernized Indian Jews were interested in leaving and coming to the English-speaking West after Indian independence. The new Indian government wanted to eliminate English in schools and replace it with Hindi and the provincial languages. I did not want to raise my family in a society where they would have to learn languages that they would never use anywhere else in the world. I wanted to come to Canada. My husband wanted to go to Australia. But I won.<sup>16</sup>

In 1962, Canadian policymakers removed the discriminatory emphasis on race, ethnicity, and nationality from Canadian immigration policy and instead stressed educational credentials, employment experience, and work skills relevant to the Canadian economy as the basis for admitting immigrants. The new selection criteria were meant to attract and recruit highly educated international professionals to fill the void in professional employment that was required by Canadian businesses and the Canadian economy. These changes to Canadian immigration policy allowed for highly educated, professional people of colour, including Jews from India, to immigrate and settle in Canada for the first time. In the post-World War II era, Canada sought highly educated professionals from countries in the Global South, such as India, to fulfill the professional labour needs of the Canadian economy. JIAS began to receive immigration applications from Indian Jews who wished to come to Canada after 1962.<sup>17</sup> JIAS encouraged Indian Jewish newcomers who were already fluent in English to settle in English-speaking cities, such as Toronto and Winnipeg, rather than French-speaking Montreal, to facilitate an easier settlement process.<sup>18</sup>

The majority of Indian Jewish immigrants to Toronto were *Bene Israel*, with small numbers of Baghdadi Jews. All had high levels of secular, Western university education and professional work experience, were educated in British-run private schools (Anglican or Catholic) or Jewish private schools where English was the language of instruction, and received their professional schooling at Indian universities in English. Others attended universities in England, Canada and the United States for undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs.<sup>19</sup>

During the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian immigration officials generally recognized the educational credentials and professional work experience of Indian Jews, allowing them to obtain professional employment quickly and easily in Canada. Indian Jews had little difficulty finding professional employment in their field of training. Many arrived with pre-arranged employment. Others found professional work in

their field shortly after arriving in Toronto. As English speakers they did not face any language barriers. Indian Jews required little assistance from JIAS beyond their immediate reception.<sup>20</sup>

Between 1964 and 1980, Indian Jews arrived in Canada either directly from India or after first settling in England, Australia, the United States, or Israel. With the exception of a few Indian Jewish families who settled in Winnipeg, Montreal, and Kingston, Indian Jews primarily settled in Toronto and its surrounding suburbs. Since the 1990s, a handful of Indian Jewish families settled in Toronto after first living in Israel. By 1978, there were approximately 35 to 50 Indian Jewish families or between 140 and 200 Indian Jews living in Toronto.<sup>21</sup> Today, Indian Jews represent a small minority of 250 to 300 persons within the Toronto Jewish population. In 2011, the total Jewish population of Toronto was reported as being 188 715, of which 31 000 to 37 000 is estimated to be Sephardi Jews of North African origins, and the remaining 150 000 or so of Eastern European Ashkenazi origins.<sup>22</sup> Indian Jews today represent less than one percent of the Toronto Jewish population.

### **Indian Jewish Women in Families in India and Canada**

The Indian Jewish families that arrived in Toronto came from the professional, middle class. The Indian Jewish women interviewed claimed that they had in India, at the very least one, but usually three or more servants. In families where there was only one servant, the servant was a housekeeper or “maid.” These families also had a second “part time” servant who came twice a week or so to launder clothes. Indian Jewish families that only had one full time servant were less affluent than others, but still part of the middle class. Most Indian Jewish families had three servants (or more); one servant was a housekeeper for dusting and cleaning, a second was a cook, and a third usually came to launder clothing at least twice a week, plus at least one nanny to look after the children. Families with three or more servants tended to be doctors, lawyers, engineers, and successful business owners. By the 1930s, Indian Jewish families generally had at least one servant in their household. Having servants was not only a sign of one’s wealth and high social status, but also regarded as providing “poor people” with employment and income.<sup>23</sup>

It was common for Indian Jewish women to have a cook. The cook would ask the wife for meal plan decisions for the day, go to the market to purchase the items, and prepare the food. Meal decisions were made each day of the week and shopping at the market for food items occurred on a daily basis because of the lack of effective refrigeration. The cook was given money each day to purchase the food items and told to buy meat from the kosher butcher. Indian Jewish women did not do any of the cooking for the family, and they discouraged their daughters from participating in any household chores. Sarah Reuben stated:



Growing up in Bombay (Mumbai), my family had three servants, one to do the grocery shopping and cooking, a second that did the cleaning and dusting, and a third who was my nanny until I started high school in Grade 10. Another girl came a few times a week to wash clothes. My mother made all the meal decisions. My nanny walked me to school every day, then went back to my house and brought me a hot lunch from home to school for lunchtime every day, and then came back to walk me home from school. My grandparents lived with us and spent all their days in the house since they were no longer working, but cooking was done only by the cook. My mother never allowed me in the kitchen.<sup>24</sup>

