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Jewish Religious Intermarriage in Canada

Abstract

Drawing on secondary literature, this paper first identifies trends in Jewish religious intermarriage in Canada—including variation over time, gender, age and community size. It then critically examines results from the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada to explore factors associated with intermarriage. Binary logistic regression demonstrates that intermarriage is significantly and independently associated with residing in cities other than Montreal and Toronto, relative youth, male gender, having little Jewish secondary socialization outside the family and having both parents born in Canada. The statistically positive effect of having intermarried parents on children's likelihood of intermarriage falls if children attend full-time Jewish school and summer camp with Jewish content. The effect disappears if at least one parent is an immigrant. These findings imply that the rising rate of intermarriage can be significantly mitigated if the Jewish community finds the means to increase the proportion of children who undergo intensive Jewish secondary socialization and the proportion of immigrants in the Jewish community. The paper concludes by discussing policies that could facilitate this outcome.

Résumé

En s'appuyant sur la littérature secondaire, cet article identifie d'abord les tendances des mariages interreligieux juifs au Canada, y compris les variations dans le temps, le sexe, l'âge et la taille des communautés. Il examine ensuite de manière critique les résultats de l'enquête de 2018 sur les Juifs au Canada afin d'étudier les facteurs associés aux mariages mixtes. La régression logistique binaire démontre que les mariages mixtes sont associés de manière significative et indépendante à la résidence dans des villes autres que Montréal et Toronto, à la jeunesse relative, au sexe masculin, à une faible socialisation secondaire juive en dehors de la famille et au fait que les deux parents sont nés au Canada. L'effet statistiquement positif du fait d'avoir des parents mariés à des non-Juifs sur la probabilité de mariage mixte diminue si les enfants fréquentent une école juive à temps plein et un camp d'été à contenu juif. L'effet disparaît si au moins un des parents est un immigrant. Ces résultats impliquent que le taux croissant de mariages mixtes peut être considérablement atténué si la communauté juive trouve les moyens d'augmenter la proportion d'enfants qui poursuivent une socialisation secondaire juive intensive et la proportion d'immigrants dans la communauté juive. L'article conclut en discutant des politiques qui pourraient faciliter ce résultat.

Trends

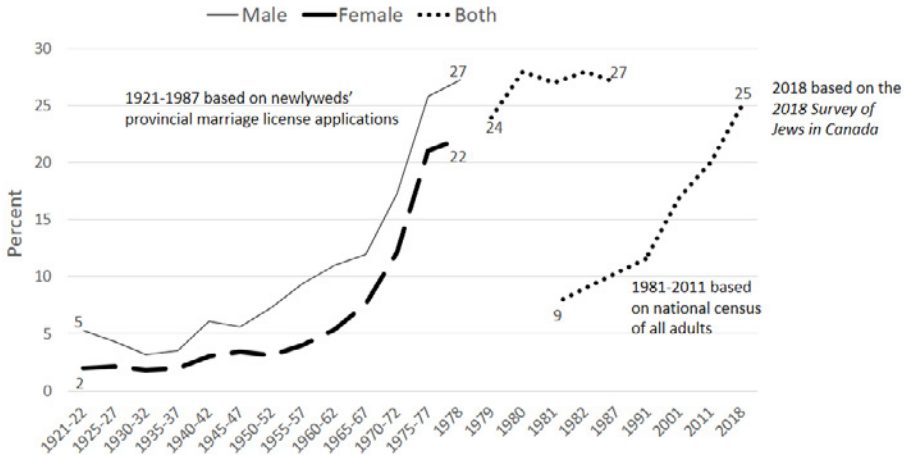
Four trends characterize Jewish religious intermarriage in Canada.¹ It has increased over time. It is more common among men than among women, although the difference has narrowed in recent years. It is more common among younger Jews than older Jews. And the intermarriage rate tends to be inversely proportional to the size of the community in which it occurs—that is, it tends to be lower in areas with relatively large Jewish populations. Figure 1 illustrates some of these trends.

Up to the late 1980s, provincial governments collected and published annual data on the religious affiliation of newlyweds recorded on their marriage license applications. These data show that, until the late 1940s, the combined intermarriage rate for Jewish women and men never exceeded five percent. That is, in a given year, of all marriages that involved at least one Jewish spouse, no more than one in twenty involved a non-Jewish spouse. The 1950s saw an appreciable increase in the intermarriage rate. By 1987, the annual intermarriage rate for newlyweds had risen to 27 percent.

