

The Jews In Canada

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An Overview of the Canadian Jewish Community

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This chapter presents recent data on the social, demographic, and cultural characteristics of Canadian Jewry. The data are taken from two 1990 surveys. The first is a Canada-wide survey sponsored by the CRB Foundation, which included subsamples from Toronto, Montreal, and other areas. The second is a survey of the Toronto Jewish community sponsored by the Toronto Jewish Congress.

The first part of the chapter is drawn from a report prepared by the sociologist Steven M. Cohen, and focuses primarily on Canadian national patterns revealed by the CRB survey, as compared to those of the United States. This review also includes a section comparing patterns found in the major Canadian cities. The second section is drawn from a report prepared for the TJC by Dr Jay Brodbar-Nemzer, focusing on Toronto Jewry. The third section contains highlights of a report on Montreal Jewry prepared by Charles Shahar for the Allied Jewish Community Services of Montreal, based on the Montreal unweighted sub-sample of the CRB survey. The reports of both local cases are brief, to try to minimize duplication of data with the national report.

Both these data sets represent valuable research assets, particularly when used in conjunction with the data from the 1991 census. Scholars of Canadian Jewry are now equipped to conduct the first detailed, quantitative assessments of Canadian Jewish life.

The Canadian Picture

What is the nature and quality of Jewish commitment and involvement among Canadian Jews today? To what extent are the characterizations of Canadian Jewish identity advanced by most knowledgeable observers in Canada truly valid and accurate?

Probably the most fundamental and widely held assumption is that the identity of Canadian Jews is quite distinctive from that found among their Jewish counterparts in the United States. In the view of many leaders, Canadian Jewry is 'one generation behind' the United States in the 'assimilation' process.

A second critical assumption entails regional diversity. Canadian Jewish communal leaders often speak of significant regional variations across their vast country.

The third key assumption entails the younger generation. Notwithstanding what they regard as a well-founded pride in current high levels of Jewish involvement and participation, many Canadian Jewish leaders also express fears for the persistence of intensive Jewish commitment in the next generation.

Drawing upon these three elements in the self-image of Canadian Jewish communal leadership, this report revolves around these questions:

1. To what extent are Canadian Jews qualitatively different from American Jewry? Specifically, are Canadian Jews really 'more Jewish' than US Jews?
2. To what extent do Canadian Jews in the major population centres exhibit significant regional variations in the distributions of key measures of Jewish involvement and participation? Are the Jews in some cities generally 'more Jewish' than those elsewhere?
3. How do younger adults differ from their older counterparts in their Jewish behaviour and attitudes? More critically, is Canadian Jewry becoming less Jewishly active with the passing of earlier generations? Are older Jews 'more Jewish' than younger Jews?

Data, Methods, and Measures

This analysis relies primarily upon data collected in a survey of a national sample of 972 Canadian Jewish households conducted in late 1990. Goldfarb Consultants of Toronto undertook the study on behalf of the CRB Foundation of Montreal. On the provincial level, the regional breakdown of the sample closely approximates the geographic distribution of Canadian Jews reported in the 1986 Canadian census.

The principal aim of the original research was to learn how to stimulate travel to Israel by teen-agers and young adults. Consistent with this aim, interviewers intentionally over-sampled areas with higher concentrations of married couples. Owing to this over-sampling, comparisons of the survey's unweighted results with other studies of Canadian Jews reveal some predictable discrepancies that conceivably could affect our analysis of Jewish identity characteristics. Most significantly, with respect to what we believe are the accurate distributions in the Canadian Jewish population, this sample contains too many married couples (i.e., too few single, widowed, or divorced) and too few mixed married respondents. That is, of the married, too many are married to other Jews. (The relatively small number of mixed married respondents in the survey precludes a useful and reliable analysis of the implications of mixed marriage for Canadian Jewish identity.) Flowing from these biases, and consistent with the explicit design of the survey, the sample also seems to under-represent the elderly, independent adults under thirty years of age, and lower income households.

The analysis below weights the sample so as to correct for these biases. It down-weights both the married and the in-married. The application of these weights, in turn, results in collateral changes in the distributions of age and income that bring the distribution of these variables closer to those found in other studies of Canadian Jews.

As a check on these procedures, after the weights for marriage and inter-marriage were applied, the Toronto portion of this sample was compared with the Jewish identity measures found in the recently conducted Toronto Jewish community study, sponsored by the Toronto Jewish Congress and the Jewish Federation of Greater Toronto. It was reassuring to note that the proportion of households in the Toronto sub-sample of the Goldfarb sample who undertake various sorts of ritual practices and acts of communal affiliation came to closely approximate results reported in the Toronto community study.

The survey's sampling unit is the Jewish household. Aside from the intentional over-sampling of married households in Jewish neighbourhoods, every Canadian household with at least one Jew had a theoretically equal chance of entering the sample. The complications for the analysis derive from the indisputable fact that some households have more (or fewer) Jews than others. Thus, those individual Jews in households with many Jewish family members had a far smaller chance of having their views and behaviours represented in the sample than those Jews who are the only Jew in their home, as is the case for most unmarried Jewish adults and for many Jews married to non-Jews. To address this problem, additional weighting procedures took into account the number of Jewish adults, or, where appropriate, the number of Jewish individuals in the household (the tables are so labelled). That is, for certain items reported below, homes with two Jewish adults were, in effect, counted twice as heavily as those with one Jewish adult. For other items (such as ritual observance), homes with larger numbers of Jews were weighted more heavily than those with smaller numbers of Jews. In effect, and to simplify, these procedures assure that households with more Jews get more 'votes' in the analysis.

