Jewish life in Greater Toronto

A Survey of the Attitudes & Behaviours of Greater Toronto's Jewish Community (Unabridged Edition)

By Charles Shahar & Tina Rosenbaum
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UJA Federation of Greater Toronto

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Highlights of Results

- A total of 654 individuals successfully completed the survey. 11.2% of the sample resided in the Downtown area, 48.2% in the Central Jewish Community, 35.3% in York Region, and 5.4% in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto.

- 14.2% of respondents described themselves as Orthodox, 36.9% said they were Conservative, 18.7% Reform, and 1.7% Reconstructionist. Less than one in ten (9%) were secular Jews, and 17.2% preferred the more ambiguous designation of "Just Jewish". A very small proportion said they were Humanist (1.9%) or Jewish New Age (0.5%).

- The Jewish community of Toronto has a high level of Orthodox Jews relative to other North American communities, is in the middle of the distribution as far as Conservative and unaffiliated Jews are concerned, and has a lower percentage of Reform Jews as compared to other North American communities.

- The majority of respondents attend synagogue only on High Holidays, or on High Holidays and a few other times (50.8%). 17.2% attend only on special occasions, and 8.3% attend rarely or never. In short, about three-quarters (76.3%) of Toronto Jews do not attend synagogue on a regular basis. A small percentage (4.5%) attend at least once a month, 5.8% several times a month, 8.3% about once per week, and 5.1% more than once per week.

- Intermarried individuals, immigrants from the FSU, those who don't live in traditionally Jewish neighbourhoods, and those with no spouse or family, are particularly likely to feel disconnected from synagogue life.

- In terms of keeping kosher, 22.4% of respondents said they keep "strictly kosher" at home, and 10.2% keep "strictly kosher" outside the home. Only one in ten (10.1%) keep strictly kosher both in and out of the home. This finding suggests that there is generally a low level of strict kashrut observance among respondents.

- Certain religious customs (such as attending a Passover Seder or lighting Chanukah candles) are prominent in the lives of the great majority of unaffiliated Jews, although they may not interpret these practices in strictly religious ways. Reading about Israel / Jewish subjects is another way that the majority of unaffiliated individuals connect to Judaism.

- Of respondents living in intermarried households (where the spouse did not convert), 29.7% of respondents said their children were being brought up within the Jewish faith, 2.7% said according to the spouse's faith, 37.8% within both faiths, and 29.7% with no religion.

- 80% of respondents who live well outside the sphere of Jewish neighbourhoods have children who married non-Jews, suggesting that such geographic detachment from the community may relate to lower levels of affiliation and connection that stretch across even generational lines.

- Almost half (45.2%) of respondents said their children have had a Jewish elementary school education, 19% said their children have had a Jewish high school education, 46.6% said a Jewish supplementary education, 53% private tutoring, and 10.5% post-secondary Jewish studies.

- The most prominent factors that relate to whether or not respondents have had their children attend Jewish day schools include geographic proximity to Jewish neighbourhoods, whether the parents are intermarried or not, the level of household ritual observance, and the economic status of the household.

- Almost half of the sample (48.2%) said they donated to United Jewish Appeal in the past year; 30% said they did not donate, but had in the past; and 21.8% said they had never donated. More than three-quarters (77.8%) of respondents said they donated to non-Jewish charities.

- About three-quarters (73.9%) of respondents said they have been to Israel at least once. Almost half the sample (47.1%) said they felt "very close" to Israel, 32% said "somewhat close", 13.4% said "somewhat distant", 4.3% said "very distant", and 3.1% said they weren't sure.

- More than one in ten respondents (11%) said they had a personal experience with antisemitism in the last 2 years, 29.6% said they experienced antisemitism but not recently, more than half (55.6%) never had a personal experience with antisemitism, and 3.8% were not sure. Of respondents who recently had such an experience, the most likely venue was in the workplace or was job-related, followed by in the neighbourhood where they live.

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Introduction

The following is a summary of the results of a comprehensive survey of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of Jews living in the Greater Toronto Area. The Strategic Planning & Community Engagement Department of UJA Federation undertook this study. It was felt that it was important to have a "snapshot" of the community to understand its feelings, expectations, priorities and challenges as it looks to the future.

The Greater Toronto Area has a cosmopolitan and rapidly growing Jewish population. The community here is close-knit and enjoys a vibrant cultural and religious life. It has a large network of services designed to meet the needs of its members, and strong economic and political representation in the wider milieu. All in all, the Greater Toronto community represents one of the major centres of Jewish life in North America.

It is important that the leadership of the organized community has a "finger on the pulse" of its constituency, and that it takes steps to directly hear from its members. It is not sufficient to rely on anecdotal sources of information that may be subjective in nature. Rather, this survey is an attempt to engage in scientific fact-finding regarding the state of the Greater Toronto Jewish community today, and to ultimately respond to the concerns and needs expressed by its members.

Three fundamental issues are addressed in the present study. The first relates to the question of continuity and cohesiveness. What are the levels of affiliation and participation in the community? Are there specific segments that feel alienated or estranged from Jewish life?

Secondly, how successful is the organized community in reaching out to its constituents? Is the Jewish public aware of our services, and is it using them? How can we improve so that we can continue to deliver a high level of quality and innovation?

Finally, what is the context of the findings, both in terms of changes over time, and in the wider North American Jewish milieu? To this end, a number of important comparisons will be made with the 1990 survey of Toronto's Jews, as well as other community studies done throughout this continent.

The present survey is among the most comprehensive ever conducted of a Jewish population in this country. Admittedly, there is more reticence among people generally to filling out surveys of any kind. Yet, the Jewish community responded to our call to be heard. Hence, this project represents a cooperative effort on the part of not only the professionals involved, but of the wider Jewish public as well.

Description of Methodology

A sample pool of 6,000 Jewish-sounding names was drawn from a computerized telephone directory. The list was stratified by geographic area. Potential respondents were chosen randomly from this list, and contacted by telephone. A screener was used to ensure that the potential respondent was in fact Jewish, and that they were the primary household maintainer or their spouse. Dependent adults were not interviewed in this study.

There are some limitations related to sampling respondents on the basis of Jewish-sounding names. Firstly, not all Jews have names which "sound" Jewish. Their exclusion may introduce a bias in the sampling process, because they may have different levels of Jewish affiliation and religious adherence, than those whose names are "Jewish-sounding".

Another limitation is that Jewish women marrying outside the Jewish faith will more likely be excluded from the present sample, since the telephone directory is based mainly on the husband's name.

According to Sheskin (2004), the major biases introduced in research employing Jewish-sounding names is that the sample drawn will tend to be more Jewishly-affiliated and comprise a greater proportion of seniors.[1] However, Sheskin also notes that this methodology is preferable to drawing a sample from contact or membership lists, such as the UJA database. In the present study, the sample was also stratified by age to yield a more accurate representation of the base population.

The Jewish community at large was alerted about the current survey through an ad placed in the Canadian Jewish News. Those who agreed to participate were given a choice to have the questionnaire delivered to their home, or sent as an e-mail attachment. Telephone interviews were discouraged since the questionnaire was rather long and respondent fatigue was a likely result. One or more follow-up calls were initiated within a week after the individual had received the questionnaire through delivery or e-mail.

Demographic Breakdowns

Table 1. Area of Residence

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census
Downtown	73	11.2	11.2
Central	315	48.2	50.5
York Region	231	35.3	32.4
Other Areas	35	5.4	6.0
Total	654	100.0	100.0

Table 2. Gender of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[2]
Male	302	46.2	48.8
Female	352	53.8	51.2
Total	654	100.0	100.0

Table 3. Age of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[3]
17-34 Years	71	10.9	16.0
35-44 Years	112	17.2	21.3
45-54 Years	190	29.1	25.4
55-64 Years	129	19.8	14.1
65+ Years	150	23.0	23.2
Total	652	100.0	100.0

Table 4. Marital Status of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[4]
Married	468	71.6	68.7
Div / Sep	48	7.3	8.7
Widowed	55	8.4	8.0
Single	62	9.5	10.2
Common Law	21	3.2	4.5
Total	654	100.0	100.0

Table 5. Place of Birth of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[5]
Canada	410	63.1	56.0
Israel	24	3.7	4.2
Western Europe	36	5.5	5.3
Eastern Europe	50	7.7	9.4
Former Soviet Union	49	7.5	13.1
United States	33	5.1	4.4
South America	5	0.8	0.7
Other	43	6.6	6.9
Total	650	100.0	100.0

Table 6. Immigrant Status of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[2]
Non-Immigrant	410	63.4	56.7
Immigrated pre-1990	191	29.5	31.8
Immigrated 1990-2004	46	7.1	11.5
Total	647	100.0	100.0

Table 7. Education Level of Respondent

	# Survey	% Survey	% Census[2]
Elementary /HS	90	14.3	30.9
Technical / College	167	26.5	17.6
Univ. Undergraduate	143	22.7	27.5
Univ. Graduate	231	36.6	24.1
Total	631	100.0	100.0

Table 8. Total Household Income

	# Survey	% Survey[6]	% Census
Under $30,000	40	10.8	20.0
$30,000 - $99,999	151	40.5	44.9
$100,000 or more	181	48.7	35.1
Total	372	100.0	100.0

A total of 654 individuals successfully completed the survey. Of these individuals, 290 (44.4%) filled out an e-mail attachment, 352 (53.8%) had the survey delivered to their home, and 12 (1.8%) were interviewed by telephone. Telephone interviews were conducted by research assistants who were trained to remain neutral and to ask questions in a standardized way.

Using the 2001 National Census to obtain a base population figure, the 654 households sampled in the present study represent approximately 1% of the total Jewish households in the Toronto Metropolitan Area. This is a large enough sample with which to draw statistical conclusions with confidence, provided that it is representative of the general Toronto Jewish population.

Is the sample representative of the Greater Toronto Jewish population?

To determine whether this sample is representative, comparisons were made with the 2001 Census figures along a number of demographic variables. These breakdowns are presented in Tables 1 to 8. It should be noted that perfect correspondence is rarely expected given that two different methodologies were applied for the survey and the Census.

In terms of geographic districts (Table 1), the data conforms well to the 2001 Census breakdowns, suggesting that the geographic stratification was successful for this survey. 11.2% of the sample resided in the Downtown area, 48.2% in the Central Jewish Community, 35.3% in York Region, and 5.4% in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto. The end of this section features a description of geographic boundaries for each of these regions.

Relative to the Census breakdowns, the survey slightly over-sampled females (Table 2). One reason might be that women are generally more inclined to answer the telephone, or perhaps are more inclined to fill out surveys than men. Specifically, 53.8% of survey respondents were females, and 46.2% were males.

Regarding the age of respondents, there was an under-sampling of adults under 45 years, an over-sampling between 45-64 years, and an accurate proportion

among those 65+ years (Table 3). The discrepancies between the survey and Census figures are not large when comparing individual cohorts, although they add up when comparing larger ranges between 17-44 years and 45-64 years.

The under-representation of younger adults may be explained by the fact that they are less inclined to be at home when researchers call (they are generally more active); or they are less inclined to participate in surveys generally. 10.9% of the survey sample were 17-34 years, 17.2% were 35-44 years, 29.1% were 45-54 years, 19.8% were 55-64 years, and 23% were 65+ years.

In terms of marital status, the survey and Census distributions were very comparable (Table 4). 71.6% of the sample were married, 7.3% were divorced or separated, 8.4% were widowed, 9.5% were single, and 3.2% were living in common law arrangements.

The survey had an over-representation of Canadian-born respondents, although the proportion was not much larger than that of the Census (Table 5). In the case of the survey, almost two-thirds of the sample (63.1%) were native-born Canadians, and 36.9% were immigrants.

There were comparable percentages between the survey and the Census for most places of birth. However, the survey under-sampled respondents from the Former Soviet Union (FSU). These individuals were more reluctant to participate in the study, despite the fact that it was introduced by research assistants who themselves came from the FSU. The survey under-sampled immigrants generally, although not by a large margin (Table 6).

Regarding the education level of respondents, the survey was skewed toward the high-end (Table 7). There was a larger percentage of individuals who had a university graduate degree, and a much smaller percentage of those who had only an elementary or high school education, than the Census.

Finally, the survey significantly over-sampled high-income households ($100K+), and under-represented low-income households (< $30K). The

middle range ($30K-$99K), however, was accurately represented (Table 8).

What can we conclude from these comparisons with the Census data? The current sample appears to have a stronger representation among middle-aged, Canadian-born, more affluent and more educated Jews. This type of "skewing" is not unusual since it is precisely these groups that are more inclined to fill out such surveys in the first place.

The issue of self-selection is one that is prevalent among almost all population / attitudinal surveys, even those employing random-digit dialling as a sampling technique. The bottom line is that the present survey appears adequately representative of the base (Census) population along a number of key variables.

How will this report be presented?

Given the large amount of information contained herein, it may be useful to outline the general presentation of this report. Six basic analyses will be presented throughout:

1. General breakdowns will look at percentages of responses for most variables. For instance: What percentage of respondents are synagogue members? What percentage have visited Israel? The choice of presenting only percentages, rather than frequencies as well, relates to the intention of researchers to try to condense and present the information in as straightforward a manner as possible. In the case of certain open-ended responses, however, frequencies will be presented, rather than percentages.

2. "High-Low Analyses" will look at the segments of respondents (young adults, living in York Region, Orthodox, high income, divorced, recent immigrants, etc.), who are most or least inclined to demonstrate a particular behaviour or attitude.

3. Statistical tests of significance will be presented as well, specifically in relation to the Ritual Adherence Index. However, it was felt that percentage distributions would most clearly and simply distill the findings for general readership, and hence statistical tests of significance were used only in a limited fashion.

4. In 1990, UJA Federation conducted an important survey of the Greater Toronto

Jewish community.[7] Some of the questions were repeated in this study, and whenever possible, comparisons of the results obtained by the two studies will follow. However, the 1990 research employed a somewhat different methodology (the sample was derived from a randomized selection, Jewish-sounding names, and the UJA campaign database), so comparisons should be interpreted with caution

5. To provide an even broader context, comparisons will also be made with results obtained from surveys conducted by other Jewish communities across North America. Most of these data were gleaned from Sheskin's (2001) review of American Jewish population studies.[8]

6. Finally, comparisons will be made with the 2000-2001 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), a comprehensive study of Jewish life in the United States implemented by United Jewish Communities (UJC).

In terms of the boundaries of geographic areas referred to in this report: The Downtown Area stretches from Lake Ontario to St. Clair. Central Toronto spans the area from St. Clair to Steeles. Finally, York Region includes the municipalities of Vaughan, Richmond Hill, and Markham. Few respondents in this survey were drawn from other areas of York Region such as Aurora or King, where there are much smaller populations of Jews.

All other individuals (not living in Downtown Toronto, Central Toronto, or York Region) were considered living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto. These areas comprised mostly of Scarborough, Mississauga, and Oakville. These areas typically have small concentrations of Jews.

The Demographics Revisited

Certain questions were asked in this survey that were not included in the 2001 Census, and which afforded an opportunity to learn more about the demographic patterns of the Jewish community here. These questions related mostly to marriage and children. For instance, respondents were asked how many times they have been married, and how many children their parents have had.

Of 646 respondents, 67 (10.4%) said they were never married, 509 (78.8%) said they were married once, 64 (9.9%) said twice, 4 (0.6%) said three times, and 2 (0.3%) said four or more times. In short, very few individuals were married more than twice.

Of those who were ever married, 12.1% were married more than once, and 1% more than twice. The mean number of marriages among those who were ever married was 1.14.

What is the fertility level of female respondents?

Using questions related to how many children resided inside and outside the household, a rough measure of fertility was constructed. This measure is not entirely accurate because some of the children of older seniors may have died, and would therefore not be included in this calculation. But since there are very few such cases, the resulting fertility distribution is likely close to the actual figures. Fertility levels were calculated for female respondents only.

A small percentage of all female respondents (12.7%) never had children, 13.9% had one child, 36.9% had two children, 25.4% had three children, and 11.2% had four or more. The mean number of children was 2.17. This is considered just above replacement levels, and confirms the relatively low birthrate among the Jewish population.[9]

On the other hand, studies have indicated that 1.52 is the fertility rate for

Canadian women, and 2.08 for American women.[10] According to the 2001 Census, the fertility level among immigrant women who arrived in Canada between 1996-2001, is 3.10.[11]

In other words, the birthrate of Toronto Jews appears to be higher than the Canadian or American average, but is lower than that of some immigrant groups. Caution, however, should be exercised in comparing results from the present study with vital statistics or Census findings, since the research methodologies employed are quite different.

How do the fertility rates of respondents compare to those of their parents?

Looking again at the fertility distribution found in the present study: to make the figures more compatible with those of their parents, respondents who had no children were extracted from the analysis. The fertility rates of female respondents were then re-calculated: 15.9% had one child, 42.2% had two children, 29.1% had three children, and 12.8% had at least four. The mean number of children was 2.48.

In terms of the parents of respondents, 7.1% had one child, 37% had two children, 31.6% had three children, and 24.3% had at least four. Their mean number of children was 2.95. Obviously, those of the parents' generation who had no children could not be included, since at least one child was needed to complete the survey.

Comparing means, it is clear that respondents are having fewer children than their parents (2.48 and 2.95, respectively). In fact, there is almost a 0.5 difference between them. Although this does not seem like a large difference, when projected to the entire Jewish population, it is likely quite significant.

An age correction was applied to the fertility rate of female respondents. When only those who were at least 40 years of age (and who have had children) were taken into account, the mean number of children was 2.49, an insignificant difference from the above mean, and not one that alters the above conclusions.[12]

Part 1
Issues of Jewish Identity

Religious Affiliation

The survey asked respondents to describe their current denomination and how they were raised in terms of their affiliation. They were also asked comparable questions about their spouse, as well as how their children were currently being raised.

It should be noted that the question of denominational affiliation is to some extent a matter of self-perception. Many individuals often ascribe their affiliation according to the denomination of their synagogue, and this does not necessarily imply a perfect correlation between affiliation and level of ritual adherence.

Some individuals have chosen to self-identify using a more ambiguous designation, such as "Just Jewish". In the present study, an effort was made to be as inclusive as possible by including non-mainstream affiliations, such as "Humanist" and "Jewish New Age". It was felt that such choices were appropriate given the varied expressions of "Jewishness" in modern life.

How do respondents describe themselves Jewishly?

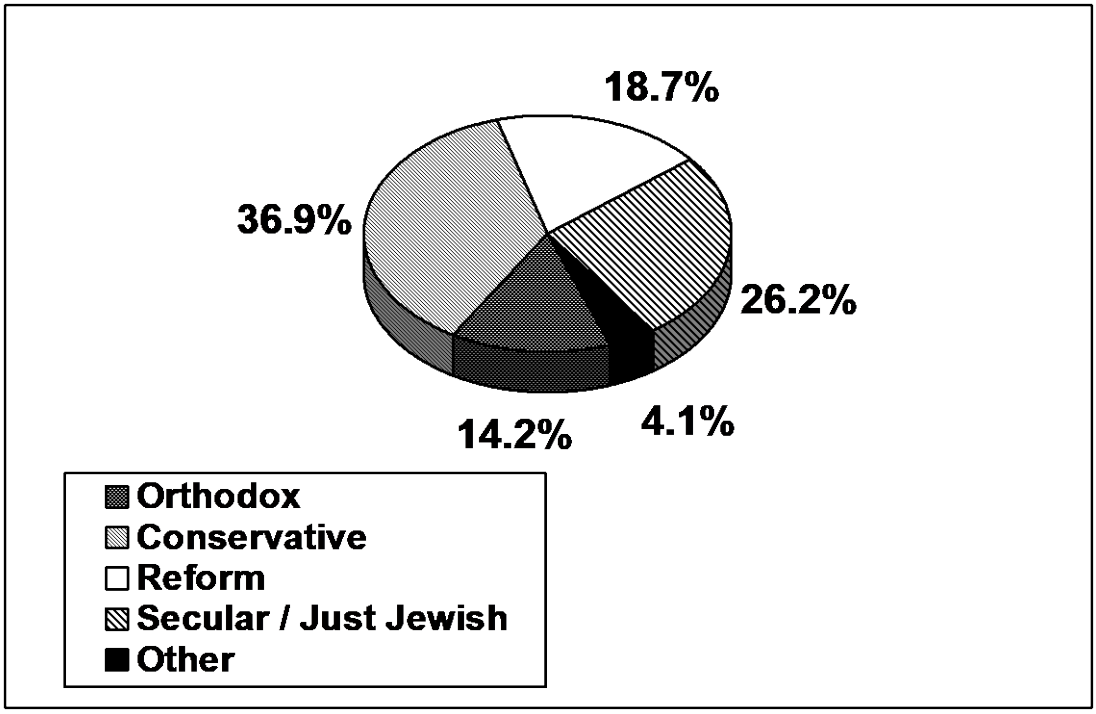
About one in seven respondents (14.2%) described themselves as Orthodox, 36.9% said they were Conservative, 18.7% Reform, and 1.7% Reconstructionist (Figure 1). One in eleven respondents (9%) were secular Jews, and 17.2% preferred the more ambiguous designation of "Just Jewish". A very small proportion said they were Humanist (1.9%) or Jewish New Age (0.5%). All in all, there was a remarkable variability in terms of the affiliations of Greater Toronto Jews, spanning the spectrum of religious identification.

The current findings were comparable to those obtained in the 1990 Toronto survey. The results of the latter survey indicated 10% Orthodox, somewhat lower than 14.2% obtained in the current research. There were 39% Conservatives in 1990, compared with 36.9% in the current study. The Reform figure of 24% in 1990 was somewhat higher than the current figure of 18.7%. Finally, 27% of

Jews did not affiliate with any mainstream denomination in 1990, compared to 28.6% for the current study. It is not clear whether small discrepancies between the two results stemmed from actual changes in identification patterns, reflect methodological differences in the ways the samples were drawn, or were simply attributable to random sampling error.

Examining other communities across North America: The proportion of **Orthodox** range from 1% to 22.2%. The 14.2% Orthodox obtained in this study is at the high end of the distribution. In fact, only Montreal (22.2%) and Baltimore (20%) have higher percentages of Orthodox Jews than the Toronto community. On the other hand, New York (13%), Miami (9%), Los Angeles (4%), Philadelphia (4%), and San Francisco (3%) have lower percentages of Orthodox. The proportion of Orthodox Jews in the United States is 10%.

Figure 1
Denomination of Respondents (%)



The level of **Conservative** affiliation varies from 15% to 48% for communities across the continent. The Toronto community is in the middle of the distribution with 36.9%. The level of Conservative affiliation in the United States is 27%, somewhat below the Toronto figure. It is 29.7% for the Montreal community.

In terms of **Reform** Jews, the proportion varies from 22% to 60% for communities across the United States. According to the National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001), 35% of American Jews affiliate with Reform. The levels of Reform Jews are much lower in Canadian cities, such as Toronto (18.7%) and Montreal (4.5%).

Finally, regarding Jews who don't affiliate with any mainstream denomination, the proportions range from 9% to 43% across North American communities. The percentage of **unaffiliated** is very high in the West Coast of the continent, in cities such as Seattle (43%) and San Francisco (36%). It is 26% for the United States as a whole. The Toronto figure for unaffiliated Jews (28.6%) is in the middle of the distribution, similar to the percentage for Montreal (28.1%).

In summary, the Jewish community of Toronto has a high level of Orthodox Jews relative to other North American communities, is in the middle of the distribution as far as Conservative and unaffiliated Jews are concerned, and has a lower percentage of Reform Jews as compared to American communities.

It should be noted that the Conservative and Reform labels may reflect differences in lifestyles among Canadian and American respondents, and may not necessarily represent comparable identifications in these two countries.

Have the denominations of respondents changed since their childhood?

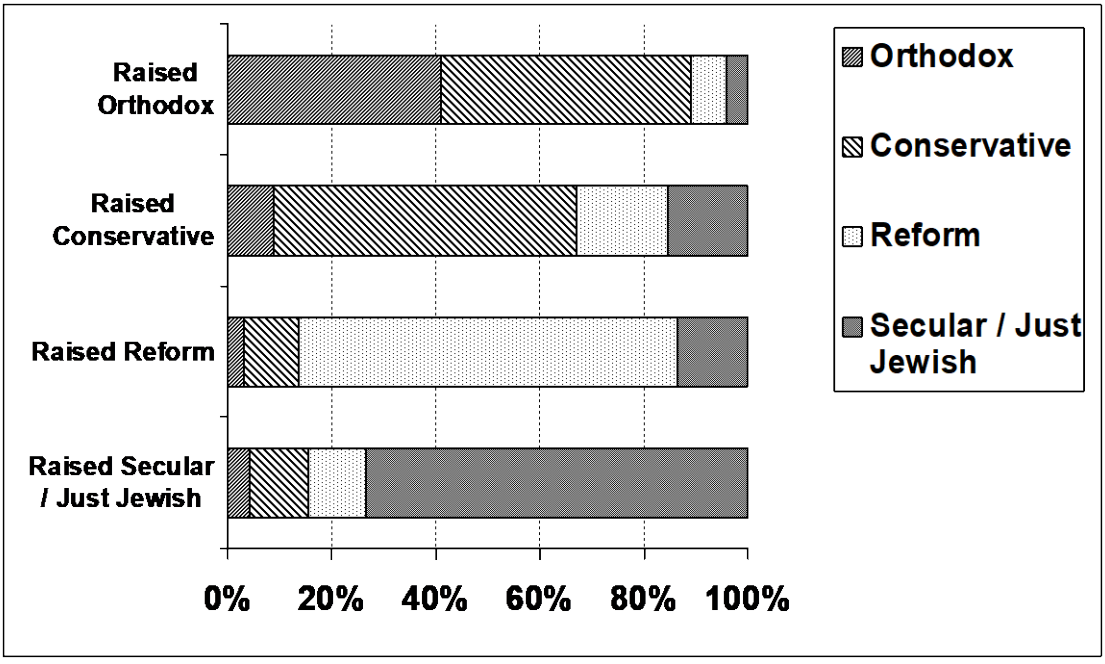
In terms of how respondents were raised, 23% said they were raised as Orthodox, 39.9% as Conservative, 10.8% as Reform, 0.3% as Reconstructionist, 1.1% as Humanist, 16.4% as Just Jewish and 6.8% as secular. It is evident that when one compares current to childhood

affiliation, there is a smaller proportion of Orthodox, a similar proportion of Conservatives, and greater percentages of Reform, secular and "Just Jews". These findings seem to suggest that the overall trend is toward less religiosity.

A closer examination of the interaction between current and childhood affiliations reveals some interesting trends (Figure 2). Of 144 respondents who said they were raised as **Orthodox** Jews: 41% retained their affiliation, 47.9% became Conservative, 6.9% became Reform, and 4.2% became Secular / Just Jews. Of those who were raised as **Conservative** Jews: 8.9% became Orthodox, 58.1% retained their affiliation, 17.5% became Reform, and 15.4% became Secular / Just Jews.

Of those who were raised as **Reform** Jews: 3% became Orthodox, 10.6% became Conservative, 72.7% retained their affiliation, and 13.6% became Secular / Just Jews. Finally, of those who were raised as **Secular** or **Just Jews**, 4.2% became Orthodox, 11.2% became Conservative, 11.2% became Reform, and 73.4% retained their lack of affiliation.

Figure 2
Current Denomination Given How Raised



In summary, the most significant "migration" of affiliation appears to be from Orthodox to Conservative. The greatest level of adherence to their upbringing seems to be among Secular / Just Jews (73.4%), but there is also a high level of adherence among Reform Jews (72.7%). Very few among those who were raised as Reform or Secular / Just Jews migrated to the other end of the religious spectrum and became Orthodox.

The migrations of individuals across denominations are surprisingly similar in some respects to the findings of the National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001). In that study, 42% of American Jews raised as Orthodox retained their affiliation, compared to 41% in the current research. Fifty-six percent (56%) of Conservative American Jews retained their affiliation, compared to 58.1% in the local sample. Seventy-eight percent (78%) of Reform Jews in the United States retained their affiliation, compared to 72.7% here. Finally, 70% of unaffiliated Jews in the United States retained their affiliation compared to 73.4% in the local study.

Do respondents tend to marry those with the same religious denomination?

In terms of the religious affiliation of the spouse, 13.7% of married (or common law) respondents said their spouse was Orthodox, 35.9% said Conservative, 17.9% said Reform, 1.5% Reconstructionist, 0.6% Humanist, 0.2% Jewish New Age, 5.9% Secular, 13.1% Just Jewish, and 11.2% said their spouse was not Jewish. More analysis regarding non-Jewish spouses will be presented in a later section focusing on intermarriage.

How compatible are the affiliations of respondents and their spouses? In terms of **Orthodox** respondents, 84% have an Orthodox spouse, 13.3% have a Conservative spouse, 1.3% have a Reform spouse, and 1.3% have a Secular / Just Jewish spouse. Regarding **Conservative** respondents, 1.1% have an Orthodox spouse, 82.8% have a Conservative spouse, 9.2% have a Reform spouse, and 6.9% have a Secular / Just Jewish spouse.

In terms of **Reform** respondents, none have an Orthodox spouse, 10.4% have a Conservative spouse, 81.8% have a

Reform spouse, and 7.8% have a Secular / Just Jewish spouse. Finally, regarding **Secular / Just Jews**, none have an Orthodox spouse, 9% have a Conservative spouse, 3.8% have a Reform spouse, and 87.2% have a Secular / Just Jewish spouse.

Not surprisingly, there is a high level of compatibility in terms of the denominations of respondents and their spouses. It is rare for the two extremes on the religious spectrum to marry one another and retain their orientation. For instance, in the case of an Orthodox Jew, having a secular spouse is much less tenable, since certain religious rituals, such as keeping separate dishes, requires a more intensive commitment on the part of the household.

What are the affiliations of the children of respondents?

The great majority of **Orthodox** respondents (91.5%) are raising their children as Orthodox, and 8.5% are raising them as Conservative. In terms of **Conservative** respondents, 2.8% are raising their children as Orthodox, 87% as Conservative, 2.8% as Reform, 6.5% as Secular / Just Jews, and 0.9% as non-Jews.

Regarding **Reform** respondents, none are raising their children as Orthodox, 8.6% as Conservative, 82.8% as Reform, 5.1% as Secular / Just Jewish and 3.4% as Humanist / New Age. Finally, 1.4% of **Secular / Just Jewish** respondents are raising their children as Orthodox, 6.8% as Conservative, 8.2% as Reform, 1.4% as Humanist / New Age, 78% as Secular / Just Jews, and 4.1% as non-Jews.

In short, in the great majority of cases, the affiliations of children correspond to those of their parents. The impact of intermarriage on childhood affiliation will be discussed in a later section.

Synagogue Attendance & Membership

The role of the synagogue in Jewish communal life is critical. The synagogue remains a central meeting place for Jews of all denominations. It has traditionally been a place of spiritual communion, although now it can be said to be as much a focal point for social and educational, as well as spiritual, activities.

Membership in a synagogue does not necessarily imply a high rate of attendance. For some Jews, simply being a member and attending on the High Holidays, is the extent of their participation in Jewish life.

How often do respondents attend synagogue?

The majority of respondents attend only on High Holidays, or on High Holidays and a few other times (50.8%). 17.2% attend only on special occasions, and 8.3% attend very rarely or never (Figure 3). In short, about three-quarters (76.3%) of Toronto Jews do not attend synagogue on a regular basis.

A small percentage (4.5%) attend at least once a month, 5.8% several times a month, 8.3% about once per week, and 5.1% more than once per week. Thus, about one in four respondents (23.7%) attend synagogue regularly.

The figure obtained for those attending synagogue at least once per month (23.7%) is very similar to that found in the 1990 survey of Toronto Jews (22%).

The level of regular synagogue attendance (at least once per month) varies from 9% to 31% across Jewish communities in North America. Toronto Jews are in the middle of the distribution as far as regular synagogue attendance is concerned (23.7%). The Montreal figure is 23.4%, almost identical to the Toronto figure of 23.7%.

What segments of the community attend synagogue most often?