In the late 1980s, some provincial governments stopped recording the religious affiliation of newlyweds. Researchers then turned to the national census as a source of information on intermarriage because the census asks Canadians to report their religious identification and marital status every decade. The 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) followed suit.² From both the national census and 2011 NHS microdata files, it is possible to link couples who are married or are in common-law partnerships and thus to determine the religious identification of each spouse or partner.

Canadian adults of all ages, not just newlyweds, are included in the census and the 2011 NHS. Because newlyweds tend to be relatively young, and intermarriage is less common among older Canadians, the census- and NHS-based estimates of the intermarriage rate are necessarily lower than the rate estimated from marriage license applications. As Figure 1 shows, it was about 18 percentage points lower in 1981. Nonetheless, the cross-time trend noted earlier persists: according to the census, the Jewish intermarriage rate increased about 11 percentage points between 1981 and 2011.³ The most recent estimate of the Jewish intermarriage rate in Canada—25 percent—comes from the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada.

Figure 1 Jewish intermarriage rate, 1921-2018



Note: The 2018 intermarriage rate takes into account the 95 percent of Jews who identified as Jewish religiously but not the 5 percent who identified as Jewish or Partially Jewish by criteria other than religion.

Sources: Basavarajappa, K. G., Norris, M. L. & Halli, S. 1988. Spouse Selection in Canada, 1921-78: An Examination by Age, Sex, and Religion. *Journal of Biosocial Science* 20 (2): 211-23; Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019a. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute; Larson, L.E. & Munro, B. 1985. Religious Intermarriage in Canada, 1974-1982. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family* 15 (1/2): 31-49; Larson, L. E. & Munro, B. 1990. Religious Intermarriage in Canada in the 1980s. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 21 (2): 239-50; Lee, S. M., Hou, F., Edmonston, B. & Wu, Z. 2017 Religious Intermarriage in Canada, 1981 to 2011. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56 (3): 667-77.

The main reason for the upward trend in the Jewish intermarriage rate over time is so well established by research it is almost self-evident. As the authors of a report on the 2018 Survey of Canadian Jews wrote:

As late as the first half of the 20th century, Canadian Jews experienced a high level of discrimination in accommodation, employment, property ownership, and everyday interaction. Despite these impediments, they proved to be highly resilient. They achieved rapid upward mobility and made many important contributions to Canadian medicine, jurisprudence, science, education, government, the economy, and the arts. Upward mobility and increasing acceptance on the part of the Canadian mainstream have had what many community members regard as a downside: these social processes heightened the prospect of cultural assimilation, loss of traditional languages, and intermarriage.⁴

The lowering of residential, educational, occupational and other social barriers separating Jews from non-Jews that began haltingly in the 1950s accelerated in the following decades. This circumstance accounts for the fact that Jewish Canadians born in recent decades are less constrained to remain within the boundaries of the community than were members of older generations.

An analogous process affected Jewish women in particular. Until the 1950s, domesticity and traditionalism were the dominant themes in the socialization of most Canadian Jewish women. On average, they attained fewer years of formal education than did Jewish men, and before marriage they were expected to remain tied to family life more than men were—preparing meals, babysitting and so on. Their stints in the paid labour force were comparatively brief and typically ended with marriage. Jewish women thus had relatively little exposure to social settings in which they could meet, date and mate with non-Jews. This situation helps to explain the fact that, in the mid-1950s, Jewish women were more than five percentage points less likely to intermarry than were Jewish men. However, the gap began to shrink in subsequent decades with the weakening of traditional socialization patterns and an increasingly large proportion of Jewish women who sought higher education and entered the paid labour force to pursue careers. In 2001 and 2011, there was less than 1 percentage point difference between the male and female intermarriage rates for Jews between the ages of 18 and 34.⁵

Table 1, based on the 2018 Survey of Canadian Jews, illustrates the fourth and final trend that characterizes the pattern of Jewish intermarriage in Canada—the tendency for intermarriage to be most widespread in small communities and least common in larger ones. This finding replicates the results of earlier research on Jewish intermarriage in Canada using either provinces or metropolitan urban areas as units of analysis—and of Jewish and non-Jewish intermarriage more generally.⁶

Table 1 Jewish population and intermarriage rate by city

City	Population, 2011	Intermarriage, 2018 (%)
Toronto	188,710	22
Montreal	90,780	26
Winnipeg	13,690	49
Vancouver	26,255	60