Miriam Abraham declared, “Our lunches were brought to us hot at our school at lunchtime by our maid or nanny.”<sup>25</sup> Miriam, a Bene Israel woman born in Mumbai in 1940, described herself as privileged growing up in India:

I was spoiled in India. Maids picked up after me. I never did any household chores. I had a nanny who raised me. My grandmother and mother had the time to give me lots of attention because they had servants to do everything else.<sup>26</sup>

Miriam’s mother and grandmother had a close and loving relationship with her. Neither her mother nor grandmother were responsible for the day-to-day chores of motherhood, childrearing or child-related domestic labour. Those jobs were the responsibility of the nanny and other servants in the household. The presence of servants in the household allowed for Miriam’s mother and grandmother to selectively participate in childrearing and motherhood activities. The adult female family members in the household saw childrearing and household labour as their responsibility, but they relied on the servants to perform all of these daily tasks. The women in the family saw themselves as the primary caregivers of their children, but relied on the servants to perform the child-related domestic labour tasks that included taking the children back and forth to school, babysitting in the evenings, and getting the children ready for school in the mornings and for bed in the evenings. This allowed the women in the family to spend quality time with their children without being overwhelmed with the sole responsibility for all childcare related tasks.<sup>27</sup>

Both Sarah’s mother and father worked full-time. Her mother came from a large family and joined the workforce before finishing high school to help support her own parents and siblings. Sarah’s mother was a telephone operator for Bombay Telephone, and subsequently promoted to supervisor. These were considered middle class jobs, albeit feminized.<sup>28</sup> Even though Sarah’s maternal grandparents required Sarah’s mother and aunt to financially contribute to the family, they still had one servant (maid) and a part-time servant to launder clothing. They were considered middle class by South Asian standards and able to afford servants as part of this status.

Wages paid to servants were significantly less than those paid to telephone operators, clerks, and low-level government administrative positions. These white-collar jobs were considered middle class where the employment of servants to perform daily housework tasks was expected and affordable.<sup>29</sup>

Once Sarah's maternal grandparents retired, they moved in and lived with Sarah's family in India. Sarah's grandparents were not expected to perform any domestic labour or childcare tasks. Sarah's parents employed servants to perform these chores. Sarah's grandparents spent their days entertaining relatives and family friends, while doting on their granddaughter without any childcare or household responsibilities. Sarah's mother continued to work after she married and returned to work after having Sarah, her only child. Her job gave her prestige as well as income. Sarah's mother stopped working at the age of retirement in India (aged 55). In India, Sarah's mother was able to focus on her career and family without the burden of performing time-consuming and tedious domestic labour chores. Her only household responsibility was overseeing the housework and childcare performed by servants. The household matriarch oversaw the making of everyday and ceremonial foods but was not expected to participate in the preparation itself. These recipes were handed down from generation to generation between the women in the family. They were well versed in the ingredients needed and the traditional ways these foods were prepared. Their in-depth knowledge of these recipes and their preparation played an important role in reproducing the cultural continuity of Jewish culture in India as well as after immigration to other parts of the world, including Canada.<sup>30</sup>

Indian Jewish women saw childrearing and the household as their responsibility in India. However, the employment of servants and nannies made their lives easier and allowed them to spend time with their children and families without the stress of having to perform household chores and childcare activities. As a result, Indian Jewish women did not view motherwork and housework as an overwhelming burden for which they were solely responsible.<sup>31</sup>

Indian Jewish families expected their daughters to be well educated and marry within the Jewish community. In India, all Indian Jewish marriages were arranged between families within the community where both the potential bride and groom were given the opportunity to agree or reject the match. If either rejected the potential suitor offered, other potential matches were proposed until a marriage was successfully arranged. For Indian Jewish women, working in professional careers or attaining higher levels of education, especially university, served as a source of pride and a symbol of affluence for middle class families. Being a well-educated Indian Jewish woman was an asset and contributed to one's attractiveness as a good potential wife and marriage partner. Most Indian Jewish women born after 1930 attended university in India and obtained at least a bachelor's degree. Sarah Reuben attended

the University of Bombay and achieved a Bachelor of Arts in psychology and a Bachelor of Education. She then worked as a teacher in Bombay for a few years prior to immigrating to Canada.<sup>32</sup> Some attained master's or professional degrees from Indian universities. Some achieved graduate and professional degrees from abroad. Leah Daniel, a *Bene Israel* woman born in Pune, India in 1930, acquired several graduate degrees including a Master of Social Work and a Master of Arts in philosophy from the University of Bombay, and a Master of Education from Columbia University in New York City.<sup>33</sup>

These women worked full-time in their professions in India even after marriage and having children. They took pride in having their own professional social status and financial contribution within their marriages and families, even though their husbands were considered the "breadwinner" in the family. Servants were employed by Indian Jewish families regardless of whether women worked in paid labour or not. It was not considered appropriate for middle class women to perform domestic labour in India. Wives and mothers were expected to oversee and manage the smooth functioning of the household and its servants.