A "High-Low Analysis" of the percentage distribution of attendance across various variables reveals that

Figure 3
Level of Synagogue Attendance (%)

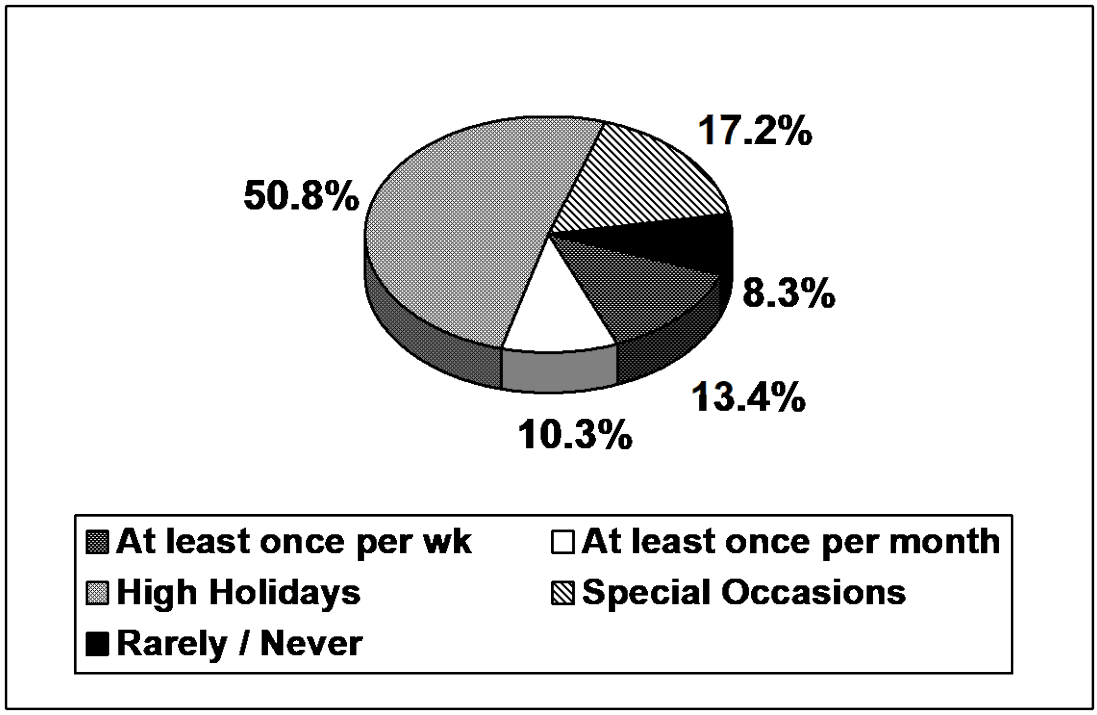
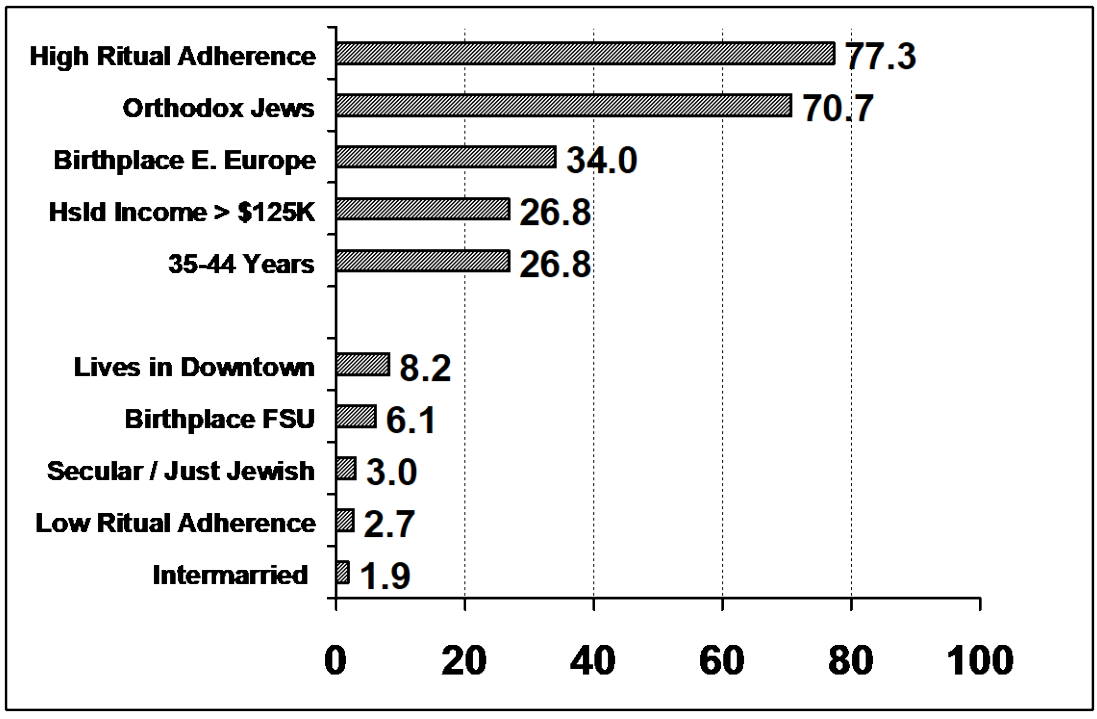


Figure 4
Attends Synagogue at Least Once a Month (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

certain segments of the Jewish community are much more likely to attend synagogue regularly (at least once per month) than others (Figure 4). Not surprisingly, individuals with high levels of ritual adherence (77.3%) and the Orthodox (70.7%) are particularly likely to attend synagogue regularly.

Other segments with higher levels of synagogue attendance include those born in Eastern Europe (34%), those living in households earning at least $125K (26.8%), those between 35-44 years of age (26.8%), and those living in Central Toronto (26.7%).

At the other end of the continuum, respondents least likely to regularly attend synagogue include those living in intermarried households (1.9%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (2.7%), those who are Secular / Just Jews (3%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (6.1%), and those who live in Downtown Toronto (8.2%) (Figure 4).

Also less likely to attend synagogues regularly are divorced or separated persons (8.3%), those who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (8.6%), those who are single (11.3%), and Reform Jews (15.7%).

These breakdowns are instructive because they suggest that there are several distinct groups who may feel distant from synagogue life. *Aside from those who are not observant, it seems that intermarried individuals, immigrants from the FSU, those who don't live in traditionally Jewish neighbourhoods, and those with no spouse or family, are particularly likely to feel disconnected from synagogue life.*

What is the level of synagogue membership in Greater Toronto?

Individuals sometimes indicate their synagogue membership on the basis of attendance, rather than on whether or not they pay dues. To avoid such a misunderstanding, the choices in the current questionnaire took these perceptions into account.

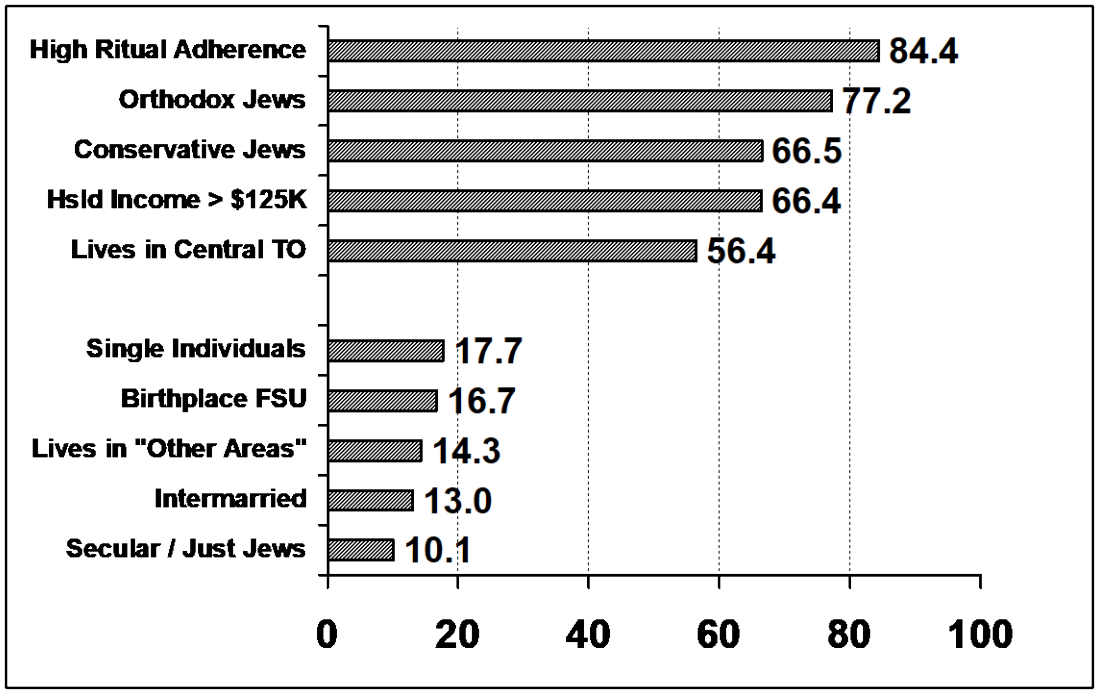
Half of respondents (49.6%) report they are paying members of a synagogue. A smaller percentage (11.2%) consider themselves members, but do not pay. Finally, 39.2% are not members at all.

The level of synagogue membership varies from 28% to 64.4% across North American communities. Toronto is at the high end of the membership spectrum. Only Montreal (64.4%), Baltimore (55%), Dallas (52%), and Cleveland (52%) have higher levels of synagogue membership than the Toronto community (49.6%). On the other hand, Boston (47%), Chicago (44%), Miami (37%) and Los Angeles (34%) have lower levels.

Which segments are more likely to be synagogue members?

A "High-Low Analysis" of those who are paying synagogue members reveals the following: The highest levels of membership are found among those with high ritual adherence (84.4%), the Orthodox (77.2%), Conservative Jews (66.5%), those living in households earning at least $125K (66.4%), Jews living in Central Toronto (56.4%),

Figure 5
Paid Synagogue Membership (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

widowed individuals (56.4%), persons with university graduate degrees (55.7%) and non-immigrants (54.7%) (Figure 5).

The lowest levels of membership are found among Secular / Just Jews (10.1%), those living in intermarried families (13%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (14.3%), those whose place of birth is the FSU (16.7%), single individuals (17.7%), divorced or separated persons (20.8%), recent immigrants (23.9%), those with low ritual adherence (31%), and those living in households earning under $40K (33.3%) (Figure 5).

The above profile is similar to that found for synagogue attendance. There are certain segments of the community who have very low levels of synagogue membership. *Aside from those who are not observant to begin with, it seems that synagogue membership is less accessible to those who are intermarried, those who do not live in traditionally Jewish neighbourhoods, those who are not married and/or do not have a family, recent immigrants, and those who live in low-income households.*

Does the affiliation of the synagogue match that of the respondent?

Of those who are Orthodox, 94.4% attend an Orthodox shul, and 5.6% a Conservative synagogue. In terms of Conservative respondents, 18.2% attend an Orthodox shul, 77.8% a Conservative synagogue, 3.1% a Reform synagogue, and 0.9% attend synagogues or temples with other denominations.

Of Reform respondents, 2.6% attend an Orthodox shul, 17.1% a Conservative synagogue, 75.2% a Reform synagogue, 1.7% a Reconstructionist synagogue, and 3.4% synagogues or temples with other denominations.

The results suggest that there is not a perfect correspondence between the affiliations of the respondents and that of the synagogues or temples they attend. The Orthodox have the closest correspondence, whereas a significant minority of Conservatives attend Orthodox shuls, and a significant minority of Reform Jews attend Conservative shuls.

Ritual Observance

The tendency of Jews in North America has been to assimilate toward the dominant culture around them. Particularly in the United States, research has shown that with every generation the commitment to uphold traditions has diminished. Jews have increasingly identified themselves along ethnic and cultural lines, rather than according to the strict observance of Jewish law.

For example, even Jews with a tenuous commitment to their heritage, will usually take part in important symbolic ritual practices. Some of the best examples are the Jewish rites of passage (such as circumcision, Bar/ Bat Mitzvah, Jewish wedding, funeral). The emphasis of this type of expression is communal and ethnic solidarity. Keeping the Sabbath or the laws of kashrut are no longer seen to be as fundamental as marrying a fellow Jew and maintaining some form of ethnic identity.[13]

In Canada, as in other countries, certain ritual practices are more popularly observed than others. The rituals that more people practice include Passover, Chanukah, and the High Holidays.[14] These rituals occur only once a year and are not as demanding to observe as many other Jewish requirements. Both Chanukah and the Passover Seder reinforce solidarity through large family gatherings. In addition, both holidays contain aspects of ritual behaviour which directly involve and attract children. This helps parents pass on their Jewish identity to their offspring.

It is also significant that Passover and Chanukah occur at the same time as Easter and Christmas. It would seem that these "Jewish alternatives" help the Jew more readily deal with Christian holidays, and are thus more likely to be valued and practiced.[15]

What are the levels of ritual observance in the Toronto Jewish community?

What is the percentage of individuals who **light Shabbat candles**? About a third (33.4%) of respondents said they

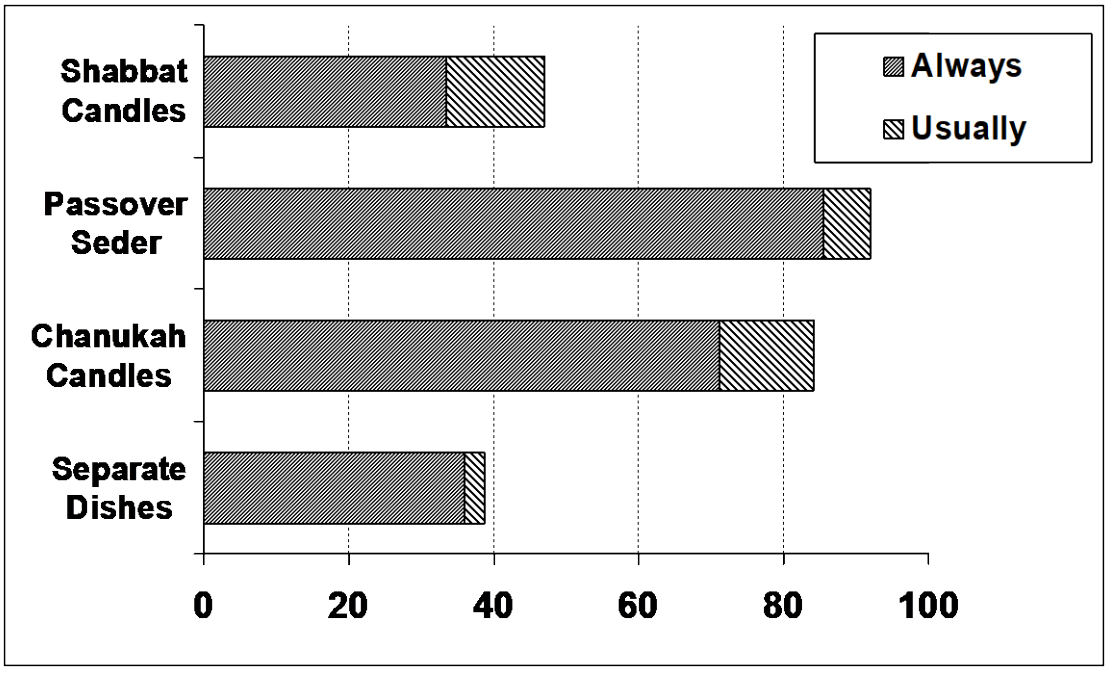
light candles “all the time”, 13.6% said “usually”, 25.7% said “sometimes”, and 27.3% said “never”. In short, almost half (47%) of the sample said they light Shabbat candles “usually” or “all the time” (Figure 6).

The percentage of respondents who said they light Shabbat candles “usually” or “all the time” ranges from 13% to 50.8%, among Jewish communities in North America. The overall level in the United States is 28%. Toronto (47%) has the second highest level of adherence to this ritual in North America, following Montreal (50.8%). The 1990 survey of Toronto Jews showed that 42% lit candles “usually” or “all the time”.

In terms of attending a **Passover Seder**, 85.4% of respondents said they attend “all the time”, 6.6% said “usually”, 6% said “sometimes”, and 2% said “never”. In short, the great majority of the sample (92%) said they attend a Passover Seder “usually” or “all the time” (Figure 6).

The level of attendance (“usually” or “all the time”) for Passover Seders ranges from 62% to 95% across Jewish communities in North America. The overall level in the United States is 77%.

Figure 6
Observance Levels of Specific Rituals (%)
Percent Responding Always or Usually



The Toronto level (92%) is at the high end of the distribution, with only Montreal (95%) having a higher percentage. The 1990 Survey of Toronto Jews found a smaller proportion of individuals attending Passover Seders "usually" or "all the time" (88%).

Almost three-quarters (71.1%) of respondents said they **light Chanukah candles** "all the time", 13.1% said "usually", 8.2% said "sometimes", and 7.7% said "never". In other words, the great majority of respondents (84.2%) observe lighting Chanukah candles "usually" or "all the time" (Figure 6).

The level of respondents lighting Chanukah candles "usually" or "all the time" varies from 59% to 95% for communities across North America. The overall level for the United States is 66%. Toronto is at the high end of the distribution (84.2%), with only Boston (95%) and Montreal (88.5%) having higher levels. The 1990 Toronto study found a significantly lower level of lighting Chanukah candles "usually" or "all the time" (73%) than the present study.

Finally, almost three-quarters of the sample (71.7%) said they **fast on Yom Kippur**, whereas 28.3% said they do not. The United States level for fasting on Yom Kippur is 46%.

Do respondents observe kashrut, and how does that compare to their parents?

In terms of keeping **kosher at home**, 22.4% of respondents said they keep "strictly kosher", 28% said "somewhat kosher", and 49.5% said "not at all". The levels for keeping **kosher outside the home** are lower. Only 10.2% keep "strictly kosher" outside the home, whereas 23.5% keep "somewhat kosher" and 66.3% do not keep kosher at all.

What percentage of respondents keep kosher in and out of the home? Only one in ten (10.1%) keep strictly kosher both in and out of the home. This would suggest that *there is generally a low level of strict kashrut observance among respondents.*

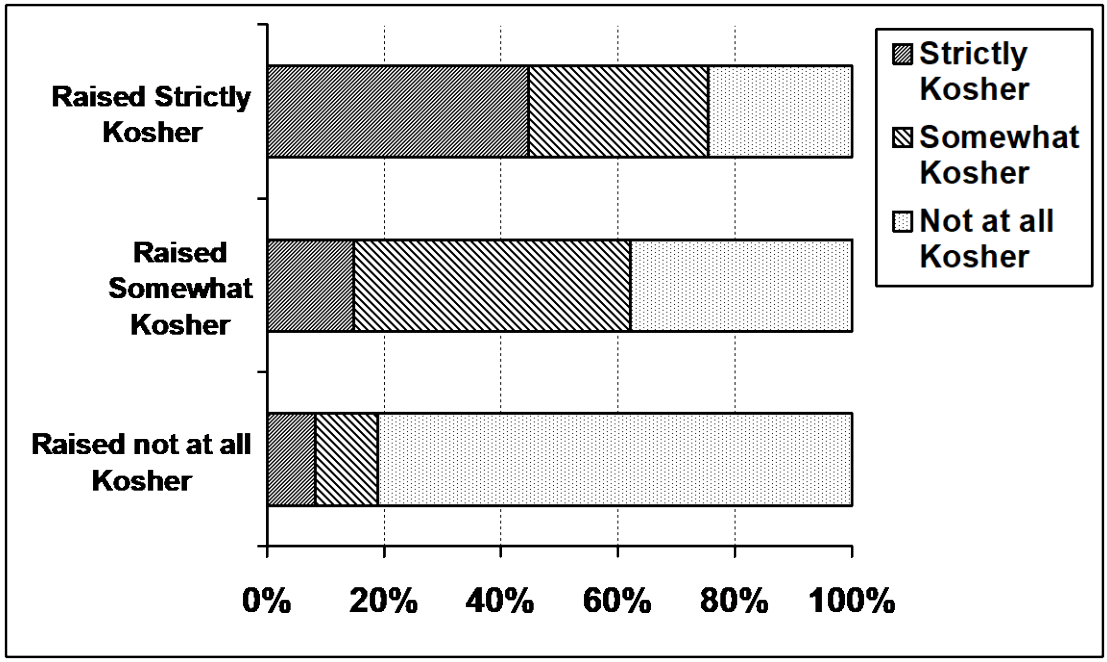
The survey also asked respondents whether their parents kept a kosher home. A third (33.2%) said their parents kept a "strictly kosher" home, 29% said

"somewhat kosher", and 37.7% said "not at all". *When the level of kosher observance of respondents is compared to that of their parents, it seems that the level of this practice has declined somewhat across generational lines.*

For instance, less than a quarter of respondents currently keep a "strictly kosher" home, compared to a third of their parents. Half of respondents do not keep kosher at all, compared to just over a third of their parents.

A further analysis reveals that of respondents whose parents kept a "strictly kosher" home: 44.8% currently keep a "strictly kosher" home, 30.7% "somewhat kosher", and 24.5% "not kosher at all" (Figure 7). Of those whose parents observed a "somewhat kosher" home: 14.8% currently keep a "strictly kosher" home, 47.3% "somewhat kosher" and 37.9% "not kosher at all". Finally, of those whose parents did not keep kosher at all: 8.2% currently keep a "strictly kosher" home, 10.7% "somewhat kosher", and 81.1% "not kosher at all".

Figure 7
Current Level of Kashrut Observance Given How Raised



What do these findings suggest? As far as kashrut observance in the home is concerned, if the parents kept strictly kosher at home, the chances are far greater that their children would as well. Nonetheless, *a remarkable proportion (55.2%) have diverged from the strictly kosher practices of their parents.*

What other rituals do Toronto Jews practice?

The above examined the level of observance of the most widely practiced rituals. Certain practices are less common among Jewish households. Some, such as fasting on the Feast of Esther, are practiced by only a small minority of individuals.

Regarding having **separate dishes** at home, 36% of respondents in the present study said "all the time", 2.8% said "usually", 4.3% said "sometimes" and 57% said "never". In short, just over a third of respondents keep separate dishes at home "usually" or "all the time" (Figure 6).

Regarding **avoiding work on Shabbat**, 24.9% of respondents said they do and 75.1% said they do not. It is not clear whether respondents generally interpreted this question in a religious sense, because some may not work or exert themselves on Shabbat for other reasons.

Fasting on the **Feast of Esther** is observed by 7.5% of respondents, whereas 92.5% do not fast on this holiday. Finally, a small proportion (8%) of male respondents said they put on **tfillin** daily, whereas 92% do not.

These latter two rituals are often considered part of an Orthodox way of life. However, only 45.3% of Orthodox respondents said they fast on the Feast of Esther, and only 40% of Orthodox males said they put on tfillin daily. This finding suggests that a person's perceptions of their level of religiosity may not necessarily reflect their actual behaviours. This issue will be examined more extensively in the next chapter, looking at the Ritual Adherence Index.

Do respondents keep a Christmas tree at home?

Whether or not a Jewish household has a Christmas tree at home has been taken as an indication of their level of

assimilation to Christian culture and traditions. A very low proportion (4.3%) of respondents said they have a Christmas tree "all the time", whereas 1.9% said "usually", 4.1% said "sometimes", and 89.7% said "never". In short, the great majority of respondents never have a Christmas tree, but about one in ten (10.3%) have a tree at least sometimes.

The levels of having a Christmas tree "all the time", "usually" or "sometimes" range from 5% to 33% across North American Jewish communities. Toronto is at the low end of the North American distribution (10.3%), with only Montreal (5.8%) and South Palm Beach (5%) having lower proportions. A very similar proportion of respondents in the 1990 Toronto survey (10%) said they had a Christmas tree "all the time", "usually" or "sometimes".

Which segments of the local community tend to have a Christmas tree at home "all the time" or "usually"? The highest percentage is found among respondents living in intermarried families (50%), followed by those born in the Former Soviet Union (25.6%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (23.8%), and those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (22.9%).

Also tending to have higher levels of having Christmas trees at home include respondents considering themselves as Secular / Just Jews (15.1%), those living in Downtown Toronto (12.7%), those 35-44 years (11.9%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (11.8%).

Did respondents have a Bar / Bat Mitzvah, and what about their children?

The great majority of male respondents (87.4%) have had a Bar Mitzvah. A "High-Low Analysis" reveals that all male respondents who are Orthodox, born in Eastern Europe, and who have a high level of ritual adherence have had a Bar Mitzvah. Almost all Conservative male respondents (99%) have had a Bar Mitzvah.

At the other end of the distribution, only a third (33.3%) of males born in the Former Soviet Union have had a Bar Mitzvah. Other low levels were registered by males who immigrated

between 1990-2004 (48.1%), and Secular / Just Jewish males (68.1%).

About a fifth (21.4%) of female respondents have had a Bat Mitzvah. This is a much smaller proportion compared to males who have had a Bar Mitzvah (87.4%).

The highest levels of Bat Mitzvahs are registered among females between 17-34 years (60%), suggesting that Bat Mitzvahs have more recently gained in popularity. The next highest level is demonstrated by females between 35-44 years (45.6%), followed by those who are single (45.5%), those with a university undergraduate degree (37.8%), those living in households earning $125,000+ (33.9%), and those who have a moderate level of ritual adherence (31.1%).

It seems that unlike the case of Bar Mitzvahs, whether or not a woman has had a Bat Mitzvah is less tied to her religious background, and has more to do with her age and economic status.

Female respondents who are least likely to have had a Bat Mitzvah include those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (0%), widowed females (0%), those 65+ years (4.1%), those living in households earning less than $40,000 (5.1%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (8.3%), and those 55-64 years (8.3%).

What are the most important things respondents do to preserve or express their Jewish identity?

More than 60 different responses were given to this question. For summary purposes, the answers were collapsed across broad categories. Some individuals gave multiple answers that overlapped when the categories were merged. Frequencies are in parentheses (n=654).

The most common thing respondents do to express their Jewish identity relates to religious / traditional observance (840), followed by bringing up their children Jewishly (94), and discussing Jewish subjects (94).

The next most common responses were: visiting / supporting Israel (83), giving / volunteering / supporting the community (46), Jewish education / taking Jewish courses (40), speaking / learning Yiddish

or Hebrew (20), and reading / viewing / hearing Jewish music, books, videos (20).

Less common categories included: living in a Jewish neighbourhood / having Jewish friends (17), belonging to a Jewish organization (16), remembering the Holocaust (9), living honourably with Jewish values (8), and attending Jewish community events (8).

It is clear that the overwhelming majority of responses regarding the most important thing individuals do to express their Jewish identity relates to religious or traditional observances. Much fewer responses are related to cultural expressions of Jewishness. However, it is also evident that there is a remarkable variety of practices and behaviours that define Jewishness. This is a testament to the richness and depth of the Jewish experience.

The Ritual Adherence Index

Adapting a technique from Fishman & Goldstein (1993)[16], a "Ritual Adherence Index" was developed to measure a respondent's level of ritual observance, or adherence to various Jewish customs and traditions. The Index was constructed as a composite of fourteen practices, including synagogue attendance. Because these practices varied in intensity and frequency, they were given different weights.

For example, fasting on Yom Kippur was given a score of 5, yet keeping kosher at home was assigned a score of 10. This was done not to minimize the importance of fasting on Yom Kippur, but rather, to emphasize a wider commitment to upholding various traditions.

Rituals that are performed often (lighting candles on a Friday night, keeping separate dishes, keeping kosher outside the home) were given higher weights than those performed more occasionally and by a greater proportion of Jews, such as attending a Passover Seder, or lighting Chanukah candles.

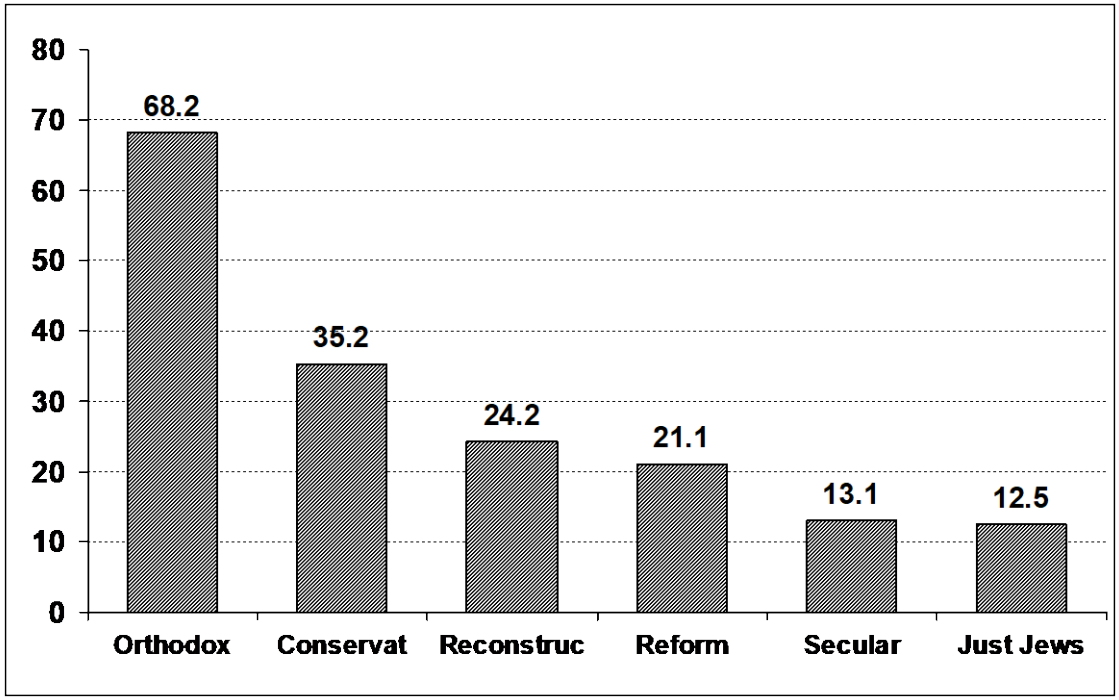
Not all the measures featured in the index involved adherence to religious customs. Five of the measures involved activities that demonstrated a Jewish connection, but which were not necessarily related to ritual observance. These were included to gauge a "softer" form of Jewish participation that can be considered cultural in orientation, and which can be demonstrated by secular and observant Jews alike.

Some of these "softer" variables included eating at kosher restaurants, listening to Israeli or Jewish music, reading articles or books about Israel, attending political events in support of Israel, and so on. Note that the weighting for these variables was nominal. Respondents were given 2 points each if they "often" participated in these activities, for a total of 10 possible points.

Table 9
Test of the Adherence Index
Mean Ritual Adherence Score by Denomination

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Orthodox	68.22	92	23.78
Conservative	35.18	239	17.62
Reform	21.12	121	12.16
Reconstructionist	24.18	11	14.06
Humanist	15.75	12	10.26
Jewish New Age	9.67	3	3.51
Secular	13.14	58	12.89
Just Jewish	12.54	111	9.83
Total	30.72	647	23.95

Figure 8
Mean Ritual Adherence Score by Denomination



The maximum score possible for this Adherence Index was 100. Only one respondent of 654 actually attained this maximum score, whereas 17 had a score of zero.

For the purposes of analysis respondents were grouped into three levels of adherence. About half of respondents (51.5%) were classified as having low adherence, receiving a score between 0-24; 28.9% had moderate adherence receiving a score between 25-49; and 19.6% of respondents had high adherence receiving a score between 50-100.

How accurate is this Adherence Index?

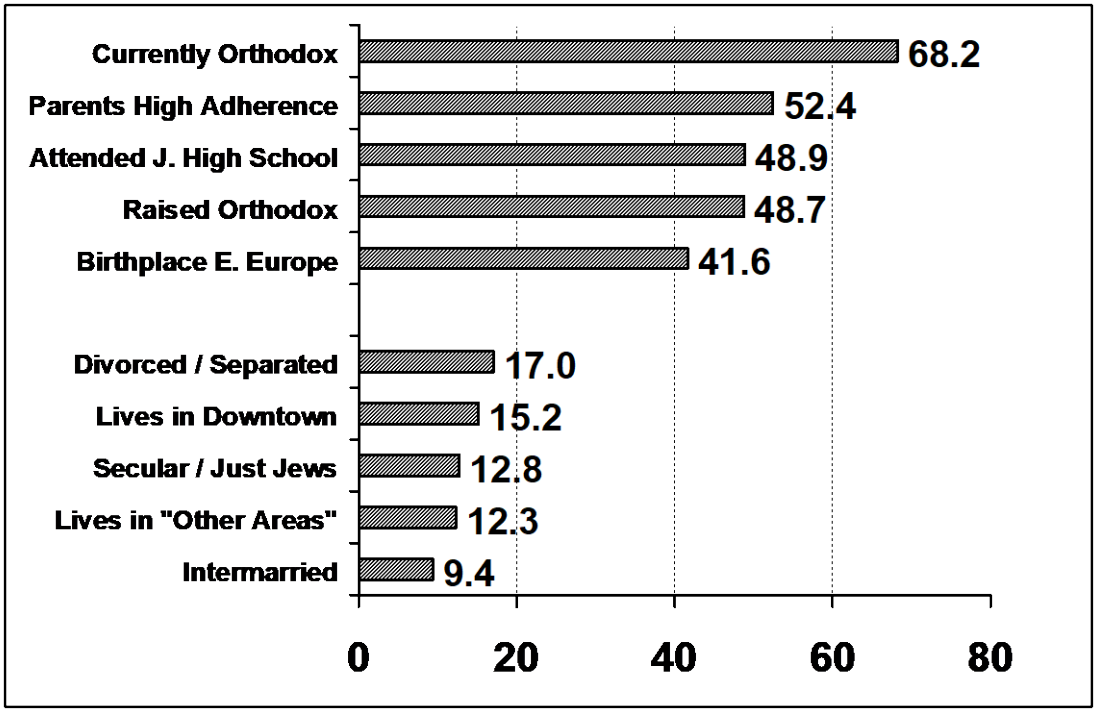
One way of measuring the accuracy of this scale was to determine the mean scores for various denominations of respondents (see Table 9, Figure 8). It was assumed that the spectrum of denominations represents a continuum of adherence levels, with the Orthodox being the most observant, and Secular Jews being the least.

The results indicated that Orthodox Jews had the highest mean score (68.22), whereas Conservative and Reform Jews had mean scores of 35.18 and 21.12, respectively. Reconstructionist Jews had a mean score of 24.18, slightly higher than Reform, but below that of Conservatives. Secular respondents had a score of 13.14, and those who were "Just Jews" had a score of 12.54. Finally, Humanists had a slightly higher score (15.75) than Secular Jews.

Given the above distribution of means, the index seems to be an accurate and sensitive measure of observance or adherence. Any further analyses were therefore performed with confidence.

A question remains as to why those who claimed to be "Orthodox" did not score higher on this index, receiving a mean of 68.22. An explanation relates to the high standard deviation registered by Orthodox respondents (23.78). The standard deviation (SD) is a measure of variability of scores. A high SD suggests that while some individuals may identify themselves as Orthodox, they do not necessarily lead an Orthodox lifestyle, and do not necessarily translate their self-identification into actual practice.

