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CANADIAN JEWISH POPULATION 2023

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Canadian Jewish Population, 2023

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The American Jewish Year Book 2023

The Annual Record of the North American Jewish Communities Since 1899

This Report derives from Chapter 7 of the *American Jewish Year Book, 2023*.

Since 1899, the *American Jewish Year Book* has documented the current status of North American Jewry: its demography, its institutions, and its accomplishments. It is the premier place for leading academics to publish in-depth review chapters on topics of interest to the North American Jewish communities. Cyrus Adler, Milton Himmelfarb, Henrietta Szold, and other prominent American Jews are among its former editors. In 2008, the *Year Book*, which had been published by the American Jewish Committee, ceased publication, a casualty of the 2008 economic recession.

From 2012 to the present, the *Year Book* has been published by Springer, a major worldwide scientific publisher. The editors of the *Year Book* are Arnold Dashefsky of the University of Connecticut and Ira Sheskin of the University of Miami, both accomplished social scientists of American Jewry. The *Year Book* is published in cooperation with the Association for the Social Scientific Study of Jewry (ASSJ) and the Berman Jewish DataBank. Current funding comes from the University of Miami and the University of Connecticut.

The *Year Book* consists of lengthy review chapters on topics of general interest, chapters reviewing important events in the North American Jewish communities, chapters on the US, Canadian, and world Jewish population, lists of Jewish organizations (both local and national), Jewish scholarly resources, major events in the Jewish community, Jewish honorees, and obituaries of notable Jewish individuals. This volume has been a significant and prestigious annual resource for academic researchers, practitioners at Jewish institutions and organizations, the media, and others for basic, up-to-date information about the North American Jewish communities.

Almost all books on the history of North American Jewry cite the *Year Book*. The *Year Book* helps to preserve the current record for future generations.

Obtaining *The American Jewish Year Book, 2023*

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For more information about the *American Jewish Year Book*:

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Canada's Jewish Population, 2023: Focus on Minorities and Attitudes toward Israel's New Government

Robert Brym

The Canadian Jewish population continues to grow, standing at an estimated 404,400 in 2023. About 80% of that number reside in Ontario and Quebec (chiefly in Toronto and Montreal, together accounting for almost 69% of Canada's Jewish population), 18% in Canada's four western provinces, and 2% in the rest of the country.

Certain categories of Canadian Jewry identify as Jewish less strongly than other categories of the community do. The 2021 census indicates that, on average, those who identify as Jewish less strongly include gender, Indigenous, and "visible" (that is, non-Indigenous racial) minorities.

The accession of a new Israeli government in 2022 sharpened political divisions within Canadian Jewry. However, two polls conducted in February and September 2023 indicate that most Canadians oppose key policies of the Netanyahu government, notably judicial reform that removes Israel's only check on legislative authority.

Section 1 Results of the 2021 Census

Canadian-Jewish population figures reported in the 2022 *American Jewish Year Book* were derived from preliminary figures from the 2021 Census of Canada and estimates based on those figures. Since then, additional census data have been released, making it possible to sketch a more precise demographic picture of Canada's Jewish population. Having exceeded the 100,000 mark between 1911 and 1921, the 200,000 mark between 1941 and 1951, and the 300,000 mark between 1981 and 1991, Canadian Jewry passed the 400,000 mark between 2011 and 2021. Specifically, Canadian Jews numbered 404,015 in 2021. Assuming that the rate of growth of Canada's Jewish community from 2021 to 2023 was the same as the rate of growth from 2011 to 2021, 404,400 Canadians identified as Jewish by religion or said they were Jewish by ethnicity but identified with no religion in 2023.¹ They constituted Canada's Jews according to what is widely regarded as the "standard definition" of Jewish in the context of recent Canadian censuses. This definition excludes individuals who choose "Jewish" as one of their ethnic identifiers but identify with a religion other than Jewish. If the latter are included, the "extended" Jewish population of Canada in 2021 was 456,000.²

¹ By way of comparison, the total is approximately equal to the combined Jewish populations of the San Francisco Bay area and metro Houston (Sheskin and Dashefsky 2022, 266, 289).