Once Indian Jewish families immigrated to Canada, the roles of women – especially mothers and wives – changed substantially. Many families arrived directly from India, as in the cases of Hannah Cohen, a Baghdadi Jewish woman from Kolkata born in 1930, Sarah Reuben, and Leah Daniel. Some families, such as that of Miriam Abraham, arrived after first living in England. All of these Indian Jewish women (like their non-Jewish Indian female counterparts) immigrated under the "family class" provision of the points system. Although they were highly qualified, they entered Canada as "dependents" of their husbands and were given permanent residency status on this basis. Only their husband's qualifications were evaluated as the basis for immigration. After landing in Canada, the degrees and work experience of the women were evaluated by the state for the purposes of employment.<sup>34</sup>

Some Indian Jewish women immigrated on their own as single women, such as Ruby Benjamin, a *Bene Israel* woman from Mumbai born in 1943, who arrived with a letter of employment from the Canadian Jewish Congress in Toronto. In the 1960s, Ruby saw a notice at the British Council in Bombay that Canada was looking for secretaries. She had just completed her Bachelor of Arts in psychology at the University of Bombay, and decided she wanted to work in Canada. She enrolled at secretarial school. Afterwards, she worked in India as the Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary General for all of Asia for the International Counsel on Social Welfare. Her boss put her in touch with a woman he met at a business convention in Malaysia who worked for the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) in Toronto. This woman offered Ruby a secretarial position with the CJC. The letter of employment did not guarantee admission but was intended to expedite Ruby's immigration application.

At the Canadian High Commission in Delhi, the male immigration official made the patriarchal, heterosexist assumption that the only reason a single woman would come to Canada would be to find a husband. Ruby recalled:

They called me in for an interview. The man who interviewed me said, "You're Jewish. Why are you going to Toronto? There are nicer Jewish boys in Montreal." I told him, "I'm not going to your country to find a guy. If I tell my father I want to move into my own place, he'll collapse. It's just not acceptable. I have a job waiting for me in Toronto and I need an adventure in my life." He replied, "What if I turn you down?" I said, "That's okay. I just want to see what it's like to be on my own." He said, "Okay, let me think about that. I'll let you know."<sup>35</sup>

Ruby was granted admission to Canada through the points system. Her Bachelor of Arts in psychology was not recognized by the state. Yet, her secretarial diploma and work experience as an Executive Assistant in India made her a highly desirable and qualified candidate for immigration and employment in Canada where experienced secretaries were in high demand by Canadian businesses.

Once Ruby began working for the CJC, she was shocked at the duties of a secretary in Canada. In India, being an Executive Assistant was considered a middle-class position with managerial responsibilities. In Canada, she was surprised to discover that the job was considered working class and had duties that, in India, belonged to positions deemed well below that of the Executive Assistant. Ruby stated:

On my first day, my boss asked me, "Can you bring me a cup of coffee?" I said, "Me make coffee! Don't you have any office boys here? I was a personal secretary for God's sake. I never did this kind of work. We always had office boys to make coffee." That was a real cultural shock for me.<sup>36</sup>

Ruby was also surprised by the racist, classist assumptions she encountered from Canadian Ashkenazi Jews working at the CJC. The Canadian Jews she worked with wrongly assumed that because she was a woman of colour who wore traditional Indian dress, she came from impoverished "backwards" cultural origins. Ruby recalled:

My first day at the Canadian Jewish Congress I walked in wearing an expensive sari, I had long hair to my knees, all of which is the high-class standard of beauty for women in India. They were all flabbergasted. They said, "Why are you dressed like this?" I said, "This is how I dress." One day, my boss who had arranged my letter of employment with Canadian Immigration calls me into her office. I guess the other people in the office were giving her a hard time because I dressed like an Indian woman. Some women in the

office had made some snide comments to me about how “Jews don’t dress like that.” I had responded by saying, “Really? How do Jews dress? What you’re wearing is Anglo-Saxon. I would never think that you were Jewish. If you want to dress Jewish, you should be wearing a kafta down to your feet.” My boss offered me \$200 to go and buy myself a totally new set of clothes. I said, “No thank you. You know the clothes that I’m wearing? They cost three times the price of any of your clothes. I’ve got enough to wear a new set of clothes every day for a month. I never wear a sari twice.” She looked at me exasperated, “What are we going to do now?”<sup>37</sup>

When Miriam Abraham immigrated to Toronto in 1969 after first living in England for eight years, she was already aware of the change in lifestyle between India and the West. She arrived in England as a single woman encouraged by her brother to come live with him while he attended university. She would study and work in England. Immediately upon arriving in England, Miriam realized that she would have to take on domestic responsibilities that she had never performed in India:

When I went to England, I did not have maids picking up after me like in India. I never washed my own hair until I went to England; maids washed and styled my hair for me in India. I used to find that after a week or two, I had no clothes to wear. I was not used to having to wash my own clothes. I never picked up a glass. I never cooked. I never knew how to do anything. In England, I had to learn how to do all these things for myself. It was exhausting.<sup>38</sup>

Miriam was aware of the domestic responsibilities she would have to perform once she and her husband – a *Bene Israel* she met in England – immigrated to Canada.