For these and other reasons, the results presented in this report differ in small ways from those presented in a full and comprehensive earlier report on these data by Goldfarb Consultants ('The Canadian Jewish Community: A Research Report for the CRB Foundation', April 1991). The Goldfarb report also provides additional details on sampling and methodology.

For comparative purposes, this research draws upon data on American Jews. The data set used most extensively is the recently conducted National Jewish Population Study (NJPS), sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations. The NJPS data are presented below in the comparative analysis of religious life, communal affiliation, and Israel travel. The other extensively utilized data set is the 1989 National Survey of American Jews sponsored by the American Jewish Committee, as well as, in few instances, earlier parallel

surveys conducted in 1986 and 1988. We turned to these surveys to present comparative data on American Jews' attitudes toward Israel.

(For further details on these studies see the following reports by Steven M. Cohen, published by the American Jewish Committee: 'Ties and Tensions: The 1986 Survey of American Jewish Attitudes Toward Israel and Israelis'; 'Ties and Tensions: An Update—The 1989 Survey of American Jewish Attitudes Toward Israel and Israelis'; and 'Content or Continuity? Alternative Bases for Commitment—The 1989 National Survey of American Jews'.)

The NJPS results reported below differ slightly from those reported earlier by other researchers. To achieve maximal comparability of the NJPS data with the Goldfarb sample, the analysis of the NJPS was restricted to those households where at least one adult head of household identifies as a Jew in answer to a question on religious preference. This restriction excludes the NJPS respondents who are of Jewish ancestry but do not currently identify as Jews. In addition, the NJPS results below were weighted as were the Canadian data for number of Jews in the household or, where appropriate, for number of Jewish adult heads of household. As a result of these procedures, the levels of Jewish involvement for US Jews reported below tend to exceed those reported in other published analyses of NJPS data.

The comparisons below between Canadian and US Jews obscure significant internal variations within US Jewry. Level of ritual observance and communal participation vary dramatically by region and community throughout the United States. In particular, Jews living in the major metropolitan areas of the American Northeast, Midwest, and southern Florida report higher rates of involvement than those living elsewhere.

The implication is that gaps reported below between Canadian and US levels of Jewish involvement ought to be understood as comparing a large and diverse collection of US Jewish communities with a smaller collection of more compact Canadian Jewish communities, heavily concentrated in just two places (Toronto and Montreal). While the gaps in Jewish identity measures between Canadian and American may appear, at times, rather sizeable, we need to recognize that many of these gaps would be much smaller were we to compare Canadian Jews with only those American Jews living in certain American communities. That is, differences in Jewish activity levels between Canada and specific US communities (such as New York, Detroit, Cleveland, and Baltimore, to name just a few with higher than average rates of involvement) are much smaller than the differences between all of Canadian Jewry and all of US Jewry.

Religion

As in all other countries, in Canada certain Jewish ritual practices are far more popular than others (see Table 1). The results suggest that ritual practices fall into three tiers, based upon frequency of observance. First, the vast majority of Canadian Jews live in homes that in some way commemorate

Table 1 *Measures of Religious Involvement in Canada and the US (Entries are percentages; data weighted by number of Jews in the household)*

	CANADA	UNITED STATES*
Attends Passover seder	92	76
Lights Hanukkah candles	87	78
Fasts Yom Kippur	77	64
Lights Sabbath candles	54	26
Has meat and dairy dishes	46	18
Handles no money on the Sabbath	15	14
Observes Fast of Esther	11	6
DENOMINATION		
Orthodox	19	9
Conservative	37	38
Reconstructionist	1	1
Reform	11	43
Other Jewish	32	9
Synagogue member	67	50
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERS' DENOMINATION		
Orthodox	25	12
Conservative	43	45
Reconstructionist	1	1
Reform	14	38
Other Jewish	19	5

*Source of US data: The 1990 National Jewish Population Study.

Passover, Hanukkah, and the High Holidays. Second, about half of Canadian Jews also maintain such practices as lighting Sabbath candles or maintaining two sets of dishes at home for meat and dairy products as required by traditional Jewish dietary laws. Third, only a small number of Canadian Jews — one sixth or less — practise rituals associated with more strict adherence to Jewish religious law such as refraining from handling money on the Sabbath, or observing the Fast of Esther.

(A methodological note: Respondents reported on their households' religious practices and not necessarily their own personal observance. As noted earlier, the entries in the table are weighted for the number of Jews in the household. Thus, they refer to the percentage of the total Jewish population who live in households where a certain practice is observed. To take an example, the entry on Sabbath candle lighting should be understood as saying that an estimated 54 per cent of Canadian Jews live in homes where somebody lights Sabbath candles. In point of fact, fewer than 54 per cent of the respondents said that candles are lit in their homes. But those who so

reported tend to reside in homes with larger numbers of Jews and, as noted earlier, their answers count for more than those with fewer Jews in the household.