² This figure is derived from a special census tabulation obtained from Statistics Canada.

Table 1 provides a breakdown of the Jewish population according to the standard definition in Canada's ten provinces and three northern territories in 2021 (Fig. 1). Just over 80% of Canada's Jews reside in Ontario and Quebec, about 18% in the western provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia, and the remaining 2% in the other five provinces and three territories. Just over 1% of Canada's population is Jewish.

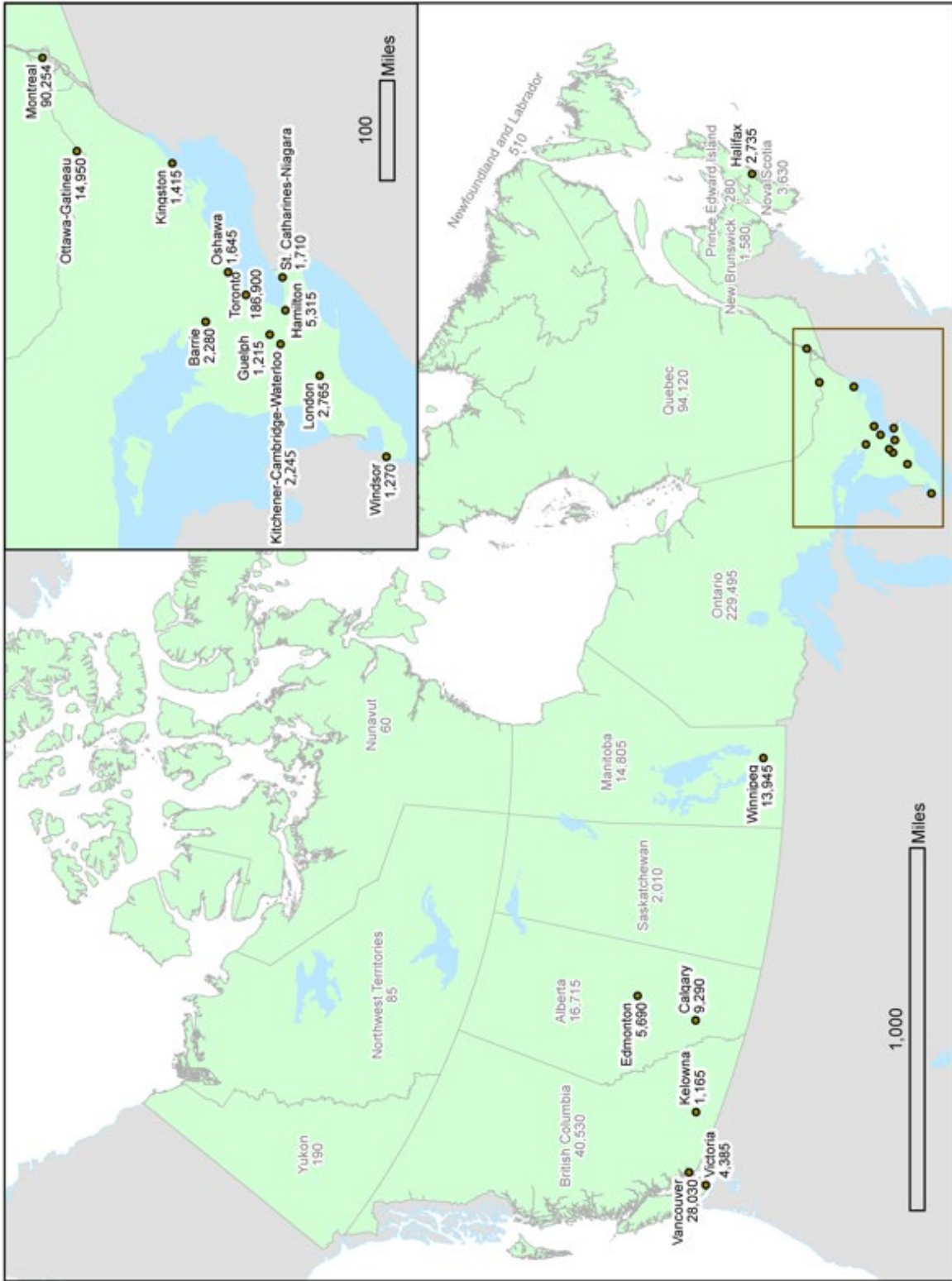
Between 2011 and 2021, Canada's Jewish population grew modestly by 4.8%, with the largest absolute growth in Ontario and the largest percentage growth in the four Atlantic Provinces and the three northern territories.