Sarah Reuben tried to prepare herself for performing domestic chores prior to immigrating to Canada with her husband in 1966. Sarah and her husband married in India in 1962. After the wedding, they lived with Sarah’s parents until their own apartment was ready for them in 1963. When they lived with Sarah’s parents, servants performed all domestic tasks. Sarah and her husband began the immigration process in 1964 and were given permission to immigrate in 1966. In anticipation of immigrating to Canada, Sarah’s husband suggested that when they moved into their own apartment in 1963, they should not have servants so that Sarah could get used to performing the household labour. Performing these tasks was a foreign experience for Sarah:

I had no idea how to light a match, or light the stove, or boil water, or boil an egg. I was never allowed in the kitchen growing up. The kitchen was for servants only, especially the cook. My husband had to show me how to do

these things so that I could make tea and boil an egg. He learned how to use a stove and boil water when he lived independently to study abroad at university before we met and married. I learned to cook by buying cook books and following the recipes. To make any ceremonial or traditional Indian Jewish foods for holidays, I asked my mother or aunts for the recipes which were generally used to provide instructions for the cook to make. I also had to learn how to go to the market to shop for groceries. I did not know what kind of cuts of meat to buy. We did not live in a Jewish neighbourhood, so the butcher was not kosher. But we only ate the kosher parts of the animal. The butcher knew I was Jewish, so luckily he knew what cuts of meat to give me. I had no idea.<sup>39</sup>

The year after Sarah and her husband settled in Canada, her parents were also granted permission to immigrate under the points system selection criteria. Sarah's parents arrived in 1967 and chose to live with Sarah, her husband, and their Canadian-born children. Sarah, her husband and her father all worked full time in Toronto until they were able to retire. Sarah's mother, however, chose not to work in Canada after she had retired in India prior to immigrating. Instead, she became the nanny, cook and cleaner for the family, even though she had never performed any of these tasks in India. These domestic responsibilities fell to her as the female adult in the home who did not work in paid labour. Sarah's mother was responsible for performing these tasks until her granddaughters became old enough to help her.<sup>40</sup>

Sarah Reuben's case was different from those of the other women interviewed for this study. She could rely on her mother to perform domestic labour and childcare. Pramila Aggarwal and Tania Das Gupta's study on "grandmothering" amongst Sikh Punjabi immigrant women in Toronto highlights the importance of grandmothers' invisible labour in performing the vast majority, if not all, of the domestic labour and childcare work in the home for their children and grandchildren after immigration. "Grandmothering" allowed their children and children-in-law to work in paid labour without enduring the high cost and inflexible structure of day care centres while also transmitting South Asian culture to their Canadian-born grandchildren, especially through food preparation.<sup>41</sup> However, the grandmothers in Aggarwal and Das Gupta's study immigrated under different conditions than Sarah's mother. Aggarwal and Das Gupta's "grandmothers" came as sponsored dependents of their children and children-in-law under the family class system, whereas Sarah's parents immigrated through the Canadian immigration selection criteria of the points system. Sarah's parents were not legally dependent on Sarah and her husband for their status or financial support in Canada.

The role that Sarah's mother took on as the "grandmother" allowed Sarah to pursue a second Bachelor of Arts degree on a part-time basis while employed in full time work as a teacher, before subsequently obtaining a Master of Education and becom-

ing a vice-principal and eventually a principal. When Sarah immigrated in the 1960s, her teaching degree and work experience as a teacher in India were recognized in Canada, although her Bachelor of Arts in psychology degree from the University of Bombay was not. Although she was recognized as an experienced teacher, she was ranked at the lowest rung of the pay scale. The state did not acknowledge her Bachelor of Arts, forcing her to complete a second undergraduate degree in Canada in the 1980s in order to maintain her teaching certification.<sup>42</sup> Das Gupta, Ghosh and Ralston found that immigrant women from India experienced discrimination and downward social mobility as a result of patriarchal, heterosexist, racist, capitalist processes and state forces that operated in highly nuanced ways that devalued the credentials and work experience of South Asian women and placed them in positions of low wage labour within unskilled, skilled and professional work.<sup>43</sup> The state's refusal to recognize Bachelor of Arts degrees from India, while acknowledging Indian teaching certification and work experience devalued the work of South Asian women, while having them fulfill necessary labour demands for teachers at low wages.