Why is higher observance associated with larger Jewish households? One reason is that many households with just one Jewish member are those where the only Jew in the household is single or married to a non-Jew. Both singlehood and mixed marriages are linked to lower levels of ritual observance and Jewish communal participation.)

In the United States, we find a similar rank ordering of religious practices by frequency of observance. The major difference is that Canadian Jews observe every practice more frequently than do American Jews. The gaps are especially large with respect to lighting Sabbath candles and to maintaining meat and dairy dishes. Here, the Canadian frequencies are more than double those in the United States.

These patterns suggest that, on a proportional basis, slightly more Canadian Jews are among the most highly observant in Jewish life, as reflected in the number who handled no money on the Sabbath. More significantly, a far greater proportion of Canadian can be regarded as somewhat observant than American Jews, as the answers to the questions on lighting Sabbath candles and owning kosher dishes.

These results offer a slightly different image of Canadian Jewry than that frequently presented by those leaders who speak only of the large Orthodox (or *dati*) segment of Canadian Jewry. Rather, these figures suggest that the real distinction between Canadian and American Jewry lies in the very large number of what we could call *masorati* Jews in Canada, those who are observant of some traditional practices but do not necessarily identify as Orthodox.

Examining the distributions of denominational preferences can augment our understanding of these differences in observance. The questionnaire asked respondents, 'Which of the following describes you and your spouse?' and then presented a list including such choices as 'Orthodox Jew', 'Conservative Jew', etc. We find that only half as many American Jews (9 per cent) live in Orthodox households as in Canada (19 per cent). Among the remainder we find two striking contrasts: far more Americans are Reform, while far more Canadians are 'other Jewish'. These patterns reflect well-known differences in the populations of the two countries. Historically, the Reform movement has been stronger in the United States than in Canada. In contrast, Canada has been home to a visible and institutionalized Jewish secularist population.

To Jewish leaders, the denominational labels have a more concrete organizational and ideological meaning than they might have to many respondents. Orthodox leaders, for example, are often shocked to learn of the significant minority of Jews who call themselves Orthodox on social surveys, yet also readily admit to violating the Sabbath or failing to observe Jewish dietary laws. Large segments of Conservative and Reform Jews do not even belong

to a temple or synagogue, let alone one affiliated with the movement with which they identify on a survey. These meaning of these denominational labels should not be exaggerated. To better understand denominational distributions, we would do well to focus just on those Jews who belong to a synagogue.

In Canada, about two-thirds of Jews live in households where the head claims synagogue affiliation. In the United States, about half are affiliated by the same criterion. The last panel of the table reports the denominational distributions only for those households who belong to congregations. Owing to the differential rates of congregational affiliation, we find some marked departures from the distributions reported earlier for all respondents, synagogue-affiliated or not.

In Canada, among synagogue members, about a quarter of the Jews are identified as Orthodox, and almost twice as many (43 per cent) identify with the Conservative movement. The number of Reform Jews is quite small (14 per cent), and just under a fifth of Canadian synagogue members (19 per cent) select other categories of Jewish identity, far fewer than among all Jews regardless of synagogue affiliation.

These results point up some striking contrasts between the two countries. In Canada, two-thirds of synagogue Jews are Conservative or Orthodox. In the United States, over four-fifths of synagogue members are Conservative or Reform. As in Canada, among American synagogue members, Conservatism is the most popular movement (45 per cent). However, almost as many American members are Reform (38 per cent). Just a small number (12 per cent) of American synagogue members are Orthodox and hardly any (5 per cent) fail to identify with the major denominations.

Relative to American Jewry, then, Canadian Jewry is characterized by more sizeable Orthodox and more sizeable secular Jewish population segments. In contrast with the United States, the appeal of Canadian Reform Judaism is, at this date, rather limited.

The Organized Community

Just as frequencies of ritual observance in Canada exceed those in the United States, so too do various measures of communal participation (see Table 2).

About three-fifths of Canadian Jewish adults read a Jewish newspaper regularly, compared with just a third of American Jewish adults. Almost two-fifths (38 per cent) of Canadian Jewish adults are Jewish Community Center or YMHA members, substantially greater than the comparable US average (23 per cent).

The gaps between American and Canadian Jews with respect to other forms of organizational participation are smaller than those for newspaper reading or JCC/YMHA membership.

The fact that as many as a quarter of the adult Jewish population in both societies serve on Jewish agency boards and committees testifies to a high

Table 2 Measures of Jewish Communal Involvement in Canada and the US
(Entries are percentages; data weighted by number of Jewish adults in the household)

	CANADA	UNITED STATES*
Reads a Jewish newspaper	60	33
YMHA or JCC member	38	23
Jewish organization member	47	37
Volunteers for Jewish organization	31	24
Serves on a board or committee	25	24
Donates \$100 or more to UJA	41	21
Mean UJA/Federation gift		
All households	\$ 700	\$ 300
Donors of \$100+ only	\$1700	\$1300
Most close friends are Jewish	78	51
Can converse in Yiddish	37	—
Can converse in Hebrew	25	—

*Source of US data: The 1990 National Jewish Population Study.

level of formal voluntary activity. In these respects, levels of organizational activity in Canada exceed those in the United States from a small to moderate extent. However, much larger differences characterize the arena of Jewish fund-raising. However measured, Canadian Jews make far larger and more frequent contributions to Jewish philanthropic causes than their American counterparts. Here we focus upon giving to the central Jewish philanthropic campaign.