It is tempting to think that large percentage growth in areas with small Jewish populations is solely an artifact of the small denominator in the calculation. Thus, Nova Scotia's modest gain of 767 Jews between 2011 and 2021 represents an impressive 26.8% increase in the size of that province's Jewish population. However, when we examine change in the size of Canada's 19 metropolitan areas with 1,000 or more Jews, it becomes apparent that more is likely at stake here.

Province/territory	By religion	By ethnicity, no religion	Total	% of total	% of all residents	Total, 2011	% change, 2011-21
Newfoundland & Labrador	240	270	510	0.14	0.10	217	135.0
Prince Edward Island	170	110	280	0.08	0.18	182	53.8
Nova Scotia	2,195	1,435	3,630	0.90	0.37	2,863	26.8
New Brunswick	1,000	580	1,580	0.39	0.20	846	86.8
Quebec	84,535	9,585	94,120	23.30	1.11	92,127	2.2
Ontario	196,100	33,395	229,495	56.80	1.61	222,984	2.9
Manitoba	11,560	3,245	14,805	3.66	1.10	14,116	4.9
Saskatchewan	1,105	905	2,010	0.50	0.18	1,875	7.2
Alberta	11,390	5,325	16,715	4.14	0.39	15,542	7.5
British Columbia	26,850	13,680	40,530	10.03	0.81	34,445	17.7
Yukon	65	125	190	0.05	0.47	143	32.9
Northwest Territories	50	35	85	0.02	0.21	39	117.9
Nunavut	35	25	60	0.02	0.16	20	200.0
Canada	335,295	68,720	404,015	100.00	1.09	385,345	4.8

Sources: Shahar (2014); Statistics Canada (2023a; 2023b).
 Note: Some columns may not add up precisely due to rounding error. Shahar's figures for 2011 have been reduced by 1.6% because he reports a count based on his "revised standard definition" of Jewish rather than the "standard definition," which I report for consistency across multiple censuses.

Table 2 displays figures relevant to this question. Nine of Canada's 19 metropolitan areas with a Jewish population of 1,000 or more experienced double-digit population growth between 2011 and 2021. Five of these areas are in Toronto's orbit. They include Barrie, Guelph, Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge, and St Catharines-Niagara, all roughly within a two-hour drive of Toronto; and Kingston, about a three-hour drive from Toronto. Two metropolitan areas in British Columbia (Victoria and Kelowna) and one each in Alberta (Calgary) and Nova Scotia (Halifax) round out the list of metropolitan areas that experienced double-digit growth in percentage terms.



Much of the relatively rapid growth in these metropolitan areas is likely attributable to high real estate prices in Toronto and Vancouver, by far the most expensive housing markets in the country. In May 2023, while still recovering from the COVID-19-related drop in housing prices, the average price of homes (including condominium apartments) in Canadian dollars was close to \$1.2 million in Toronto and \$1.3 million in Vancouver—roughly double the Canadian average (Canadian Real Estate Association 2023). Consequently, some Canadians, Jews among them, opted to live where housing is more affordable, that is, outside the greater Toronto and Vancouver areas. The COVID-19 pandemic contributed to this tendency because some Canadians decided to move to more spacious dwellings that are more congenial to working remotely from home.