Figure 9
Mean Ritual Adherence Score
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

Table 10
Factors Associated With Ritual Adherence
Summary of Tests of Significance

Variable	F	Sig.
Current Denomination	251.71	.000
Intermarriage	67.75	.000
Level of Adherence of Parents	55.71	.000
Denomination Raised	55.52	.000
Attended Jewish High School	54.04	.000
Attended Jewish Elementary School	47.13	.000
Area of Residence	22.75	.000
Had Any Type of Jewish Education	21.86	.000
Place of Birth	12.87	.000
Marital Status	11.91	.000
Living Arrangement	8.34	.000
Gender	5.43	.02
Occupation	5.22	.023
Level of Secular Education	2.56	NS
Age	0.93	NS
Household Income	0.35	NS

Why do individuals identify themselves as "Orthodox", yet do not necessarily follow rituals that reflect a high level of adherence? The answer is complex. Some persons are members of an Orthodox Shul and identify themselves according to this affiliation; whereas others were brought up as Orthodox and may continue to see themselves as such, despite the fact that their level of practice is not consistent with that of their parents. The bottom line is, when it comes to religious identification, how people see themselves may not necessarily correspond to how they actually behave.

What are some factors related to high levels of observance?

Not all Jews are observant, and there is a tremendous level of variability among those who are. Using the ritual adherence index it is possible to determine which variables are associated with various observance levels (see Figure 9).

For instance, an extensive "High-Low Analysis" reveals that Orthodox Jews have the highest mean level of adherence (68.22), followed by respondents whose parents themselves had a high level of observance (52.44). Also having high mean scores are respondents who attended a Jewish High School (48.89), those who were raised as Orthodox (48.73), and those born in Eastern Europe (41.62).

The lowest mean scores of adherence were reported by respondents who are intermarried (9.38), followed by those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (12.34), those whose current denomination is Secular / Just Jewish (12.75), those who reside in Downtown Toronto (15.16), and those who are divorced or separated (17.02). Other groups that scored low on the adherence scale included those born in the Former Soviet Union (17.92), and those whose parents had a very low level of adherence (18.77).

A more scientific way of approaching the above question than by simply examining means, is to run tests of statistical significance. These tests allow us to determine what factors have a significant relationship to observance. All "p" values with a level lower than .05 are considered to reflect a "true

relationship", one that is greater than that predicted by chance factors. More specifically, the <.05 level accurately predicts a "true" relationship 95 times of 100, an accepted cut-off in scientific terms. The "F" value is a measure of the strength of the relationship.

According to Table 10, a respondent's current denomination is by far the strongest indicator of their level of observance (F=251.71, p<.0001). This is not surprising since their current denomination is a direct reflection of their immediate values and behaviours (although not a perfect one, as noted earlier in this chapter).

Whether the respondent is intermarried or not is also a very significant factor (F=67.75, p<.0001). In fact, for this analysis, in-marriages between two born Jews and conversionary in-marriages were combined because their mean score were not statistically significant from one another. *It is noteworthy, however, that if the spouse did not convert, the mean level of adherence is the lowest found for any group* (see summary of mean adherence scores earlier in this section).

The level of adherence of the parents of respondents is the next most significant factor in predicting observance (F=55.71, p<.0001), followed by the denomination in which the respondent was raised (F=55.52, p<.0001). *Both factors suggest that the level of observance experienced during one's childhood years is a critical predictor of later adherence to traditions.*

Other important indicators of observance relate to one's level of Jewish education. Jewish High School attendance is a very important predictor of ritual observance (F=54.04, p<.0001), as is Jewish elementary school attendance (F=47.13, p<.0001). *In fact, when it comes to later adherence to traditions, a Jewish day school education seems to be about as important as the level of observance experienced in one's household during childhood.*

Whether a person has any type of Jewish education (day school, supplementary school, private tutoring, etc.) is also a highly significant predictor of later observance (F=21.86, p<.0001), but the relationship is less strong than if

attendance at a Jewish day school was specifically involved.

Where a person lives in the Greater Toronto area has a strong relationship to their level of observance ($F=22.75$, $p<.0001$). This is not surprising since less practicing Jews will not necessarily want to reside in areas where a synagogue is available, or where kosher stores and other Jewish establishments are located. Further statistical tests reveal that Jews living in the Downtown and "Other Areas" have significantly lower levels of observance than those residing in Central Toronto and York Region. The difference between the latter two is not significant.

The place of birth of respondents is also significantly associated with adherence ($F=12.87$, $p<.0001$). Those born in Eastern Europe have a significantly higher level of adherence than those born in Canada, and the latter have a significantly higher level of adherence than those originating from the Former Soviet Union.

Marital status is a significant predictor of observance ($F=11.91$, $p<.0001$), with married and widowed individuals having significantly higher levels of observance than divorced / separated or single respondents. Similarly, living arrangement is a significant predictor ($F=8.34$, $p<.001$), with those who are living in couple arrangements (with or without children) having a higher score of observance than those living alone.

Gender has a significant relationship with observance ($F=5.43$, $p<.05$), with females having a significantly higher mean score than males. Finally, occupation is also a significant indicator ($F=5.22$, $p<.05$), with those in non-professional occupations having a higher adherence score than professionals.

It should be noted that cause-effect relationships cannot be inferred from the above findings, only the strength of association between two variables. Thus, one cannot say that current denomination is a "cause" of high observance, but only that the two are significantly related in some way.

What do these findings suggest? Certain aspects of our upbringing (parental adherence, Jewish education) are key to

the strength of our observance of Jewish traditions. They lay the foundation for our later identification with Judaism. But other factors associated with our current experience also seem to make a difference: whether we marry into our faith, where we live, whether we have a family or live alone, our birthplace, and our gender seem to interact with our childhood experiences to shape the quality and intensity of our Jewish expressions.

It is noteworthy that the issue of intermarriage has a particularly profound bearing on the spiritual orientation of a household. Indeed, the conversion of a spouse seems to be a critical factor in promoting Jewish continuity, whereas in intermarried households, the trend toward assimilation is particularly strong. *This finding suggests that intermarriage is among the most significant threats to Jewish continuity today.* The topic of intermarriage will be discussed more extensively in a later chapter.

Cultural Expressions of Jewish Identity

Studies of Jewish populations have traditionally used certain measures – such as level of lighting Shabbat candles, fasting on Yom Kippur, keeping kosher – to measure one's level of Jewish identity and observance. According to Weil (2004), these measures have failed to assess other, "softer" forms of Jewish expression and affiliation.[17]

Weil suggests that the so-called unaffiliated (Secular / Just Jews) are doing and feeling things Jewish, but in a different fashion. He proposes that many of these Jews are proud of their Jewishness and attachment to Israel, but do not want to express their Jewishness in traditional or formalized ways.

Weil points to a number of interesting trends among the unaffiliated. For instance, the interest in Kabala addresses some of the spiritual needs of young and not-so-young Jews; the search for alternative synagogues is gathering momentum; the myriad of Jewish dating services on the Internet are very successful; and interest in the Holocaust has increased considerably.

He concludes that researchers need to redefine their concepts and terminology, because their indicators of Jewish identity are obsolete. To measure Jewish identity requires approaches related to the "new Jewishness".

The present study asked a number of questions related to more "cultural" expressions of Jewishness. They differ from traditional measures because they do not necessarily have religious implications, and because some of these behaviours may be practiced by Jews and non-Jews alike.

For instance, respondents were asked whether they **listen to Jewish, Yiddish or Israeli music**. About a quarter (23%) said they listen "often", 25.5% said "sometimes", 29.4% said "rarely", and 22.1% said "never" (Figure 10). In short, there was a wide variability as far as responses to this question were concerned.

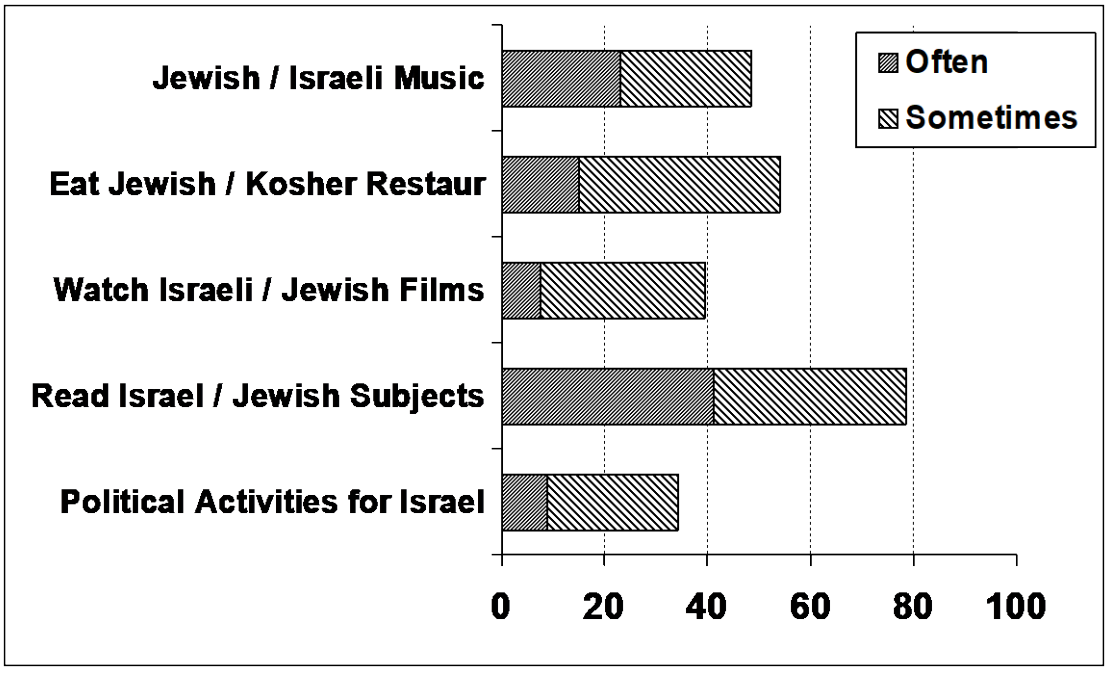
Who were inclined to say they "often" or "sometimes" listen to Jewish, Yiddish or Israeli music? The highest levels were reported by Orthodox respondents (84.4%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (80.3%), and those whose birthplace was Eastern Europe (76%).

The lowest levels were recorded by intermarried individuals (20.7%), those 17-34 years (26.8%), single individuals (27.4%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (28.6%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (33.3%). There were lower levels of listening to Jewish / Yiddish / Israeli music among Reform than Secular / Just Jews (34.7% and 38.6%, respectively).

How often do respondents **eat in Jewish or kosher restaurants**? A small minority (15%) said they "often" eat in Jewish or kosher restaurants, 39% said "sometimes", 33% said "rarely", and 13% said "never" (Figure 10).

Most inclined to "often" or "sometimes" eat in Jewish or kosher restaurants were those with high levels of ritual adherence (87.5%), the Orthodox (85.9%), those with an elementary or high school education (71.9%), and those whose

Figure 10
Cultural Expressions of Jewishness
Percent Responding Often or Sometimes



place of birth was Eastern Europe (68%).

Least inclined to eat in Jewish or kosher restaurants were intermarried individuals (35.2%), those living in Downtown Toronto (37%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (38.4%), Secular / Just Jews (38.7%), Reform Jews (42.1%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (43.5%), and single individuals (43.5%).

Respondents were also asked whether they **watch Israeli/Jewish films or attend Jewish Film Festivals**. A small percentage (7.5%) said they often watch, 32% said "sometimes", 32.2% said "rarely", and 28.3% said "never" (Figure 10).

Those most inclined to watch Israeli/Jewish films or attend Jewish Film Festivals "often" or "sometimes" included those born in Eastern Europe (62%), those with an elementary / high school education (60.7%), widowed individuals (56.4%), seniors 65+ years (56.1%), and those in households with incomes of less than $40K (51.5%).

Least inclined to watch Israeli/Jewish films or attend Jewish Film Festivals "often" or "sometimes" included intermarried individuals (7.6%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (14.3%), those whose household income was $75K-$125K (28.1%), those 35-44 years (28.8%), professionals / managers (29.5%) and males (30.3%).

Regarding whether respondents **read articles or books about Israel or Jewish subjects**, 41.3% said "often", 37.3% said "sometimes", 15.3% said "rarely", and 6.1% said "never" (Figure 10).

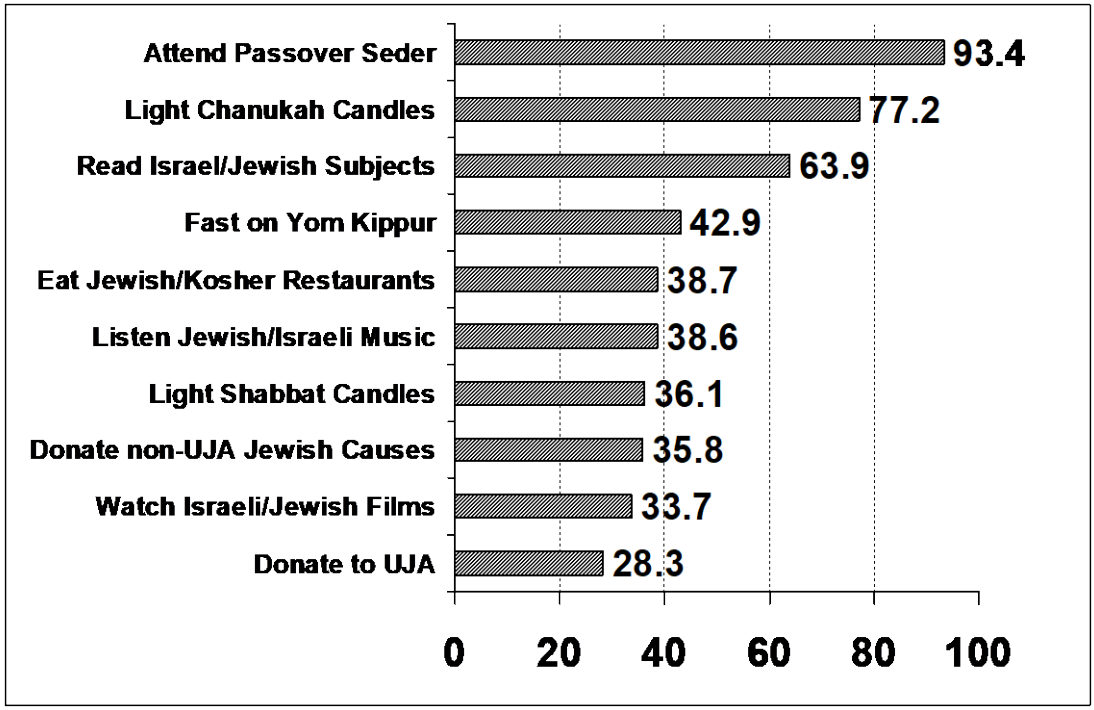
Those most inclined to read articles or books about Israel or Jewish subjects "often" included respondents born in Eastern Europe (72%), those with a high level of ritual adherence (70.3%), Orthodox respondents (58.7%), those who immigrated before 1990 (56%), and those 65+ years (52.7%). Interestingly, intermarried individuals (49.1%) and respondents born in the Former Soviet Union had the next highest proportions of readers (49%). *This may be an important way both groups stay in touch with their Jewish roots.*

Respondents who least reported reading articles or books about Israel or Jewish subjects "often" included those with low ritual adherence (25.9%), divorced / separated individuals (27.1%), single persons (27.4%), those living in non-Jewish areas of Greater Toronto (28.6%), and those residing in the Downtown area (28.8%).

Finally, in terms of **attending rallies or engaging in political activities that support Israel**, 8.7% of respondents said "often", 25.5% said "sometimes", 30.3% said "rarely" and 35.4% said "never" (Figure 10).

Respondents particularly inclined to attend rallies or engage in political activities that support Israel "often" or "sometimes" included those with high levels of ritual adherence (61.6%), Orthodox Jews (53.4%), those whose place of birth is Eastern Europe (52%), those whose highest level of education is elementary or high school (44.9%), and those who immigrated before 1990 (43.3%).

Figure 11
Jewish Practices & Behaviours of the Unaffiliated (%)



Those who reported the lowest levels of attending rallies or engaging in political activities that support Israel "often" or "sometimes" included intermarried individuals (1.9%), respondents who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%), those who live in Downtown Toronto (20.5%), divorced / separated persons (20.8%), those with low ritual adherence (21%), and single individuals (21%).

Do unaffiliated Jews engage in "alternative" expressions of Jewishness?

An analysis was done to examine Weil's conclusions that unaffiliated individuals (Secular / Just Jews) may not participate in traditional observances, but engage in other ways of expressing their Jewishness. Since not all of Weil's "alternative" Jewish expressions were included here (interest in kabala, use of Jewish dating services, etc.), this analysis cannot be considered a comprehensive one, but it affords an interesting perspective nonetheless.

Below is a list of various forms of Jewish practices and behaviours that Secular / Just Jews claim they maintain "sometimes", "often" or "all the time" (see also Figure 11). Questions that only require yes / no responses (such as whether they fast on Yom Kippur) were also included for comparison purposes. Finally, also included to round out the profile were questions related to membership in Jewish organizations and Jewish volunteerism.

Jewish Practices and Behaviours of the Unaffiliated:

	%
▪ Attend Passover Seder	93.4
▪ Light Chanukah candles	77.2
▪ Read about Israel/Jewish subjects	63.9
▪ Fast on Yom Kippur	42.9
▪ Eat in Jewish / kosher restaurants	38.7
▪ Listen to Jewish / Israeli music	38.6
▪ Light candles on Friday night	36.1
▪ Donation to non-UJA Jewish charities	35.8
▪ Watch Israeli / Jewish films	33.7
▪ Donation to UJA	28.3
▪ Rallies / political activities for Israel	23.5
▪ Belong to a Jewish organization	20.1
▪ Keep kosher at home	17.9
▪ Volunteer for a Jewish organization	15.1
▪ Keep kosher outside home	11.4
▪ Keep separate dishes	8.9
▪ Avoid working on Shabbat	4.8
▪ Board / Committee of J. Organization	4.2

It can be seen that certain religious customs (such as attending a Passover Seder or lighting Chanukah candles) are prominent in the lives of the great majority of unaffiliated Jews, although they may not interpret these practices in strictly religious ways. Reading about Israel / Jewish subjects is another way

that the majority of unaffiliated individuals connect to Judaism, suggesting an underlying interest in "keeping in touch" with their faith or what is happening in the Jewish world generally.

The Jewish Education of Respondents

Throughout history, Jews have placed a high value on education. There is no doubt this is one of the contributing factors to the unprecedented occupational and financial success enjoyed by North American Jews. It can be argued that in modern times the traditional dedication to religious education among Jews has been applied to secular studies. Jews are disproportionately represented in the professional fields, particularly in careers such as medicine, law and academic scholarship.

This is not to say that Jews have abandoned their commitment to religious education. Jewish day school is still seen as a priority among North American communities. In fact, a childhood Jewish education has been identified as playing a significant role in terms of instilling the values and beliefs that form essential ingredients of one's "Jewishness".

Studies in the United States and Canada have shown that a Jewish day school education positively impacts on a person's adherence to Jewish customs, their level of involvement with Jewish organizations, raising one's own children Jewishly, resisting intermarriage, and supporting Israel in a variety of ways.[18] The results of the present study likewise support the finding that a Jewish education is strongly related to later ritual observance (see previous chapter regarding the Ritual Adherence Index). Finally, it should be noted that the overall impact of a Jewish day school education has been found to be greater than supplementary school exposure or other less intensive forms of Jewish education.

What percentage of respondents have received a formal Jewish education?

Respondents were asked whether they ever received any type of Jewish education, including attending Jewish day schools, attending Jewish supplementary schools, receiving private tutoring, or pursuing post-secondary Jewish studies. More than three-quarters (79.2%) of respondents said they

received some type of Jewish education, and 20.8% said they did not.

The levels of formal Jewish education among adults range from 65% to 87% across North American communities, with an overall level of 73% for the United States. The Toronto community is in the middle of the distribution, with 79.2%. Jewish communities in Dallas (87%), Boston (82%), Cleveland (81%), and Chicago (81%) have higher levels of Jewish education among their adult members. Jewish communities in Baltimore (78%), Miami (75%), New York (72%), and Los Angeles (68%) have lower levels.

What groups of respondents in the present study were most likely to have had a Jewish education? The highest levels of Jewish education were found among those with high ritual adherence (91.3%), households with incomes above $125K (90.6%), male respondents (89%), Orthodox Jews (89%), and those with a university undergraduate degree (87.4%).

Least inclined to have had a Jewish education were those born in the Former Soviet Union (36.7%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (48.9%), Secular / Just Jews (62.1%), those 55-64 years (67.4%), and widowed individuals (69.1%).

What types of Jewish education did respondents receive?

About a quarter (24.3%) of respondents said they had attended a Jewish elementary school, 11.6% said a Jewish high school, 46% a Jewish supplementary school, 27.5% obtained private tutoring, and 7.6% pursued post-secondary Jewish studies (respondents could indicate more than one choice). A further analysis reveals that 25.2% of the present sample had received a Jewish elementary or high school education.

The percentage of adults who obtained a Jewish day school education ranges from 3% to 17% across Jewish communities in the United States, with an overall American level of 12%. The Toronto level for Jewish day school attendance (25.2%) is the second highest reported in North America, after the figure for Montreal (34.8%).

Intermarriage

Until the 1960's North American Jews showed a strong tendency to marry within their own ethnic / religious group. That decade saw a significant increase in intermarriages. According to the National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001) the intermarriage rate of American Jews married between 1996-2001 is approximately 47% (the rates are lower in Canada). [19]

While intermarriage rates are lower for Jews than for most other ethnic groups in Canada, given the particularly low fertility rates among Jews, and the increasing levels of assimilation, intermarriage represents a serious threat for Jewish continuity. Indeed, the findings in a previous chapter of this report regarding the Ritual Adherence Index suggest that intermarriage is the single most prominent threat the Jewish community faces in terms of diminishing rates of participation and affiliation.

Unfortunately, intermarriage levels derived from the present study must be interpreted cautiously. The methodology of using Jewish-sounding names means that women who married outside the faith and took their husband's name were not likely identified in this survey. Also, because no information was obtained regarding the year respondents were married, rates cannot be calculated as a function of time period, as they are in the National Jewish Population Survey of 2000-2001.

What intermarriage and conversion levels were found among respondents?

Despite the limitations of methodology described above, intermarriage levels were calculated for the sample. Of 489 respondents who were married or living in common law arrangements, 55 (11.2%) said their spouse was not Jewish. In short, more than one in ten couples were intermarried.

The intermarriage level varies from 5% to 47% across communities in the United States, with an overall American rate of 31%. The Toronto level (11.2%) is at the low end of the distribution, with only

Jewish communities in Rhode Island (8%) and Atlantic County (New Jersey) (5%) having lower figures. The intermarriage level found in the 1990 Toronto survey (10%) is very similar to the current figure.

In terms of the conversion status of the spouse, of 79 respondents and spouses in the present study who were raised as non-Jews, 24 (30.4%) converted to Judaism, and 55 (69.6%) did not. In other words, a significant majority did not convert to Judaism.

The conversion rate of 30.4% found in the current study is at the high end of the distribution as far as Jewish communities across North America are concerned. The rates range from 10% in Buffalo to 50% in Montreal. The conversionary rates for some major American Jewish communities include: 15% in Seattle, 19% in Philadelphia, 21% in Los Angeles, and 28% in Miami.

If we total the status of the 489 couple households considered in the present study: 55 (11.2%) are intermarried, 24 (4.9%) are conversionary in-marriages, and 410 (83.8%) are in-marriages between two born Jews. Interestingly, the 1990 Toronto survey showed a 10% rate for intermarriage, 6% for conversionary in-marriages, and 84% for in-marriages between Jews. The figures for the two studies are remarkably similar.

How are intermarried families bringing up their children?

This question is critical in order to understand the impact intermarriage has on Jewish continuity. Of respondents living in intermarried households (where the spouse did not convert), 29.7% of respondents said their children were being brought up within the Jewish faith, 2.7% said according to the spouse's faith, 37.8% within both faiths, and 29.7% with no religion.

These findings suggest that in an intermarried household, the religion of the non-Jewish spouse does not necessarily take precedence. Rather, in the majority of cases (67.5%), either both religions have equal weight, or no religion is emphasized. In either case, there is no doubt that Jewish exposure is more limited for the children involved. This is also borne out by the low levels

of affiliation reported by respondents living in intermarried households, across the various measures of Jewish identification described in this study.

The percentage of children being raised as Jewish in intermarried families ranges from 18% to 66% for communities across the United States. Toronto is at the low end of the distribution (29.7%). But these comparisons may be deceiving. Some studies did not necessarily differentiate between raising children as Jews, and raising children as Jews as well as in another religion simultaneously. According to the National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001), about a third (33%) of intermarried households in the United States are raising their children as Jews.

How would respondents react if their child was considering marrying a non-Jew?

If their child was considering marrying a non-Jew, the majority of respondents (51.4%) would actively oppose such a marriage, and would express their opinion openly; 12.1% would oppose the union, but would not express their opinion; 16.7% would be neutral about the matter; 10.3% would support it openly; and 9.5% are not sure (Figure 13). In short, 63.5% would oppose such a marriage.

Most likely to oppose such a marriage were those with high ritual adherence (96.5%), Orthodox Jews (96.3%), those with elementary or high school as their highest level of education (78.9%), those born in Eastern Europe (76.2%), and widowed individuals (74.4%).

Least likely to oppose such a marriage were intermarried individuals (0%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (24%), those living in Downtown Toronto (27.5%), Secular / Just Jews (39.8%); those with low ritual adherence (45%); and divorced / separated individuals (51.4%). It is clear that, given their personal circumstances, intermarried individuals had the least basis for opposition to such a union.

What if their child considered marrying someone who would convert? About one in ten respondents (10.9%) would actively oppose such a marriage, and would express this opinion openly; 5.2%

Figure 13
Reactions of Respondents
If Child Considering Marrying a Non-Jew (%)

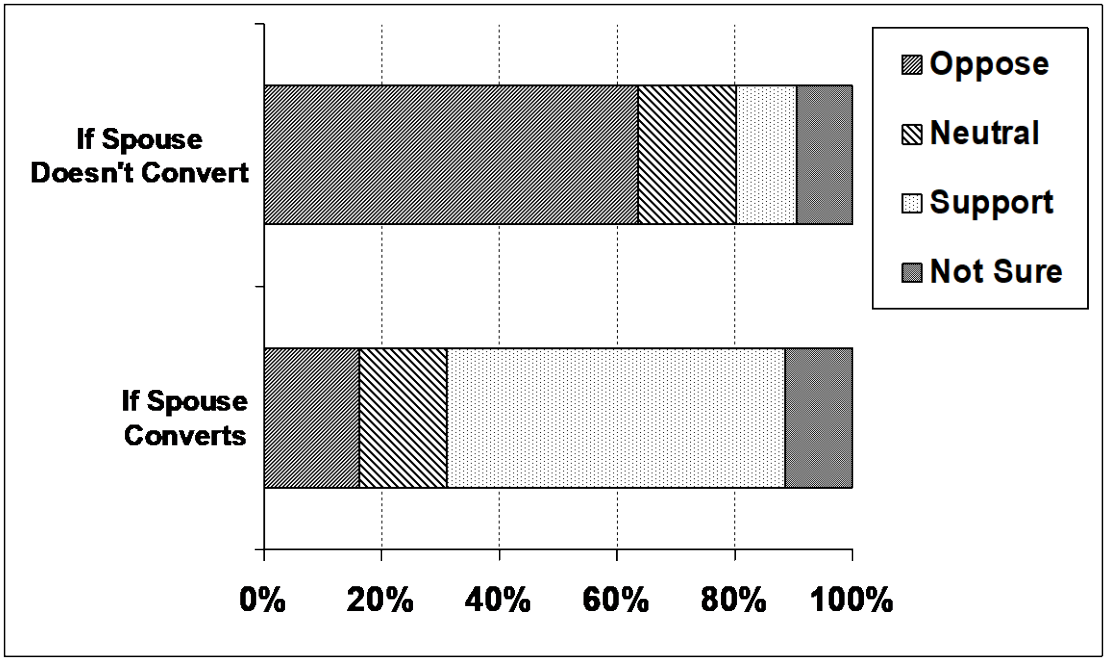
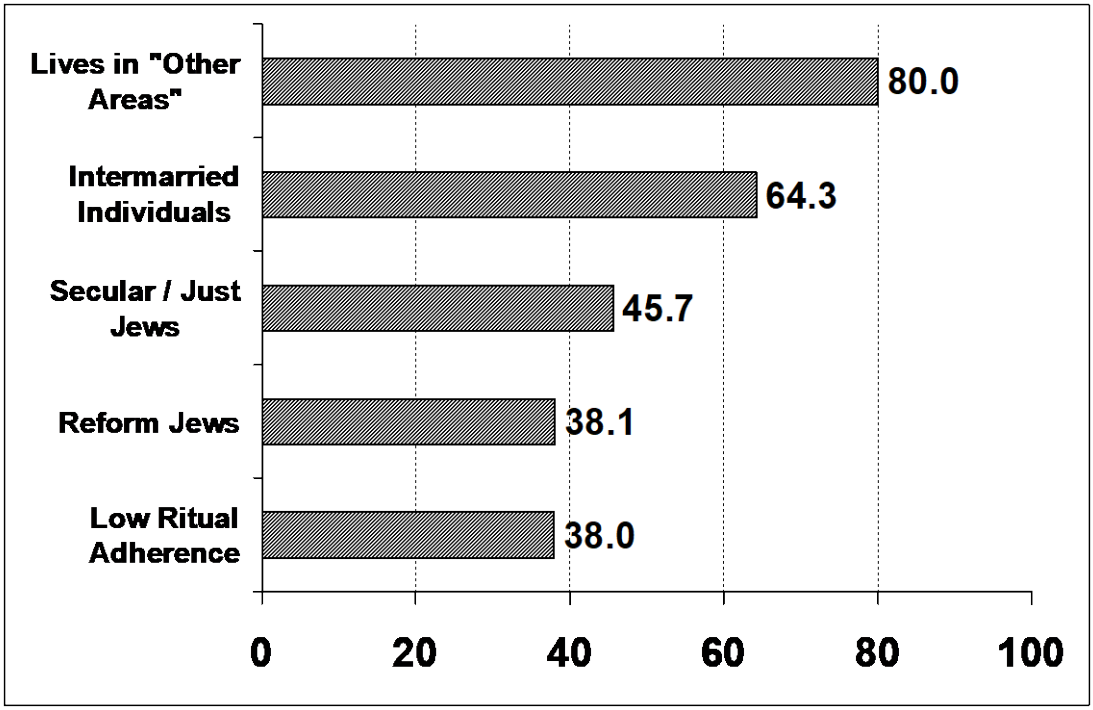


Figure 14
Segments Most Likely to Have Intermarried Children (%)



would oppose such a union, but would not express their opinion; 14.9% would be neutral about the matter; 57.5% would support the marriage openly; and 11.5% were not sure (Figure 13). In short, respondents were much more conciliatory toward such a marriage when the eventuality of conversion was introduced.

The greatest opposition to such a marriage was recorded by Orthodox respondents (38.5%), followed by those born in Eastern Europe (36.6%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (35.7%), those whose highest level of education is elementary or high school (31.9%), and widowed individuals (31.8%).

The lowest levels of opposition were registered by intermarried individuals (0%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (0%), those living in the downtown area (0%), divorced / separated individuals (2.8%), Secular / Just Jews (5.4%) and Reform Jews (7.1%).

What proportion of respondents have children who have intermarried?

More than a quarter (28.6%) of respondents said their children had married non-Jews, and 71.4% said their children had not. The figure of 28.6% can be taken as a very rough measure of the intermarriage rate among young adult Jews, although some of these young adults may no longer be living in the Greater Toronto area.

Those most likely to say their children had married non-Jews included individuals living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (80%), intermarried individuals (64.3%), Secular / Just Jews (45.7%), Reform Jews (38.1%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (38%), and those with households earning under $40,000 (37.1%) (Figure 14).

The fact that 80% of respondents who live well outside the sphere of Jewish neighbourhoods have children who married non-Jews, suggests that *such geographic detachment from the community may relate to lower levels of affiliation and connection that stretch across even generational lines. It is also*

evident that children who are raised in intermarried families, are more likely to intermarry themselves.

Of the 65 respondents who said their children married outside the faith, 55 (84.6%) said only one child had intermarried, 9 (13.8%) said two children had intermarried, and 1 (1.5%) said four children had intermarried.

Would single respondents consider dating or marrying a non-Jew?

Single and divorced respondents were asked whether they currently date Jews, non-Jews or both. In terms of single respondents, 25.9% said they only date Jews, 1.7% said they only date non-Jews, 51.7% date both Jews and non-Jews, and 20.7% don't date. In short, the majority of single individuals are open to dating non-Jews. Regarding divorced individuals, 22% said they only date Jews, 2.4% said only non-Jews, 36.6% date both Jews and non-Jews, and 39% don't date.

Would single individuals consider marrying a non-Jew? 59.6% said yes, whether the individual converted or not; 21.1% would consider marriage only if the individual converted; and 19.3% would not consider it under any circumstances. In other words, about 60% of single respondents consider intermarriage a viable option for their future.

In terms of divorced persons, 58.1% would consider marriage to a non-Jew, whether the person converted or not; 16.3% would consider it only if the person converted; and 25.6% would not consider it under any circumstances. As with single individuals, the majority of divorced persons consider intermarriage a viable option.