Note: Column 2 tallies responses to the question, “And what is your spouse’s religion, if any?” (Jewish). Based on the 2011 National Household Survey, Shahar and his associates provide national and city intermarriage rates that differ from, but are in line with, those of the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada: Canada, 26.3 percent; Montreal, 16.7 percent; Toronto, 18.1 percent; Winnipeg, 25.4 percent; and Vancouver, 43.4 percent. The differences are likely due to different sampling methodologies, different definitions of “Jewish” and a lapse of seven years between the two surveys.⁷

Why are relatively high Jewish intermarriage rates typically associated with small Jewish communities? Simply because there are relatively few potential mates in small communities. Faced with comparatively few opportunities for finding compatible partners, mate selection outside the community becomes more probable.⁸

Note, however, that there are exceptions to the tendency for larger Jewish communities to be associated with lower intermarriage rates. For example, as we see in Table 1, Vancouver's Jewish community is nearly twice as large as Winnipeg's, but its intermarriage rate is 11 percentage points higher.⁹

Regression Analysis

To probe the reasons for Jewish intermarriage in Canada more deeply, we analyze data from the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada, which sampled Jews in the four major urban centres where about 82 percent of Jews in Canada reside: metropolitan Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. About 65 percent of the 2,335 respondents reported they were married or living common law ($n=1,527$).

Sampling

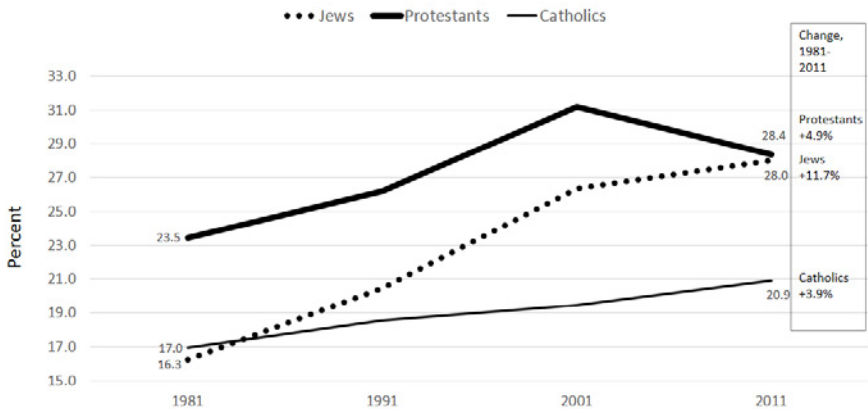
The primary sampling frame for the 2018 Survey of Canadian Jews was a dictionary of several thousand common Jewish surnames (of Slavic, Germanic, Sephardic and Hebrew origin). It was used to select households with listed landline telephone numbers that are (1) in census tracts located in metropolitan Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver with (2) a minimum of 5 percent of households containing (3) an occupant over the age of 17 who (4) identified as Jewish by religion or ethnicity in the 2011 National Household Survey (see end note 2 regarding the 2011 survey). This source was supplemented by social media promotion and referrals from respondents who completed the survey. Referrals and social media recruits were given the option of completing the survey online. Fifteen percent of all respondents did so; the remaining 85 percent participated in telephone interviews with a trained interviewer lasting an average of around 25 minutes. All respondents had the option of completing the questionnaire in English, French or Russian. People were eligible to participate in the survey if they were seventeen or older and self-identified as Jewish or partly Jewish by religion or ethnicity. The survey was in the field between 10 February and 30 September 2018.

Quotas were established in each city for age cohort and gender (based on the 2011 National Household Survey) to ensure adequate representation by these characteristics. The data were weighted by the size of the Jewish population in each city and the percentage of Jews in each age cohort who were married or living common law with someone who was not Jewish according to the 2011 National Household Survey (on the latter, see Figure 2).

For purposes of our regression analysis, we included respondents who reported they were married or living in a common-law partnership at the time of the survey. We note in passing that, according to the 2018 Survey of Canadian Jews, about one in six

Canadian Jewish adults was previously married. In the United States, intermarriage among Jews is more common in current marriages than in first marriages, but that seems not to be the case in Canada.¹⁰

Figure 2 Canadians with different religion than partner, married and common-law 18-34 year olds, by religion, 1981-2011



Source: Hou, F. 2013. Special Census Tabulation: Intermarriage by Religion and Sex, Canada, 1981-2011. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Variables

Our dependent variable is dichotomous, with 0 indicating the respondent's spouse/partner is Jewish by religion and 1 indicating the respondent's spouse/partner is not Jewish by religion. We conducted binary logistic regression analysis accordingly.