Table 2 Census metropolitan areas with Jewish populations of 1,000+, Canada, 2021

Census metropolitan area	By religion	By ethnicity, no religion	Total	Total, 2011	% change, 2011-21	% no religion
Toronto	165,765	21,135	186,900	186,010	0.5	11
Montreal	82,080	8,174	90,254	89,665	0.7	9
Vancouver	20,120	7,910	28,030	25,740	8.2	28
Ottawa-Gatineau	11,400	3,550	14,950	13,850	7.4	24
Winnipeg	11,170	2,775	13,945	13,260	4.9	20
Calgary	6,700	2,590	9,290	8,210	11.6	28
Edmonton	3,820	1,870	5,690	5,440	4.4	33
Hamilton	3,880	1,435	5,315	5,055	4.9	27
Victoria	2,740	1,645	4,385	2,630	40.0	38
London	2,080	685	2,765	2,610	5.6	25
Halifax	1,775	960	2,735	2,080	23.9	35
Barrie	1,795	485	2,280	1,422	37.6	21
Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge	1,480	765	2,245	1,970	12.2	34
St Catharines-Niagara	1,175	535	1,710	1,353	20.9	31
Oshawa	1,120	525	1,645	1,590	3.3	32
Kingston	940	475	1,415	1,166	17.6	34
Windsor	985	285	1,270	1,475	-16.1	22
Guelph	715	500	1,215	910	25.1	41
Kelowna	725	440	1,165	886	23.9	38

Sources: Shahar (2014); Statistics Canada (2023a; 2023b).

Note: Some columns may not add up precisely due to rounding error. In five cases, Shahar's figures for 2011 have been reduced by 1.6% because he reports a count based on his "revised standard definition" of Jewish rather than the "standard definition," which I report for consistency across multiple censuses.

Metropolitan areas with smaller Jewish populations include proportionately more secular Jews. Metropolitan areas with larger Jewish populations include proportionately more Jews by religion. Thus, as the last column on the right of Table 2 indicates, 31-41% of Jews in the nine metropolitan areas with the smallest Jewish populations say they are Jewish by ethnicity but identify with no religion. The comparable range for the ten metropolitan areas with the largest Jewish populations is 9-28%. The proportion of Jews who identify with no religion is much the smallest (9-11%) in Toronto and Montreal, the cities with by far the largest Jewish populations in Canada. Evidently, big Jewish communities with dense networks of Jewish organizations and a large number of Jewish family members, potential friends, and possible marriage partners are more likely than small Jewish communities to attract and retain individuals who identify as Jewish by religion.

Other noteworthy observations one can glean from Table 2 include the fact that Winnipeg, long the third largest Jewish community in the country, is now in fourth place behind Ottawa-Gatineau. Nonetheless, the shrinkage in the Jewish population of Winnipeg that was witnessed in several previous censuses has ended. The same holds for Montreal. The Jewish populations of both cities grew between 2011 and 2021, only barely in the case of Montreal. Toronto’s Jewish population also eked out growth, albeit at a much reduced rate compared to previous intercensal periods. The only metropolitan area with 1,000+ Jews that witnessed a Jewish population decline between 2011 and 2021 is Windsor, Ontario, a blue-collar automotive center across the river from Detroit with by far the oldest Jewish population of any area listed in Table 2.

Finally with respect to demographics, the 2021 census allows us to divide Canada’s Jewish population by generation (Table 3). Thirty percent of Canada’s Jews are first-generation Canadians (born outside Canada), 31% are second generation (comprising the first Canadian-born generation), and 39% are members of the third or later generations (with grandparents or earlier ancestors born in Canada). A larger percentage of secular Jews than Jews by religion are members of the first and third or later generations. A larger proportion of Jews by religion are second generation.

The 2021 and 2022 chapters on Canada in the *American Jewish Year Book* dealt with the occupational, income, and denominational distribution of Canadian Jewry, its economic and social integration in Canadian society, reasons for key differences between Canadian and American Jewry, Jews from the former Soviet Union, Holocaust survivors, knowledge of Jewish languages, “visible minority” Jews, and country of origin of immigrant Jews (Brym 2022; 2023a). The present report focuses on gender, visible, and Indigenous minority Jews in Canada and on attitudes of Canadian Jews toward Israel’s government.

Generation	By religion	By ethnicity, no religion	Total
1 st generation	29	32	30
2 nd generation	35	27	31
3 rd generation+	36	41	39
Total	100	100	100
Statistics Canada (2023b).			