Much of the observed gap between Canadian and American philanthropic giving is attributable to the difference in the number contributing at least \$100. Once we restrict the analysis to those who donate at least \$100, we find that the Canadian-American gift-gap reduces substantially. Of those contributing \$100 or more, Canadian Jews give about \$1700 per household as compared with almost as much, \$1300, among American Jewish households.

These patterns suggest that much of the strength of Jewish fund-raising in Canada relative to that in the United States lies in the much larger base of support among more donors rather than in the unusual generosity among a small number of big donors. The broad participation in the Canadian philanthropic campaigns is itself a sign of a well-knit and cohesive community.

Further evidence of Canadian Jewish cohesiveness is found in the large majority (78 per cent) who report that at least 'most' of their closest friends are Jewish. In contrast, only about half (51 per cent) of adult American Jews make the same claim. That over three-quarters of Canadian Jewish adults can

report that most of their closest friends are Jewish speaks of a very closely knit minority community. Some may call it 'cohesive', others may call it 'insular', but whatever the connotation, Canadian Jews are highly connected to one another, and, by implication, their most intimate social lives are conducted relatively separate and apart from close contact with non-Jewish Canadians.

Two other indicators of communal involvement entail knowledge of Jewish languages, which in this century and continent means Yiddish and Hebrew. Language familiarity, of course, has special meaning for multilingual Canadian society generally and for the Jewish community particular. Owing to the relatively recent influx of East European Jewish immigrants before and after both World Wars, Canadian Jewry established a significant number of Yiddish-speaking schools and cultural institutions. Significantly, as many as 37 per cent of Canadian Jewish adults claim that they are either totally fluent in Yiddish or can at least converse in the language somewhat short of total fluency. No comparable figures exist for the United States, but it is impossible to believe that the number of American Jews who can converse in Yiddish even approaches 37 per cent.

Not only is a significant minority of Canadian Jews reasonably fluent in Yiddish, but a quarter (not necessarily the same people) are also competent in spoken Hebrew. As many as 25 per cent say that they can at least converse in Hebrew, albeit not always with total fluency. In the United States, according to the 1986 National Survey of American Jews, not more than 10 per cent of Jewish adults claim a comparable level of competence in spoken Hebrew. In any event, fluency in both major contemporary Jewish languages — Yiddish and Hebrew — is certainly far more widespread among Canadian Jews than among their American counterparts.

In sum, Canadian Jews are far more close-knit, substantially more Jewishly philanthropic, and somewhat better organized than American Jews. The Canadian-American gaps are especially pronounced with respect to philanthropic giving, in-group friendship, and fluency in Yiddish and Hebrew.

Ties to Israel

Canadian Jewish leaders regularly claim that their community is unusually involved with and supportive of Israel.

As we learn in Table 3, about two-thirds of Canadian Jewish adults (66 per cent) have been to Israel and, of those who have visited Israel, most (39 per cent of the total) have been to Israel more than once. In contrast, according to the NJPS, only half as many adult American Jews (35 per cent) have been to Israel, and just 17 per cent have been there two or more times. Not only do Canadian Jews visit Israel more than American Jews, the Canadians also are in more frequent mail or telephone contact with Israelis.

For Canadian Jews, their connection with Israel is not merely with some

Table 3 Measures of Israel Involvement in Canada and the US (Entries are percentages; data weighted by number of Jewish adults in the household)

	CANADA	UNITED STATES*
VISITED ISRAEL		
Twice or more	39	17
Just once	27	18
Never	34	65
Corresponded with Israeli	44	23
Spoken by telephone to Israeli	37	10
Israel important to being a Jew	87	73
If Israel destroyed, personal tragedy	85	66
Often talk about Israel	70	62
Feel very close to Israel	42	22
Will visit in three years	44	24
Consider self Zionist	42	25
Fuller Jewish life in Israel	35	10
Considered <i>aliyah</i>	21	13
Know year of Independence	79	66
Know year of Six-Day War	72	40
Israel should recognize only Orthodox conversions	14	6
Very upset if Israel recognizes only Orthodox conversions	47	57
FAVOURABLE IMPRESSIONS		
Ultra-Orthodox Israelis	14	8
Modern Orthodox Israelis	53	41
Secular Jewish Israelis	53	49
Israeli doves	35	36
Israeli hawks	23	28

*Source of US data: For visiting Israel, the 1990 National Jewish Population Study; for corresponded with Israelis and spoken by telephone with Israelis, the 1988 National Survey of American Jews; for all other variables, the 1989 National Survey of American Jews.

vague and remote symbol in the inner recesses of their Jewish consciousness. Rather, as frequent visitors and as people who maintain family or friendship ties with Israelis, many Canadian Jews maintain some very vivid images of and intimate ties with Israeli loved ones and the Israeli landscape.