Ruby Benjamin was introduced to her husband shortly after they independently immigrated to Canada. They met through their Indian Jewish social networks. Her husband, also a *Bene Israel*, was a distant relative who moved to Canada after leaving India to pursue graduate studies in England where he earned a master's degree in urban planning. Ruby quit working once she and her husband began to start a family. She did not have any extended family to turn to for assistance with domestic labour and childcare, and hired help was unaffordable. She did not return to work until her children were old enough to attend school full-time and walk home on their own after school. She found employment as a hospital clerk based on her work experience in India and Canada and the continued needs of the Canadian economy for administrative workers.<sup>44</sup>

When Hannah Cohen immigrated to Toronto with her husband and two small children, they had limited funds. All of their assets had been frozen by the Indian government, as they did to all Indian emigrants in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. They were only allowed to take \$2 800 Canadian dollars when they immigrated to Canada. The Indian government would not release their own personal funds in amounts more than that per year until their assets in India were exhausted. JIAS helped Hannah's husband find work quickly in his profession as an engineer. There was plenty of demand for foreign-educated and trained engineers at the time. Hannah did not seek paid work since she needed to stay home and care for her two small children. She found herself solely responsible for all housework and childcare as the adult female in the family. She found these tasks overwhelming:

I didn't know anything about shopping. I'd buy too much and think, "How am I going to carry it?" I didn't have a car. I walked or took public transit. In

India, servants did the grocery shopping and carried the groceries from the market to our home. I didn't think about these things.<sup>45</sup>

Hannah recalled:

My landlady showed me how to make scrambled eggs. She took an egg and broke it into a bowl, whisked it with a fork, poured it into a fry pan which she'd been heating, stirred it out and dished it out. She said, "That's how you make a scrambled egg." I thought I would make scrambled eggs for breakfast every day. I'd make an egg, cook it, serve it to my husband. Make another egg, cook it, serve it to my son. Then do it again for my daughter. I couldn't be bothered making one for myself. I was exhausted at that point. It wasn't until many months later that someone said to me, "Why don't you just whip all the eggs together and cook them at the same time?" I never thought of it myself.<sup>46</sup>

Childcare, performed by servants in India, now fell solely to the women in the family. Indian Jewish women were intimidated at bearing the sole responsibility for the well-being of their children. In India, they had servants and nannies to rely on for assistance. Figuring out how to perform basic childcare tasks was daunting. Hannah Cohen explained:

I didn't know how to bathe the kids. We had one bathroom and it only had a shower stall. My landlady said, "You have a double sink in the kitchen. The kids are small. You could bathe them in the sink." I didn't think of that. Those were the difficulties. I was not used to being totally responsible for my kids. I had servants in India to rely on for that. Now I had to be solely responsible for my kids night and day. It was very tough.<sup>47</sup>

The women felt socially isolated, lonely and inadequate. As new immigrants, they did not have the traditional support network of family and servants for help. Of the women interviewed, only Sarah Reuben was able to count on "grandmother" help. The other immigrant women settled in Canada with only their nuclear family members. Hannah Cohen stated:

I didn't know what to do first. Everything seemed so intimidating. I wasn't used to performing any of these tasks – cooking, cleaning, taking care of the kids, grocery shopping, laundry. I didn't even know where I should start or what I should do first. I was very depressed for the first number of years after immigration. I wished my mom and sisters were here. I felt lonely and isolated. I was very depressed at having to do all this domestic labour and childcare myself and be solely responsible for the kids and the household chores.<sup>48</sup>



When Indian Jewish families first settled in Toronto, they did not necessarily live in Jewish neighbourhoods. Sometimes Jewish social service agencies helped them find affordable housing in Jewish neighbourhoods upon arrival. The Jewish stores in these neighbourhoods did not sell products that were even remotely familiar or “Jewish” to them. The food products were of Ashkenazi Eastern European origins, reflecting the overwhelming demographic make-up of Jewish Toronto in the 1960s and 1970s. Indian Jewish families ate kosher foods that reflected Indian cuisine. Ashkenazi families ate kosher versions of Eastern European foods. Purchasing kosher food in India was simple. In India, a country dominated by Hindus and Muslims, neither beef nor pork were readily available. Butcher shops simply did not sell these products. The choice for meat was either chicken or goat. As Hindus were strict vegetarians, the spices and foodstuffs they made were considered kosher by the Jewish communities in India. Indian Jews did not look for kosher stamps or *hekhshers* on these items, of which there were none. They knew they had not been contaminated by any meat or milk products. Indian Jewish women found that they could only get familiar foodstuffs, spices, and other ingredients in South Asian immigrant neighbourhoods sold by Hindu and Muslim-owned stores. These women knew these products were kosher. These were the same products they ate in India. Shopping for foodstuffs and ingredients familiar to them was time consuming in Toronto. It required going to several places, far in distance from each other, to obtain kosher meat from kosher butchers in Jewish neighbourhoods as well as Indian ingredients that were only available in South Asian communities.<sup>49</sup> Indian Jewish women felt uncomfortable when shopping at kosher stores in Jewish neighbourhoods where they were not recognized as Jewish because they “looked” Indian. Some were stared at by Ashkenazi Jews for wearing saris and other forms of traditional Indian dress.<sup>50</sup>