Our independent variables include:

1. three city dichotomous variables (coded Toronto=0, Montreal=1; Toronto=0, Winnipeg=1; and Toronto=0, Vancouver=1);
2. two demographic variables, namely respondent's age in years and a dichotomous measure of the respondent's sex (female=0, male=1);¹¹
3. one primary socialization variable indicating that both the respondents' parents were Jewish or one was non-Jewish (coded 0=both Jewish, 1=one non-Jewish);
4. three secondary socialization variables measuring the respondent's exposure to Jewish educational institutions when s/he was a child, including years completed in a full-time Jewish school, a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent ever attended a Jewish summer camp (coded yes=0, no=1) and a dichotomous variable indicating

whether the respondent ever attended a Jewish educational institution other than a full-time school, such as an afternoon Hebrew school (coded yes=0, no=1); and one immigration variable measuring whether one, both or neither of the respondents' parents were immigrants (coded both=1, one=2, none=3).

Coded in this manner, a positive regression coefficient denotes that an increase in the independent variable is associated with an increase in intermarriage, while a negative coefficient denotes that an increase in the independent variable is associated with a decrease in intermarriage.

Models

We present five regression models, summarized as follows:

- Model 1 = city variables
- Model 2 = Model 1 + demographic variables
- Model 3 = Model 2 + primary socialization variable
- Model 4 = Model 3 + secondary socialization variables
- Model 5 = Model 4 + immigration variable

Model 1 is a baseline that measures the degree to which living in a particular city is associated with variation in the Jewish intermarriage rates.

Model 2 adds two demographic predictors: age and sex. In line with generalizations drawn from our analysis of Figure 1, we expect age to be inversely associated with intermarriage and sex to be not significantly associated with intermarriage.

Model 3 adds a variable indicating whether the respondent grew up in a family with one or two Jewish parents; in the latter case we expect the respondent to be more inclined not to intermarry.

Model 4 adds three variables that tap the respondent's exposure to Jewish educational institutions as a child. We expect exposure to such institutions strengthens Jewish identity and inclines people not to intermarry.

Model 5 adds a variable indicating whether the respondent has or has had two, one or no immigrant parents. Immigrants are usually believed to bring old country traditions into the household, thus strengthening the Jewish identity of their children and increasing the probability that their children will marry Jews. However, today, the most numerous groups of Jewish immigrants in Canada are from the former Soviet Union, the United States, Israel and South Africa.¹² Canadian Jews from the former

Soviet Union tend to be relatively assimilated,¹³ and we expect many American immigrant Jews are too. It is therefore possible that the traditional immigrant effect on intermarriage no longer exists because some groups neutralize the effects of others.

Results

The results of our regression analysis are presented in Table 2.

Model 1 reiterates what we already inferred from Table 1: Winnipeggers and Vancouverites are significantly more likely than Torontonians to intermarry, but there is no significant difference between Montrealers and Torontonians in this regard. These effects of urban residence remain highly significant after the introduction of controls in subsequent models.¹⁴

Model 2 shows that intermarriage varies significantly and inversely with age, as expected. Younger people are significantly more likely to intermarry than are older people. Somewhat surprisingly, however, model 2 also indicates that the effect of gender remained significant in 2018, with men more likely than women to intermarry, even after controlling for other relevant variables in subsequent models.

Model 3 shows that respondents with one Jewish parent are significantly more likely to intermarry than are respondents with two Jewish parents.

The most interesting findings of this exercise emerge in Model 4 and Model 5. Model 4 introduces three secondary socialization variables: the number of years the respondent attended full-time Jewish school, whether the respondent attended a summer camp with Jewish content, and whether the respondent participated in some other Jewish educational program before reaching adulthood. All three variables are in the predicted direction, with the first two variables achieving statistical significance that persists in Model 5. It is clear that relatively intensive Jewish education significantly lowers the likelihood that Canadian Jews will intermarry.

This is true even for people with one non-Jewish parent. Consider what happens to the association between having one or two Jewish parents and intermarriage once we introduce the three secondary socialization variables. The significance of the association declines in Model 4 and disappears in Model 5, once all controls are introduced. This means that *relatively intensive secondary socialization not only lowers the likelihood of intermarriage in the children's generation but can overwhelm the effect of intermarriage in the parents' generation*. More on this important point later.