The depth of their attachment to Israel is demonstrated in answers to a variety of questions about their feelings and beliefs. Almost nine in ten Canadian Jews (87 per cent) agree that 'Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew', as compared with 73 per cent of American Jews. In a telling expression of attachment, the vast majority (85 per cent) agree with the statement, 'If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered

one of the greatest personal tragedies in my life.' In contrast, a smaller majority (66 per cent) of American Jews say they agree with the same statement. Over two-thirds (70 per cent) of Canadian Jews 'often talk about Israel with friends and relatives', as compared with slightly fewer (62 per cent) American Jews.

The gaps between Canadian and American Jews are even more striking when we turn to more demanding questions, those that signify higher levels of commitment than those reviewed just above. When asked how close they feel to Israel, 42 per cent of Canadian Jews answer in the strongest possible terms ('very close'), roughly double the number of American Jews (22 per cent) who answer in like fashion. Consistent with their higher rates of previous travel to Israel, almost twice as many Canadian as American Jews say they intend to visit Israel within the next three years (44 per cent versus 24 per cent). A large gap also separates the rates at which Canadian and American Jews regard themselves as Zionists (42 per cent versus 25 per cent). Consistent with Zionist ideology, almost as many (35 per cent) feel they can 'live a fuller Jewish life in Israel than in Canada'. (Only 10 per cent of American Jews have similar views about life in Israel and the United States.)

What may be most indicative of the deep and widespread commitment to Israel among Canadian Jews is that over a fifth (21 per cent) say they 'have seriously considered living in Israel', as compared with 13 per cent of American Jews.

Not only are Canadian Jews more attached to Israel than are American Jews, they also seem to know more about Israel, if the answers to two simple questions on recent Israeli history offer any firm indication. Almost four-fifths (79 per cent) of Canadian Jews and just 66 per cent of American Jews could correctly identify the year of Israel's independence as 1948. The gap is even wider with respect to identifying 1967 as the year of the Six-Day War: 72 per cent for the Canadians as against only 40 per cent for the Americans.

American Jews enjoy a reputation for avid and passionate support for Israel. If so, then the attachment and concern of Canadian Jews must be seen as even more avid and more passionate. When compared with American Jews, Canadian Jews are more in touch with Israel and Israelis, more knowledgeable, more involved, more pro-Israel, and more Zionist in many senses of the term. Yet despite these differences, Canadian and American Jews seem to share many of the same instincts toward the major social divisions within Israel.

In late 1988, religious parties in Israel unsuccessfully sought to amend Israeli legislation so as to recognize conversions to Judaism conducted abroad that were supervised only by Orthodox rabbis. The 'Who is a Jew?' crisis precipitated a powerful adverse reaction among North American Jewry. Among Jews in the United States in 1988, hardly anybody (6 per cent) supported the view that Israel should 'change its laws so as to recognize only those conversions performed by Orthodox rabbis'. In Canada, in late 1990, just 14 per cent supported this position. In 1988, in the United States, 57 per

cent said they would feel 'very upset' if 'Israel changed its "Who is a Jew" law to recognize *only* Orthodox conversions'; an additional 20 per cent would be 'somewhat upset'. In Canada, in 1990, with the issue somewhat removed in time, as many as 47 per cent still would be 'very upset' with the proposed change and another 19 per cent would be 'somewhat upset'.

These results suggest that with respect to this one hot issue, Canadian and American Jews have basically similar reactions, although the Canadians are slightly more sympathetic to the religious parties' stance, owing in large part to the larger segment of Canadian Jews who are Orthodox.

Other parallel reactions can be seen in answers to questions on impressions of various sorts of Israelis. Among both American and Canadian Jews, very few have positive impressions of so-called Ultra-Orthodox Jews. About half in both countries (slightly more in Canada, slightly less in the United States) have positive impressions of Modern Orthodox and of secular Israelis. (Those lacking positive impressions have either negative impressions or no impression either way regarding these groups.)

The parallels between American Jewish and Canadian Jewish orientations extend to the political sphere as well. Among both Canadian and American Jews, somewhat more individuals express positive views of Israeli doves than who think well of Israeli hawks. In Canada, the doves are endorsed, in effect, by 35 per cent of the respondents in contrast with just 23 per cent for the hawks. The results in the United States are fairly similar.

In sum, Canadian Jews are highly attached to Israel, even more so than their Jewish counterparts to the south. Moreover, like their American counterparts, Canadian Jews are not particularly sympathetic to the ultra-Orthodox or their political agenda, and are more inclined to think well of Israeli doves as opposed to Israeli hawks.

Urban Variations

How do the measures of Jewish involvement differ in the major Canadian Jewish population centres? Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and the several smaller Jewish communities throughout Canada differ in numerous respects. Different sorts of Jewish immigrants came to these destinations from different locations at different times. Certain ideological streams have preferred some places over others. For example, Montreal seems to have been a favoured location for Orthodoxy, while Winnipeg Jews attracted an unusual concentration of secularist-socialist-Yiddishists.

The communities also differ dramatically in size. Toronto and Montreal are, by far, the largest Jewish population centres in Canada, Winnipeg and Vancouver, though much smaller, are still considerably larger than any other communities in Canada. Historically, larger Jewish communities are in a better position to support more complex and more diverse Jewish institutions.