Indian Jewish women found work in their professions. Some of the women had to work in minimum wage jobs until they could secure professional employment. As their professional education and work experience in India and abroad were recognized by the Canadian government and they were fluent in English, these women were easily able to secure professional employment after arriving in Canada. Families required two professional incomes in order to maintain a middle class Canadian lifestyle that was still well below the standard of living they enjoyed in India. After first working in a minimum wage job as a store clerk for a few months, Sarah Reuben found employment as a teacher in Toronto. Leah Daniel was able to find work as a social worker in Toronto shortly after immigrating. Both found professional employment in their fields easily as the Canadian economy required all kinds of professional workers in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>51</sup> The only time these women did not work in paid labour in Canada was when they had infants or small children to look after and no alternatives (family or affordable daycare) for other forms of childcare. Only Sarah Reuben was able to return to paid labour within a year of having each of her two daughters since her parents immigrated to Canada in time for the birth of her first

daughter, and her mother took on the childcare and domestic labour responsibilities. Leah Daniel's children were 13 years and 11 years old when the family immigrated, old enough to walk back and forth to school by themselves and be alone in the house until their parents returned from work.<sup>52</sup>

After immigration, the continued association of women with household labour and motherhood meant these responsibilities fell solely to the women in the family, who also worked full time in paid labour, creating tremendous demands on Indian Jewish women. They needed their children and expected their female children to help with domestic labour chores and looking after younger siblings. In Sarah Reuben's case, her mother took on these tasks. As her mother aged, Sarah's daughters were required to take on some housework until they went away to university.<sup>53</sup> In most cases, Indian Jewish women did not have any extended family, such as mothers, sisters and aunts, for help or emotional support. They immigrated as part of their nuclear family, while their extended families remained in India, or immigrated to Israel, Australia, England, or the United States.

### **Maintaining Indian Jewish Culture and Identity in Toronto**

Although Indian Jewish women had not participated in food preparation in India, their responsibility for cooking after immigration was vital to ensuring the survival of Indian Jewish culture in their new home of Toronto. Aggarwal and Das Gupta argue that food is an important transmitter of culture and identity within the South Asian community in Canada.<sup>54</sup> Religious holidays revolve around the preparation and serving of traditional and ceremonial foods as a basis for the continuity of the culture. The association of women with food preparation makes women important players in reproducing the continuity of community and family identities. In India, the cooks prepared kosher versions of Indian foods and Indian Jewish ceremonial foods based on instructions given by the women in the home. These recipes were handed down through the women in these families who oversaw their preparation, even if they were not directly involved in making the meals themselves. In Canada, Indian Jewish women found themselves responsible for maintaining and transmitting Indian Jewish culture and identity to their children through their preparation of holiday foods, whether or not they worked in paid labour outside the home<sup>55</sup>. In Jewish neighbourhoods, only Ashkenazi foods were available. More recently, as somewhat sizeable populations of Sephardic Jews from North Africa and Israel settled in Toronto, some Middle Eastern based Sephardic foods have become available in Jewish neighbourhoods. Indian Jews have to seek out raw ingredients in multiple different places – from kosher butchers to South Asian stores – in order to make Indian Jewish traditional foods. As Lily Jacob, a *Bene Israel* woman born in Canada in 1969 to immigrant Indian Jewish parents, stated:

My mother and I are getting together to make food for the High Holidays. My mother gave me a list of the ingredients we need and the stores I need to go to get all of it. I had to go to the kosher butcher to get the chicken for the curry chicken. I had to go to the regular grocery store for vegetables, fruit, and other stuff. I had to go to the South Asian grocer to get the right rice, the okra my mother wanted, the spices for the curry and other dishes, and the ingredients to make the ritual dish of parched rice with the cloves and fruit. Only Indian Jews – the Bene Israel and the Cochin Jews – make this dish. No Ashkenazi or Sephardic Jews do this.<sup>56</sup>

The continuity of Indian Jewish identity is reproduced through everyday meals. As Sally Joseph, a *Bene Israel* woman born in Canada in 1974 to immigrant Indian Jewish parents, recalled:

I was going out for dinner with people from work who are Ashkenazi Jews and white non-Jews. They all wanted to eat something “exotic.” One of them said, “We should go for Indian.” I said, “That’s not exotic. I eat that every day. For me, exotic is going and eating a hamburger or something my mother does not cook.”<sup>57</sup>

Sally explained that her mother cooked Indian food every night, and that for Sally, as with other Indian Jews, the kosher version of Indian food is Jewish food for Indian Jews, and plays a vital role in how she defines her identity as an Indian Jewish woman. Aggarwal and Das Gupta state that immigrant housewives and grandmothers lose their influence in transmitting Indian culture through food as their Canadian-born children and grandchildren became older.<sup>58</sup> While Canadian-born South Asian children were content to eat traditional Indian foods at home, as they got older these same foods eaten out of the home become signifiers of difference and reminders of their outsider status within the broader society. Aggarwal and Das Gupta’s study highlights that Canadian-born South Asian children choose to eat “Canadian food” in front of their white Canadian school-aged peers in order to “fit” into Canadian society. By rejecting traditional foods, the skills and knowledge of immigrant housewives became devalued.<sup>59</sup> For Sally Joseph, traditional foods symbolized her “difference” as a racialized Other. Traditional foods were reminders of exclusion. However, now as a wife and mother (as well as a full-time lawyer), Sally considered it imperative to make kosher Indian Jewish food, especially for holiday meals. She sees this as a means of transmitting Indian Jewish culture and identity to her own second-generation Canadian-born children, not only to ensure cultural continuity, but also to instill her children with a sense of pride in themselves and their identity. By the late 1970s, Indian Jewish women who had settled in Toronto sought to create community for themselves and their families. Many Indian Jewish women felt lonely and isolated, far away from their extended families, especially their mothers, aunts,