Model 5 suggests that intermarriage increases significantly as one moves from respondents who have two immigrant parents to those who have one, to those who have none.¹⁵ It seems that the immigrant effect— that is, immigrants having a negative influence on the intermarriage rate of their offspring—persists, despite recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union and the United States probably being more assimilated than their earlier (mainly Eastern European and, in Quebec, North African) counterparts. Whether the observed relationship endures will, of course, depend on future immigration patterns.

Finally, we note that the fit of each model to the data increases steadily and substantially as we move from Model 1 to Model 5, as indicated by the magnitude of the pseudo- R^2 .¹⁶

Table 2

Binary logistic regression predicting Jewish intermarriage in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver

Note: This table reports binary logit coefficients (B), standard errors (s.e.) and odds ratios (Exp (B)).

	Model 1 (n=1,491)			Model 2 (n=1,491)		
	B	s.e.	Exp (B)	B	s.e.	Exp (B)
Montreal (Toronto=0)	.135	.151	1.144	.122	.153	1.130
Winnipeg (Toronto=0)	1.354	.266 ^c	3.873	1.410	.271 ^c	4.096
Vancouver (Toronto=0)	1.695	.191 ^c	5.446	1.679	.195 ^c	5.358
Age				-.015	.004 ^c	.985
Gender (female=0)				.683	.131 ^c	1.980
Number of Jewish parents						
Years of full-time Jewish school						
Jewish summer camp (yes=0)						
Other Jewish educational program (yes=0)						
Number of immigrant parents						
Constant	-1.561	.088 ^c	.210	-1.076	.247 ^c	.341
-2 log likelihood	1539.155			1503.446		
Nagelkerke pseudo-R²	.092			.125		

^a $p < .05$

^b $p < .01$

^c $p < .001$

Discussion

How does the Canadian Jewish intermarriage rate compared to the intermarriage rate among Jews in other diaspora countries? According to the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada, the intermarriage rate for Canadian Jews of all ages was 25 percent. That is roughly the same as the Jewish intermarriage rate in Australia and the UK, and about one half the rate in the United States.¹⁷ Thus, the Canadian Jewish intermarriage rate is at or near the low end among English-speaking democracies.

Model 3 (n=1,491)			Model 4 (n=1,491)			Model 5 (n=989)		
B	s.e.	Exp (B)	B	s.e.	Exp (B)	B	s.e.	Exp (B)
.133	.154	1.143	.266	.159	1.305	.223	.203	1.250
1.349	.275 ^c	3.854	1.398	.281 ^c	4.049	1.688	.357 ^c	5.408
1.619	.198 ^c	5.046	1.622	.202 ^c	5.062	2.077	.264 ^c	7.978
-.014	.004 ^b	.986	-.024	.005 ^c	.977	-.035	.007 ^c	.965
.757	.134 ^c	2.131	.747	.136 ^c	2.110	.841	.174 ^c	2.318
-.705	.141 ^c	2.023	-.384	.159 ^a	1.468	-.118	.211	1.125
			-.081	.016 ^c	1.085	-.082	.020 ^b	1.086
			-.335	.146 ^a	1.398	-.598	.184 ^b	1.819
			-.040	.158	.961	-.064	.224	.938
						-.298	.108 ^b	1.347
-2.009	.315 ^c	.134	-2.776	.370 ^c	.062	-1.783	.536 ^c	.062
1479.870			1437.075			906.402		
.146			.184			.240		

It is also revealing to compare the Canadian Jewish intermarriage rate with the rate for Canadian Roman Catholics and Protestants. Recall that the intermarriage rate generally varies inversely with community size. In 2011, there were about 12.7 million Roman Catholics, 8.8 million Protestants and 330,000 Jews by religion in the country.¹⁸ All else the same, we would expect the Roman Catholic and Protestant rates to be much lower than the Jewish rate. However, they are not. In 2011, the Roman Catholic rate was 16 percent and the Protestant rate was 21 percent. The comparable rate for Jews was 20 percent—surprisingly low given the small size of the Jewish community compared to the number of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the country.¹⁹

On the other hand, intermarriage is accelerating more quickly for Jews than for Roman Catholics and Protestants. Thus, between 1981 and 2011, the intermarriage rate for Canadian Jews between the ages of 18 and 34 rose nearly 12 percentage points compared to around 4 percentage points for Roman Catholics and 5 percentage points for Protestants (see Figure 2).