Section 2 Gender, Visible, and Indigenous Minorities

2.1 Gender Minorities

It was noted earlier that Canadian metropolitan areas with smaller Jewish populations include proportionately more secular Jews. The 2021 census of Canada allows us to probe this issue more deeply. Specifically, it reveals that, although Canada's gender and visible-minority Jews, like all Jews, are disproportionately concentrated in large urban communities, they are more attracted to smaller urban communities than are individuals who identify as Jewish by religion (Brym 2023c; Shahar 2023).³

In 2021, Canada became the first country to include in its census an open-ended question that allowed respondents to indicate that they are transgender (individuals who do not gender-identify with their sex at birth) or non-binary (individuals who do not identify as exclusively male or female). Some 0.3% of all census respondents and 0.6% of Canada's Jews fall into these two non-cisgender categories.

Nearly all 2,555 non-cisgender Jews recorded in the 2021 census of Canada reside in five census metropolitan areas (CMAs): Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Gatineau (respectively, the first through fourth largest CMAs by population), and Winnipeg (the country's eighth largest CMA by population). However, a strong negative correlation ($r = -0.688$) exists between the size of these CMAs' Jewish population and the CMAs' percentage of non-cisgender Jews. That is, while non-cisgender Jews are disproportionately attracted to larger cities, they are more attracted to smaller urban Jewish communities than is the Jewish population as a whole. Reinforcing this observation is the fact that 17.3% of all Canadian Jews, but 29.4% of non-cisgender Canadian Jews, reside outside the five large CMAs just listed.

It is possible that this tendency is due to the fact that Toronto and Montreal are the most traditional Jewish communities in Canada. Nearly all of Canada's ultra-Orthodox or *haredi* Jews and the overwhelming majority of Orthodox Jews reside in those two cities. The beliefs, attitudes, and practices of people who identify with these denominations are typically incompatible with non-cisgender identity and, for that matter, with the identity of the roughly 13,600 gay, lesbian, bisexual, and asexual Jews in Canada.⁴ The great majority of Canada's Conservative Jews also live in Montreal and Toronto. While their beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding gender and sexual minorities vary, a substantial percentage of them are aligned with the Orthodox on this subject. Together, people who identify with the denominations just listed comprise nearly one-half of Canadian Jewry as a whole (including those with no denominational affiliation; Brym, Neuman, and Lenton 2019, 23).

³ As of this writing, data on the geographical distribution of Indigenous-Jewish Canadians are not available.

⁴ Based on a Statistics Canada (2022) estimate, 3.4% of Canadians self-identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, and asexual. Here it is assumed that this percentage applies equally to Canadian Jews. On gay Jews in Canada, see Schnoor (2006); Schnoor and Weinfeld (2005).

A nearly perfect positive correlation ($r = 0.981$) exists between the percentage of non-cisgender Jews in each CMA and the percentage of Jews in the CMA claiming they identify with no religion. It thus seems plausible that non-cisgender Jews are more inclined than cisgender Jews to override their Jewish identity and, in particular, their religious identity as Jews, in deciding where to live. Non-cisgender Jews may find large cities attractive insofar as non-cisgender people are concentrated in them, in some cases creating Jewish social spaces permitting the integration of Jewish and non-cisgender identities. However, it may also be the case that they tend to find large traditional Jewish populations unaccepting and exclusionary. Consequently, big-city life may appeal to them less than it appeals to Jews by religion.

2.2. Visible Minorities

“Visible minority” is Canada’s administrative euphemism for a non-Indigenous racial group. According to the 2021 census, Canada is the home of 16,500 visible-minority Jews—4.1% of Canada’s Jewish population. The main visible-minority sub-categories include Jews who identify as Black (21.8% of the total), Latin American (12.5%), South Asian (10.6%; mainly Indian), and Chinese (9.6%).

A considerable number of visible-minority Jews are undoubtedly the offspring of intermarried or (for want of a better word) partnered individuals, with one parent Jewish and the other a non-Jewish member of a visible minority group. We know a good deal about the sociological conditions leading to Jewish intermarriage and partnering in Canada (Brym and Lenton 2020; Chertok and Brookner 2023). However, we do not know the extent to which these or other conditions apply to visible-minority Jews.