Unfortunately, there were too few single and divorced respondents to determine which groups (i.e., unaffiliated, immigrants, males) were most inclined to consider dating or marrying outside the faith.

Part 2
Jewish Education & Affiliation of Children

The Jewish Education of Children

A number of important issues have recently arisen regarding the system of Jewish schools in the Greater Toronto area. For instance, while the proportion of children attending Jewish elementary and high schools has increased in the past fifteen years, the proportion attending supplementary schools has decreased, leading to a small overall decline in the percentage of children receiving Jewish education of any kind.[20]

As well, many families cannot afford to send their children to Jewish day schools. Although they may have a middle class income, they cannot pay full fees, but are considered too affluent to be eligible for community subsidies. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that currently there is no provincial funding to support private education.

Another issue is that there is an under-representation of enrolment among the children of Jewish immigrants in the day school system. They represent a source of new vitality, and an important link for the future continuity of the community, yet many are not furthering their Jewish education.

The present study sought to lend further insights into some of these issues.

What types of Jewish education did the children of respondents ever receive?

Almost half (45.2%) of respondents said their children have had a Jewish elementary school education, 19% said their children have had a Jewish high school education, 46.6% said a Jewish supplementary education, 53% private tutoring, and 10.5% post-secondary Jewish studies (Figure 15).

A further analysis reveals that 47% of respondents reported that their children have received a Jewish day school (elementary and/or high school) education. According to the National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001), 29% of children of respondents have had a Jewish day school education in the

Figure 15
Types of Jewish Education Children of Respondents Received (%)

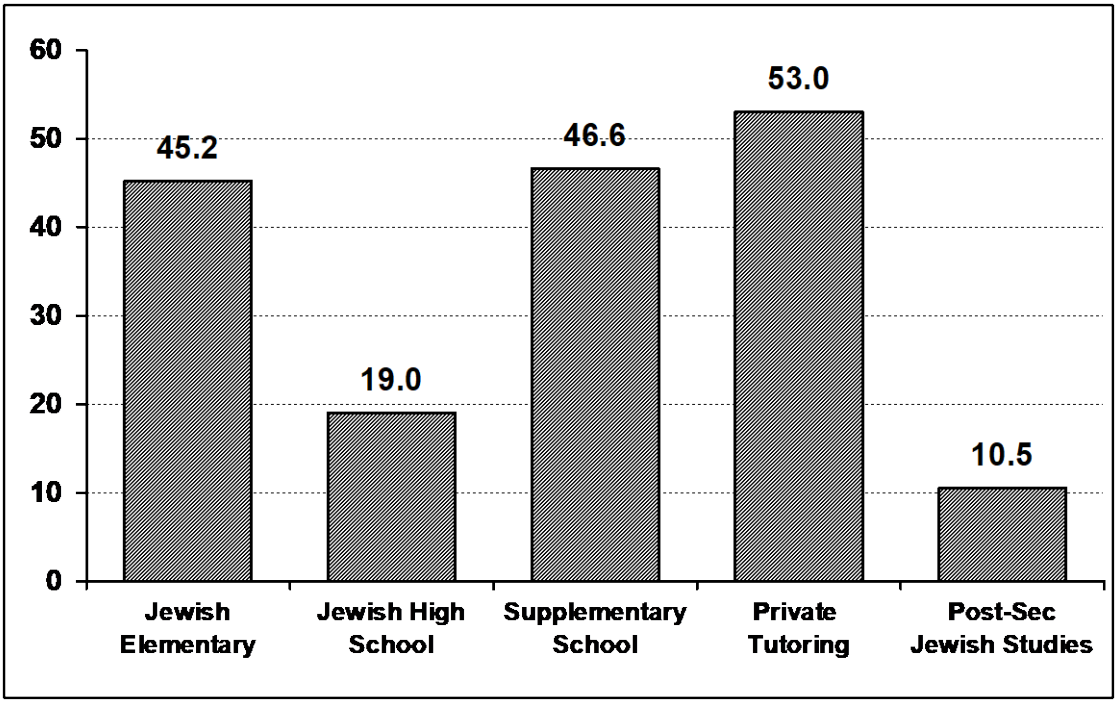
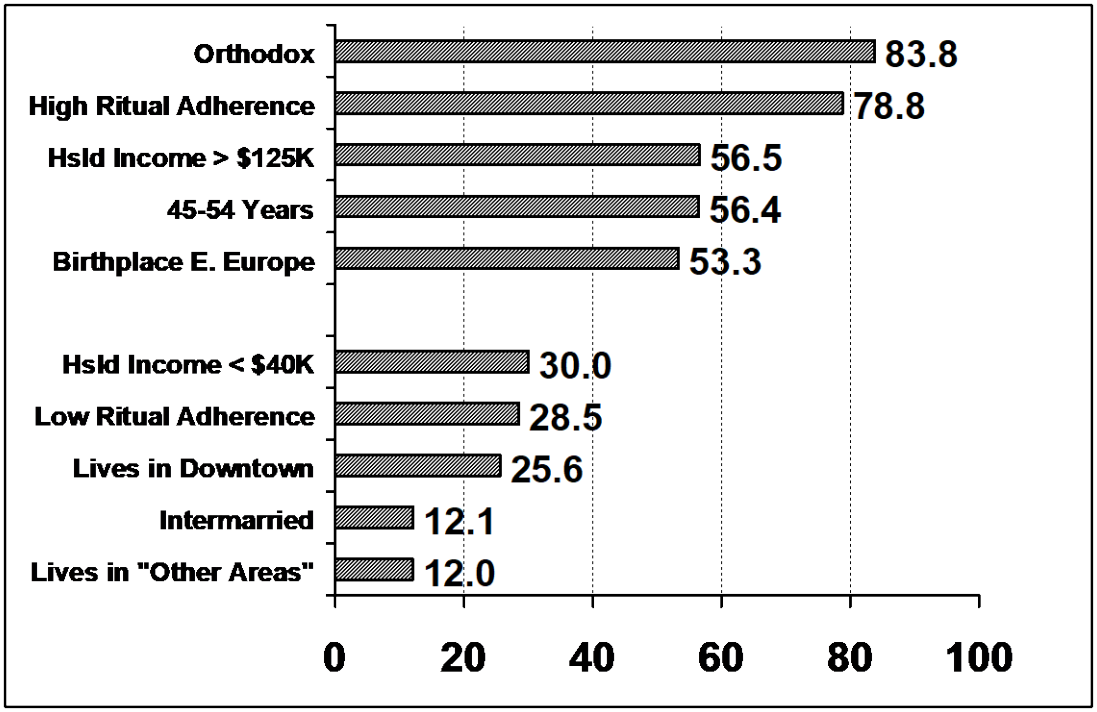


Figure 16
Whether Children Have Ever Attended Jewish Day Schools (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

United States, a figure significantly below that of the local findings.

The segments of the present sample most inclined to have children who have attended Jewish day schools include the Orthodox (83.8%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (78.8%), those living in households with an income of at least $125K (56.5%), those between 45-54 years (56.4%), and those whose place of birth is Eastern Europe (53.3%) (Figure 16).

Least inclined to have had their children attend Jewish day schools are those who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (12%), intermarried individuals (12.1%), those who live in the downtown area (25.6%), those who have low ritual adherence (28.5%), those living in households earning under $40K (30%), and those living in households earning $75K-$124K (30.5%) (Figure 16).

It is clear that the most prominent factors that relate to whether or not respondents have had their children attend Jewish day schools include geographic proximity to Jewish neighbourhoods, whether the parents are intermarried or not, the level of household ritual observance, and the economic status of the household.

Are the children of respondents currently attending Jewish or non-Jewish schools?

Of 184 respondents with children 6-18 years, 63 (34.2%) said their children currently attend Jewish day schools, 100 (54.3%) said they attend non-Jewish public schools, 12 (6.5%) said non-Jewish private schools, 6 (3.3%) said Jewish and public schools, and 3 (1.6%) said public and private schools.

The level of children currently attending Jewish day schools ranges from 6% to 26% for Jewish communities across the United States. Among Canadian centres, Montreal (64%) has a higher level of children currently attending Jewish day schools than Toronto (34.2%), although since the survey was done in Montreal, the community has seen a diminishment in the size of its mainstream day school population.

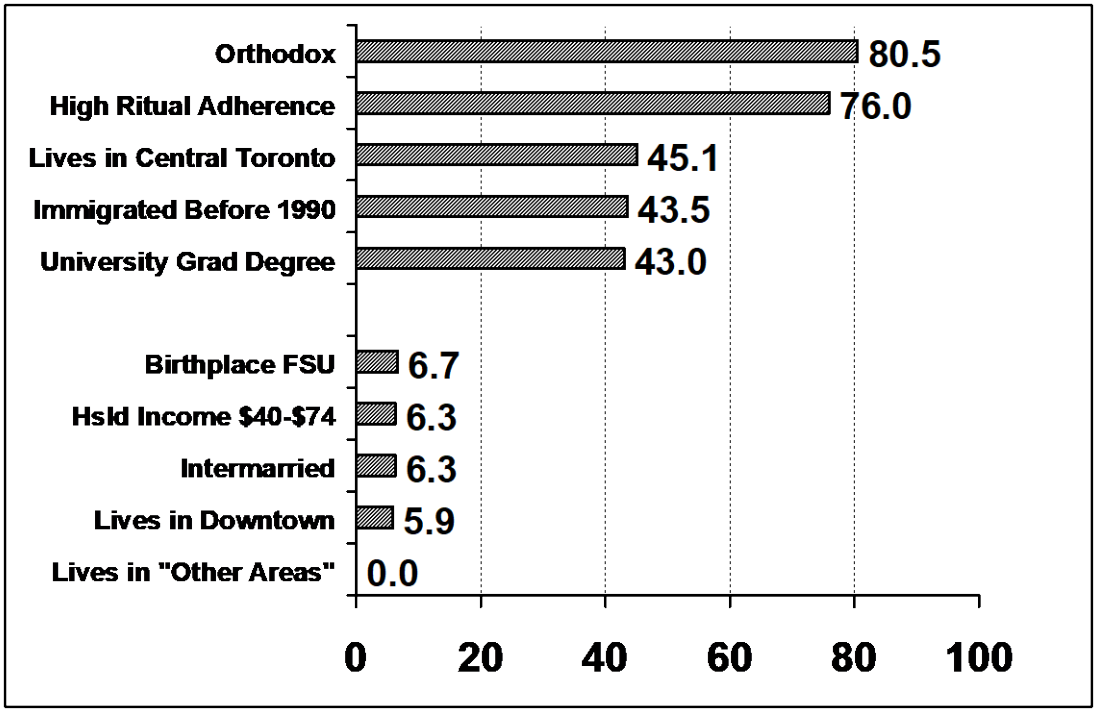
What types of respondents are currently sending their children to Jewish day schools? The Orthodox have the highest

percentage of children attending Jewish day schools (80.5%), followed by those with a high level of ritual adherence (76%), those who live in Central Toronto (45.1%), those who immigrated before 1990 (43.5%), and respondents with a university graduate degree (43%) (Figure 17).

Least inclined to have children currently attending Jewish day schools are those who live in "Other" areas of Greater Toronto (0.0%), those living in the downtown area (5.9%), intermarried individuals (6.3%), those living in households earning between $40K-$74K (6.3%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (6.7%), and individuals who are divorced or separated (10%) (Figure 17).

It seems that location of residence is a major factor in terms of whether or not parents currently send their children to Jewish day schools. It is interesting that middle-income families earning between $40K-$74K also have a low percentage of children attending Jewish day schools.

Figure 17
Respondent Has Children Currently Attending Jewish Day Schools (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



In addition, only a small percentage (6.7%) of respondents born in the FSU have their children enrolled in a Jewish day school. What are the implications on the future Jewish affiliation and involvement of these children?

Why have parents chosen not to send their children to a Jewish day school?

The major reason parents gave for not having their child attend a Jewish day school was that they wanted the child to socialize in a wider social milieu (42.1%). Financial constraints were likewise an important issue for many parents (41.3%).

Other reasons mentioned were that: Jewish education was not a priority for the respondent (20.7%); their child was not interested (14.9%); their child was not able to cope with the workload (9.9%); and adequate transportation was not available (9.1%). More reasons for not enrolling the child in Jewish day schools included: academic supports were insufficient (5.8%); the day school in their area was too religious (5.8%); and their spouse did not agree with such a choice (5.8%).

The above were multiple-choice alternatives, but some parents had further reasons for not sending their child to a Jewish day school, which they indicated in an open-ended format. These reasons included (frequencies in parentheses): The child's needs were not being met in a Jewish school (3), and the child had special needs / learning disabilities (2).

Single responses included: The child did not have a choice of campus; the spouse was not Jewish; the child was not Jewish; parent wanted French immersion for their child; parents didn't attend a Jewish day school; parent had no personal faith and wasn't sure what kind of religious orientation should be provided for the child; would like to send child to non-religious Jewish school similar to Israeli high schools; half the public school is Jewish anyway.

Interestingly, none of the reasons mentioned above were critical of the quality of education provided in the Jewish day schools. On the other hand, an issue for some parents was that their children could not cope with the difficulty of the curriculum (perhaps

suggesting there is not sufficient help for those students struggling with an extensive workload).

Financial issues were also a significant reason as to why some parents did not send their children to a Jewish day school. The issue of not being able to afford a Jewish education for their children is a difficult one for some families. In terms of reinforcing later Jewish identity, it is an open question as to whether household observance can sufficiently compensate for the lack of a formalized Jewish education, given the pressures of assimilation inherent in modern life.

Are children who are not attending a Jewish day school receiving a supplementary education?

About half (48.3%) of parents whose children were not attending Jewish day schools said their children were receiving a supplementary education, and 51.7% said they were not.

Those most likely to provide supplementary education for their children included Reform Jews (67.7%), those with moderate levels of ritual adherence (64.9%), those living in Central Toronto (60.5%), and non-immigrants (60.3%) (Figure 18).

Least likely to provide supplementary education for their children included respondents born in the Former Soviet Union (16.7%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (18.7%), those who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (22.2%), and Secular / Just Jews (28.1%) (Figure 18).

It seems that for those households where adherence levels are moderate, supplementary education is seen as an alternative to Jewish day schools. It also appears that recently immigrated Jewish families are the least inclined to consider alternative Jewish education for their children.

Interestingly, a third (33.3%) of intermarried respondents are providing a supplementary education for their children who are not attending Jewish day schools. *This is an important finding which suggests that at least some Jewish parents in intermarried households want to provide Jewish exposure for their*

children, and to make contact with at least one Jewish institution and perhaps other Jewish parents.

Why have parents chosen to send their children to a Jewish day school?

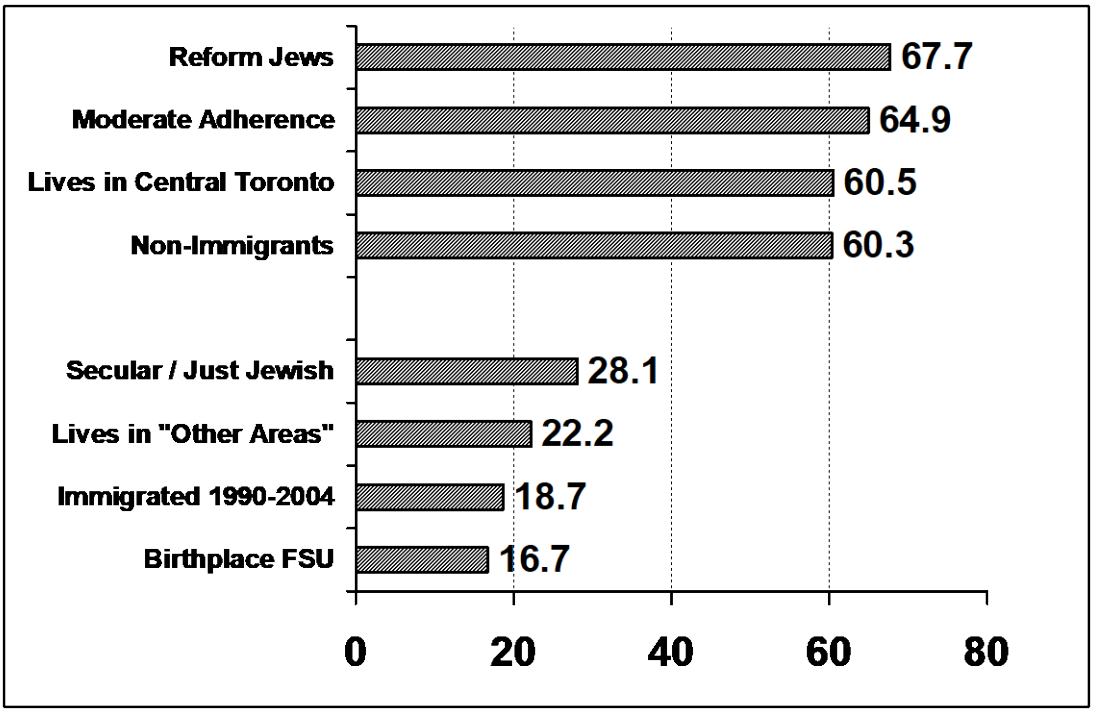
Parents were asked to specify why they have chosen to send their children to a Jewish day school. It was hoped that some insights would be gained into what made a Jewish day school education important and attractive for parents. Note that more than one response was allowed.

Of 63 respondents, 45 (71.4%) said that it was to teach Jewish values and provide Jewish grounding for the future of their children; 27 (42.9%) said it was to provide a sense of Jewish identity; 12 (19%) said these were quality schools with high standards; 7 (11.1%) said to provide an introduction to Judaism (High Holidays, traditions, etc.) for their child; 3 (4.8%) said to establish friendships and a connection within the community; and 2 (3.2%) said for the teachers to provide appropriate role models.

Single responses to this question included: Jewish schools don't strike; child wanted to go to CHAT (new stream program); it was their only option; important to attend Hebrew school (extra curricular) for religious preparation for bar mitzvah; spouse is not Jewish, and if Jewish day school was not available locally, child would be at regular public school.

It seems that to foster a sense of Jewish values and identity was the main reason why parents chose to send their children to Jewish day schools. But about one respondent in five also remarked on the high quality and standards of such schools.

Figure 18
Provides Supplementary Education for their Children (%)
(Filter= Parents Not Sending Children to Jewish Day Schools)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the four segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart

Jewish Camping

Jewish camps provide a positive and nurturing experience for children, while reinforcing Jewish identity in the important formative years. Such identity building is particularly important for children who may otherwise not have Jewish exposure in their home or school life.

The Toronto community has a long history of supporting camping programs for its youth. For instance, by extending subsidies to disadvantaged families, community-sponsored camps provide the opportunity for children living in households with limited means to enjoy the full camping experience.

Have children attended a Jewish camp in the last five years?

Parents were asked whether their children (6-18 years) had attended a Jewish camp in the last five years. The majority (54.6%) of parents said their children had attended a Jewish camp. More specifically, 14.6% said a Jewish day camp, 23.8% a Jewish sleep over camp, and 16.2% said both. Less than half (45.4%) said their children had not attended a Jewish camp.

Unfortunately, the above percentage of children who went to Jewish camps (54.6%) is inflated because some parents considered certain non-denominational camps with high Jewish enrolment as Jewish camps.

Which Jewish day and/or sleep over camps did children attend? The following responses were given (n=101): B'nai Brith / Northland (22), a "regular" camp with high Jewish attendance (17), Camp Lubavitch (15), Camp Eitan (12), Camp Agudah (10), Camp Moshava (8), Camp Shalom (8), Bloor JCC / BJCC Camp (7), Camp George (6), and Camp Solelim (5).

There were several other camps mentioned less frequently. Four mentions each were given for Camp Kehilla and Camp Ramah. Three were given for Camp Gesher, Camp Kadimah, and Camp Torolago. Two were given for Camp Kol Sasson, Kindercamp, Kids

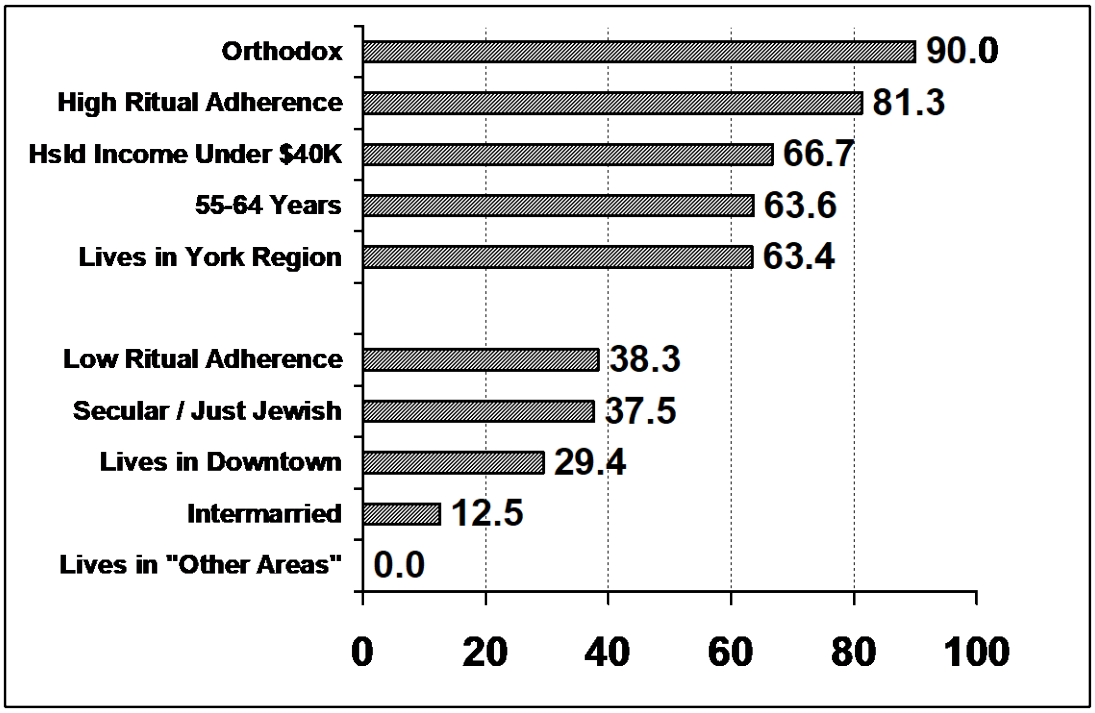
World, Camp Shomria, Sephardic Youth Camp, and YMHA Country Camp (Quebec). The rest of the camps were given only single mentions.

The segments of respondents most inclined to send their children to Jewish camps were: the Orthodox (90%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (81.3%), respondents living in households earning under $40K (66.7%), those 55-64 years (63.6%), and those living in York Region (63.4%) (Figure 19).

Least inclined to send their children to Jewish camps were those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (0%), intermarried individuals (12.5%), those living in the Downtown area of Toronto (29.4%), Secular / Just Jews (37.5%), those with low ritual adherence (38.3%), and Reform Jews (39.4%) (Figure 19).

Although the percentage for unaffiliated (Secular / Just Jews) is among the lowest, more than a third of parents (37.5%) send their children to Jewish camps.

Figure 19
Respondent Has Children Who Have Attended Jewish Camps (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

How important are camps in terms of Jewish exposure?

A further analysis revealed that of children not attending Jewish day schools: 47.1% attended Jewish camps in the last five years, and 52.9% did not. *In short, almost half of children who were not enrolled in Jewish days schools attended Jewish camps. It would seem that camps provide important Jewish exposure for many children who might otherwise not have it through Jewish schools.*

In comparison, 69% of children who were enrolled in Jewish schools attended Jewish camps, and 31% did not attend Jewish camps. Although this is a somewhat higher percentage than for those not attending Jewish schools, the percentage for the latter group (47.1%) is noteworthy nonetheless.

Finally, 48.3% of children not attending Jewish day schools received some type of supplementary Jewish education. This proportion is very similar to those not attending Jewish day schools and attending Jewish camps (47.1%). In short, almost as many children not attending Jewish day schools have exposure to Jewish camps as they do to a supplementary school education.

What were some reasons parents are sending their children to Jewish camps?

Parents offered a wide variety of reasons as to why they were sending their children to Jewish camps. The most common reason was exposure to a Jewish environment (75.2%). Other reasons mentioned: the general quality of activities (44.6%), learning about Jewish heritage (37.6%), my child has always gone (30.7%), the availability of specialized activities (23.8%), recommended by others (20.8%), the location (17.8%), and the lower cost (15.8%).

Mentioned less frequently were: to be with friends (9.9%), to develop a Jewish peer group (4%), to maintain Jewish learning which they get in school (2%), the parents went to the same camp (2%), the camp has a Zionist philosophy (1%), their daughter was on staff (1%), child wanted to go (1%), and good values (1%).

All in all, the most prominent reason given by parents for sending their children to a Jewish camp is the opportunity to be in a Jewish environment. This is what distinguishes the Jewish camp experience from other camps. This factor is more important for parents than even the quality of activities.

Why are parents not sending their children to Jewish camps?

Parents gave a wide variety of reasons as to why they are not sending their children to Jewish camps. The most common reason was that they were simply not interested (17.9%). Other reasons were that they wanted children to attend regular camp with their friends (15.5%); they wanted a mixed group of campers (13.1%); it was too expensive (13.1%); it was just not a consideration (8.3%); the children were too young (6%); since they went to Jewish school, day camp was not necessary (6%); and their children requested specialized (sports / dance oriented) camps (4.8%).

Mentioned less often were the following reasons: Jewish camps were too religious (3.6%); the child was too old (2.4%); parents wanted the child to have exposure to the broader world (2.4%); local public camps are more convenient (2.4%); no one recommended one (2.4%); and the parents travel abroad with their children (2.4%).

Single responses were given for the following reasons: the child didn't want to continue at Jewish camp; the parent lacked knowledge of Judaism; the child was sent to a camp suited to their needs; bad experience at Jewish camp; and limited sleep-over experience was available for their special needs child.

The Affiliation Patterns of Children

Our children represent the leaders of tomorrow. To foster involvement in the community and instill a sense of Jewish values and commitment is an important part of ensuring the future continuity of our faith. This section focuses on what parents told us about the formal and informal Jewish affiliations of their children.

Do the children of respondents belong to Jewish youth groups?

About a quarter (23.7%) of parents (with children living at home) said their children belong to Jewish youth groups, and 76.3% said they do not.

To which youth groups did respondents say their children belong? Frequencies are in parentheses (n=44). The most common youth group mentioned was NCSY (12), followed by B'nai Akiva (9). Three mentions were given for: Bnos, NELFTY, and Hashomer Hatzair. Two mentions were given for BBYO.

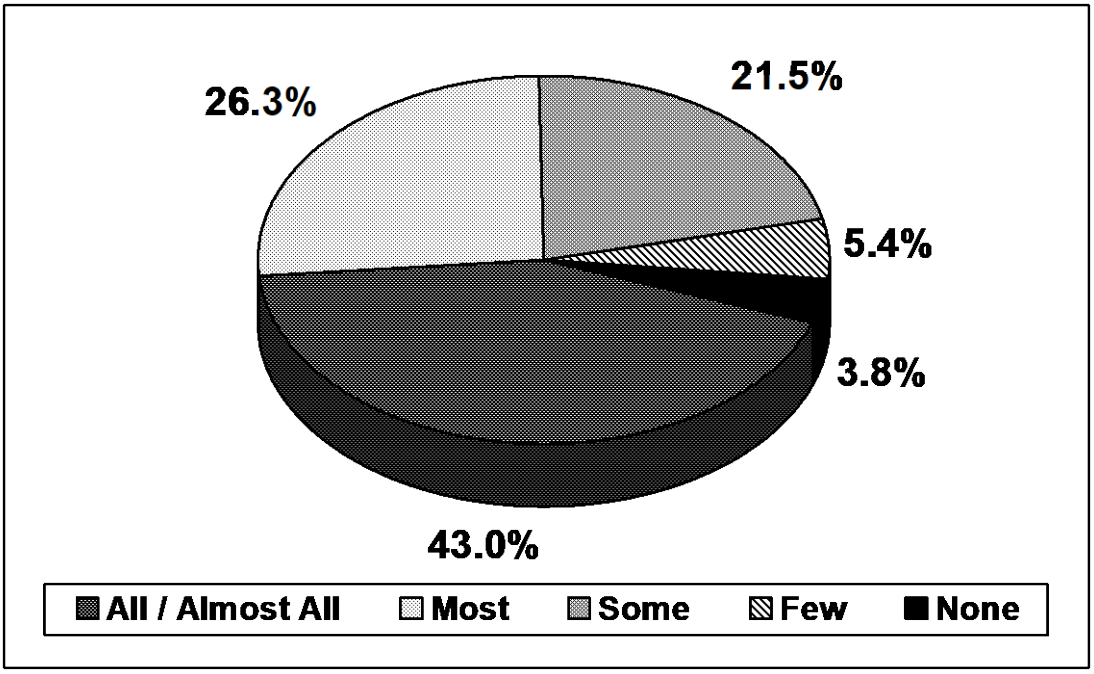
Finally, single responses were given for: Abir Yaakob Youth Program, Agudah, Habonim Dror, LOTTSY, USY, and Young Judea.

Among the children's friends, what proportion are Jewish?

Almost half of respondents (43%) said that "all, or almost all" of their children's friends are Jewish, 26.3% said "most" are Jewish, 21.5% said "some" are Jewish, 5.4% said "few" are Jewish, and 3.8% said "none" are Jewish. In short, almost 70% said that "all" or "most" of their children's friends are Jewish (Figure 20).

These affiliation patterns are comparable to those of the respondents themselves (described in a subsequent section, see page 89) in that both groups had similar proportions who said "all, or almost all" of their friends were Jewish. On the other hand, respondents were relatively more inclined to say "most" of their friends are Jewish, compared to their children who were more inclined to have "some" friends who are Jewish.

Figure 20
Proportion of Children's Friends Who Are Jewish (%)



Part 3
Jewish Membership & Philanthropy

Organizational Affiliations

One expression of a community's cohesiveness relates to the involvement of its members in its organizations and institutions. Whereas synagogues were once the traditional meeting places for Jews, secular organizations are now the social and cultural focus for many individuals.

These organizations may involve charitable initiatives, immigrant associations, or sports clubs. They have one thing in common: they allow a person to comfortably express their Jewishness in an environment with like-minded individuals, sharing common interests and backgrounds.

What percentage of respondents belong to Jewish organizations?

A quarter of respondents (25%) said they belong to a Jewish organization, fraternity or club, and 75% said they do not. Unfortunately, the present findings cannot be compared with individual communities since these tended to ask whether anyone in the household belonged to a Jewish organization, whereas the current study focused on personal membership.

Of 160 respondents in the present study who said they belong to a Jewish organization, the most common membership was reported for Hadassah WIZO (32 individuals), followed by B'nai Brith Canada (25), BJCC / MNJCC (24), the Benefit Society (9), Bernard Betel Centre (6), Jewish Women's International (6), Na'amat (6), and Emunah Women (4). Note that many of the most commonly mentioned organizations involved women's charities.

Organizations mentioned by three individuals included: Alpha Omega, Baycrest Women's Auxiliary, Jewish Genealogical Society, Jewish Russian Community Centre, Wagman Centre, and Friends Of Yiddish.

Organizations mentioned by two respondents included: Agudath Yisroel, CIJA-PAC, CZF, Hillel, Kolel,

Pomegranate Guild of Judaic Textiles, Simon Wiesenthal Centre, and Wierzbniker Society. About forty other organizations were mentioned as single responses.

Which segments are most inclined to belong to Jewish organizations?

Respondents most inclined to belong to a Jewish organization included widowed individuals (49.1%), those whose place of birth was Eastern Europe (46.8%), respondents 65+ years (40%), those with elementary /high school as their highest level of education (39.8%), and those who live in Central Toronto (32.2%). In short, seniors seem to be most inclined to belong to Jewish organizations, particularly if they have lost their spouse.

Least inclined to belong to Jewish organizations were those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (6.1%), intermarried individuals (7.7%), those whose place of birth was the Former Soviet Union (10.2%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (13%), those living in York Region (18.1%), and single individuals (18.3%).

It seems that location of residence, intermarried status, and recent immigration are three factors which impact greatly on whether a person belongs to Jewish organizations or not. Interestingly, residents from York Region have a relatively low percentage of membership, possibly because they have a large representation of immigrants (FSU Jews and Israelis) in their midst.

Volunteerism & Philanthropic Behaviour

The spirit of "tzedakah" (charity) is an integral part of the Jewish way of life. Jews are obligated, both spiritually and morally, to assist fellow Jews who are needy, who cannot look after themselves, or who are experiencing distress in some way. Giving charity is a duty that cannot be forsaken even by those who are themselves in need. Some sages have said that tzedakah is the highest of all commandments.

The Toronto Jewish community has historically risen to the challenge of looking after its most vulnerable segments. This has been made possible by the generosity of its members, both in terms of financial donations, and their contributions of time, effort and expertise as lay leaders and volunteers. Such dedication ensures that the local community remains a vibrant and cohesive one.

What is the level of volunteerism among respondents?

Almost a third of respondents (30.6%) have volunteered for a Jewish organization in the past year, and 69.4% have not.

Respondents most likely to have volunteered for a Jewish organization include those with high ritual adherence (54.3%), the Orthodox (52.7%), those living in households earning at least $125K (36.8%), those with a university graduate degree (36.4%), and those with a university undergraduate degree (35.5%) (Figure 21). It seems that volunteer activity is more prevalent among those who are most observant, affluent and educated.

Least likely to have volunteered for a Jewish organization were respondents living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%), intermarried individuals (9.4%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (14.6%), Secular / Just Jews (15.1%), single persons (18%), and divorced / separated individuals (19.1%) (Figure 21). These are also among the least affiliated segments of the Toronto Jewish community.