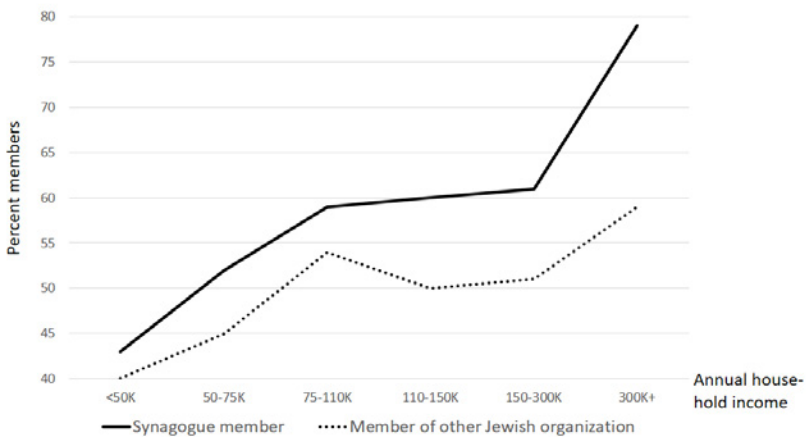
In this context, it is pertinent to ask whether the accelerating rate of intermarriage among Canadian Jews is unavoidable. Our findings suggest otherwise. Specifically, the secondary socialization effect of intensive Jewish educational experience—measured by years of attending a full-time Jewish day school and attending an overnight summer camp with Jewish content—weakens the effect of having a non-Jewish parent on the respondents' likelihood of intermarriage. Less intensive Jewish educational programs, such as Sunday school or afternoon school, have no such effect. Similarly, the effect of having a non-Jewish parent on the probability of intermarriage becomes insignificant if one or both parents are immigrants. Put differently, having immigrant parents and more children in full-time Jewish day school or Jewish overnight summer camps mitigate the effect of parental intermarriage on intermarriage in the next generation.

The immigration of Argentinian Jews to Winnipeg and French Jews to Montreal in recent years has helped to ensure population growth in the Canadian Jewish community. Community leaders might consider sending emissaries to Buenos Aires and Paris in the hope of recruiting still more immigrants, who apparently have a negative effect on the intermarriage rate.

As far as secondary socialization is concerned, it is likely that many Jewish families cannot afford the high cost of full-time Jewish day school and overnight summer camp. We arrive at this conclusion indirectly because we lack data on the effect of annual household income on full-time Jewish day school and Jewish overnight summer camp attendance. Fortunately, however, we do have data on the effect of annual household income on membership in synagogues and other Jewish organizations from the 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada. They show that membership is highly

cost-sensitive, with synagogue membership nearly twice as high among families with annual household income of \$300,000 or more than among those with annual household income of \$50,000 or less (see Figure 3). We surmise that full-time Jewish day school and summer camp are beyond the means of most low-income and many middle-class Jewish families, given that fees for Jewish overnight summer camp are around \$8,000 to \$11,000 per summer (roughly two to five times higher than the annual cost of synagogue membership). Moreover, tuition for full-time Jewish day school in Ontario and British Columbia, home to more than two thirds of Canadian Jews, is in the range of \$16,000–\$20,000 per year (roughly five to ten times higher than the cost of annual synagogue membership).²⁰ This remains the case even if we take account of the fact that part of tuition is tax-deductible, subsidies are available for some families in need, and provincial governments pay part of the cost of full-time Jewish education in some provinces, bringing annual tuition fees down to around \$11,000 in Winnipeg, \$13,000 in Calgary and \$15,000 in Montreal. High cost results in pent-up demand for full-time Jewish education, as recently noted by the Executive Director of UJA Federation of Greater Toronto's Koschitzky Centre for Jewish Education.²¹

Figure 3 Membership in Jewish organizations by annual household income, 2018



Source: Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019b. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute. Machine-readable file.