What we can glean from the 2021 census is that the geographical distribution of Canada’s visible minority Jews is similar to that of Canada’s non-cisgender Jews. Both categories of the Jewish population are found disproportionately in cities with the largest Jewish populations, especially Toronto and Montreal. However, the correlation between the percentage of Canada’s visible minority Jews in each CMA and the CMA’s percentage of visible-minority Jews is negative ($r = -0.316$). This pattern is consistent with the earlier speculation concerning non-cisgender Jews. Visible-minority Jews may be attracted to large cities but may find large traditional Jewish populations less than accepting and inclusive. Therefore, they may be less inclined than Jews by religion to reside in big cities.

2.3. Indigenous Minorities

In the 2021 census, 2,580 Canadians (0.6% of the country’s Jewish population) identified as Indigenous and Jewish by ethnicity or culture (Statistics Canada 2023b).

Some Indigenous-Jewish Canadians are the products of intermarriage or partnering, their parents having met each other in university or some other organizational setting. In other cases, they were, or one of their parents was, born into an Indigenous family and later adopted by a Jewish family. Scandalously, Canadian welfare agencies removed more than 20,000 Indigenous children from their homes between the 1950s and

mid-1980s, placing them with White families that were often geographically distant from Indigenous communities. Jewish families adopted some of these children (BigEagle 2023; Sinclair, Dainard, and Gallant 2020).

Some 72% of Indigenous-Jewish individuals claimed to be third-or-later-generation Canadians in the 2021 census, compared to 39% for Canadian Jewry as a whole. This fact suggests that not all Indigenous-Jewish intermarriages or partnerships are recent.

Canada's fur trade began in the early 1500s and continued for four centuries. The late Canadian-Jewish historian Gerald Tulchinsky notes that Jewish "fur traders who spent lengthy periods at posts in the interior took Indian 'wives' *au coutume du pays* [according to local custom]; traders recognized the economic utility of these alliances, as well as the need for emotional and sexual comfort. There is little reason to believe, therefore, that Jewish contemporary intermarriage rates in Quebec were much less than the 28 percent for American Jewry in the Federal period [1790-1830]" (Tulchinsky 1992 17-18). Adding weight to Tulchinsky's observation is that, in 2021, the largest groups of Jews who claimed a known Indigenous identity were Métis, Mi'kmaq, Anishnaabe, and Cree, all of whom originated in the country's southeastern quadrant, the area first colonized by Europeans in the era of the early fur trade.

Section 3 Israel's New Government and Canada's Jews

The November 2022 election of the most right-wing government in Israel's history was greeted with jubilation by about half the Jews in Israel but a considerably smaller fraction of Jews in the diaspora.

In Canada, conservative Jewish organizations urged solidarity and calm. Foremost among them was CIJA, the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs, the CEO of which asserted that about 37% of Canada's Jews are members of its affiliated organizations.⁵ Representatives of CIJA and other conservative organizations variously claimed that the aftermath of the Israeli election was just part of the normal democratic process, denied Canadian Jews have the right to criticize a government that does not represent them, and/or warned that criticism would add fuel to smoldering antisemitic fires. (These arguments ignore niceties such as the fact that there is nothing normal about a liberal democracy removing all checks on executive and legislative power, and the plausible claim that the reluctance of some Jews to defend minority and human rights in Israel may antagonize some non-Jews, causing them to develop negative judgments about, and take harmful actions toward, the Jewish community as a whole.)

Once the legislative program of the Israeli government became clear and several of its cabinet ministers made their attitudes and policy ambitions more widely known,

⁵ "This is..." (2022). In this podcast, CIJA's CEO claimed that CIJA "represents the diverse perspectives of more than 150,000 Jewish Canadians affiliated with their local Jewish Federation" despite the fact that these people had not been polled on their attitudes toward Israel's new government at the time of the podcast. See also "This Toronto..." (2023); Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs (2023).