Almost one in four respondents (22.3%) have volunteered for a non-Jewish organization in the past year, whereas 77.7% have not. This level of volunteerism is lower than that for Jewish organizations (30.6%).

Figure 21
Has Volunteered for a Jewish Organization (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments

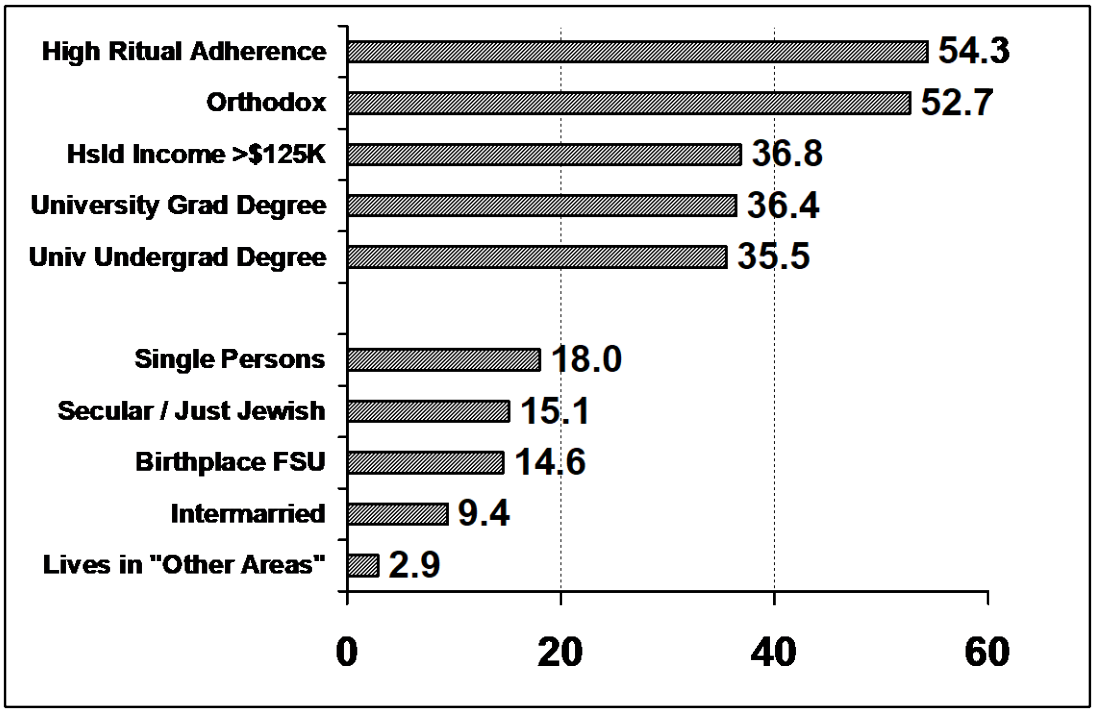
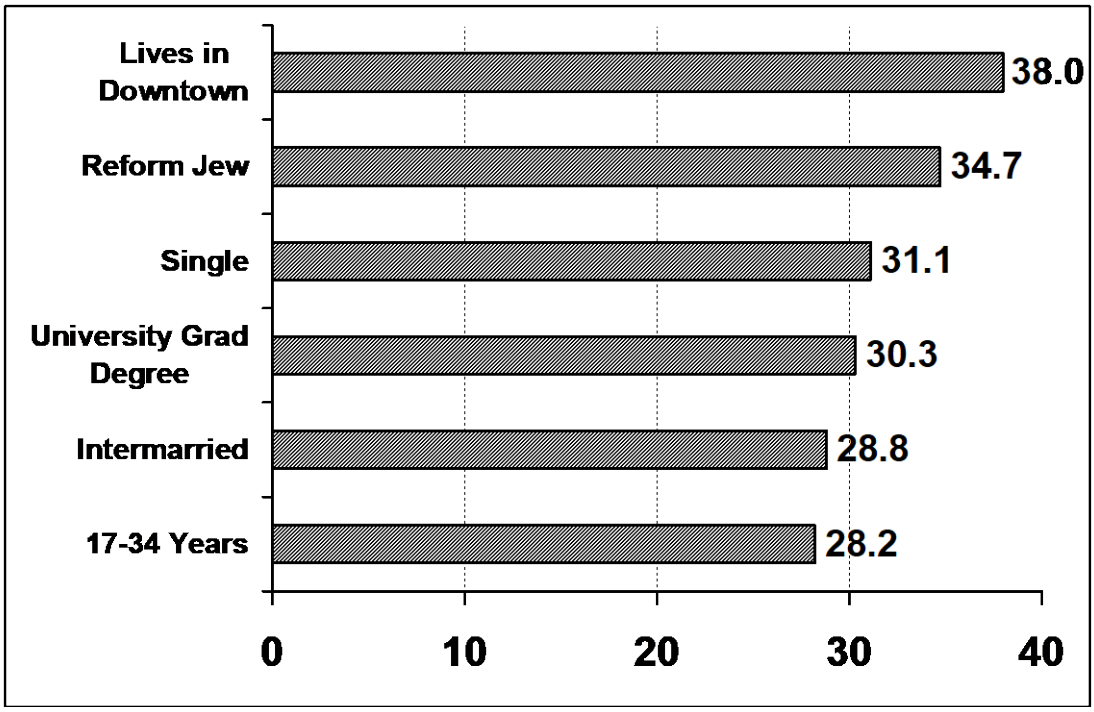


Figure 22
Segments Most Inclined to Have Volunteered for a Non-Jewish Organization (%)



Which segments of respondents were most inclined to volunteer for non-Jewish organizations (Figure 22)? The highest percentages were reported by those living in Downtown Toronto (38%), followed by Reform Jews (34.7%), single individuals (31.1%), those with a university graduate degree (30.3%), intermarried individuals (28.8%), and those 17-34 years (28.2%).

Least inclined to volunteer for a non-Jewish organization were those born in the Former Soviet Union (4.2%), those living in households earning less than $40K (6.3%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (6.5%), those with elementary / high school as their highest education (6.7%), and the Orthodox (12.2%) (Figure 22).

It seems that individuals who are most educated have high levels of volunteer activity for both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations. Younger and single adults prefer donating their time to non-Jewish causes. Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union seem least inclined to volunteer for any organization.

What proportion of respondents serve on a board or committee of a Jewish organization?

About one in seven respondents (15%) said they serve on a board or committee of a Jewish organization, and 85% said they do not. Respondents most inclined to serve include those with high levels of ritual adherence (29.9%), individuals living in households earning at least $125K (23.2%), the Orthodox (23.1%), widowed individuals (21.8%), and those 45-54 years (19.7%).

Least inclined to serve as lay leaders include those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (0%), single persons (1.7%), those whose place of birth is the Former Soviet Union (2%), those 17-34 years (2.9%), and those who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%). It is clear that a challenge for the Jewish community is to foster a new generation of leaders drawn from the pool of younger adults and more recent immigrants.

What percentage of respondents contribute to United Jewish Appeal (UJA)?

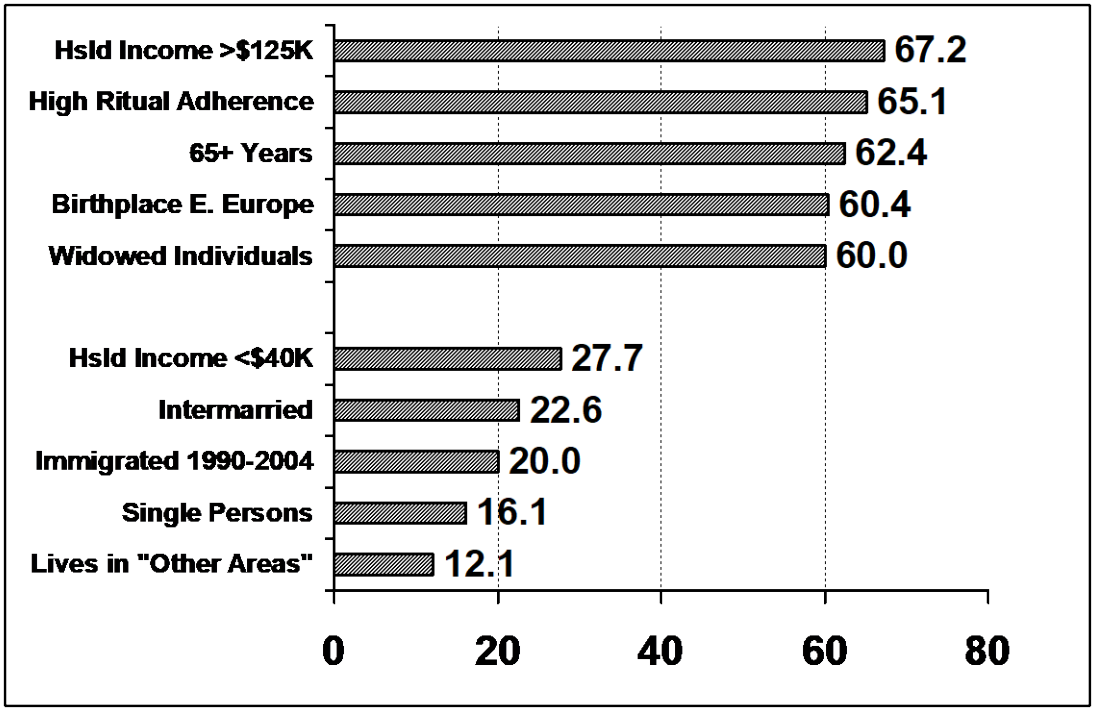
Almost half of the sample (48.2%) said they donated to United Jewish Appeal in the past year; 30% said they did not donate, but had

in the past; and 21.8% said they had never donated.

Respondents most inclined to give to UJA in the current study were those living in households earning at least $125K (67.2%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (65.1%), seniors (62.4%), those born in Eastern Europe (60.4%), widowed individuals (60%), those with moderate levels of ritual adherence (59%), Conservative Jews (59%), and those living in Central Toronto (56.1%) (Figure 23).

Least inclined to give to UJA included those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (12.1%), single persons (16.1%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (20%), intermarried individuals (22.6%), those living in households that earn under $40K (27.7%), Secular / Just Jews (28.3%), those 17-34 years (28.6%), and those born in the Former Soviet Union (30.6%) (Figure 23). Also reporting low levels of giving to UJA were divorced / separated individuals (31.3%), and those living in Downtown Toronto (33.3%).

Figure 23
Has Contributed to UJA (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

It is clear that geographic area of residence, age of respondent, immigration status, level of affiliation, economic condition, and marital status interact to determine the percentage of UJA donors among respondents. There are certain segments of the community that whether due to their stage of life, or lack of affiliation, do not support the federation financially. Some of these groups represent challenges for donor outreach initiatives.

What factors lead respondents to donate to UJA?

There were a number of factors influencing respondents to donate to UJA. Interestingly, the reasons cited were often described in general ways, suggesting that perhaps respondents had not thought about such issues in more concrete terms, or perhaps such motivations were difficult to articulate. The frequency of responses is presented in parentheses (n =312).

The reason most often mentioned as to why respondents contribute to UJA was to support both Israel and Jewish people in need in Toronto (73); followed by to support the Jewish community (69); to support Jewish causes (54); because of an obligation to support the work of UJA (43); to support Israel (37); and as an obligation to the community (36).

Mentioned less often were an obligation as a Jew (14); because the respondent always gives (13); an important organization / good cause (12); to support funding of Jewish education (11); for the sake of Jewish continuity (8); because UJA has a solid reputation and community programs (7); due to a family affiliation (5).

Fewer mentions as to why respondents contribute to UJA were given for the following reasons: the person was canvassed (4); they participate in UJA Walk (4); they have a strong belief in Judaism / Zionism (4); they make memorial donations (2); it is a mitzvah (2); and it provides security for all Jews (2).

Single responses were given for the following: UJA supported activities in Eilat as part of a Mission; Holocaust education; due to guilt feelings; to finance programs for Canada Israel Experience; speak up for Jewish concerns; tax receipt; daughter went on March of the Living; seeing the positive effect on the Jewish community in Toronto; ensuring there are resources available for our

children that will allow them to explore and appreciate their heritage.

Why did respondents not contribute to UJA?

The responses given as to why respondents didn't donate to UJA were more specific than reasons offered as to why they do contribute. The frequency of responses is shown in parentheses (n=335). Not surprisingly, the major reason given was financial constraints (89). Other significant mentions included: supports Jewish organizations directly (32); was not contacted (23); had other commitments (23); and does not know what UJA does (13).

Fewer mentions were given for: does not support religious charities / is non-denominational (9); has personal issues with UJA Federation (6); is unemployed (5); does not agree with the policies of the Sharon government (5); a family member donates (4); is too busy (4); children's Jewish education too expensive to afford other donations (4); supports charities in Israel (3); and children's school not supported by UJA (3).

Two mentions were given for the following: sick or dying family member; negative experience in the Jewish community; finds UJA too aggressive; was living out of town; and is assisting child or family in Israel.

Single responses included: UJA funds associations not in accordance with Halacha; donation information not kept confidential; Jewish community doesn't consider me to be Jewish; disagree with some recipients; to avoid unnecessary solicitation; UJA doesn't do enough to promote equal funding for all religious schools in Ontario; don't like supporting Jewish day schools which subsidizes people with 6-10 kids – and I would have to pay the full amount.

The reasons for not giving to UJA can be roughly divided into the following themes: experiencing financial / other difficulties (102); lack of knowledge / contact (36); support for other charities / organizations (35); disagreement over policy / philosophy (17); negative experiences / perceptions regarding UJA or Jewish community (12). A final category includes unspecified personal reasons / commitments (39).

The issues of "lack of knowledge / contact" and "negative experiences / perceptions" are certainly areas where UJA can engage in further outreach and education. However, it is

interesting to note that only 12 respondents (3.6%) said they don't donate due to negative experiences or perceptions. It is more a lack of contact or knowledge that seems to preclude giving, rather than questions regarding UJA's reputation or commitment.

What proportion of respondents donated to other Jewish organizations?

Aside from UJA, 59.6% of respondents donated to other Jewish charities, and 40.4% did not. Respondents mentioned more than 80 organizations as targets for giving. The level of giving to other Jewish organizations (59.6%) was higher than that for UJA (48.2%).

Frequencies of those donating to other Jewish causes are in parentheses (n=384). The most popular charity mentioned was Baycrest (92), followed by a synagogue (69), the Jewish National Fund (61), Magen David Adom (50), Soldiers for Israel (35), unspecified Israeli causes and organizations (30), Friends of Simon Wiesenthal (28), Hadassah (28), Chabad Lubavitch (27), unspecified causes in the Orthodox community (26), Beit Halochem (25), Reena (25), Israel Cancer Research Fund (24), Mt. Sinai Hospital (23), Jewish day schools (22), and B'nai Brith (20).

Mentioned less often were: Jewish Family and Child Services (19), Mazon Canada (18), Jews for Judaism (17), Na'amat (16), Zareinu (13), unspecified Israeli Universities (12), Ve'ahavta (10), Jewish Russian Community Centre (9), NCJW (9), Yeshiva (9), Israel Bonds (6), Yad Vashem (6), Bikur Holim (5), Boys Town in Jerusalem (5), Emunah Women (5), and New Israel Fund (5).

Mentioned by four respondents were: unspecified food / clothing banks, Holocaust Memorial Centre, Jewish War Veterans, Jewish Women International, Mizrachi, Toronto Jewish Free Loan Cassa, and the Weizmann Institute. Three respondents listed the following: Jewish camps, unspecified Jewish hospitals / homes for the aged, Kolel, Nishma, and Peace Now. Two mentioned the following: Alpha Omega Dental Fraternity, Ashkenaz Festival, Jewish Film Festival, Circle of Care, JACS, Jewish Geneological Society, JVS, Maccabi Canada, and Yad Sarah.

Single responses were given for the following Jewish organizations: Aish Russian Program, Association for Conservative

Judaism, BBYO, Bernard Betel Centre, Benjamin Foundation, CIJA, Hevre Kadisha, unspecified humanistic organization, Jewish Centre for Living and Learning, JIAS, Jewish Public Library, Lodzer Centre, Miles Nadal JCC, Mishkan Avraham, Moess Chitin, NCSY, Out of the Cold, Peruvian Jewish Association, Pomegranate Guild of Judaic Textiles, Shalom Village Nursing Home, Yachad, Youth Aliyah, York University Centre for Jewish Studies, and Zaka.

Segments of respondents most inclined to donate to other Jewish causes included those with high levels of adherence (86.5%), the Orthodox (82.2%), widowed individuals (79.6%), seniors (74.1%), those born in Eastern Europe (73.9%), and those living in households earning at least $125K (68.6%).

Least inclined to donate to other Jewish charities included those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (18.2%), intermarried individuals (30.2%), single persons (30.6%), those 17-34 years (31%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (33.3%), and Secular / Just Jews (35.8%).

What percentage of respondents donated to non-Jewish charities?

More than three-quarters (77.8%) of respondents said they donated to non-Jewish charities, whereas 22.2% said they did not. The percentage giving to non-Jewish charities was higher than that reported for United Jewish Appeal (48.2%), and for other Jewish charities (59.6%).

Respondents in the present study identified more than 70 non-Jewish charities as recipients of their donations. Frequencies are in parentheses (n=497). The most popular charity was the Cancer Society (225), followed by Heart & Stroke (141), unspecified hospitals (112), United Way (93), various unspecified charities (52), Hospital for Sick Children (43), MS Society (39), unspecified children's charities (36), Diabetes (34), Alzheimer (30), Breast Cancer Research (30), MADD (27), CNIB (25), Humane Society (23), War Amps (22), and Kidney Foundation (20).

Mentioned less frequently were: unspecified universities (17), Crohn's & Colitis (12), Arthritis Foundation (11), Police Charities (11), Food Banks (10), Salvation Army (10), Canadian Liver Foundation (9), Doctors

Without Borders (7), Parkinson's Research (7), Red Cross (7), World Wildlife Federation (6), unspecified environmental organizations (5), Foster Parents (5), Fire-fighters (5), March of Dimes (5), the SPCA (5), and unspecified Women's Shelters (5).

Three mentions were given for the following: Greenpeace, Haemophilia Society, Oxfam, and the Shriners. Two mentions were given for: ALS, Canadian Wildlife, unspecified charity for the disabled, Habitat for Humanity, Interval House, Leukaemia Research Foundation, Royal Ontario Museum, and the Terry Fox Run. Finally, about twenty other non-Jewish charities were mentioned as single responses.

Most inclined to donate to non-Jewish charities were those in households earning at least $125K (91.2%), those living in Downtown Toronto (86.1%), Reform Jews (85.7%), Conservative Jews (85.3%), and those with a university undergraduate degree (84.3%) (Figure 24).

Least likely to contribute to non-Jewish charities were respondents born in the Former Soviet Union (38.3%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (43.2%), those living in households earning under $40K (52.3%), single persons (60%), and those 17-34 years of age (60.3%).

What are the overall giving patterns of respondents?

A summary of the overall giving patterns of respondents is presented in Table 11. Only a small minority of the sample (13%) did not donate to any charity. This seems to suggest that the Jewish community is generally a generous group when it comes to supporting various causes. The table further shows that more than a third of the sample (35%) donated to all three types of charities (UJA, other Jewish, and non-Jewish).

A very small proportion (1.6%) donated only to UJA, whereas 4.7% donated only to other Jewish charities, and 16.9% gave only to non-Jewish charities. This finding suggests that UJA donors tend to give to other charities as well. But respondents who give to non-Jewish charities are less inclined to give to Jewish ones as well.

Finally, 3.2% of the sample donated to both UJA and other Jewish causes; 8.9% to UJA and non-Jewish charities; and 16.8% gave to other Jewish and non-Jewish causes. There is a greater tendency for other Jewish causes

Figure 24
Segments Most Inclined to Have Donated to Non-Jewish Charities (%)

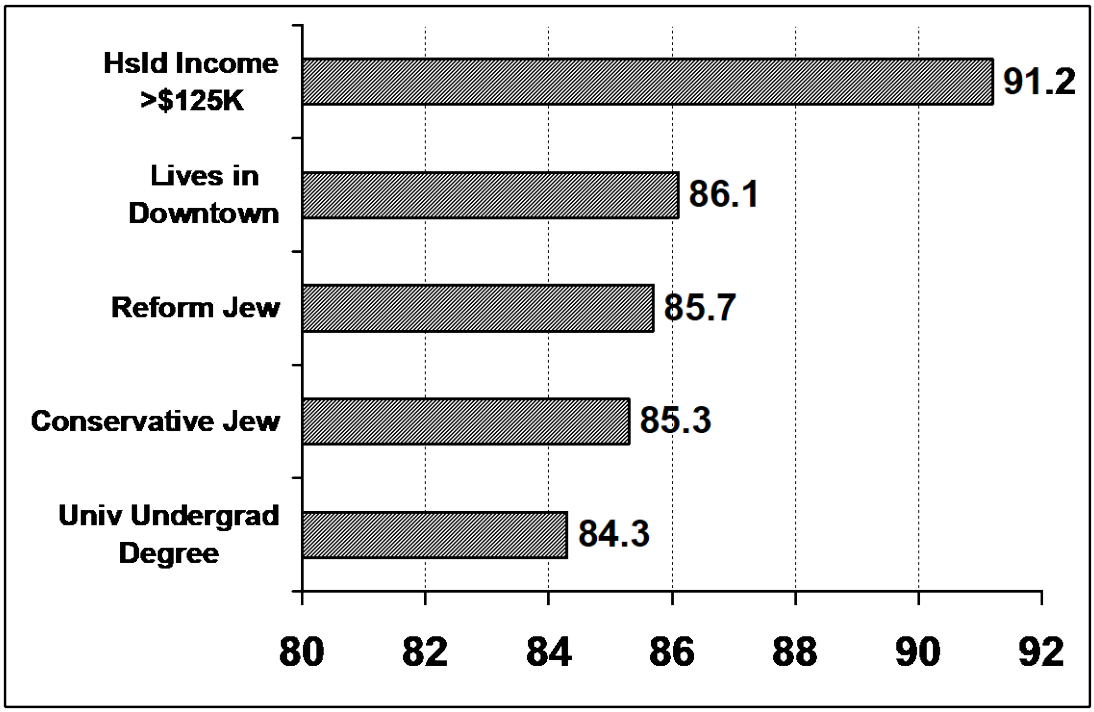


Table 11
Giving Patterns Among Donors

	#	%
Donates to UJA only	10	1.6
Donates to Other Jewish Charities Only	30	4.7
Donates to Non-Jewish Charities Only	107	16.9
Donates to UJA & Other Jewish Charities	20	3.2
Donates to UJA & Non-Jewish Charities	56	8.9
Donates to Other Jewish & Non-Jewish Charities	106	16.8
Donates to UJA & Other Jewish & Non-Jewish Charities	221	35.0
Does Not Donate to Any Charity	82	13.0
Total	**632**	**100.0**

Missing Responses=22

to overlap with non-Jewish causes, than is the case for other combinations.

These findings suggest that non-donors to UJA can be divided into the following groups: those who donated only to non-Jewish charities (16.9%); those who donated to other Jewish & non-Jewish charities (16.8%); those who did not donate at all (13%); and those who donated to other Jewish charities only (4.7%). *If one totals the percentage share of donors for the three types of charities, non-Jewish causes clearly provide the most competition to UJA for donor dollars.*

What amounts do respondents donate to various charities?

Respondents were asked to specify the amounts they donated to UJA, other Jewish causes, the United Way, and other non-Jewish causes (Figure 25). Only those who answered these questions were included in the analysis. Missing responses were removed from the percentage base.

Regarding gifts of $10,000 or more, 5.9% of UJA givers are in this high-end group, compared to 3.6% for other Jewish charities, 0.8% for the United Way, and 1.4% for other non-Jewish causes. In short, UJA clearly has a higher percentage of high-end givers than other charities.

In terms of those giving $5,000 or more, 8.4% of UJA givers are in this group, compared to 6.7% for other Jewish charities, 0.8% for United Way, and 2.8% for other non-Jewish charities.

At the low end of the giving continuum, 20.8% of UJA donors give less than $100, compared to 28.2% for other Jewish causes, 48.9% for United Way, and 29.8% for other non-Jewish causes. The bottom line is that respondents tend to give more to UJA, and smaller amounts to other charities.

What is the overall demographic profile of givers to various charities?

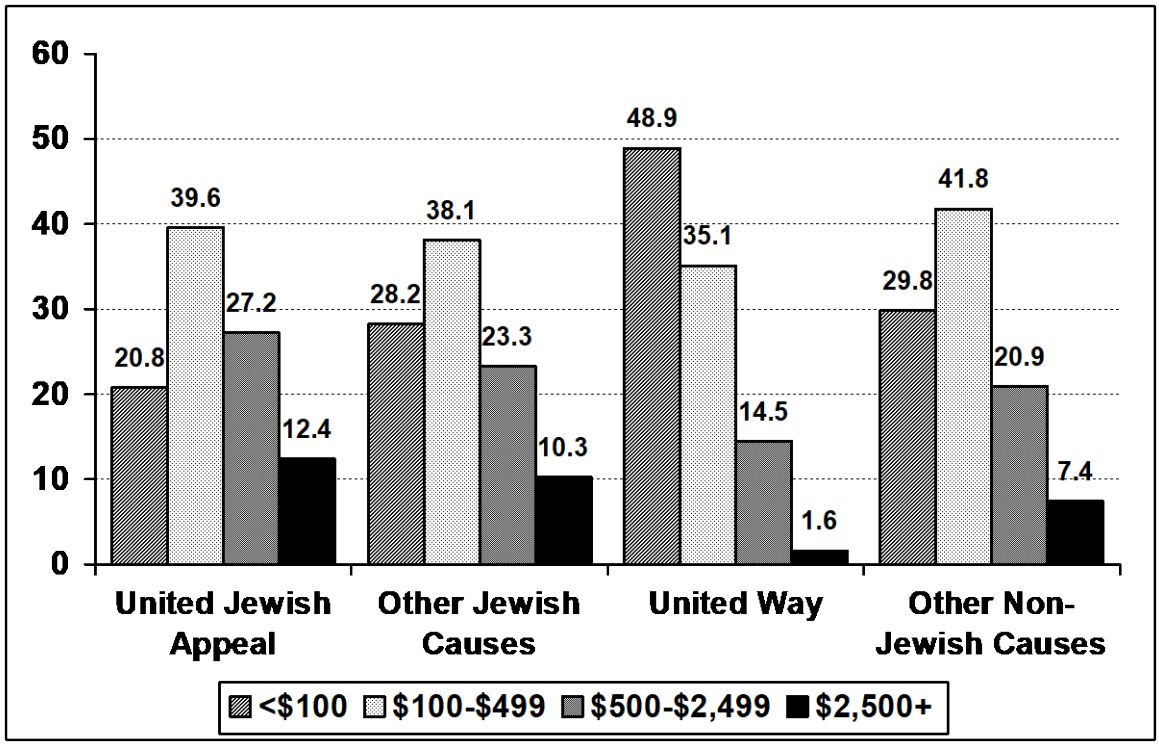
Table 12 presents an extensive profile of giving patterns among different segments of respondents. Side-by-side comparisons of percent giving to UJA, other Jewish and non-Jewish charities are shown in this table. Also shown are difference scores between UJA and other Jewish charities, and UJA and non-Jewish charities. In effect, these discrepancy scores suggest which charities provide the most competition for UJA relative to “market

share", across various segments of the Jewish community.

Looking first at difference scores between UJA and other Jewish charities, it is clear that all segments have higher levels of givers to other Jewish charities than UJA (they all have negative figures). The smallest differences are shown for those living in households earning at least $125K (-1.4%), and respondents 17-34 years (-2.4%). There are different reasons to account for such small discrepancies among these two groups. More affluent households tend to be generous generally, whereas young adults tend to have low levels of giving to any Jewish-affiliated charity, whether UJA or other Jewish causes.

The highest discrepancies are evident for the Orthodox (-26.6%), those living in households earning less than $40K (-23.9%), those living in Downtown Toronto (-22.3%), and those with high levels of ritual adherence (-21.4%). These groups are most inclined to donate to other Jewish charities rather than UJA.

Figure 25
Amounts Donated by Respondents to Various Charities (%)



In terms of the difference scores between UJA and non-Jewish charities, it is evident that all segments of respondents give more to non-Jewish charities (they all have negative figures). The lowest discrepancies are found among those born in the Former Soviet Union (-7.7%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (-9.3%), and the Orthodox (-11.4%). The low discrepancy for FSU respondents is because they have low levels of charity giving generally. Those with high levels of ritual adherence and the Orthodox are more likely to give to UJA relative to most other groups, but nonetheless have higher levels of giving to non-Jewish charities.

The highest discrepancies are found among those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (-69.2%), those living in Downtown Toronto (-52.8%), intermarried individuals (-51%), single persons (-43.9%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (-41.7%). These groups represent potential donor pools for UJA, but at the same time, are among the most challenging segments of the community to penetrate.

Table 12
Profile of Giving Patterns by Selected Demographic Segments (in %)

	UJA	Other Jewish	Non-Jewish Charities	Difference UJA & Other J.	Difference UJA & Non- J.
$125,000+	67.2	68.6	91.2	-1.4	-24.0
High Adherence	65.1	86.5	74.4	-21.4	-9.3
65+ Years	62.4	74.1	79.6	-11.7	-17.2
Place of Birth: Eastern Europe	60.4	73.9	83.7	-13.5	-23.3
Widowed	60.0	79.6	81.8	-19.6	-21.8
Moderate Adherence	59.0	65.8	80.6	-6.8	-21.6
Conservative	59.0	67.5	85.3	-8.5	-26.3
Lives in Central Toronto	56.1	63.9	78.0	-7.8	-21.9
Orthodox	55.6	82.2	67.0	-26.6	-11.4
Elementary / High School	54.4	67.0	71.6	-12.6	-17.2
Reform	53.8	59.7	85.7	-5.9	-31.9
University Graduate Degree	53.7	66.2	82.8	-12.5	-29.1
55-64 Years	52.8	68.3	84.0	-15.5	-31.2
Married	52.7	63.4	80.8	-10.7	-28.1
Female	52.0	63.7	79.7	-11.7	-27.7
Non-Immigrant / Born in Canada	51.0	60.6	82.7	-9.6	-31.7
University Undergrad Degree	49.6	58.6	84.3	-9.0	-34.7
Immigrated Before 1990	48.7	64.0	75.5	-15.3	-26.8
Professional / Manager	48.1	54.6	81.4	-6.5	-33.3
Lives in York Region	47.4	61.1	74.3	-13.7	-26.9
45-54 Years	46.8	61.7	83.4	-14.9	-36.6
Male	43.8	55.0	75.5	-11.2	-31.7
$40,000-$74,999	42.7	53.3	71.2	-10.6	-28.5
Place of Birth: Other	42.1	60.4	74.8	-18.3	-32.7
All Other Occupations	41.8	61.8	72.7	-20.0	-30.9
$75,000-$124,999	40.9	52.2	82.4	-11.3	-41.5
35-44 Years	38.7	44.5	70.9	-5.8	-32.2
Tech / College / Some Univ	37.0	51.5	70.3	-14.5	-33.3
Low Adherence	35.7	45.9	77.4	-10.2	-41.7
Lives in Downtown Toronto	33.3	55.6	86.1	-22.3	-52.8
Divorced / Separated	31.3	36.2	65.2	-4.9	-33.9
Place of Birth: FSU	30.6	36.7	38.3	-6.1	-7.7
17-34 Years	28.6	31.0	60.3	-2.4	-31.7
Secular / Just Jewish	28.3	35.8	66.0	-7.5	-37.7
Under $40,000	27.7	51.6	52.3	-23.9	-24.6
Intermarried	22.6	30.2	73.6	-7.6	-51.0
Immigrated 1990-2004	20.0	33.3	43.2	-13.3	-23.2
Single	16.1	30.6	60.0	-14.5	-43.9
Lives in Other Areas	12.1	18.2	81.3	-6.1	-69.2

Informal Jewish Affiliations

With North American levels of ritual observance showing a decline among Jews due to assimilation, it is interesting that research has found that Jews still place a high priority on having fellow Jews as close friends, and on living in Jewish neighbourhoods. This phenomenon, known as "associational Jewishness" is often given a functional explanation. These strong Jewish friendships may serve the function of compensating for weak attachments to Jewish life, thus helping to contribute to Jewish survival.

Research suggests that when it comes to relations with non-Jews, North American Jews often see themselves as ambassadors for the Jewish people. They feel that if they can succeed in presenting themselves in a positive light, they might help to improve the situation of all Jews. Feeling sometimes self-conscious and inhibited around non-Jews, the North American Jew is sometimes worried that they are being regarded as stereotypically Jewish rather than being appreciated for their individual qualities. Due to this cultural barrier, Jews often prefer to associate with fellow Jews so as to avoid this uneasiness and feel more free to be themselves.[21]

What proportion of the close friends of respondents are Jewish?

Almost half (44.6%) of respondents said "all or almost all" of their close friends are Jewish, 34.2% said "most" are Jewish, 15.2% said "some" are Jewish, 3.7% said "few" are Jewish, and 2.3% said "none" are Jewish (Figure 26). In short, there is a high degree of Jewish association in the friendship patterns of respondents. Almost 80% said that at least most of their friends are Jewish.