Another key consideration has been the stream of migration of Jews from Montreal to Toronto and other destinations over the last several years. That

Table 4 Religious, Communal, and Israel Involvement by Region in Canada

	TORONTO	MONTREAL	WINNIPEG	BRITISH COLUMBIA	OTHER
Attends Passover seder	90	95	92	83	91
Lights Hanukkah candles	84	90	90	77	88
Fasts Yom Kippur	69	88	77	58	75
Lights Sabbath candles	54	59	46	42	42
Has meat and dairy dishes	42	54	39	34	36
Handles no money on the Sabbath	13	22	2	5	2
Observes Fast of Esther	9	17	1	5	1
DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	14	28	7	10	14
Conservative	39	31	59	32	47
Reconstructionist	1	2	-	2	-
Reform	15	3	11	16	16
Other Jewish	31	37	21	40	22
Synagogue member	61	69	79	54	82
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERS' DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	22	36	8	5	18
Conservative	45	33	62	49	54
Reconstructionist	-	-	-	-	-
Reform	20	5	17	21	18
Other Jewish	14	26	13	25	10
Reads a Jewish newspaper	62	72	41	20	44
YMHA or JCC member	28	48	44	38	40
Jewish organization member	41	47	60	49	60
Donates \$100 or more to UJA	42	35	43	36	56
Most close friends are Jewish	81	83	77	48	64
Can converse in Yiddish	38	40	48	28	25
Can converse in Hebrew	24	31	14	16	21
Visited Israel	65	73	47	59	60
Feel very close to Israel	39	51	35	40	31
Often talk about Israel	67	75	72	63	66
Will visit Israel in three years	40	56	20	37	33
Considered <i>aliyah</i>	21	26	8	15	18
Considered self Zionist	40	43	45	49	41
Israel important to being a Jew	86	90	90	85	83

migration may well have helped change the character of Montreal to a great extent and the other cities to a lesser extent.

We certainly have many compelling reasons to anticipate significant differences in the Jewish character of the major Jewish population centres. To

address this issue, the sample has been divided into four discrete regions and a fifth residual category. The four regions with sufficient numbers of respondents for reliable analysis are: Toronto (409 interviews), Montreal (353), Winnipeg (54), and British Columbia (47 respondents in Vancouver, 3 in Victoria). The remaining interviews are gathered under Table 4's 'other' column. This column combines Ottawa (32), Calgary (21), Hamilton (16), Edmonton (15), Halifax (4), St Catharines (4), Regina, Kitchener, and Moncton (3 each), and Saskatoon and Sydney (2 each). The 'other' category, then, is very diverse with respect to region but is relatively homogeneous with respect to the small size of these eleven Jewish population centres, no one of which is large enough to sustain separate analysis.

On measures of ritual involvement, Montreal emerges as the most observant, and British Columbia is in most respects the least observant.

Consistent with this observation, we see that among the synagogue-affiliated population, Montreal is the only community where the Orthodox exceed the Conservative population (36 per cent versus 33 per cent). In contrast, in Toronto, among the congregationally affiliated, Conservative Jews outnumber the Orthodox by more than two to one (45 per cent to 24 per cent). Among the synagogue members, the Reform population is almost negligible in Montreal, as is the Orthodox population in Winnipeg and British Columbia.

Although the regional variations in ritual observance of denomination are rather pronounced and clear-cut, the variations in communal participation are less uniform. Each region is distinguished in its own way. Toronto and Montreal are notable for their rather high rates of Jewish newspaper readership. Toronto Jews are also noteworthy for their low rates of JCC/YMHA membership. Montreal and Toronto report substantially higher rates of familiarity with Hebrew than the smaller communities. Winnipeg is unusual in the large extent to which people belong to Jewish organizations, belong to synagogues, identify as Conservative Jews, and are familiar with Yiddish. These figures are consistent with the image of Winnipeg as a Conservative town replete with a large number of small Jewish organizations and one where a strong Yiddishist movement has managed to support a Yiddish language day school for decades. British Columbia (largely Vancouver) is distinguished by rather low rates of synagogue membership, of Jewish newspaper readership, and of fluency in Yiddish and in Hebrew.

With respect to Israel attachment and pro-Israel involvement, the several indicators point to a nearly consistent rank order: Montreal leads, followed by Toronto, with British Columbia third, and Winnipeg last.

These results are a thin reed upon which to build an argument about the distinctive Jewish character of the major Canadian Jewish population centres. Nevertheless, the statistical results are consistent with the qualitative impression of many informed Jewish communal leaders. The results serve to fortify, clarify, and amplify several key generalizations. Among them:

1. Montreal Jewry is more observant and more Orthodox than other Canadian Jewry.

2. Montreal Jews are also generally more communally active than Jews elsewhere.

3. Winnipeg Jewry is noted for its Yiddishism, organizational life, Conservative synagogue affiliation, and, for Canada, a lower than average level of attachment to Israel.

4. British Columbian Jewry falls below the national average in several measures of ritual observance and institutional affiliation.

5. Toronto Jewry is distinguished by its typicality. With over 40 per cent of Canada's Jews, Toronto generally scores neither very high nor very low on measures of Jewish involvement. On the whole, Toronto area Jews are somewhat less involved in many aspects of Jewish life than those in Montreal, but more involved than most Jews elsewhere.