conservatives' pronouncements were challenged by liberal organizations and individuals. Among them were Arza Canada (the Zionist voice of Canadian Reform Judaism, representing about 16% of Canada's Jews); the Toronto Board of Rabbis (Ontario's only multi-denominational rabbinic organization, representing roughly 30% of Canada's Jews); smaller organizations representing perhaps 3% of Canada's Jews and including New Israel Fund of Canada, JSpace Canada, and Canadian Friends of Peace Now (an affiliate of Israel's Shalom Achshav); and numerous individuals of note, including well-known human rights activist and former Canadian Minister of Justice, Irwin Cotler, and former Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, Rosalie Abella, currently Samuel and Judith Pizar Visiting Professor of Law at Harvard Law School (Cohen 2023; Cotler 2023; Humphreys 2023; Sarick 2023; "Our concern..." 2023).⁶

It was at first unclear where the Canadian Jewish public at large stood on the issues at stake. Accordingly, in 2023, New Israel Fund of Canada and JSpace Canada decided to fund two public opinion polls on the subject. Canadian Friends of Peace Now joined the funders for the second poll. The polls were conducted by Ekos Research Associates, one of the country's leading public opinion firms. Poll 1, with 288 adult respondents, was fielded between 16 and 28 February. Poll 2, with 486 adult respondents, was fielded between 7 and 14 September. Attitudes of the Canadian-Jewish public towards Israel's government after the 7 October 2023 pogrom in Israel are not reflected in these polls.

Respondents were drawn from a large online pool, members of which were invited to participate in the polls. Potential respondents were screened to include individuals who identified as Jewish by religion or ethnicity, and exclude those who identified with a non-Jewish religion. The samples were weighted by the provincial, gender, and age distribution of Canada's Jewish population. For 19 of 20 similar samples, the maximum margins of error for polls 1 and 2 respectively are 5.8% and 4.4%.

Highlights of the polls include the following:

- Some 56% of Canadian Jews believe that Israel's government is moving in the wrong direction, compared to just 13% who say it is moving in the right direction (poll 1; Brym 2023b).
- Canadian Jews are especially opposed to laws proposed by some members of the governing coalition that would allow gender segregation in some public places, ban Pride parades, and legalize conversion therapy for LGBTQ+ people on religious grounds. In poll 1, more than 8 in 10 respondents opposed such moves.
- Some 73% of Canadian Jews oppose judicial reform making it easier for the Israeli government to reverse Supreme Court decisions (poll 1). Moreover, 58% believe that Jewish organizations in Canada should oppose such reform, compared to 12% who say Jewish organizations should support it (poll 2).
- According to poll 2, 70% of Canadian Jews support the weekly mass protests against judicial reform that in early 2023, while 9% oppose them.

⁶ Estimates of representation are based on Brym, Neuman, and Lenton (2019: 11, 23). Note that individuals may be affiliated with more than one of these groups.

- In both polls, when asked whether building Jewish settlements in the West Bank helps or hurts Israel's security, the ratio of "hurts" to "helps" responses was about 2 to 1. However, more than 40% of Canadian Jews expressed ambivalence on this issue or said they don't know.
- The so-called "grandparent clause" in Israel's Law of Return allows anyone with a Jewish grandparent to claim citizenship. However, religiously Orthodox members of the ruling coalition want the clause removed because it permits people they do not define as Jews to declare citizenship as soon as they arrive in the country. According to poll 1, 58% of Canadian Jews oppose such a move, while 17% favor it, which is perhaps unsurprising since about one-fifth of Canadian Jews are Orthodox, Modern Orthodox, or *haredi*.
- A few years ago, Israel's Minister of National Security was convicted of incitement to racism and supporting a terrorist organization. More recently, Israel's Minister of Finance described himself on radio as a "proud homophobe." The New Israel Fund of Canada and JSpace Canada have proposed that the Canadian government follow the lead of the UK government and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the largest Jewish communal organization in the UK, and refuse to meet or build relationships with these ministers. According to poll 1, nearly 6 in 10 Canadian Jews agree with that proposal, while just 2 in 10 disagree.
- According to poll 2, Canadian Jews are riven when it comes to various actual and hypothetical Canadian government policies concerning Israel. There is no statistically significant difference at $p < .05$ between the percentage of those who think the Canadian government should continue to oppose the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and those who think it should not; between the percentage of those who think the Canadian government should join other allies of Israel in opposing the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and those who think it should not; and between the percentage of those who think the Canadian government should continue to oppose the incorporation of parts of the West Bank into the State of Israel and those who think it should not. On the other hand, when it comes to ensuring that all Canadian trade, investment, and charity going to Israel does not contribute to the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, opposition is twice as strong as support.