American studies ask this question in a different fashion: specifically, the number of the three best friends of the respondent who are Jewish. The percentage who say all three are Jewish ranges from 30% in San Francisco to 71% in South Broward. If all three is considered the equivalent of "all or

Figure 26
Proportion of Respondent's Friends Who Are Jewish (%)

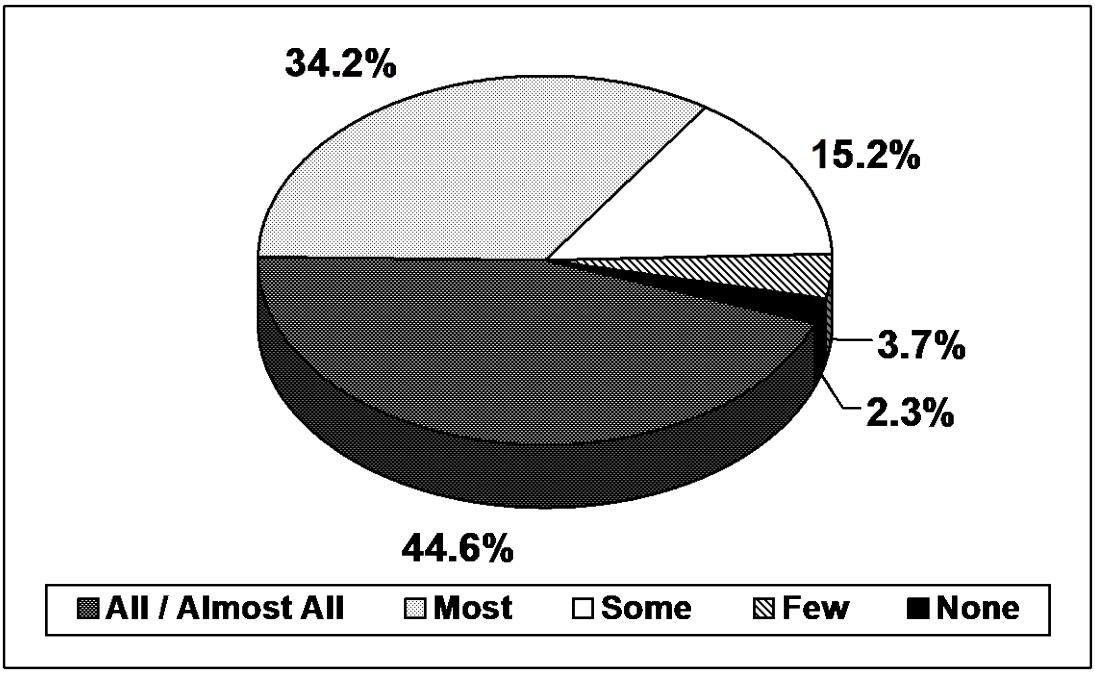
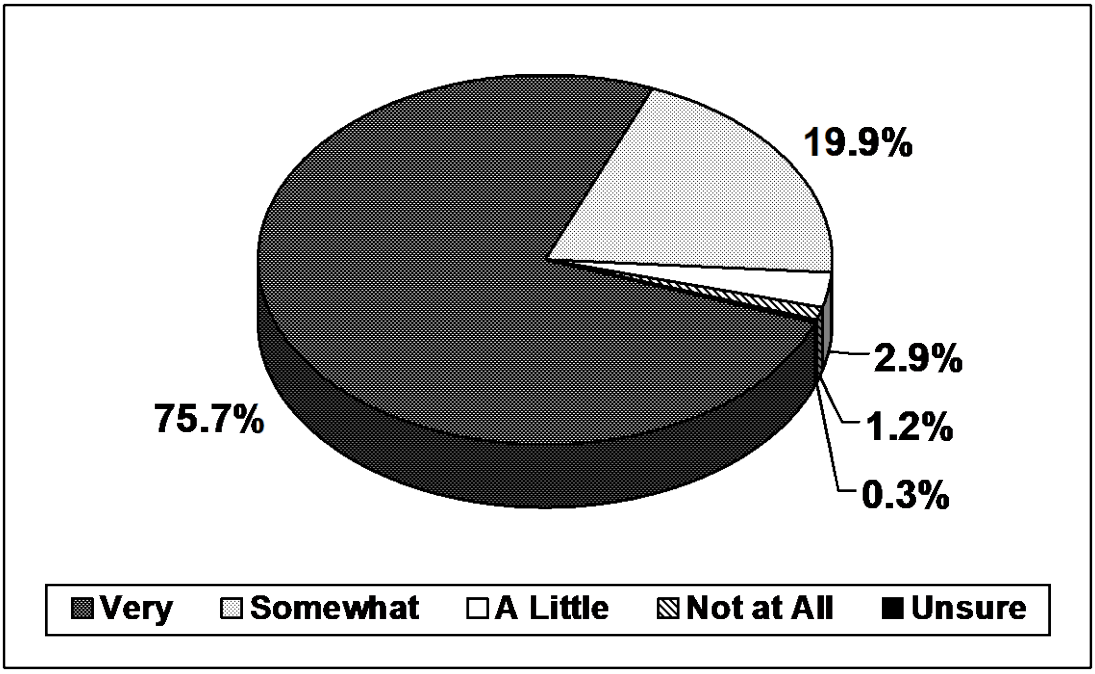


Figure 27
Extent Respondents Feel Close to Other Jews (%)



almost all" in the present study, the 44.6% obtained for Toronto is at the low end of the distribution.

The segments of respondents most inclined to say "all or almost all" of their closest friends are Jewish in the present study, include the Orthodox (78%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (76.4%), those with elementary or high school as their highest level of education (68.2%), widowed individuals (60%), those living in York Region (60%), those born in Eastern Europe (60%), and those living in households earning less than $40K (59.1%).

Least inclined to say "all or almost all" of their friends are Jewish include intermarried individuals (0%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (11.4%), those living in Downtown Toronto (13.7%), single persons (19.4%), Secular / Just Jews (25.6%), those living in households earning $75K-$124K (28.6%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (29.1%).

None of those who are intermarried say "all or almost all" their closest friends are Jewish. This is not surprising since they are likely to fraternize with the friends of their non-Jewish spouse as well.

To what extent do respondents feel close to other Jews?

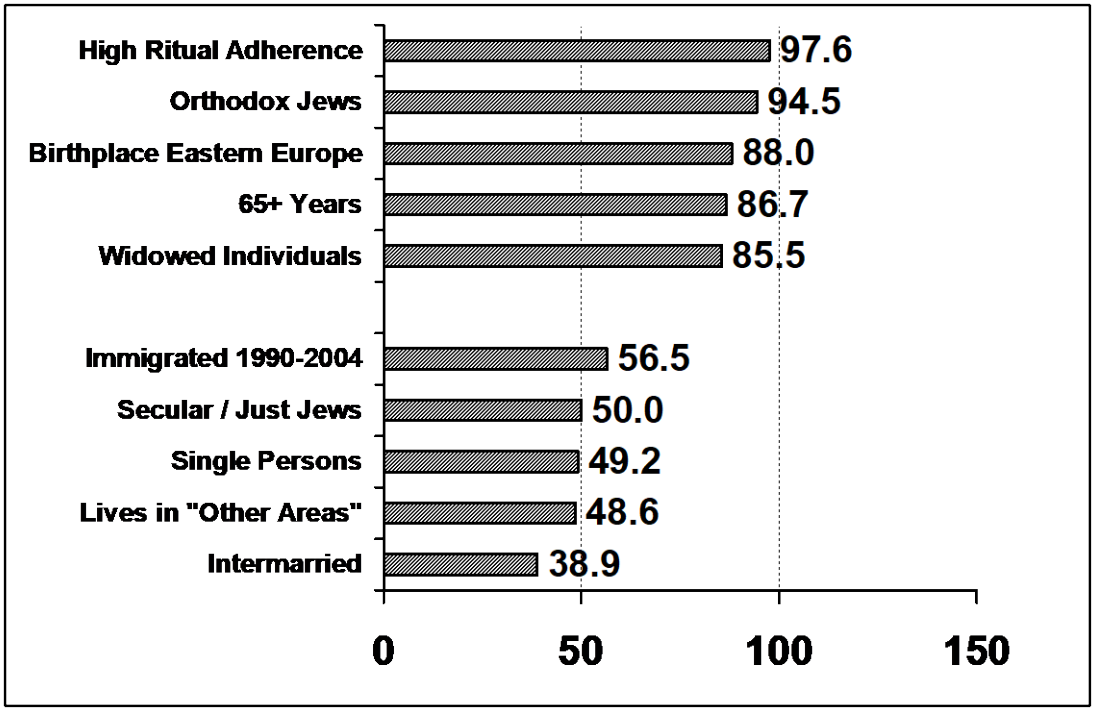
About three-quarters (75.7%) of respondents said they feel "very close" to the Jewish people, 19.9% said "somewhat close", 2.9% said "a little close", 1.2% said "not close at all", and 0.3% were unsure (Figure 27). In short, the great majority of respondents feel very connected to the Jewish people, and a very small percentage feels little or no connection.

Most inclined to feel "very close" to the Jewish people were respondents with high levels of ritual adherence (97.6%), the Orthodox (94.5%), those born in Eastern Europe (88%), those 65+ years (86.7%), and widowed individuals (85.5%) (Figure 28). Not surprisingly, the strongest levels of connection to fellow Jews are felt among the more traditional and senior members of the community.

Least inclined to feel "very close" to fellow Jews were intermarried individuals (38.9%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (48.6%), those who are single (49.2%), Secular / Just Jews (50%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (56.5%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (58.3%), those 17-34 years (60%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (61.9%) (Figure 28).

Note that even though those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto and single persons feel among the lowest levels of connection with fellow Jews, almost 50% nonetheless said they feel "very close" to the Jewish people. *This finding suggests that even among the least affiliated groups, many have a deeper sentiment of connection to the Jewish people.*

Figure 28
Inclined to Feel "Very" Close to Fellow Jews (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

Are there any barriers that would exclude the respondent from Jewish life?

About forty different responses were given to the question of whether there were any barriers that would exclude respondents from Jewish life, but no issue seemed to predominate. Frequencies are presented in parentheses (n=654). A large number (267) said there were no barriers.

The most common barriers included: living Downtown or in less Jewish populated areas (13); the schism between Orthodox and other levels of Judaism (12); the high cost of synagogue fees (12); and financial issues – particularly the cost of Jewish education (12).

Other barriers mentioned were: the community and synagogues are too exclusive (10); intermarriage / the spouse or family is not Jewish (8); difficulty getting involved with existing groups (7); financially difficult to keep a Jewish lifestyle (6); is not religious (6); too busy / pace of life (5); and age is a factor (4).

Mentioned by three respondents were: my political views; lack of services / resources in their area; lack of Jewish education and thereby feeling out of place at shul; the risk of public displays of support for Israel/Judaism / fear of antisemitism.

Mentioned by two respondents were: have not found a community that expresses my particular interests or perspectives; recently immigrated to Toronto; huge barriers on campuses / universities in Toronto; gay issue / in a same-sex relationship; being single; and community activities are unappealing.

Single mentions were given for some barriers, including: unfamiliar with most events in the Jewish community; have a physical disability; not being Bar Mitzvah'd; not a Zionist; do not believe in God; negative experience within the Jewish community; naiveté of the Jewish population; lack of time to volunteer / be involved; lack of egalitarianism in a conservative community.

More single responses included: have become less attached to Judaism since move to Thornhill; don't agree with extreme or fanatical views; different world / life today (lacking traditions); the

barrier between Ashkenazim and Sephardim; no services for post university grads not looking for a dating service; can Reform / Conservative factions be open to interfaith relationships?; all Jewish institutions are overwhelmed with religion; no need for involvement as I work for a Jewish institution.

Two respondents gave more elaborate answers. One said:

> "The Jewish community does not treat me as equal. Even this survey treats my form of Judaism as "other". As a result we don't get funded properly and aren't treated as part of your version of being Jewish."

The other said:

> "Thirteen years ago my child with Downs Syndrome was not allowed to attend school with my other children… since he was not welcomed – none of my other children attended."

In summary, the barriers mentioned above can be classified into a number of general categories: financial / cost of living Jewishly (30); the location of the respondent (17); the exclusivity of Jewish institutions or community (16); schisms within Judaism itself (12); issues related to intermarriage (9); the respondent is not religious (7); too busy / hectic life (6); has different philosophical / religious views (6); belongs to a Jewish minority or disenfranchised group, such as singles, gays, Sephardim, the disabled, etc. (6). A number of other items are not included in this general list because they cannot be easily classified or have too few mentions.

Part 4
Needs & Services

Service Awareness &Use

UJA Federation of Greater Toronto provides funding for a wide range of services and programs, designed to meet the needs of a large and growing Jewish community. It is important for the Federation to determine whether members of the community are aware of available services, whether they are using them, and whether there are other services and programs respondents would like to see implemented.

Are respondents aware of community services?

Respondents were given a list of 23 Jewish programs and organizations, and asked to indicate whether they had heard of them or not. As Table 14 and Figure 29 show, the level of awareness ranged from 16.7% to 90.5%. The great majority of respondents had heard of the Bathurst Jewish Community Centre (90.5%). This is not surprising since it is a central address for Jewish services in Greater Toronto. There was also a very high level of recognition for the Canadian Jewish Congress (87%), and Jewish Family & Child Service (81.7%).

Also showing high levels of recognition were: Hillel (77.4%), the Holocaust Centre of Toronto (76.5%), Reena (72.8%), the Bernard Betel Centre for Creative Living (69%), BBYO (65.1%), Jews for Judaism (63.9%), and the Board of Jewish Education (62.4%). More than half of the sample recognized the Jewish Public Library (58.7%), followed by Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (57.3%), and the Miles Nadal JCC (56%).

Less than half of respondents have heard of the Ashkenaz Festival (47.7%), the Jewish Camp Council (46.5%), Jewish Russian Community Centre (46.2%), Jewish Information Service (45.3%), JVS Toronto (44%), and Circle of Care (36.5%). Less than a third of respondents have heard of Toronto Jewish Free Loan Cassa (30.3%), the Ontario Jewish Archives (28.1%), Israel Experience Center (22.9%), and the Kehilla Residential Programme (16.7%).

Of a total of 654 respondents, 14 (2.1%) were not familiar with any services or organizations; 74 (11.3%) were familiar

Table 14
Awareness & Use of Jewish Agencies and Programs

	Heard of This Service?		Used This Service?	
	Frequency	**Percent***	Frequency	**Percent***
Ashkenaz Festival	312	**47.7**	99	**15.1**
Bathurst J Community Centre	592	**90.5**	146	**22.3**
Bernard Betel Centre for Creative Living	451	**69.0**	39	**6.0**
Board of Jewish Education	408	**62.4**	60	**9.2**
BBYO	426	**65.1**	17	**2.6**
Canadian Jewish Congress	569	**87.0**	45	**6.9**
Circle of Care	239	**36.5**	38	**5.8**
Hillel	506	**77.4**	12	**1.8**
The Holocaust Centre of Toronto	500	**76.5**	49	**7.5**
Israel Experience Center	150	**22.9**	24	**3.7**
Jewish Camp Council	304	**46.5**	32	**4.9**
Jewish Family & Child Service	534	**81.7**	43	**6.6**
Jewish Immigrant Aid Services	375	**57.3**	15	**2.3**
Jewish Information Service	296	**45.3**	48	**7.3**
Jewish Public Library	384	**58.7**	67	**10.2**
Jewish Russian Community Centre	302	**46.2**	23	**3.5**
Jews for Judaism	418	**63.9**	23	**3.5**
JVS Toronto	288	**44.0**	36	**5.5**
Kehilla Residential Programme	109	**16.7**	6	**0.9**
The Miles Nadal JCC	366	**56.0**	44	**6.7**
The Ontario Jewish Archives	184	**28.1**	15	**2.3**
Reena	476	**72.8**	21	**3.2**
Toronto Jewish Free Loan Cassa	198	**30.3**	12	**1.8**

*Percentage base (n) =654

with 1-5; 150 (22.9%) were familiar with 6-10; 180 (27.5%) were familiar with 11-15; and 236 (36.1%) were familiar with 16-23. In short, more than a third of the sample had a high level of recognition of community agencies and organizations.

The recognition scores of respondents were totalled across various segments of the community, to develop a profile of the Jewish public's awareness of programs and services (Figure 30). For instance, respondents with the highest mean awareness scores were those with high levels of ritual adherence (15.92), followed by the Orthodox (15.08), those with moderate levels of ritual adherence (14.43), Conservative Jews (14.42), those born in Eastern Europe (14.30), widowed individuals (14.27), and those 65+ years (13.95).

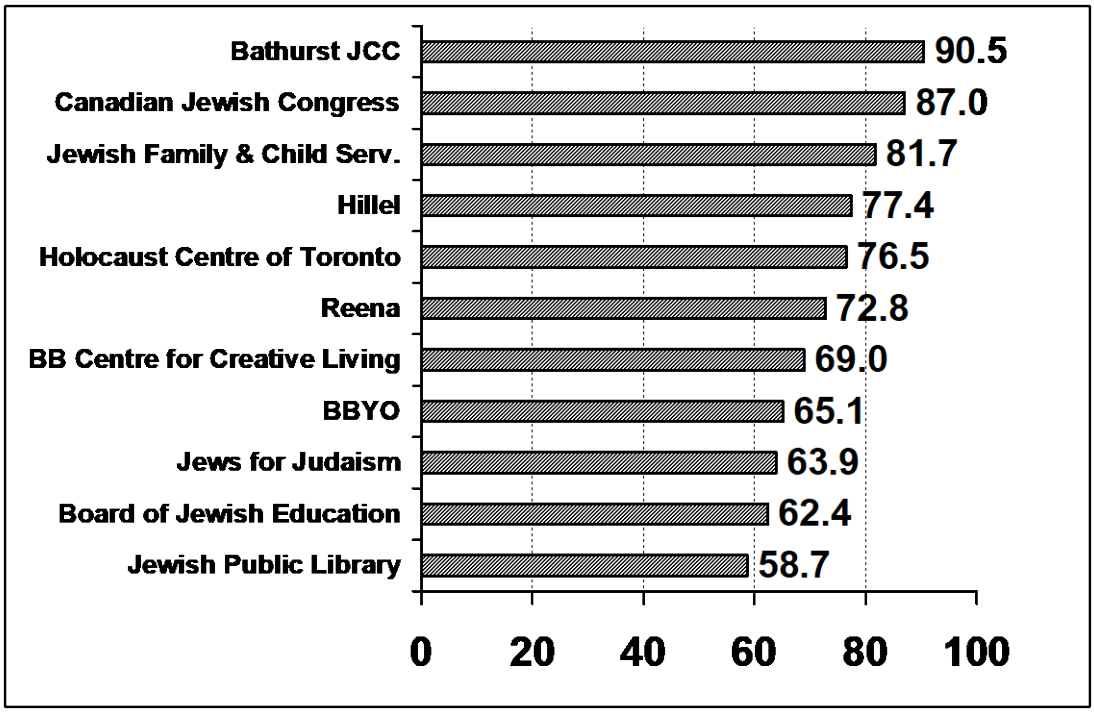
Least familiar with community services and organizations were those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (6.57), those born in the Former Soviet Union (7.57), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (8.00), intermarried individuals (8.09), single persons (8.87), Secular / Just Jews (9.21), those living in Downtown Toronto (9.82), those 17-34 years (10.15), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (10.74). It is clear that individuals who are more geographically isolated from the Jewish community, and recent immigrants, are among the least aware of community programs and services.

Which community services do respondents use?

Respondents were asked whether they had used various Jewish community services in the last two years. The Bathurst Jewish Community Centre had the highest level of reported use, by 146 of 654 respondents, or 22.3%. The next highest level of use was reported for the Ashkenaz Festival, by 99 individuals, or 15.1% of respondents. The next highest level of use was recorded for the Jewish Public Library, by 67 persons, or 10.2% of the sample.

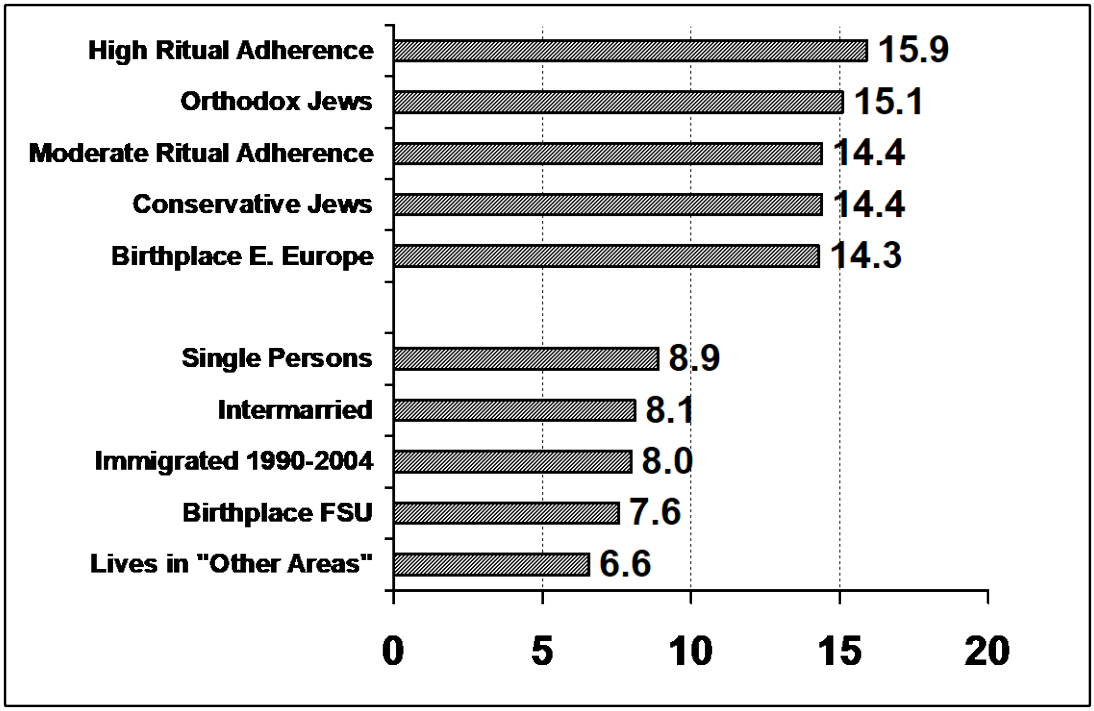
Fewer individuals said they used the Board of Jewish Education (60), the Holocaust Centre of Toronto (49), Jewish Information Service (48), Canadian Jewish Congress (45), The Miles Nadal JCC (44), and Jewish Family & Child Service (43). Also registering a lower level of use were: Bernard Betel Centre

Figure 29
Level of Awareness of Specific Jewish Organizations (%)



Note: Only the 11 Jewish organizations with the highest percent recognition are included in this chart.

Figure 30
Mean Awareness of Jewish Organizations & Services
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Mean awareness of 23 Jewish organizations & services.

for Creative Living (39), Circle of Care (38), JVS Toronto (36), Jewish Camp Council (32), Israel Experience Center (24), the Jewish Russian Community Centre (23), Jews for Judaism (23), and Reena (21).

The lowest levels of use were indicated for BBYO (17), Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (15), the Ontario Jewish Archives (15), Hillel (12), Toronto Jewish Free Loan Cassa (12), and the Kehilla Residential Program (6).

Of a total of 654 respondents, 298 (45.6%) did not report use of any service or organization; 134 (20.5%) used one service; 81 (12.4%) used two services; 66 (10.1%) used three services; 28 (4.3%) used four services; and 47 (7.2%) used five or more services (Figure 31). In short, almost half of the sample did not use any services, whereas about a fifth used at least three community services.

It is important to note that some community services are only geared to certain subpopulations, such as the elderly, the disabled, or immigrants. On the other hand, some organizations are mandated to serve the community as a whole and not solely specific individuals or populations. Finally, the survey findings reflect self-reported usage and may thus result in an under-reporting by those individuals not wishing to disclose services they or their families may have utilized.

Hence, the fact that the level of usage is generally low is not necessarily an indication of the specific level of need or quality of the services offered, but may simply reflect the specificity of the populations involved or under-reporting by respondents.

Which segments were most inclined to use community services and organizations? Those with high ritual adherence had the highest level of use (mean=2.07 organizations used), followed by individuals 17-34 years (1.99), those living in households earning $40K-$74K (1.93), the Orthodox (1.87), those living in Central Toronto (1.65), and those with moderate levels of ritual adherence (1.63).

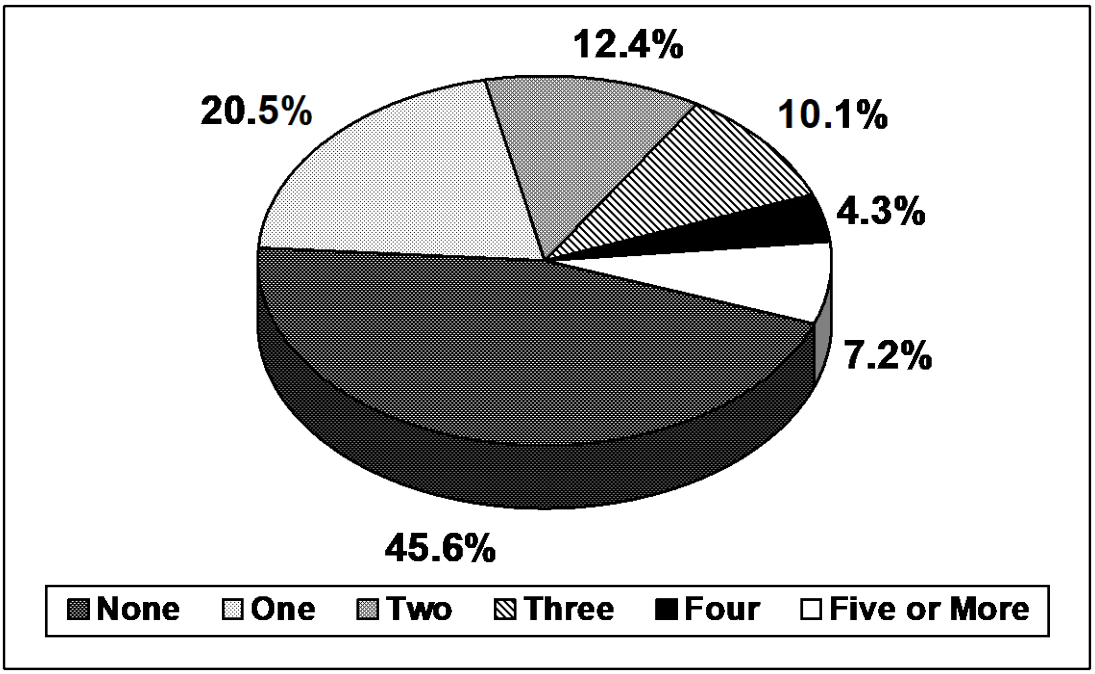
Least inclined to use services were respondents living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (0.66), those living in Downtown Toronto (0.70), intermarried individuals (0.89), Secular / Just Jews (0.91), those with low levels of ritual adherence (1.01), individuals living in households earning under $40K (1.02), those 35-44 years (1.13), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (1.15), and single persons (1.19). In short, it is evident that location of residence is the largest obstacle as far as service use is concerned.

Finally, note that the average level of recognition among the entire sample was 12.82 out of 23 community services and organizations listed. The average level of use was 1.40 out of 23 community services and organizations listed. In other words, while at least half the services are recognizable to respondents, their average level of use is significantly lower.

What are the profiles of users of specific Jewish agencies or services?

The profiles of users were determined for four specific agencies or organizations. There were too few users of other services to yield reliable findings.

Figure 31
Level of Use of Jewish Community Organizations & Services (%)



Respondents most inclined to use the **Bathurst Jewish Community Centre (BJCC)** were: persons 17-34 years (38%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (37%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (35.2%), single persons (30.6%), and those born in the Former Soviet Union (30.6%). *It is interesting that groups who typically show low levels of affiliation (young adults, singles, immigrants) are the most frequent users of the BJCC.*

Least inclined to use the BJCC were respondents living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%), intermarried persons (7.4%), those living in Downtown Toronto (9.6%), those living in households earning under $40K (12.1%), divorced / separated individuals (14.6%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (16%), those 55-64 years (17.8%), and widowed persons (18.2%).

The respondents most inclined to attend the **Ashkenaz Festival** were those living in households earning $40K-$74K (21.3%), those with moderate ritual adherence (21.2%), those 65+ years (20.7%), Conservative Jews (20.1%), and those living in Downtown Toronto (19.2%).

Least inclined to attend the Ashkenaz Festival were those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (6.5%), those between 35-44 years of age (7.1%), those living in households earning under $40K (7.6%), and the Orthodox (7.6%).

In terms of the **Jewish Public Library (JPL)**, the highest levels of use were reported by respondents with high levels of ritual adherence (25.8%), the Orthodox (25%), those living in households earning between $40K-$74K (17.3%), those born in Eastern Europe (16%), and those living in Central Toronto (14.3%).

Least likely to use the Jewish Public Library were those living in Downtown Toronto (1.4%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (2.9%), intermarried individuals (3.7%), Secular / Just Jews (4.1%), those 35-44 years (4.5%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (5%). The location of

residence is clearly the most prominent factor among non-users of the JPL.

Finally, most inclined to use the **Board of Jewish Education** were the Orthodox (22.8%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (21.1%), those 35-44 years (14.3%), professionals / managers (13.3%), and those residing in households earning at least $125K (13%).

Least inclined to use the Board of Jewish Education were respondents living in households earning less than $40K (1.5%), single persons (1.6%), Secular / Just Jews (1.8%), widowed individuals (1.8%), and those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (2.2%).

A final analysis was done regarding those individuals who were born in the Former Soviet Union and who immigrated between 1990-2004. Of 24 such individuals, 18 (75%) knew about the Jewish Russian Community Centre, and 6 (25%) did not. The proportions are reversed for level of use: 6 (25%) have used this facility, and 18 (75%) have not.

Are there any programs or services respondents would like to see implemented?

Respondents were asked whether there were any programs or services not provided by UJA Federation or its agencies that they would like to see implemented, for them or their family. Frequencies are in parentheses (n=654). Most of the individuals who answered this question said “no”, were not sure, or were not familiar enough with UJA Federation’s programs or services (133).

The most frequently mentioned service need was “seniors services, such as transportation, home care, meals, or respite care” (19). The next most frequently mentioned need was “more access to Jewish education subsidies” (10), followed by “more singles programming” (6).

Four responses were given for the following: “services and funding for the Jewish poor”; “more funding for food banks”; “helping Jewish youth groups”; “Yiddish language classes / activities”; and “continue the fight for Jewish schools to receive government funding”. Three responses were given for the following:

"outreach to non-Jews to build mutual respect / understanding / tolerance" and "expand the scope of services to include medical disabilities".

The following service needs were given two mentions: "upgrade BJCC / MNJCC"; "adult Jewish education (academic style)"; "programs promoting Jewish culture"; "Jewish dating service for university graduates"; "support of Secular Humanistic Judaism"; "educational outreach to non-Jewish communities"; "programs for Interfaith couples"; and "outreach to the unaffiliated".

Single responses were provided for the following: "more affordable programs for young families"; "Downtown Jewish services / schools"; "expanding the Baycrest facilities by shortening the wait time"; "a facility for the Sephardic elderly community"; "family counselling"; "non-custodial parents support, i.e. lobbying government"; "make information available regarding camps"; "legal services for children involved in domestic disputes"; "stop intermarriage"; "outreach programs / mentoring for new immigrants"; "Jewish camp for the disabled"; and "youth programs for the Sephardic community".

Other single responses included: "help with religious issues / kashrut"; "help to move to a Jewish area"; "closer ties to Israel"; "Jewish cooking classes"; "focus on public speaking regarding antisemitism / racial causes"; "Jewish day school with no religious study, just traditions (e.g. Hebrew)"; "programs focusing on violence"; "programs exploring sexuality for teens"; "make Jewish services more professional or helpful to secular Jews"; "need for Orthodox & Reform to understand each other"; and "encourage bar/bat mitzvah's in Israel rather than throw lavish parties here".

More single responses included: "would like to be involved in a community activity that is accepting of fellow Jews"; "coalition for independent grassroots activists for Israel"; "focus on developing a positive image of the Jewish community in the larger community"; and "monetary assistance for families who want to visit Israel – help find temporary or voluntary positions, lodgings or home swapping etc.".

Finally, one individual offered:

> "There should be a larger interest in the March of the Living. I believe this is a trip that almost all Jewish kids should have the opportunity to see and given the cost of $5,000, it restricts children who cannot afford to go on such a trip. I think more fundraising should be done to offer more kids that opportunity of a trip of a lifetime."

The Service Priorities of Respondents

A major challenge for the Jewish Federation is to make important decisions regarding funding for various programs and agencies. Often, it must weigh both perceived needs and certain demographic and fiscal realities. The question is: are the priorities of the leadership aligned with those whom they seek to serve?

What concerns does the community feel its leadership should focus upon?

Respondents in the present survey were asked to indicate which local concerns they think should be major priorities for the Toronto Jewish community in the next five years. A list of 13 items was provided, and the respondent had to choose the five most important priorities.

The most important priority mentioned by respondents was "services for the elderly" (68.5%), followed by "fighting local antisemitism" (67.4%), and "services for the Jewish poor" (63.3%). These three areas received significantly higher priority ratings than the rest of the items.

The next highest ratings were for "Jewish education" (43.7%) and "services for children or adults with disabilities" (41.4%). These two items placed in the middle of the distribution, and although not as highly rated as the above categories, they nonetheless received significantly higher scores than the items below.

The next highest rated items were: "promoting Jewish culture / arts" (27.4%), "supporting youth groups for teens and young adults" (26.9%), "providing security for local Jewish community institutions" (25.7%), "outreach to Jewish students on university / college campuses" (24.9%), and "Jewish political advocacy" (24.2%).