and sisters. A few Indian Jewish women, together with the help and support of their husbands, decided to organize gatherings or “socials” where they and their families would all get together and socialize. They could share stories, homemade Indian Jewish foods, and give each other support for the new challenges they were facing in their everyday lives in Canada. They were also longing for the familiarity of home – Indian Jewish customs, traditions and identity – and to be surrounded by people who belonged in the same community, sharing similar values, culture and ways of being. Many of these families had known each other before immigrating to Canada. These socials also gave their children the opportunity to befriend one other, while developing a strong Indian–Jewish identity and sense of community belonging. Anyone who was Indian Jewish – *Bene Israel*, Baghdadi or Cochin – was welcome to participate. Most who attended were *Bene Israel*. They advertised these socials by word of mouth among Indian Jews. These families came to form an “extended family” for the Indian Jewish community in Toronto. These socials served as the basis by which these Indian Jewish families organized their own Indian Jewish congregation in Toronto to preserve, practice and hand down to their children Indian Jewish customs, traditions, prayer tunes and Indian Jewish religious identity.<sup>60</sup> Ruby Benjamin recalled:

Sarah Reuben, Leah Daniel, myself and a couple of other *Bene Israel* women thought we should start something, like a social club so that we would see each other more often than at Bar Mitzvahs and weddings. The women all felt isolated in our everyday lives. We longed to be around other Indian Jews. We were nostalgic for home. We were all going through the same things after immigrating to Canada. We wanted our kids to know about their identity and be proud of who they were. We thought, let’s all meet for holidays and have a party. We would cook and bring the food. Some of the people in the community were kosher. They wouldn’t eat restaurant food, even from a vegetarian Indian restaurant. Leah and I decided that we would cook the food and bring it to the social. We keep strictly kosher. Then some people wanted to get together for prayers for the High Holidays. We longed for our own prayer tunes and customs that Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews do not have. We wanted our kids to learn our ways.<sup>61</sup>

Elsewhere, I have written about the establishment of Congregation BINA, the Indian Jewish prayer congregation in Toronto.<sup>62</sup> The women in the community played an essential role in organizing the socials, and together with their husbands, established the Indian Jewish prayer congregation and the Indian Jewish Sunday School to teach Indian Jewish children (and other interested Jewish families) Indian Jewish melodies, customs and traditions, and the history of the Jews of India.<sup>63</sup> Today, their Canadian-born Indian Jewish daughters play a crucial role in maintaining Indian Jewish culture for their own families and community through their involvement on the board of directors for the Indian Jewish congregation, Congregation BINA.

Although the prayers are led by religious, Indian Jewish men in the community who are learned in the Torah (as is consistent with traditional Orthodox practice), it is their Canadian-born Indian Jewish daughters who hold the majority of elected director positions on the congregation's board. These women volunteer their time to ensure the survival of Indian Jewish culture, identity and community for their own families – especially their children.<sup>64</sup>

The immigration and settlement process from India to Toronto posed significant challenges for Indian Jewish women. Even though Indian Jewish women knew they would be unable to afford servants in Canada, they were ill-prepared for the difficulties they would experience in being solely responsible for performing all of the domestic labour and childcare. They did not foresee the loneliness and isolation they would experience in having to perform these tasks without the help and support of their extended family members, especially mothers, aunts and sisters.

Although housework and motherwork had always been defined as “women's work” in India, these responsibilities took on new expectations and challenges for Indian Jewish women in Canada that reshaped their role and identity in the family. The family and motherhood had always been the central focus of Indian Jewish women's lives in India, but they had servants to rely upon to perform the bulk of the everyday tasks of housework and childcare. This allowed Indian Jewish women to provide their children and families with quality time, while freeing them up to pursue professional careers within their marriages. Motherhood and housework after immigration, however, proved to be onerous and burdensome for Indian Jewish women.

The responsibilities of housework and childcare made women's roles in the family vital to the continuity of Indian Jewish identity in their families and community in Canada. Women played a key role in maintaining and reproducing Indian Jewish culture in their families and community through food preparation, and their organization of Indian Jewish institutions that were born out of the desire to create an extended network of support for their new role and responsibilities in the family. Indian Jewish women began to recognize the privilege of social class they enjoyed in India in their struggle to overcome the new challenges they faced in Canada as they sought greater opportunities for their children.

**1**

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Helen Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 23, 2 (1991), p. 134.

**7**

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**8**

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**12**

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**13**

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**14**

Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 5.

**15**

Das Gupta, "Political Economy of Gender, Race and Class," (above, n 10), p. 66; and Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," (above, n 6), p. 132.

**16**

Interview with Sarah Reuben, May 13, 2002.