Canada's Jewish community has turned to philanthropists for help with the high cost of full-time Jewish education, and some have contributed generously despite many other pressing demands for their assistance. Still, it is questionable whether philanthropy can satisfy pent-up demand, especially in the long run. A graduated system of tuition fees tied to household income would provide a more effective and stable fiscal basis for the Jewish education system. Remarkably, more than 68 percent

of Canadian Jews surveyed in 2018 said they “strongly” or “mostly” favour strong government policies to reduce income inequality between the rich and the poor.²² This finding suggests that much potential exists to institutionalize what amounts to a progressive tuition system in Canada’s Jewish community, a system that would increase enrolment in Jewish day schools, helping to minimize assimilation, including assimilation due to intermarriage.

Acknowledgements

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1

This article ignores ethnic intermarriage. It examines the extent to which individuals who identify as Jewish religiously marry or form common-law relationships with individuals who do not identify as Jewish religiously. For simplicity, whenever we refer to intermarriage, we mean religious intermarriage unless otherwise noted.

2

Statistics Canada. 2019. Religion (108), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11), Age Groups (10) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2011 National Household Survey (<https://bit.ly/2EPJqki>).

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Canada’s Conservative government cancelled the 2011 census, replacing it with the voluntary National Household Survey, in which 73.9 percent of Canadian adults participated. Although low-income and Indigenous Canadians were disproportionately represented among non-participants, no evidence suggests that Jews were disproportionately represented among them. We declined to use data from the 2016 census because the religion question is asked only in the decennial census, taken in the second year of each decade (2001, 2011, etc.). The alternative strategy would have been to examine *ethnic* intermarriage in 2016. However, this would have made our results incomparable with earlier research, which focuses on religious intermarriage. Moreover, a problematic change in the wording of the

ethnicity question in the 2016 census resulted in a 54 percent drop in the count of Canadian Jews by ethnicity from 2011 to 2016, rendering the census of little or no use for analyzing the Jewish population. See Brym, R. 2017. More than half of Canada’s Jews are missing. *Globe and Mail*, 2 November (<https://tgam.ca/2FQBpYf>); Smith, T. & McLeish S. 2019. Technical report on changes in response related to the census ethnic origin question: Focus on Jewish origins, 2016 Census integrated with 2011 National Household Survey (<https://bit.ly/2ZEhbGq>).

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Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute (<https://bit.ly/2lNUK0P>), p. 1.

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Hou F. 2013. Special census tabulation: intermarriage by religion and sex, Canada, 1981–2011. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

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Brym, R., Gillespie, M. & Gillis, A. R. 1985. Anomie, opportunity, and the density of ethnic ties: another view of Jewish intermarriage in Canada. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22(1): 102–12; DellaPergola S. 2017. Ethnoreligious intermarriage in Israel: an exploration of the 2008 census. *Journal of Israeli History* 36(2): 149–70; Goldmann G. 2009. Intermarriage among Jews in Canada: A demographic perspective. Pp. 105–14 in S. Reinharz & S. DellaPergola (eds.) *Jewish Intermarriage around the World*. New Brunswick NJ: Transaction; Lee, S.M., Hou, F., Edmon-

ston, B. & Wu Z. 2018. Group size and secular endogamy among the religiously unaffiliated in Canada. *Social Science Research* 74:196–209.

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Sources for Table 1: Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute. Machine-readable file; Shahar, C. 2014. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Population of Canada, Part 1: Basic Demographics & Part 2, Jewish Populations in Geographic Areas*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA, p. 84; Shahar, C. & Schnoor, R. 2015. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Community of Montreal, Part 5: The Jewish Family & Part 6, Inter-marriage*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA; Shahar, C. & Schnoor, R. 2015. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Community of Toronto, Part 5: The Jewish Family & Part 6, Inter-marriage*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA; Shahar, C. & Schnoor, R. 2015. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Population of Canada, Part 5: The Jewish Family & Part 6, Inter-marriage*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA; Shahar, C., Schnoor, R. & Rivkin, S. 2015. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Community of Greater Vancouver, Part 5: The Jewish Family & Part 6, Inter-marriage*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA; Shahar, C., Schnoor, R. & Rosenberg-Cohen F. 2015. *2011 National Household Survey Analysis: The Jewish Community of Winnipeg, Part 5: The Jewish Family & Part 6, Inter-marriage*. Montreal: Jewish Federations of Canada-UIA.

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Blau, P. M., Blum, T. C., and Schwartz, J. E. 1982. Heterogeneity and intermarriage. *American Sociological Review* 47(1): 45–62.