Lowest ratings were reported for: "integration of immigrants into the Jewish community" (20%), "outreach to unaffiliated Jews" (18.5%), and "supporting synagogue activities" (8%).

Respondents were asked whether there were other services, not mentioned in the above list, that they felt represented priority concerns for them. A number of responses were given, and some were quite specific. For instance, two individuals each mentioned: “making Jewish education more affordable” and “the need for job promotion”.

The following single responses were given: “free, or pay as you can, access to Temple on holidays”, “outreach to the Jewish gay community”, “cemetery maintenance”, “support groups for needy families”, “Jewish-Arab solidarity for peace”, “finding common ground with the Muslim community”, “more accurate publicity or news regarding Israel”, and “strengthen Diaspora-Israel relations, with programs such as Birthright”.

Other single responses included: “programs and services for Jewish singles”, “wheelchair provisions at most Jewish facilities”, “tutoring programs for special needs children”, “programs dealing with violence / abuse of women and children”, “advocating on behalf of Jews regarding social justice issues in the greater society”.

Finally, one respondent remarked: “subsidized adult Jewish education would allow adults to get hooked to be more committed and ready to spend their own money to educate their children – subsidizing kids when the adults are not committed is a terrible waste.”

Individuals with Special Needs

Little data is available on the prevalence of special needs individuals in the community, particularly for all age groups below seniors. How to respond to the unmet needs of such individuals through effective intervention has been a communal focus, especially as the issue of special needs and inclusion has come to the forefront of public awareness.

What is the incidence and age distribution of individuals with special needs?

Respondents were asked whether there were any persons with special needs living in their household. Of 654 respondents, 95 (14.5%) said there was at least one special needs person living in their household, and 559 (85.5%) said there was not.

The incidence of special needs among Jewish communities across North America varies from 6% to 23% of households. Particularly high percentages are found among communities in Florida where there are large concentrations of Jewish seniors. The Toronto community falls in the middle of the distribution (14.5%).

Of the 95 respondents in the present study who said there was a special needs individual living in their household, 83 (87.4%) said there was one such person, and 12 (12.6%) said there were two. In short, the 654 sampled households had a total of 107 special needs individuals residing in them.

In terms of the age distribution of the special needs individuals identified in this study, 14 (13.6%) were between 0-14 years, 21 (20.4%) were 15-34 years, 17 (16.5%) were 35-54 years, 24 (23.3%) were 55-74 years, and 27 (26.2%) were 75+ years.

Regarding the types of disabilities of the special needs individuals, 59 (57.8%) had a physical disability, 18 (17.6%) had an intellectual disability, 12 (11.8%) had an emotional disability, 6 (5.9%) had an intellectual & emotional disability, 4 (3.9%) had a physical & intellectual disability, 1 (1%) had a physical &

emotional disability, and 2 (2%) had disabilities on all three levels.

How severe was the disability of the special needs individual, in terms of impeding their activities of daily life? Of 103 individuals, 21 (20.4%) had a disability which "very much" impeded their daily life, 59 (57.3%) had a disability that "somewhat" impeded their daily life, and 23 (22.3%) had a disability that did not impede their daily life at all.

What were the characteristics of children with special needs?

As noted above, 14 of the special needs individuals identified in this study were children less than 15 years. *Of the 351 children aged 0-14 years residing in the households sampled in the present study, 4% were special needs children. This figure can be regarded as a rough indicator of the incidence of disability among children less than 15 years in the Greater Toronto Jewish community*.

Of special needs children less than 15 years old: 3 had a physical disability, 4 had an intellectual disability, 2 had an emotional disability, 3 had an intellectual & emotional disability, and 1 had disabilities on all three levels. Calculating the relative incidence of these different disabilities, of 351 total children in the present sample of households (including overlapping disabilities): 1.1% had a physical disability, 2.3% had an intellectual disability, and 1.7% had an emotional disability.

None of the special needs children identified in this study were "very much" impeded by their disability in terms of their daily activities, 10 were "somewhat" impeded, and 4 were not impeded at all.

Are children with special needs receiving any form of Jewish education?

Of 12 respondents, 9 (75%) said their special needs child was receiving some form of Jewish education, and 3 said their child was not. In short, three-quarters of these children were having some type of Jewish education.

What types of Jewish education were these children receiving? Three respondents said "She'arim". Two each

said “private tutoring” and “Jewish day school”. Single responses were given for “special remediation”, “synagogue / youth groups”, “Hillel cooperative – Sunday School”, and “Hebrew school (extra-curricular)”.

One parent of a special needs child offered the following additional comments: “Our needs were largely unmet in the Jewish community and we supplemented to the best of our ability. While a lot was accomplished, we could have done much more given greater support systems.” Another parent mentioned: “Some older buildings / schools are not very accessible”.

Part 5
Ties to Israel

Visits to Israel

Throughout history, Israel has played a critical role in the collective consciousness of Jewish people throughout the world. North American Jews are no exception. Research has shown that commitment and support for Israel, whether it is financial or ideological, is a central component of the identity of Jews in North America, regardless of their individual level of religiosity.[22]

North American and Israeli Jews have much in common. They share a common ancestry and history that forms the basis of their identity. Both groups enjoy the unique position of living in two of the most secure conditions that Jews, throughout their long history have ever found themselves.

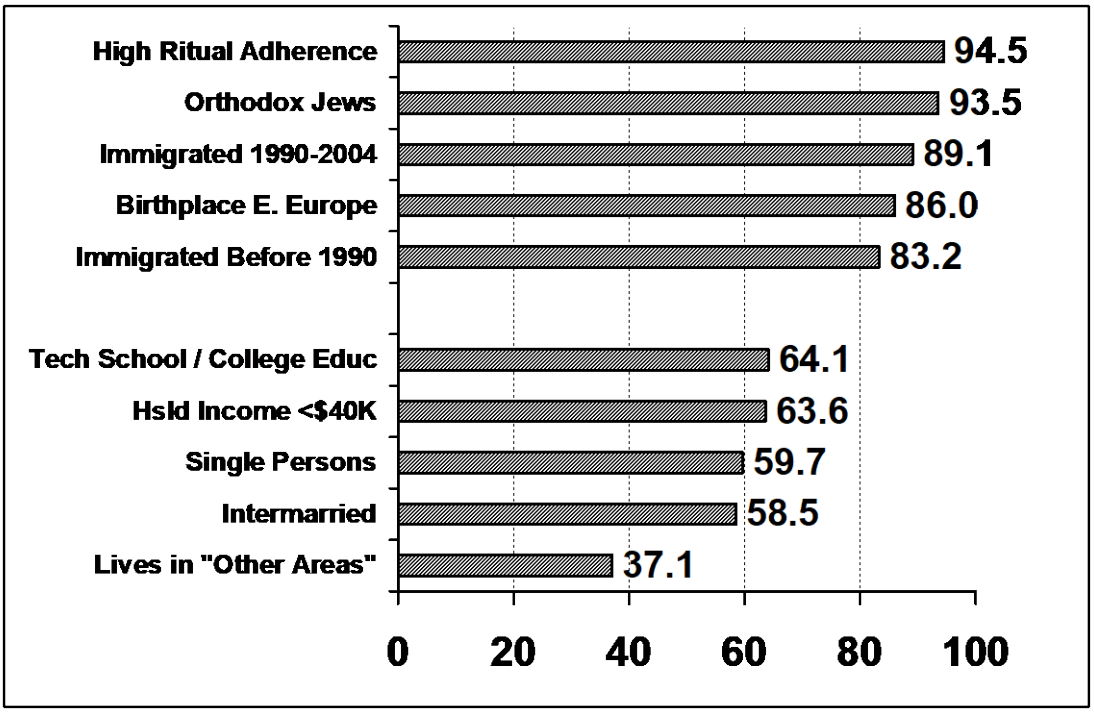
There are also important differences, however. North American Jews are a minority in a multi-ethnic society, in contrast to Israeli Jews who are a strong majority in the only Jewish state. Another important distinction is found in the different interpretations of Zionism. For Israeli Jews, Zionism signifies the actual living or a strong aspiration to live in Israel; whereas for the North American Jew, it signifies a strong commitment to Israel, as a central characteristic of one's Jewish identity.[23]

Have respondents ever been to Israel, and if so, how often?

About three-quarters (73.9%) of respondents said they have been to Israel, and 26.1% have not. In short, a significant majority of respondents have been to Israel at least once.

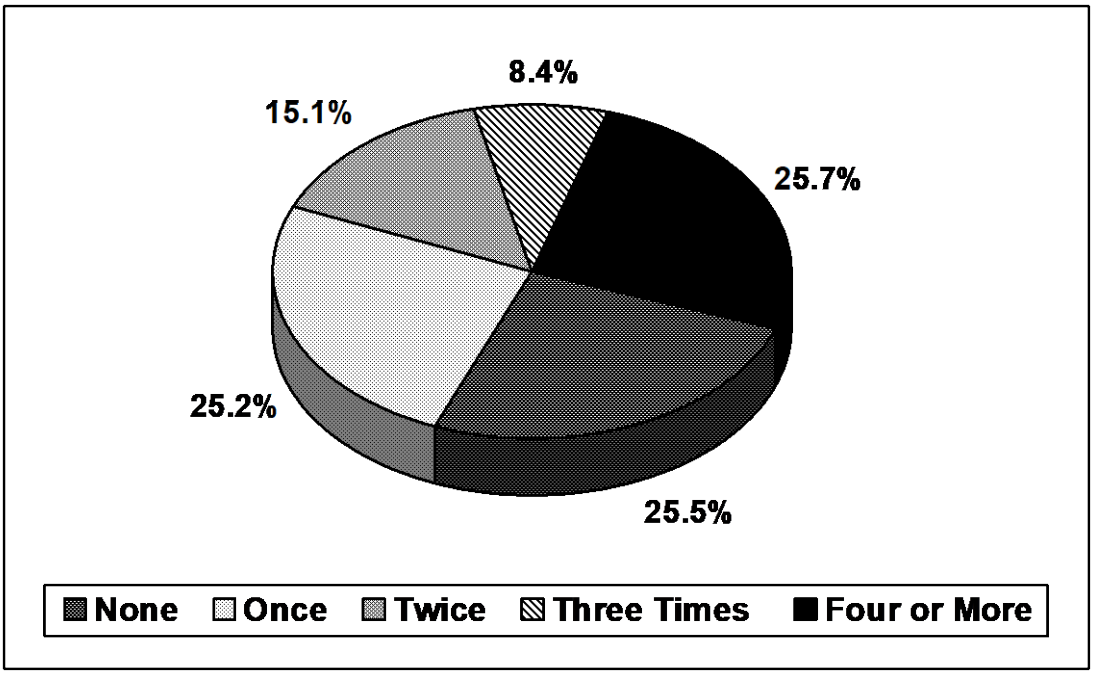
In terms of cross-community comparisons, many of the North American Jewish population surveys ask whether anyone in the household has been to Israel, a question not directly comparable to that of the present study. The level of whether the respondent has ever been to Israel is 35% for the United States, a figure significantly below that of the present finding. For Montreal Jews it is 74.5%, very similar to the Toronto level. All in all, the local community has among the highest levels of having been

Figure 32
Has Ever Been to Israel (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

Figure 33
Number of Times Respondents Have Been to Israel (%)



to Israel, of any Jewish centre in North America.

The figure obtained in the 1990 study of Toronto Jews was 63%, well below that of the present finding. Given this discrepancy, one can ask whether the ties of the Greater Toronto Jewish community with Israel have strengthened in the last 15 years. Many immigrants from the Former Soviet Union have lived in Israel, and their exposure may be impacting on the current survey results.

Which segments of respondents were most inclined to have visited Israel at least once (Figure 32)? The most likely were those with high ritual adherence (94.5%), followed by the Orthodox (93.5%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (89.1%), those whose place of birth was Eastern Europe (86%), and those who immigrated before 1990 (83.2%).

Least inclined to have ever visited Israel, were those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (37.1%), intermarried individuals (58.5%), single persons (59.7%), those living in households earning under $40,000 (63.6%), those with a technical school / college education (64.1%), and those with low levels of ritual adherence (64.4%) (Figure 32).

In terms of the number of times respondents have been to Israel, 25.5% of the sample said never, 25.2% said once, 15.1% said twice, 8.4% said three times, and 25.7% said at least four times (Figure 33). In short, about a quarter of respondents have been to Israel at least four times.

Note that the figure obtained for those who have never been to Israel (25.5%) is slightly different than the percentage found in a previous question mentioned on page 115 (26.1%). The discrepancy relates to the fact that those who were born in Israel were not included in the percentage base of the latter question.

Almost a third (31.9%) of respondents who had ever been to Israel, said the year of their last trip was between 2000-2004, about another third (32.3%) said it was between 1990-1999, 16.6% said between 1980-1989, 16.4% between 1970-1979, and 2.8% before 1970 (Figure 34).

Figure 34
Year of Last Trip to Israel (%)

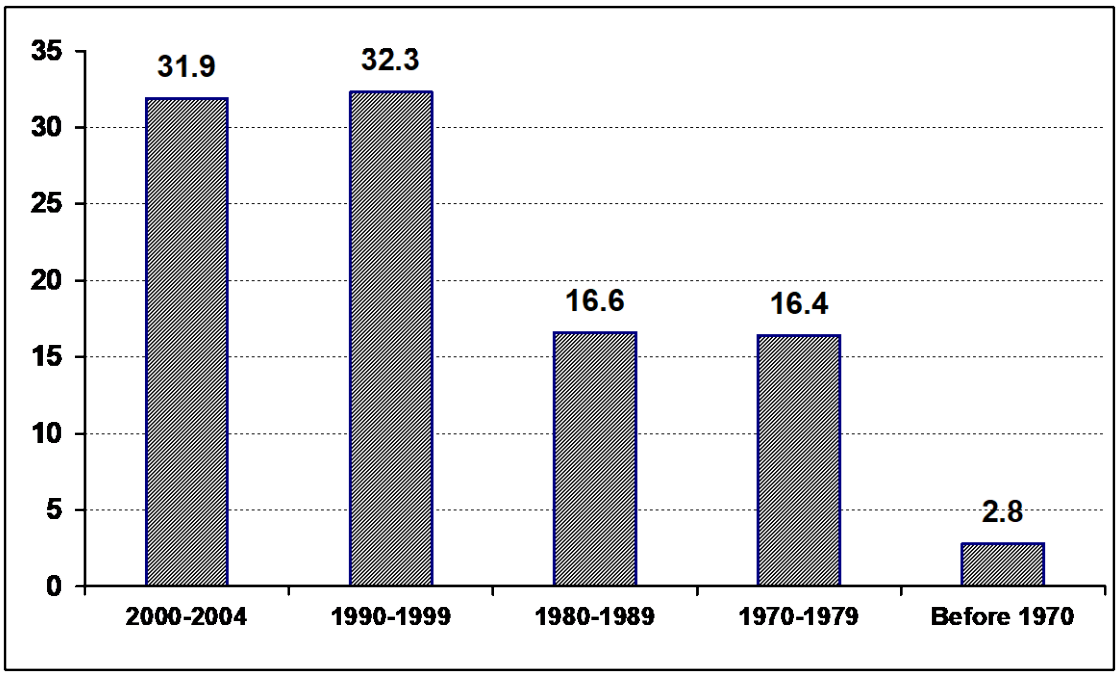
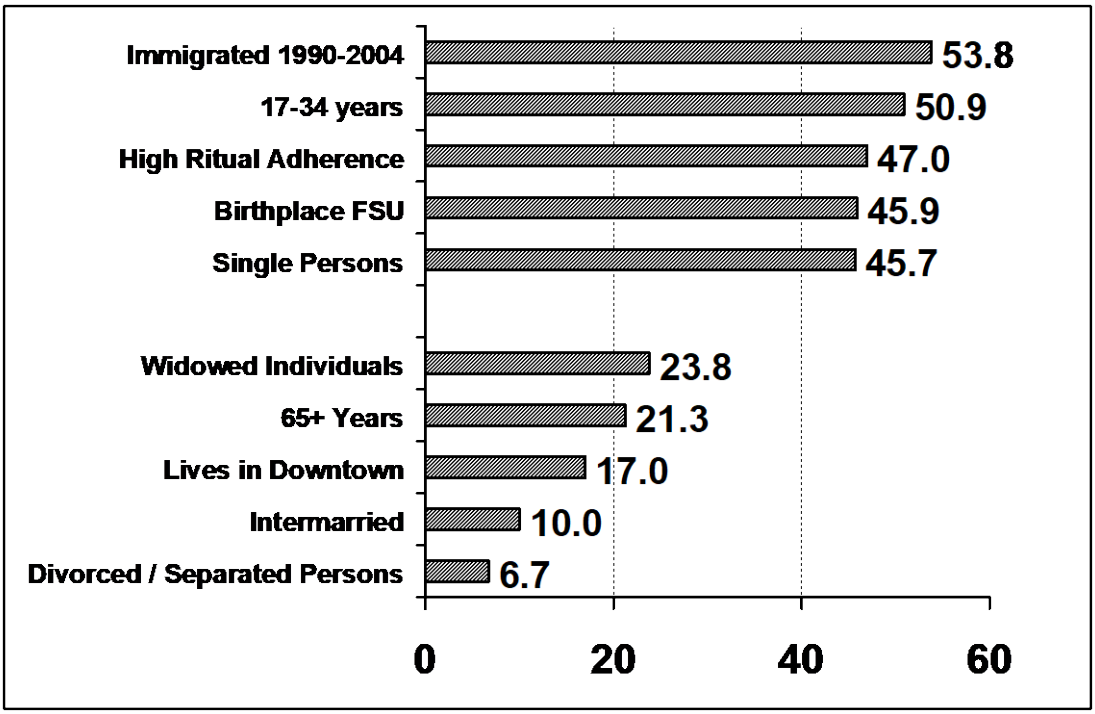


Figure 35
Has Been to Israel in last Five Years (%)
"High-Low Analysis" of Selected Segments



Note: Only the five segments with the highest and lowest percentages are included in this chart.

Which segments were most inclined to have visited Israel in the last five years? These included: respondents who immigrated between 1990-2004 (53.8%), those 17-34 years (50.9%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (47%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (45.9%), and single respondents (45.7%) (Figure 35). Note the relatively high levels among young adults of having visited Israel. It may be that some of these individuals participated in Birthright Israel and Israel Experience trips.

Least inclined to have visited Israel in the last five years were divorced / separated individuals (6.7%), intermarried persons (10%), those living in Downtown Toronto (17%), those 65+ years (21.3%), widowed individuals (23.8%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (24.5%), and Reform Jews (26.3%) (Figure 35).

Respondents were asked why they have not been to Israel in the last five years. Multiple responses were possible (n=316). One hundred and forty-one (44.6%) said it was because of "financial constraints", 109 (34.5%) said they "have other priorities", 102 (32.3%) said due to "security concerns", 41 (13%) said "health won't allow me to travel", and 16 (5.1%) were simply "not interested".

Other reasons for not having visited Israel in the last five years included (frequencies in parentheses): "time constraints" (12), "have very young children" (6), and "don't like to fly" (4). Three mentions were given for: "family constraints", "want different holiday alternatives", and "political objections". Two responses were given for: "in school" and "too old". Single responses were given for: "too hot", "not a traveller", "spouse died", and "waiting for the right time".

Do respondents intend to visit Israel?

Almost half of the sample (42.8%) said they intend to visit Israel in the next 3 years, 23.3% said they do not intend to do so, and 33.9% were not sure.

Most inclined to intend to visit Israel in the next 3 years were the Orthodox (65.4%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (64.3%), those whose birthplace is the Former Soviet Union

(60.9%), those whose birth place is Eastern Europe (54.5%), and those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (52.4%). Note that aside from highly affiliated Jews, there is also a relatively high proportion of recent immigrants who are likely to visit Israel in the near future. Many of the latter are Jews from the Former Soviet Union who had lived in Israel, and are probably intending to visit family who still live there.

Least likely to visit Israel in the next 3 years were intermarried individuals (10%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (16.1%), those living in households earning under $40,000 (25.5%), those living in Downtown Toronto (25.8%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (29.7%), and widowed persons (29.8%).

Do respondents intend to ever visit Israel? Because there were a large number of no responses, they will be included in this breakdown. Almost three-quarters of the sample (71.3%) said they intend to visit Israel in the future, 6.1% said they didn't intend to do so, 13.3% were not sure, and 9.3% did not answer this question.

The segments most inclined to visit Israel in the future were those living in households earning at least $125K (93.2%), the Orthodox (93%), those with high levels of adherence (89.9%), those 35-44 years (89.5%), and those 17-34 years (88.4%). It is encouraging that a large segment of young adults are intending to visit Israel some time in the future.

Least inclined to intend to ever visit Israel were those with elementary / high school as their highest form of education (54.3%), those living in households earning less than $40K (55.6%), respondents 65+ years (56.7%), widowed individuals (58.5%), and those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (59.4%). It seems that limited finances and advanced age are the two major obstacles preventing respondents from intending to ever visit Israel. But note that more than half the respondents across all segments said they intended to visit Israel some time in the future.

Aliyah & Closeness to Israel

Two types of questions were asked that measured the strength of attachment to Israel. The first question related to whether respondents ever considered making Aliyah. The other question more directly examined how closely respondents feel connected to Israel.

Have respondents seriously considered living in Israel?

A small percentage of the sample (13%) said they have seriously considered living in Israel, 55.8% said they have not, 4% were not sure, and 27.2% did not answer this question (it is likely they represent negative responses that respondents did not bother to register).

Segments of respondents most inclined to have considered living in Israel included the Orthodox (43.5%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (41.1%), those 17-34 years (26.7%), those in non-professional occupations (26.7%), and those 45-54 years (21.4%). It is interesting that more than a quarter of young adults sampled in this survey said they have seriously considered living in Israel.

Least inclined to have considered living in Israel were intermarried individuals (2.2%), widowed persons (5.1%), those 65+ years (8.3%), those whose place of birth was Eastern Europe (8.6%), those with elementary / high school as their highest form of education (8.8%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (10.3%), those who live in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (10.3%), and Secular / Just Jews (10.6%).

How closely do respondents feel connected to Israel?

Almost half the sample (47.1%) said they felt "very close" to Israel, 32% said "somewhat close", 13.4% said "somewhat distant", 4.3% said "very distant", and 3.1% said they weren't sure (Figure 36).

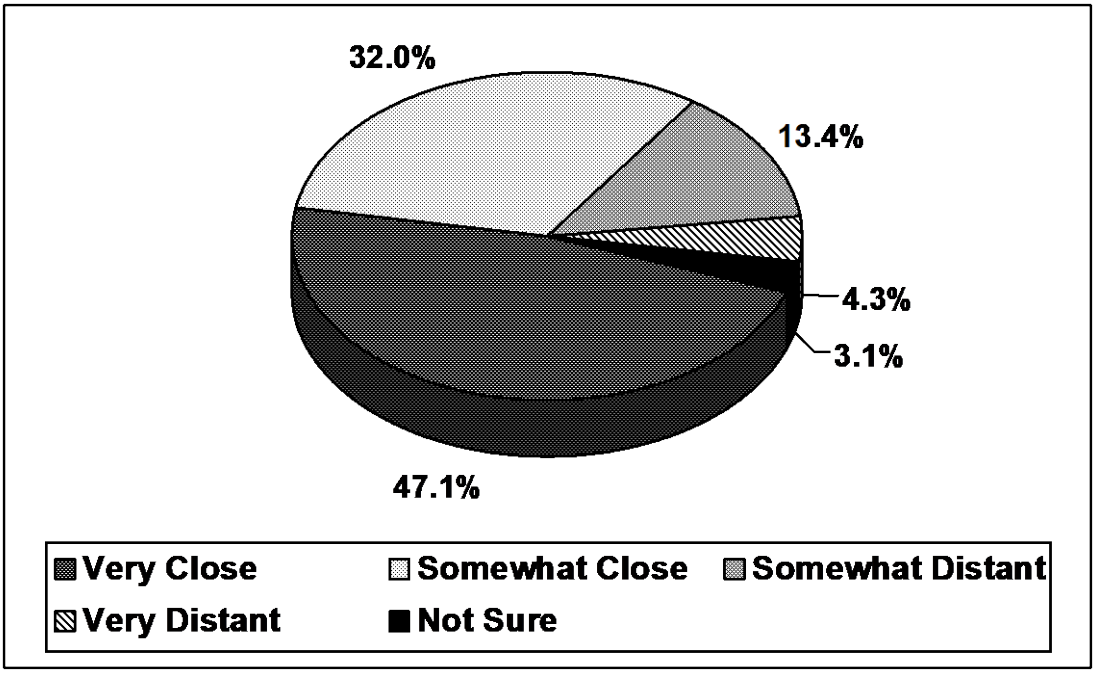
Those segments most inclined to feel "very close" to Israel included those with high levels of ritual adherence

(85.2%), the Orthodox (80.4%), those who were born in Eastern Europe (74%), those who immigrated before 1990 (64.9%), and those who were born in the Former Soviet Union (64.6%). It is noteworthy that despite the fact they generally have low levels of affiliation along a number of measures indicated in this study, individuals born in the FSU have among the highest levels of attachment to Israel. This is likely because many had lived in Israel before immigrating to Canada.

Least inclined to say they feel "very close" to Israel were intermarried individuals (9.3%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (11.4%), single persons (23%), those living in Downtown Toronto (26.4%), those with low levels of ritual adherence (29.5%), and Secular / Just Jews (30.5%).

On the other hand, the fact that almost a third of Secular / Just Jews say they feel "very close" to Israel suggests that this is an important link to Jewishness among even those that may not otherwise engage in traditional forms of practice.

Figure 36
Feelings of Closeness to Israel (%)



Reactions to Israel Experience Trips for Children

Respondents were asked whether they planned to send their child on an organized Israel trip in the near future. Of those who had children between 14-18 years of age (n=101), about two-thirds (66.3%) said they planned to send their child on an organized Israel trip, and 33.7% did not.

What were some reasons for not planning to send their child between 14-18 years on an organized Israel trip? More than one response was possible, and frequencies are in parentheses (n=34). The most common response was "security concerns" (14), followed by "my child would not be interested" (9), "financial constraints" (8), "I don't feel Israel Experience is a priority for my child" (6), and "child not mature enough" (5).

Two respondents said "it is the decision of the child". Single responses were given for: "concerned my child would not be adequately supervised", "child lives with mother", "not until Israel is committed to a viable peace process", and "just returned from March of the Living".

Parents who had children 19-26 years living in their household were asked whether they planned to send their child on an organized Israel trip in the near future. More than half (56.5%) said they did, and 43.5% said they did not.

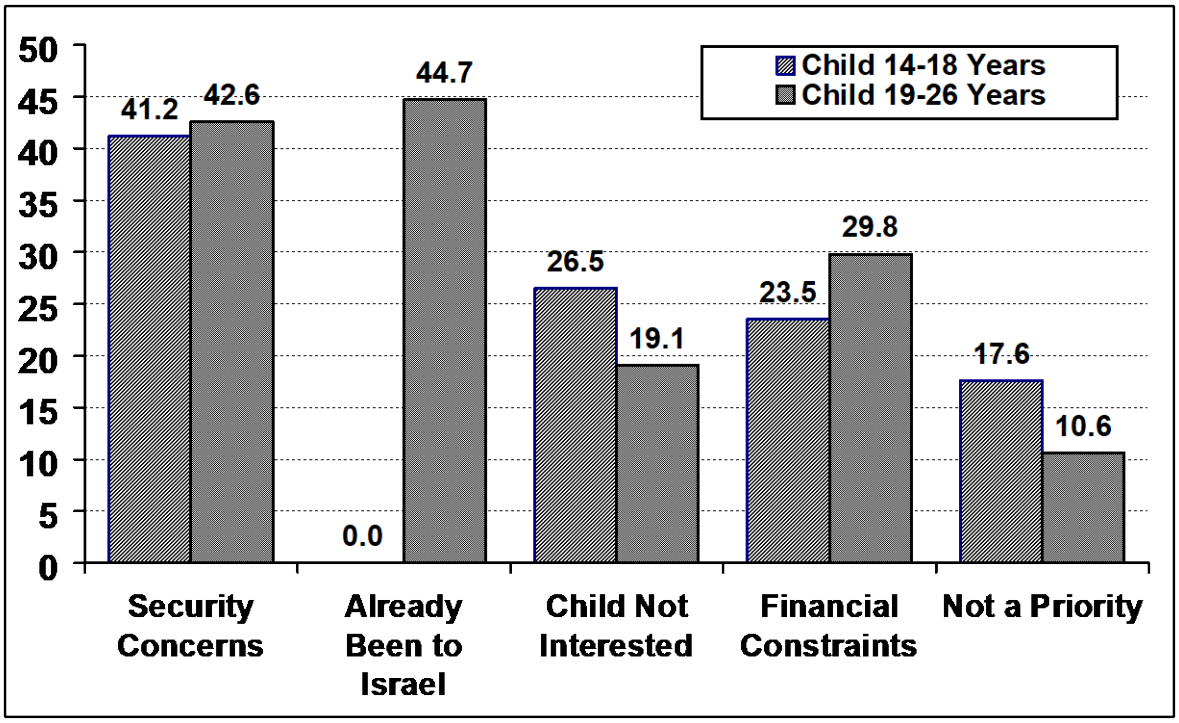
What were the reasons for not planning to send their child of 19-26 years on an organized Israel trip? More than one answer was possible, and frequencies are in parentheses (n=47). The most common response was "has already been to Israel" (21), followed by "security concerns" (20), "financial constraints" (14), "my child would not be interested" (9), and "I don't feel Israel Experience is a priority for my child" (5).

Three respondents said "it is the child's decision". Single responses were given for: "concerned my child would not be adequately supervised", "child not

mature enough", and "trip cannot accommodate my child's special needs". Finally, one respondent mentioned that they "would send child to study in a specific program only if it would provide career training, not just for touring".

Figure 37 is a summary of the reasons parents gave for not sending their child on an organized Israel trip.

Figure 37
Reasons for Not Sending Child on Organized Israel Trip (%)



Part 6
Jewish Life in Toronto

Feelings of Safety & Security

The security and comfort individuals experience in their surroundings relate firstly to their personal histories, but also to the immediate events occurring around them. For instance, at about the time this survey was implemented several antisemitic incidents took place in Greater Toronto. The feelings of insecurity experienced by the local Jewish community were likely aggravated in such an atmosphere.

However, by the time this report was written, there were much fewer incidences of intolerance, and it is likely that the levels of anxiety and discomfort diminished as a result. In short, the reactions of respondents in terms of feelings of security must be considered in the context of the prevailing atmosphere of the time.

Do respondents feel safe and secure in their neighbourhood?

Almost two-thirds (61.4%) said they feel "very secure", 35.4% said "somewhat secure", 2.6% said "somewhat insecure", 0.3% said "not secure at all", and 0.3% were not sure. In short, only a very small percentage feel insecure in the proximity of their residence.

Respondents most inclined to feel "very secure" in their neighbourhood were those born in Eastern Europe (74%), divorced or separated individuals (72.9%), those living in households earning at least $125K (71.7%), males (68.8%), and those 45-54 years (67.4%).

Those least inclined to feel "very secure" included respondents living in households earning under $40K (47%), respondents born in the Former Soviet Union (47.9%), single individuals (50.8%), those 35-44 years (54.1%), and females (55%).

In short, an individual's economic status has a bearing on the quality of the neighbourhood they live in, and hence their relative feelings of security. There are also gender differences, with females experiencing more insecurity than males. But it is unclear why divorced / separated individuals would experience

more feelings of relative security than most other segments.

Why do respondents feel somewhat insecure or not secure at all in their neighbourhoods? More than one answer was possible. Note that the spontaneous comments of several other respondents were included because they obviously had insecurities that were not detected in the previous question, and because it seemed they wanted to be heard.

The most common reason for feeling insecure was the "increased violence and crime" in the city or in their specific neighbourhood (24). A "large increase in antisemitism" was the next most common response (23). Three respondents mentioned: "our neighbourhood has changed over the years". Another three said: "I don't think one is safe in any neighbourhood". Two were afraid of "terrorist attacks".

Single responses as to why people feel insecure in their neighbourhood included: "as a Holocaust survivor there is always fear left in me", "afraid of aggressive next door neighbour", "you can never trust anyone", "Diaspora Jews are never completely safe", "because I live alone", "I am always cautious regardless of where I am", and "you never know which areas are safe".

Other single responses included: "as a woman I don't feel safe walking here at night", "Ontario housing is in our backyard", "I have experienced verbal assaults", "many ethnic groups are not known to be tolerant of Jews", "I'm concerned about general safety in the city", and "living in a large Jewish community puts us at a greater risk".

Although the great majority of respondents claimed to feel "very" or "somewhat" secure in their neighbourhood, the remarks offered in the open-ended responses suggest that there is a certain undercurrent of malaise experienced by some members of the Jewish community. Toronto is considered a relatively safe metropolitan centre by North American standards, yet there appears to be some concerns regarding personal safety, and a perception that crime and violence are on the rise locally. This is not necessarily the opinion of the majority of respondents, but bears noting nonetheless.

Experiences With Antisemitism

A measure of a civilized society is often considered to be the level of tolerance displayed to its minorities. Jews in North America have experienced an unprecedented degree of freedoms and privileges that have historically been denied to them in many other parts of the Diaspora. But this does not mean that Jews haven't experienced discrimination or violence here due to their specific religion or ethnicity.

As noted in the previous section, a number of antisemitic incidences occurred during the implementation of this survey. For instance, there were several acts of vandalism at local Jewish cemeteries, and an elderly Holocaust Survivor had a swastika painted on her property. A community-wide meeting was subsequently held in reaction. Earlier, in 2002, the fatal stabbing of an Orthodox Jew was initially reported in the media as a hate crime.