6. Last, the major distinguishing feature of Jews subsumed under the 'other' rubric is their high levels of institutional belonging. More than Jews in any of the larger communities, these Jews are synagogue members. They also score relatively high with respect to JCC/YMHA membership as well as affiliating with other Jewish organizations. The acutely felt minority status of Jews in these small communities undoubtedly heightens their interest in formally associating with fellow Jews in one or another sort of Jewish institution.

Age Differences

Are younger Canadian Jews indeed less Jewishly involved than their elders? To address these questions, Table 5 compares those under 35 years of age with those 35-49, 50-64, and 65 and over. Since some expressions of Jewish commitment emerge for many people only when they marry and have children, lower scores among those under 35 may not accurately indicate their eventual levels when most of this group moves into parenthood. Hence, it is also useful to closely examine those 35-49 and compare them with those 50-64. If there is indeed a decline in Jewish commitment among younger Jews, then we should also be able to observe gaps in Jewish involvement scores between those in early middle age and those in later middle age (i.e., between those 35-49 and 50-64).

Whichever younger age group one examines, youth is clearly associated with no decline whatever in ritual observance. More pointedly, with respect to the two most traditional rituals (not handling money on the Sabbath and fasting on the Fast of Esther), the two younger groups are significantly more observant than those 50-64. If the younger groups are a portent of the future, Orthodoxy has been gaining ground at the expense of Conservatism.

Of Jews in families where the respondent is under 35, just 54 per cent are congregationally affiliated, as compared with 66 per cent or more in the

Table 5 Religious, Communal, and Israel Involvement by Age in Canada

	UNDER 34	35-49	50-64	65+
Attends Passover seder	96	91	92	87
Lights Hanukkah candles	86	89	88	80
Fasts Yom Kippur	82	76	76	70
Lights Sabbath candles	50	54	52	58
Has meat and dairy dishes	49	43	44	49
Handles no money on the Sabbath	21	15	8	13
Observes Fast of Esther	15	12	5	9
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	22	19	13	16
Conservative	35	35	47	36
Reconstructionist	-	2	-	-
Reform	10	13	9	9
Other Jewish	34	31	31	36
Synagogue member	54	70	66	75
SYNAGOGUE MEMBERS' DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	37	25	18	22
Conservative	34	42	54	40
Reconstructionist	-	2	-	-
Reform	13	16	13	10
Other Jewish	18	16	15	28
Reads a Jewish newspaper	52	56	67	70
YMHA or JCC member	41	36	40	37
Jewish organization member	43	39	49	64
Donates \$100 or more to UJA	32	42	46	42
Most close friends are Jewish	76	74	84	79
Can converse in Yiddish	14	27	51	64
Can converse in Hebrew	35	25	21	20
Visited Israel	70	64	66	65
Feel very close to Israel	33	37	47	56
Often talk about Israel	58	66	75	81
Will visit Israel in three years	42	43	50	39
Considered <i>aliyah</i>	29	22	22	10
Considered self Zionist	40	35	48	51
Israel important to being a Jew	87	85	90	88

older groups. But in families where the respondent is 35-49, fully 70 per cent belong to synagogues or temples, a figure about the same as among the two groups 50 years old and over. These patterns suggest that many adults simply put off joining a synagogue until their thirties, when many marry and have children. These results, then, do not portend any shrinkage in the synagogue membership base.

The stability in most forms of ritual observance, the apparent growth in traditional observance and in Orthodoxy among the young, and the signs of stability in synagogue membership all suggest persistence in the intensity of religious life among younger Jews. Clearly, with respect to religious activity, fears for the commitment of younger Jews are unfounded.

What about indicators of communal involvement? Here we find youngsters matching their elders in most areas, but clearly surpassing them in none. As one might expect, with the advance of generations, fluency in Yiddish is declining; but, at the same time, fluency in Hebrew is increasing, not quite offsetting the implicit losses in Yiddish fluency.

Previous American studies have established that attachment to Israel is declining among younger Jews. Although Canadian Jewry can boast an overall stronger attachment to Israel than American Jewry, declines similar to those seen in the United States can be observed in Canada as well.

For example, the proportion who say they feel 'very close' to Israel declines from 56 per cent among those 65 and over to just 33 per cent among those under 35. Similar gaps between old and young can be seen with respect to the items on talking about Israel with friends and relatives and considering oneself a Zionist. At the same time, younger adults are no less likely than older adults to see Israel as important to their being a Jew, to have travelled to Israel, or to plan to visit in the next three years; in fact younger people are more likely to have at one time considered living in Israel.

Yet despite these areas where younger adults match or exceed their older counterparts in Israel involvement, the key items that measure feelings of closeness to Israel do demonstrate an unmistakable gap between older and younger Canadian Jews.

Taken in their entirety, the diverse findings on differences in Jewish identity between older and younger Jews in Canada present a mixed picture. In some ways, such as traditional ritual observance, younger Jews are actually more involved than older Jews. In other ways, such as many forms of communal affiliation and most forms of ritual practice, younger Jews are hardly different from their elders. In still other ways, such as emotional attachment to Israel or fluency in Yiddish, younger Jews score lower than older Jews. These patterns certainly point to ongoing and anticipated change in the nature of Jewish commitment in Canada. But they do not point to any clear shift in one direction or the other. If these data do tell us something about the future directions of Jewish involvement in Canada, they suggest neither massive erosion of Jewish identity nor wholesale intensification.