In short, it seems that Canada's Jews are largely displeased with many aspects of the direction in which the current Israeli government is headed. They tend to want mainstream Jewish organizations to be more vocal in expressing the community's displeasure while strongly supporting the Israeli citizenry's resistance to the current government's direction. However, nothing resembling a consensus exists when it comes to Canadian government policy on Israel. On most actual and hypothetical policy issues mentioned by the surveys, Canadian Jewry is about evenly split.

Poll 2 shows that the split falls along party lines. When asked which political party they would vote for or are inclined to vote for "if an election were held today," 63% of Canadian Jews said they support parties on the left of the political spectrum, while 35% said they support parties on the right. Those who want the Canadian government to be more critical of Israel's current direction tend strongly to support parties on the left. Those

who want the government to be more supportive of Israel's current direction tend strongly to support parties on the right. A considerable percentage of Canada's Jews are ambivalent about such issues or say they have no opinion about them.

If roughly contemporaneous surveys with larger samples asked similar questions and yielded similar results, it would increase confidence in the reliability of the findings just presented. The 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada used different methods to draw a representative sample of 2,335 respondents. Two questions similar to those asked in the 2023 surveys were asked in 2018. One concerns respondents' level of emotional attachment to Israel. The other asked whether building more Jewish settlements in the West Bank helps or hurts Israel's security. In 2018, 79% of respondents said they were at least somewhat emotionally attached to Israel. The comparable figures for the 2023 polls were 75% (poll 1) and 78% (poll 2). In 2018 and in the second 2023 poll, respondents were asked their opinion about whether construction of Jewish settlements on the West Bank helps or hurts Israel's security. The percentage answering "hurts" was 39% in 2018 and 36% in 2023 (poll 2; Brym, Neuman, and Lenton 2019: 57, 60; Moorhouse-Stein 2023). Despite different sampling methodologies, these results are consistent across time, increasing confidence in the reliability of findings.

Section 4 Summary

Canada's Jewish population continues to grow, albeit at a slow pace. In 2023, an estimated 404,400 individuals living in Canada identified as Jewish by religion or identified as having no religion but as Jewish by ethnicity or culture. The Jewish populations of Montreal and Winnipeg grew modestly between 2011 and 2021, reversing a trend that was evident in previous decades.

Canada's Jews are concentrated in metropolitan Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Winnipeg, together accounting for 82.7% of Canadian Jewry. Absolute population growth tends to be greatest in larger cities, but percentage population growth tends to be greatest in smaller cities. Metropolitan areas with smaller Jewish populations tend to include proportionately more secular Jews. Metropolitan areas with larger Jewish populations tend to include proportionately more Jews by religion.

The Canadian census identifies some members of gender, visible minority, and Indigenous minorities as Jewish. Jews who claim to be transgender or non-binary comprise 0.6% of Canada's Jewish population. Visible minority (non-Indigenous racial minority) Jews comprise 4.0% of Canada's Jewish population. And individuals who identify as Indigenous and Jewish comprise an additional 0.6% of Canada's Jews.

Two polls conducted in 2023 suggest that Canadian Jewry was polarized by the election of a right-wing Israeli government at the end of 2022. Thus, the polls found that most Canadian Jews oppose the Israeli government's judicial reform and support the weekly mass protests that began in Israel in early 2023. About twice as many Canadian Jews believed that Jewish settlements in the West Bank harm Israel's security than believe they help Israel's security. The Jewish community is more evenly divided when it comes to Canadian government policies on Israel. For instance, within sampling error, there is no difference between the percentage of those who think the Canadian

government should continue to oppose the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and those who think it should not; and between the percentage of those who think the Canadian government should continue to oppose the incorporation of parts of the West Bank into the State of Israel and those who think it should not. The extent to which these and related Canadian-Jewish attitudes were affected by the 7 October 2023 pogrom and its aftermath is unclear.

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