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It is likely that the extent to which Jewish communities offer a full range of institutional services to their members also influences intermarriage rates. Unfortunately, the “institutional completeness” of Canadian Jewish communities has never been measured. See Breton, R. 1964. Institutional completeness of ethnic communities and the personal relations of immigrants *American Journal of Sociology* 70(2): 193–205; Rodríguez-García, D. 2007. Intermarriage patterns and socio-ethnic stratification among ethnic groups in Toronto. CERIS Working Paper No. 60. Toronto: CE-

RIS—The Toronto Metropolis Centre (<https://bit.ly/2NzNJC8>).

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Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute (<https://bit.ly/2lNUK0P>), p. 40.

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Too few respondents chose the third gender option (“other”) to allow meaningful analysis.

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Brym, R., Neuman, K. & Lenton, R. 2019. *2018 Survey of Jews in Canada*. Toronto: Environics Institute (<https://bit.ly/2lNUK0P>), p. 73.

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Brym, R., Slavina, A., & Lenton, R. 2019. Qualifying the leading theory of Diaspora Jewry: an examination of Jews from the former Soviet Union in Canada and the United States. *Contemporary Jewry* 40(2), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12397-020-09315-5>.

14

For technical reasons, we cannot determine whether community population size or other contextual variables are responsible for the city effect. An attempt to enter city population size as a variable would be rejected by any statistics program because it would essentially replicate the city dummies. Moreover, combining contextual with individual-level variables calls for hierarchical linear modeling, and the rule of thumb is that at least 20 contexts (in our case, cities) are needed to detect cross-level interactions.

15

Once cases with missing data were removed, the effective sample size for models 1, 2, 3 and 4 was 1,491. However, model 5 is based on just 989 cases because only non-immigrants were asked whether their parents were immigrants. Accordingly, the effect of immigrant vs. native-born parents on intermarriage must be regarded as more tentative than our other findings.

16

Although not the focus of our analysis, we found a significant interaction effect between age and years of full-time Jewish schooling, suggesting that older members of the Canadian Jewish community are less likely than younger members to have attended full-time Jewish school. This stands to reason given the

growth of the full-time Jewish school system over the past half century. Including the interaction effect improved the fit of the regression model—the pseudo- R^2 increased to 0.256 from 0.240 in Model 5.

17

Graham, D. 2016. Jews in couples: marriage, intermarriage, cohabitation and divorce in Britain. London UK: Institute for Jewish Policy Research (<https://bit.ly/2CHF3GQ>), p. 16; Pew Research Center. 2013. *A Portrait of American Jews*. Washington, DC (<https://pewrsr.ch/2l8hg4e>), p. 19.

18

In 2011, 39 percent of Canadians identified as Roman Catholic, 27 percent as Protestant, 24 percent said they had no religious affiliation, 1 percent identified as Jewish, and the remaining 9 percent identified as Christian Orthodox, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and so on (see Statistics Canada. 2019. Religion (108), Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11), Age Groups (10) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2011 National Household Survey. (<https://bit.ly/2EPJqki>)). The 2018 Survey of Canadian Jews estimates 392,000 Canadian Jews by religion or ethnicity, and a recent report by Statistics Canada notes that the figure may be as high as 398,000. See Smith, T., & McLeish, S. 2019. Technical report on changes in response related to the census ethnic origin question: Focus on Jewish origins, 2016 Census integrated with 2011 National Household Survey (<https://bit.ly/2ZEHbGq>).

19

Lee, S.M., Hou, F., Edmonston, B., & Wu, Z. 2017. Religious intermarriage in Canada, 1981 to 2011. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 56 (3), p. 671.

20

See, for example, Bialik Hebrew Day School. 2019. Tuition and Financial Support. (<https://bit.ly/2mdlFtm>); Camp Biluim. 2019. Dates and rates (<https://bit.ly/2l1GwzN>); Camp Ramah in Canada. 2019. Summer 2020 dates and rates (<https://bit.ly/2lamXoR>); UJA Federation of Greater Toronto. 2019. CHAT Tuition Initiative. 2019 (<https://bit.ly/2mk056n>).

21

Daniel Held, cited in Rose, A. 2019. The Unequal Cost of Jewish Education in Canada. *Canadian Jewish News*, 4 September. <https://bit.ly/2kQmw2X>. Regarding the effect of tuition fees on attendance in full-time Jewish day schools, see also UJA Federation of Greater Toronto. 2019. The Generations Trust, pp. 8, 11.

22

Brym, R., Neuman, K., & Lenton, R. 2019b. 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada. Toronto: Environments Institute. Machine-readable file.