Anti-Semitism

Despite their enormous economic, political, and cultural achievements in the United States, from one-half to four-fifths of American Jews express considerable anxiety about their acceptance by the larger society and the phenomenon of American anti-Semitism. For many reasons, we would expect

Canadian Jews to be at least as anxious, if not more so, than American Jews. One consideration is that Canadian Jews are, in absolute and relative terms, a far smaller population than American Jews. Canadian Jews number about 300,000 and comprise just over 1 per cent of their country's population; American Jews amount to almost six million and make up over 2 per cent of their country's population. Another important distinction is that Canadian Jewry is chronologically and generationally closer to Europe and to the Nazi Holocaust. In addition, the political turmoil surrounding the future of Quebec has undoubtedly generated increased anxieties among the Jews of Montreal, in particular, if not all of Canada in general.

In light of these considerations, it is not surprising that nearly four-fifths (79 per cent) of Canadian Jewish adults believe that there is 'a great deal of anti-Semitism in Canada,' the most potent answer category available. When offered four choices relating to how well accepted they feel, a clear majority (59 per cent) rejected the opportunity to say that they feel 'completely accepted in Canada.' Not only do Canadian Jews perceive a great deal of anti-Semitism; most (51 per cent) believe that anti-Semitism in Canada has increased in recent years. Certainly these are signs of a group fairly insecure with its position in the larger society.

To what extent are these anxieties buttressed by personal experiences? Despite widespread fears of anti-Semitism, relatively few respondents could report direct encounters with anti-Semitic injury of one sort or another. Just under a quarter (22 per cent) report that they have been the target of any anti-Semitic ethnic slurs in the last five years. While verbal abuse has afflicted only a minority, outright discrimination is even more rare. In the last five years, rather small numbers of Canadian Jewish adults have suffered from what they perceive as anti-Semitic discrimination in finding a job or being promoted (3 per cent), in 'your work, business, or profession, other than in finding a job or being promoted' (7 per cent), in housing (1 per cent), or in education (3 per cent). Taken together, just one in ten claim to have suffered any form of discrimination in any of these concrete ways.

To what extent do discrimination and the accompanying anxieties differ by region? Variations are small and inconsistent, but the Jews of Montreal seem the most anxious and also among the most likely to report actual incidents of discrimination. Jews in the smaller communities (outside Montreal and Toronto) are more likely to report being the brunt of anti-Semitic verbal abuse.

Younger and older respondents are equally likely to express concerns about Canadian anti-Semitism and their acceptance by the larger society. The experiences of outright discrimination are fairly evenly distributed over the age spectrum, but encounters with anti-Semitic slurs are more frequent among younger than among older Canadian Jews. Perhaps the increased exposure of younger Jews to less ethnically insulated (or more ethnically integrated) work and educational environments increase their chances of encountering anti-Semitic remarks.

One theme that runs through these findings on perceived anti-Semitism is that the actual experience with anti-Semitic behaviour is not a prerequisite to the perception of anti-Semitic threat. Vast numbers of Canadian Jews express anxieties about anti-Semitism even though very few have suffered verbal or more serious abuse because they are Jews.

Conclusion

In so many respects, Canadian Jewry constitutes a strong and vital Jewish community. Throughout this report, we have seen relatively high rates of ritual observance, communal affiliation, pro-Israel attachment, and in-group friendship patterns. Moreover, for the most part, these high levels of Jewish involvement persist among younger adults who, in most respects, are as Jewishly involved as middle-aged and older Jews. Moreover, the distinctive character of the major Canadian Jewish population centres is quite apparent in the analysis. Just as living a Jewish life in Canada is quite different from doing so in the United States, so too is Jewish living in Montreal quite different from that found in Winnipeg (or Toronto, or Vancouver, or numerous other cities as well).

There are certainly some disquieting signs. The possible fall-off in attachment to Israel among younger adults (which this report documents) and the impact of rising intermarriage (which we could not satisfactorily investigate owing to sampling limitations) do raise some concerns. These areas merit close attention and further investigation.

However, notwithstanding the impact of a rising intermarriage rate over the last two decades, Canadian Jews generally and younger Canadian Jews in particular (those with the higher rates of mixed marriage) continue to display extraordinary levels of involvement in Jewish life both in the home and in the community. Certainly Canadian Jewry faces numerous challenges. But just as certainly, as this report documents, the community possesses unusual and powerful resources to confront those challenges.

Toronto

Based on 1986 Statistics Canada census information, all census enumeration areas where at least 10 per cent of the population was of Jewish ancestry were identified. A random sample of all households in these areas was selected and contacted to determine if they were a Jewish household. The resulting sample represents an estimated 70 per cent of the community. Of the balance, who live in low Jewish density areas, 'Distinctive Jewish Name' households representing 18 per cent of the community were randomly selected for an interview, and households representing 12 per cent of the community were randomly selected from Federation lists.

Telephone interviews by professional interviewers were conducted with an adult over the age of 18 in 1400 Jewish households. A household was