**17**

Joel, "Bene Israel Immigration and Its Social-Cultural Background," (above, n 13), p. 150; and Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 4.

**18**

Memorandum by Joseph Kage to Louis Poch and A.J. Arnold, October 2, 1967, Canadian Immigration File, JIAS papers, Ontario Jewish Archives.

**19**

Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 5; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), pp. 319.

**20**

Joel, "Bene Israel Immigration and Its Social-Cultural Background," (above, n 13), pp. 149-159; Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 5; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), p. 319-320.

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**23**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin, September 9, 2002; and Interview with Sarah Reuben, January 1, 2017.

**24**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**25**

Interview with Miriam Abraham, July 20, 2002.

**26**

Interview with Miriam Abraham (above, n 25), July 20, 2002.

**27**

See Nasar, "Negotiating New Terrain," (above, n 1), pp. 131-132; and Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," (above, n 6), p. 134.

**28**

See also Ruby Daniel and Barbara C. Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin: An Indian Jewish Woman Remembers* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1995), pp. 69-77.

**29**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017; and Interview with Sarah Reuben, December 31, 2017; and See also Daniel and Johnson, *Ruby of Cochin* (above, n 28), pp. 69-77.

**30**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**31**

See Nasar, "Negotiating New Terrain: Egyptian women at Home in America," (above, n 1), pp. 131-132 for a discussion of the Egyptian Jewish context.

**32**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 29), December 31, 2017.

**33**

Interview with Leah Daniel, June 20, 2002.

**34**

Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," (above, n 6), p. 132.

**35**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002.

**36**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002.

**37**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002.

**38**

Interview with Miriam Abraham (above, n 25), July 20, 2002.

**39**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**40**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**41**

Aggarwal and Das Gupta, "Grandmothering at Work," (above, n 7), pp. 77-90.

**42**

Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 29), December 31, 2017. Prior to the 1970s, many Canadian teachers attended "teacher's college which was not an undergraduate degree at the time) directly after high school. By 1980, the Ministry of Education required all working teachers to earn an undergraduate degree to maintain their employment. All working teachers were given a deadline to complete their undergraduate degree on a part-time basis. Sarah's undergraduate degree in psychology from India was not recognized by the Canadian government. She was required to complete a second undergraduate degree in Canada in order to maintain her teaching certification and employment.

**43**

Das Gupta, "Political Economy of Gender, Race, and Class," (above, n 10), pp. 66, 69, 71; Ghosh, "Multicultural Policy and Social Integration," (above, n 10), p. 62-63; and Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," (above, n 6), pp. 135-136.

**44**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002.

**45**

Interview with Hannah Cohen, July 15, 2002.

**46**

Interview with Hannah Cohen (above, n 45), July 15, 2002.



**47**

Interview with Hannah Cohen (above, n 45), July 15, 2002.

**48**

Interview with Hannah Cohen (above, n 45), July 15, 2002.

**49**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002; and Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**50**

Interview with Sally Joseph, August 15, 2002; and Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002; See also Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), pp. 1-23; Kelly Amanda Train, "East Meets West: Sephardic and Mizrahi Jews in Canada and the United States," in Barry L. Stiefel and Hernan Tesler-Mabé (eds.), *Neither in Dark Speeches Nor in Similtudes: Reflections and Refractions Between Canadian and American Jews* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2016), pp. 195-198; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), pp. 398-456.

**51**

Interview with Leah Daniel (above, n 33), June 20, 2002; and Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**52**

Interview with Leah Daniel (above, n 33), June 20, 2002; and Interview with Sarah Reuben (above, n 23), January 1, 2017.

**53**

Interview with Lily Jacob, July 21, 2002.

**54**

Aggarwal and Das Gupta, "Grandmothering at Work," (above, n 7), p. 84.

**55**

Ralston, "Race, Class, Gender and Work Experience of South Asian Immigrant Women in Atlantic Canada," (above, n 6), p. 134.

**56**

Interview with Lily Jacob (above, n 53), July 21, 2002.

**57**

Interview with Sally Joseph (above, n 50), August 15, 2002.

**58**

Aggarwal and Das Gupta, "Grandmothering at Work," (above, n 7), pp. 84-85.

**59**

Aggarwal and Das Gupta, "Grandmothering at Work," (above, n 7), pp. 84-85.

**60**

See Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), pp. 17-20; Train, "East Meets West," (above, n 50), pp. 199; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), pp. 445-447.

**61**

Interview with Ruby Benjamin (above, n 23), September 9, 2002.

**62**

For the history of the establishment of Congregation BINA see Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 20; Train, "East Meets West," (above, n 50), pp. 199; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), p. 449.

**63**

See Train, "Well, How Can You be Jewish and European?" (above, n 2), p. 20; Train, "East Meets West," (above, n 50), pp. 199; and Train, "Authenticity, Identity and the Politics of Belonging," (above, n 2), p. 449.

**64**

Interview with Lily Jacob (above, n 53), July 21, 2002; and Interview with Sally Joseph (above, n 50), August 15, 2002.