It is very likely that such occurrences influenced the reactions of Toronto Jews to antisemitism generally, and heightened the feelings of tension and concern they experienced. The following responses should therefore be considered in the context of the prevailing atmosphere at the time of the survey.

To what extent do respondents believe there is antisemitism in Toronto?

A little more than one in ten respondents (12.8%) believe there is "a great deal" of antisemitism in Toronto, 64.9% believe there is "some level" of antisemitism, 19.5% think there is "a little" antisemitism here, 0.5% believe there is no antisemitism here, and 2.3% don't know (Figure 38).

The level of those who believe there is a "great deal" of antisemitism in their respective communities varies from 5% to 30% across North America. But such surveys were done over a wide range of years, mostly from 1990 to 1999, and it is difficult to know whether perceptions have changed over time.

Interestingly, 26% of respondents in the 1990 survey of the Toronto Jewish

Figure 38
Perceived levels of Antisemitism in Toronto (%)

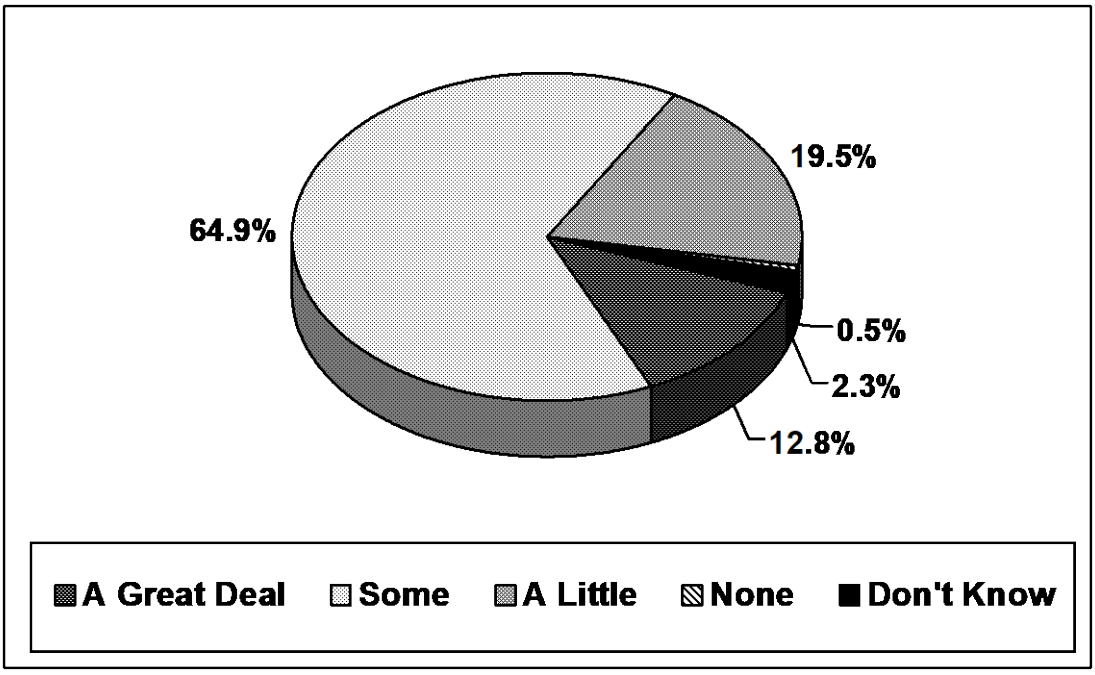
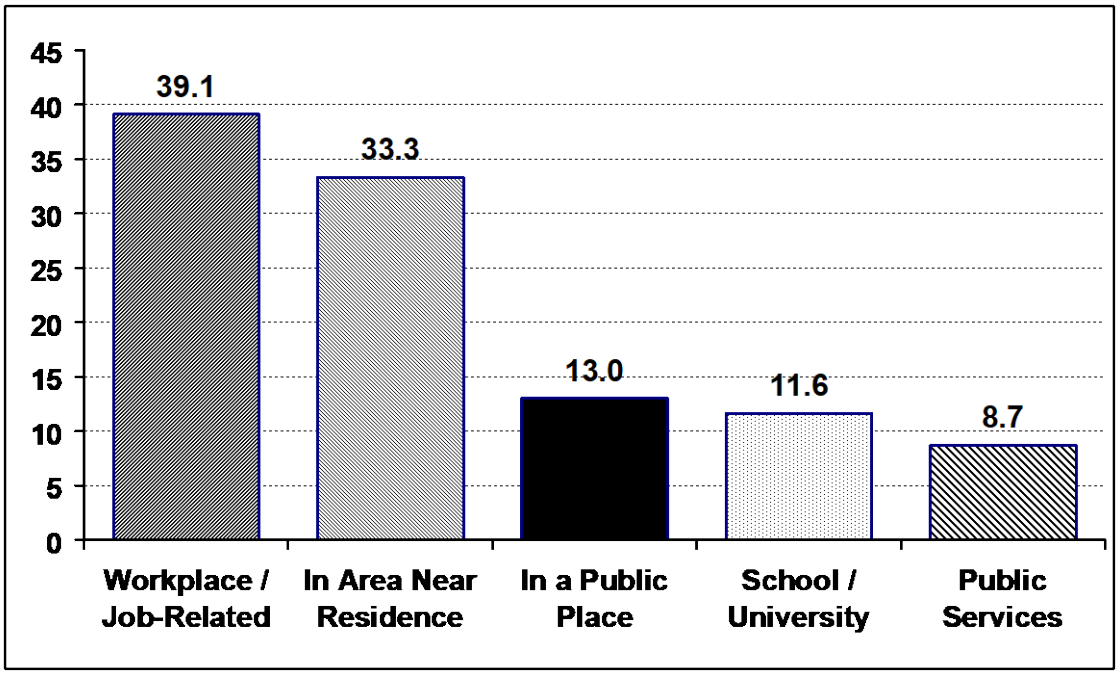


Figure 39
Where Antisemitic Experience Occurred (%)
(Filter= Respondents Who Had an Antisemitic Experience in Last Two Years)



community said they thought there was "a great deal" of local antisemitism. This is more than twice the proportion of the current sample. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy between surveys. Are Toronto Jews more confident in their presence here, or is there another intervening factor that explains these results?

In the current study, most likely to say there is "a great deal" of antisemitism in Toronto were those with elementary / high school as their highest level of education (26.7%), widowed individuals (23.6%), those 65+ years (18.7%), and those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (17.1%).

Least likely to say there is a "great deal" of antisemitism in Toronto were those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (6.5%), those in professional or managerial occupations (7.7%), single persons (8.2%), university graduates (8.3%), and individuals born in the Former Soviet Union (8.3%). In short, immigrants are less inclined to perceive antisemitism here, likely because there are much greater levels of antisemitism in their home countries.

Has antisemitism in Toronto increased or decreased in the last two years? About a third (32.7%) of the sample thinks antisemitism has "increased a lot" in the last two years, whereas 43.8% believe it has "increased slightly", 14.2% believe it has "stayed the same", 0.3% believe it has "decreased slightly", 0.3% think it has "decreased a lot", and 8.7% are not sure.

Have respondents had a recent experience with antisemitism in Toronto?

More than one in ten respondents (11%) said they had a personal experience with antisemitism in the last 2 years, 29.6% said they experienced antisemitism but not recently, more than half (55.6%) never had a personal experience with antisemitism, and 3.8% were not sure.

The level of individuals who had recent personal experiences with antisemitism ranges from 11% to 31% for communities across North America. The level of antisemitism recently experienced by members of Toronto's community falls at the bottom of this distribution, suggesting that individuals here are less likely to encounter such

situations. Nonetheless, the fact remains that about one in ten Toronto Jews have recently experienced antisemitism here.

Of 69 respondents who recently had such an experience (multiple responses possible), 27 said it happened in the workplace or was job-related, 23 said it happened in the neighbourhood where they live, 9 said it happened in a public place, 8 at a school or university, 6 while getting public services, 3 were victims of antisemitic markings or vandalism, and 2 were subjected to antisemitic remarks by cab drivers (Figure 39).

Single mentions for venues included: “on the way to Hebrew school by a policeman”, “my husband was pushed, yelled at, and spit upon”, “jokes / inappropriate comments”, and “at a hockey game”.

The segments most likely to report recent antisemitic experiences were single persons (23%), those living in “other Areas” of Greater Toronto (22.9%), those 17-34 years (18.8%), those living in households earning under $40K (17.2%), and those in non-professional occupations (16.5%).

Least inclined to have recently experienced antisemitic incidences were those 65+ years (4.2%), those whose birth place was Eastern Europe (4.3%), widowed individuals (6%), Secular / Just Jews (6.3%), those living in Downtown Toronto (8.5%), and those living in York Region (8.8%). In short, the elderly were the least likely to be victims of antisemitic encounters.

Overall Feelings About the Toronto Jewish Community

Respondents outlined a number of things they value most about the Toronto Jewish community. Multiple responses were possible (n=654). The most valued factor was feelings of community, i.e. the connection or closeness to other Jews (97). Next most valued was the availability of programs and services (79); followed by the fact that it is a visible, vibrant and high-profile community (55); and that it is very diverse (53).

Other major factors respondents value most about the Toronto community included: the availability of Kosher products / restaurants (49); the fact it is a strong community / strong sense of solidarity (43); educational opportunities for adults and children (37); size of the community (34); cultural programs and events (29); and accessibility and variety of synagogues (28).

Also mentioned were: a caring, supportive community (24); the numerous services and organizations (22); politically active / response to antisemitism (22); the variety of involvement & participation (16); feelings of security (15); that there is a community (13); a well-organized community (13); supports a comprehensive Jewish lifestyle (12); and the ability to practice my religion freely (10).

Other mentions regarding what respondents value most about the local Jewish community included: a community with a strong Jewish identity (9); cohesiveness (8); freedom (8); affluent, able to care for itself (7); personal significance in relation to my ancestry / heritage (7); the personal relationships within the community (7); influential in terms of Toronto life in business, politics, arts, etc. (7); and charitable deeds / philanthropic (5).

Four respondents each said the following: “continuity”, “common goals”, “multiculturalism”, and “degree of involvement”. Three respondents each

said: “Betel Centre” and “services to the elderly”. Two respondents each said: “BJCC”, “CJN”, “peaceful co-existence with various religious groups”, “we were immigrants, and we were always very well received”, and “balance between the traditional and secular elements of the community”.

Single responses as to what respondents valued most about the Toronto Jewish community included: “Baycrest Centre”, “character”, “civilized”, “Holocaust remembrance”, “nurturing environment for my children”, “support for hospitals”, “we help not only our own but extend to outsiders”, “young leadership to carry on”, “congregations & groups that validate alternative lifestyles”, and “that it is open”.

The above responses can be divided into the following broad categories: vibrant / strong / cohesive community (302); availability of services / organizations (218); diversity / variety (72); supports a Jewish lifestyle (43); education / good atmosphere for bringing up children (38); and caring / supportive community (34). Forty-five (45) provided assorted other responses.

Media Habits

Respondents were asked what types of Jewish or Israeli publications they read (Figure 40). Almost half (48.9%) said they "often" read the **Canadian Jewish News** (CJN), whereas 21.6% said they "sometimes" read it, 21.9% "rarely or never" read it, and 7.6% did not respond. In short, more than two-thirds (70.5%) of the sample reads the CJN at least sometimes. No responses were included in the percentage base because it is likely that they reflected those who did not read this newspaper.

The segments most inclined to "often" read the CJN comprised widowed individuals (74.5%), those 65+ years (74.1%), those born in Eastern Europe (73.9%), those with high levels of ritual adherence (71.5%), and those with moderate levels of ritual adherence (70.1%). In short, it seems seniors are the most prolific readers of the CJN.

Least inclined to "often" read the CJN included intermarried individuals (6.3%), those who immigrated between 1990-2004 (14.3%), those living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto (20.7%), those born in the Former Soviet Union (22.2%), Secular / Just Jews (28.2%), divorced / separated individuals (31.8%), and those living in Downtown Toronto (32.8%).

The Jewish Tribune, a weekly national (Canadian) Jewish newspaper, is read "often" by 15% of respondents, whereas 22% read it "sometimes", 42.4% "rarely or never", and 20.6% did not respond. In short, about a third (37%) of the sample reads the Jewish Tribune at least sometimes.

The Jerusalem Post, Israel's leading English language daily newspaper, is read "often" by 7.8% of respondents, whereas 15.1% read it "sometimes", 52.8% "rarely or never" read it, and 24.3% did not respond. In short, about a quarter (22.9%) of the sample reads the Jerusalem Post at least sometimes.

Regarding **Ha'aretz**, a daily newspaper from Israel available in Hebrew and English, 5.7% of respondents read it "often", 6.4% "sometimes", 59.2% "rarely / never", and 28.7% did not respond. Only a little more than one in ten (12.1%) read this newspaper at least sometimes.

A small percentage (1.4%) of respondents read **Israel Magazine** "often", whereas 2.9%

read it “sometimes”, 64.5% read it “rarely / never”, and 31.2% did not respond.

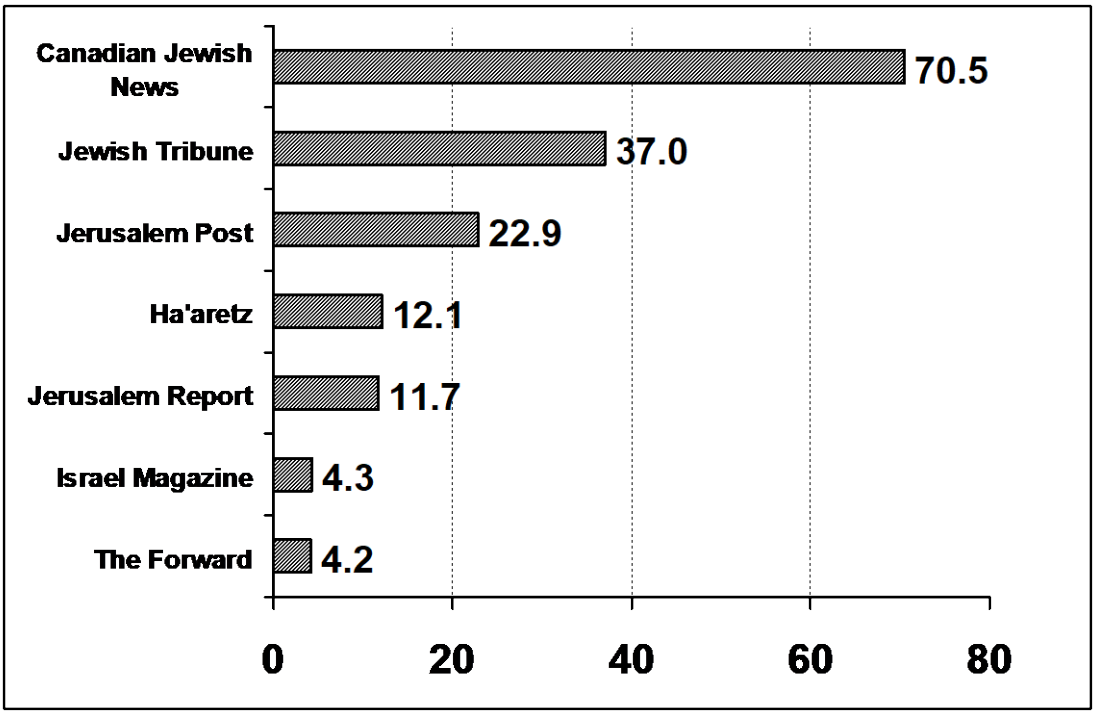
The **Jerusalem Report** is an English language biweekly newsmagazine based in Israel. A small percentage (3.4%) of the sample read this magazine “often”, whereas 8.3% read it “sometimes”, 58.9% “rarely / never”, and 29.5% did not respond.

Finally, the **Forward** is a weekly newspaper published in New York City. Only 0.8% of the sample “often” reads this newspaper, whereas 3.4% read it “sometimes”, 64.2% “rarely / never”, and 31.7% did not respond.

Which sources of information keep respondents most informed about the local Jewish community and Israel?

About 30 different responses were provided for the question regarding which sources keep respondents most informed about the local Jewish community or issues relevant to Jews in Toronto. Unfortunately, some of the replies were very general (i.e., unspecified newspapers, TV). Multiple responses were possible (n=654).

Figure 40
Level of Readership of Selected Jewish Publications
% Reading “Often” or “Sometimes”



Most often mentioned was the Canadian Jewish News (343), followed by "television" (74), the "Jewish Tribune" (52), "synagogue" (48), "unspecified newspapers" (46), "radio" (42), and the "National Post" (33). Other mentions included "friends and family" (26), the "Toronto Star" (26), the "Internet" (23), the "Globe and Mail" (20), "local news" (15), "unspecified newsletters" (15), "unspecified Jewish publications" (12), and "Russian publications" (11).

Fewer mentions were made of the following sources: "email from UJA" (6), "CNN" (6), "Israel News" (6), "Jewish Toronto website" (4), "day school mailings / newsletters" (3), "B'nai Brith" (2), and "Israeli television" (2). Single responses were given for the following: "CIJA", "BJCC", "Community Calendar", "community work", and "lawn signs".

In terms of which sources keep the respondent most informed about issues relevant to Israel, the most common response was the "Canadian Jewish News" (190), followed by "television" (124), the "Internet" (77), the "National Post" (61), "unspecified newspapers" (58), "CNN" (50), the "Globe and Mail" (42), "radio" (37), the "Toronto Star" (37), "Haaretz" (29), the "Jerusalem Post" (22), and the "Jerusalem Post Online" (20).

Other sources mentioned included "synagogue" (19), "Israeli Radio / TV" (17), "CBC" (16), the "Jewish Tribune" (16), the "New York Times" (16), "unspecified Israeli newspapers / online" (11), the "Jerusalem Report" (11), "unspecified Jewish publications" (11), "Debka File" (10), and "unspecified magazines" (10).

Fewer mentions were given for: "Email groups (8), "family, friends, and colleagues" (8), "CTV" (6), "family in Israel" (6), "Russian publications" (5), and "unspecified bulletins / newsletters" (4). Single responses were given for: "CIJR Daily Briefing", "Newsweek", "PBS", "Satellite TV – Israeli stations", and the "Simon Wiesenthal Centre".

Which publications do respondents born in the Former Soviet Union read?

There are a variety of Russian-language publications distributed in Toronto. These function not only to inform individuals about current events, but also to promote an active interchange of ideas and opinions relevant to immigrants from the Former Soviet Union.

The local Russian publications vary in terms of the level of their Jewish content. "Russian Express" and "Our Newspaper" periodically

include Jewish-related themes. "Info Toronto" is a Jewish-oriented newspaper, whereas "Exodus" is a magazine published by the Jewish Russian Community Centre of Toronto.

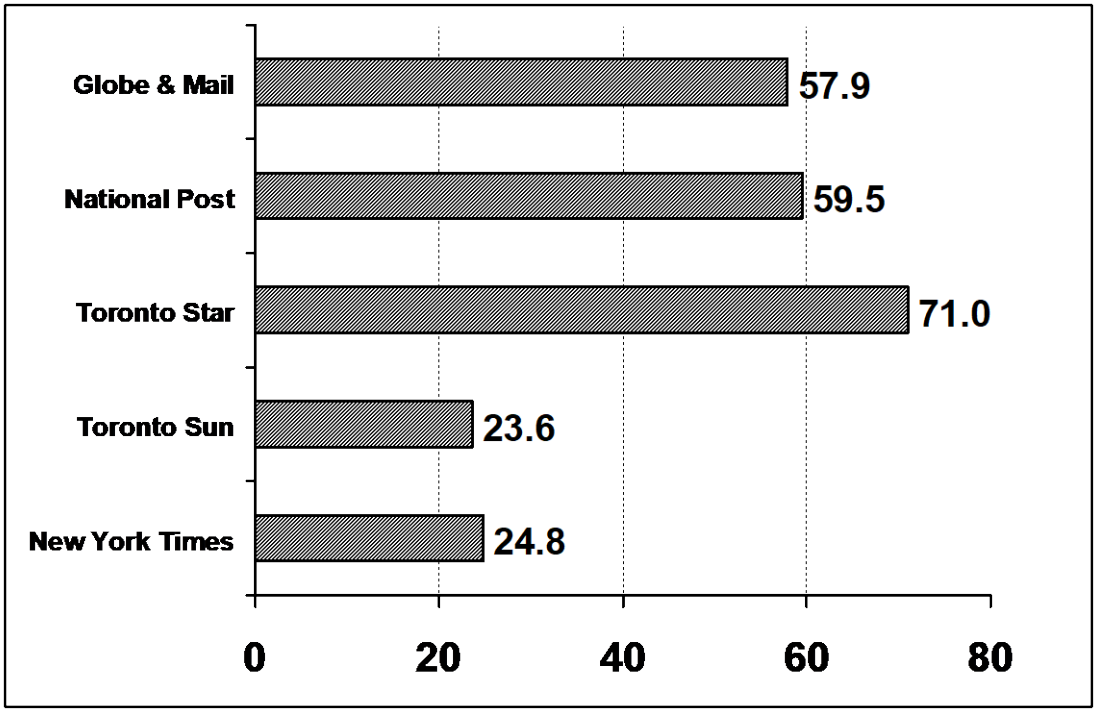
Of individuals born in the Former Soviet Union (n=49), 22.4% said they read **Russian Express** "often", 26.5% said "sometimes", 12.2% said "rarely / never", and 38.8% did not reply. Almost half the sample (48.9%) of individuals born in the FSU read Russian Express at least sometimes.

In terms of **Info Toronto**, 30.6% of respondents born in the Former Soviet Union said they read this newspaper "often", 24.5% said "sometimes", 12.2% "rarely / never", and 32.7% did not respond. In short, more than half (55.1%) read Info Toronto at least sometimes.

A quarter (24.5%) of respondents born in the FSU said they read **Our Newspaper** "often", 12.2% read it "sometimes", 22.4% "rarely / never", and 40.8% did not respond. All in all, more than a third (36.7%) read Our Newspaper at least sometimes.

Finally, 40.8% of respondents born in the Former Soviet Union read **Exodus Magazine** "often", 14.3% read it "sometimes", 18.4% read it "rarely / never", and 26.5% did not respond. In short, more than half the sample

Figure 41
Level of Readership of Selected Publications
% Reading "Often" or "Sometimes"



(55.1%) reads Exodus at least sometimes. This is the highest level of readership of any of the Russian publications.

Which other newspapers do respondents read?

More than a quarter of total respondents (29.2%) read the **Globe & Mail** "often", 28.7% read it "sometimes", 23.2% "rarely or never", and 18.8% did not respond (Figure 41). In short, more than half (57.9%) of the sample read the Globe & Mail at least sometimes.

Regarding the **National Post**, almost a third of respondents (31.5%) read this newspaper "often", 28% read it "sometimes", 22% "rarely or never", and 18.5% did not respond. In short, the majority (59.5%) of the sample reads the National Post at least sometimes. It is interesting that the distributions of readership for the Globe & Mail and the National Post are very similar.

Almost half of the sample (43.6%) read the **Toronto Star** "often", 27.4% read it "sometimes", 18.8% read it "rarely / never", and 10.2% did not respond. Almost three-quarters (71%) of respondents read the Toronto Star at least sometimes. *This is the highest level of readership of any newspaper, slightly higher than the proportion derived for the Canadian Jewish News.*

In terms of the **Toronto Sun**, 4.9% of the sample read this newspaper "often", 18.7% read it "sometimes", 48.5% read it "rarely/ never", and 28% did not respond. In short, about a quarter (23.6%) of respondents read the Toronto Sun at least sometimes.

Finally, 8% of respondents read the **New York Times** "often", 16.8% read it "sometimes", 49.1% "rarely / never", and 26.1% did not respond. About a quarter (24.8%) of the sample read the New York Times at least sometimes.

Which radio and television stations do respondents listen to most often?

A wide variety of radio stations (40) were considered popular by respondents. Frequencies are in parentheses (n=654). The radio station respondents listen to most often is AM680 (180), followed by CBC 99.1 (162), CFRB 1010 (109), CHFI 98.1 (73), and Q107 (64).

Also mentioned prominently were: CHUM FM 104.5 (48), Classical 96.3 (43), EZ Rock 97.3 (39), MIX 99.9 FM (34), Jazz 91.1 (30), 92.5 JACK FM (27), CHWO 740 AM

(21), CHRY 105.5 FM (21), and CFNY 102.1 FM Q102 (20).

Fewer mentions were given for: FAN 590 (19), 94.1 FM (15), MOJO 640 (9), CHUM AM 1050 (7), Israeli radio stations on the Internet (7), FOXY 88.5 AM (6), CKOC (5), 104.1 (4), 103.5 (4), WBUF 92.9 (4), 1150 (3), and CHIN (3).

Two respondents said: 740, FLOW 93.5, CFTR, and WNED (Buffalo). Single mentions were for: CMT 95.3, CFMX-FM, CJEZ, CKEY, CKFM, CHRT, CRBC, and Russian stations.

Regarding which television stations respondents watch most often to get their news, the most common response was CNN (180), followed by CTV (166), CBC (134), and Global (78). Next most prominently mentioned were: CITY TV (61), CP24 – CITY PULSE (36), CFTO (33), BBC World News (16), and NBC (10).

Seven individuals said they don't own a television. Five said they rarely watch TV, and another 5 said they watch FOX. Four mentions each were given for ABC and PBS. Three mentions were given for CBS. Two each were given for CNBC, Israeli TV, and TSN. Finally, single mentions were given for CKCO, MSNBC, Newsnet, Newsworld, TVO, VR, WNED, and CABLE 51.

Do respondents have an email address or Internet connection?

The great majority of respondents (85%) have an email address or Internet connection, and 15% do not. Respondents least likely to have an email address or Internet connection are widowed individuals (59.6%), those living in households earning less than $40K (58.5%), those with elementary or high school as their highest education (54.5%), and those 65+ years (53.5%). In short, seniors, and the least affluent, are the least likely to have an email address or Internet connection.

On the other hand, only 1.4% of respondents 17-34 years do not have an email address or Internet connection. Very small percentages of those living in households earning $125K+ (1.5%), those in professional occupations (1.6%), those 35-44 years (1.8%), and those 45-54 years (2.2%) do not have an email address or Internet connection.

Conclusions

Jews residing in metropolitan Toronto enjoy a very high quality of Jewish life. Specifically, they have among the highest levels of ritual adherence, synagogue membership, levels of Jewish education, and connection to Israel of any Jewish centre on this continent. They live in a growing community with a wide base of services and a dynamic cultural and religious life.

What they value most about the local Jewish community is a special sense of solidarity and closeness to fellow Jews. They use words such as "strong", "vibrant" and "high-profile" to describe their community, suggesting feelings of confidence and optimism for the future.

Despite such appreciation, the current findings also suggest a number of important challenges facing the community that relate to questions of diversity and accessibility. These issues involve segments that seem less involved with the Jewish mainstream, and that may feel alienated or distanced from communal life. The strength and unity of the Jewish community as a whole may ultimately depend on the extent to which it reaches out to such groups.

The term "Jewish sprawl" has been used to refer to the spread of Jewish populations into areas outside of "traditional" Jewish neighbourhoods. As the population of Jews in Greater Toronto continues to increase, some will choose to live in areas distant from the major centres of Jewish life.

These individuals have limited access to synagogues, as well as Jewish services, schools, and stores. In the present report these persons are designated as living in "**Other Areas" of Greater Toronto**. Those living outside the spheres of Jewish neighbourhoods tend to rank among the least affiliated, least involved and least connected of any segments of Jews.

Individuals living at the fringes of Jewish life are also least likely to give their children a Jewish education, and

most likely to have children who intermarry. As mentioned in this report, the cost of their disassociation might have generational implications.

What can be done to reach out to those who live in geographically marginal areas? Small grass-roots organizations that promote community building in these areas should be encouraged, especially if they are run by committed Jews who wish to mobilize others into greater participation. Satellite representation of Jewish services and agencies in these areas may also represent important bridges, particularly if they address real needs experienced by these populations.

It should be noted that not only individuals living in "Other Areas" of Greater Toronto show lower levels of Jewish involvement, but those in the Downtown area as well. Interestingly, Downtown Jews report among the highest levels of attendance at the Ashkenaz Festival, suggesting they have an interest in participation, if offered programs that are attractive and innovative enough to meet their needs.

The **intermarried** are also a group that show low levels of affiliation and participation. In fact, when it comes to ritual adherence, the intermarried score the lowest of any segment. As supported by the data presented in this report, *intermarriage is the single most serious threat to Jewish continuity, and the largest impetus for assimilation.*

Intermarriage has implications across generational lines. Only 29.7% of intermarried couples are bringing up their children strictly as Jews. Intermarried Jews are also much more likely to have children who themselves intermarry.

What types of programs can attract intermarried couples? There have been initiatives across North America that provide intermarried families with an opportunity to participate in communal life.

Such programs include workshops that introduce the non-Jewish spouse to the richness of Judaism, support groups that help the couple deal with acceptance issues, and programs that introduce the

children of such families to various aspects of Jewish tradition.

Secular / Just Jews represent the unaffiliated segments of the community. The unaffiliated are by no means divorced from Judaism. Although their Jewish expressions may be more cultural in orientation, 93.4% of the unaffiliated attend Passover Seder, and 77.2% light Chanukah candles. The question of how to get the unaffiliated more involved in Jewish life might involve programs that meet their needs in a "Jewish" setting that fosters greater connection with community.

Another segment of note includes **recent immigrants**, particularly those from the Former Soviet Union. Some of these latter individuals have come from Israel, and thus have had previous exposure to Judaism and a Western lifestyle. The findings of this study, however, suggest that recent immigrants from the FSU tend to have low involvement in community life.

The question is how to attract such individuals by making their experience of acculturation and integration a positive one. A critical issue relates to making Jewish day schools more accessible for the children of immigrants. For instance, less than one in ten immigrants from the FSU currently have their children enrolled in Jewish day schools, and are also not likely to provide a supplementary Jewish education for their children.

On the other hand, immigrants from the FSU have among the highest levels of use of the BJCC, they have among the highest levels of attachment to Israel, and they tend to read Exodus Magazine, which is published by the Jewish Russian Community Centre. Hence, opportunities exist for fostering stronger community ties among this group.

Divorced / separated individuals represent another segment that may feel alienated from Jewish life. The situation of marital and family breakup represents a time when individuals need increased support from community. And yet, it may also represent a period when they feel most estranged. Loss of a double income, the strains of single parenthood, and the lifestyle changes that often

ensue, place these individuals in an especially vulnerable situation.

The **less affluent** also often find their participation in Jewish life to be limited by their financial circumstances. As the findings suggest, they are among the least likely to be synagogue members, to have children attend a Jewish day school, to use Jewish community services, and to have ever visited Israel. They are also more likely to report feeling unsafe in their neighbourhood, and to have had a recent antisemitic experience.

Jewish community camps are an especially important venue for children whose families can't afford to send them to camp without subsidies, and also because such children might not necessarily have other types of Jewish exposure.

There are other challenges facing the Jewish community of Greater Toronto. Although there is relatively high awareness of available Jewish services and programs, the level of reported use by the Jewish public is low. Further studies may want to examine in more detail how communal needs can be better met, and whether factors such as fees, location, and quality of services impact on the general level of use.

On the other hand, as mentioned previously, many of the services in question are geared toward specific subpopulations, whereas some organizations are mandated to serve the community as a whole and not solely specific individuals or populations. In addition, some respondents may have chosen not to report usage of services.

The fact that the level of usage is generally low may hence not necessarily reflect a lack of need, or questions related to quality or accessibility, but is rather a reflection of the specificity of the populations being serviced or a reluctance to disclose use of services.

It is particularly interesting that respondents from York Region, who comprise a significant proportion of the sample, placed in the middle of the distribution across most measures of participation and involvement. An exception was a high rating for sending their children to Jewish camps.

However, the picture for the Jewish community in York Region is a little more complicated than at first glance. For instance, 50.2% of York Region Jews are paying members of a synagogue, 36% have children currently attending a Jewish day school, 32.2% have recently volunteered for a Jewish organization, and 47.4% made a contribution to UJA in the last year. These figures suggest that there is a strong core representation of Jews in this part of Greater Toronto, but there is also potential for more affiliation and involvement.

In terms of financial planning, there is little doubt that UJA has strong competition for market share from other types of charities. The challenge will be to penetrate those segments of the community that have traditionally not funded Federation. Many of the groups described above (geographically isolated, intermarried, unaffiliated, recent immigrants) represent potential pools of donors, yet without more vigorous outreach their financial support cannot be counted upon.

In summary, there are many strengths related to the local Jewish community, but there are also significant challenges. The Toronto Jewish community has many reasons to be optimistic regarding its future; however, it must continue to address challenges that relate to issues of diversity and accessibility in order to remain one of the best places for Jews to live in North America.

Notes & References

1. Sheskin, I. M. Personal communication to the author, 2004.

2. Census figures include only individuals 25+ years.

3. For 2001 Census figures the 18-34 cohort includes only those who are married, in common law arrangements, living alone, or with non-relatives.

4. Census figures include breakdowns for individuals 25+ years. For the 25-34 cohort, single / never married individuals living in couples arrangements were eliminated from the breakdown, because this would mean they were dependents living with their parents. Only heads of households were interviewed for the survey.

5. Census figures include only individuals 25+ years of age. FSU=Former Soviet Union.

6. The survey percentage distribution for household income is compromised somewhat by the fact that there was a large proportion of missing responses.

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9. This is slightly above the level of 2.1 children a woman would need to have (over her reproductive lifespan) to replace herself and her partner.

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