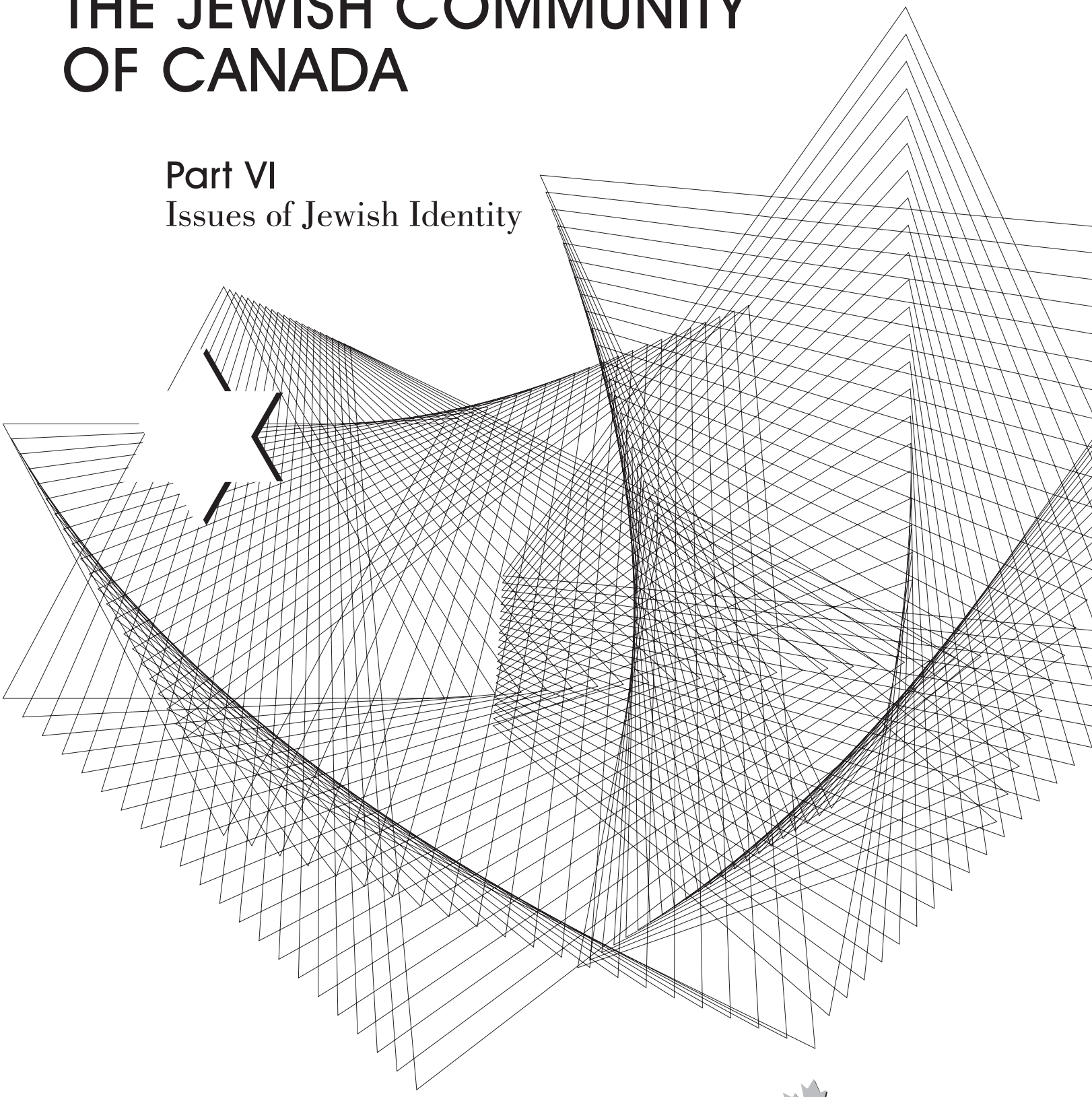
2001 Census Analysis Series

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CANADA

Part VI

Issues of Jewish Identity



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2001 Census Analysis
The Jewish Community of Canada

Part 6
Issues of Jewish Identity

By:
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Highlights of Results

- A large majority of Jews in Canada, 266,010, consider themselves as Jewish by both religion and ethnicity. A further 63,985 respondents say they are Jewish by religion, but have another ethnic affiliation; whereas 40,525 people say they are Jews by ethnicity but have no religion. Finally, 42,070 are ethnic Jews who indicate another religion. The latter group was not included in this report's definition of Jewishness.

- Using a combination of Census responses related to religion and ethnicity to define levels of Jewish identification, it was found that the great majority of Canadian Jews have a "higher" Jewish identification (89.1%). Only 10.9% are considered as having a "lower" identification.

- Montreal has the highest percentage of highly affiliated Jews (95.5%). In terms of other major Jewish communities: Toronto has 91.9% who are highly identified, Winnipeg has 86.4%, Ottawa has 84.2%, Calgary has 82.2%, and Greater Vancouver has 76.5%. There is a general trend of decreasing affiliation as one moves westward from Montreal across Canada.

- 21.7% of Jewish spouses / partners are married to non-Jews. *This figure is considered to be the intermarriage rate for Canadian Jews, and includes common law and same-sex arrangements.* In absolute terms, 38,010 of 175,190 Jewish spouses / partners are intermarried.

- There are 58,235 Jews (including children) who live in intermarried arrangements, or 20.7% of all Jews living in couple arrangements in Canada.

- There has been an increase of 27% of Jews living in intermarried households in the last decade, and 92% in the last two decades. In short, the number of Canadian Jews living in intermarried households has almost doubled since 1981.

- Greater Vancouver has the highest intermarriage rate of any major Jewish community in the country (41.3%). Montreal has the lowest level of intermarriage (13.1%).

- In cases where both spouses are less than 30 years of age, the level of intermarriage is 37.3%. It is 17.1% when both spouses are at least 40 years old.

- About a quarter of Jewish children under 15 years of age (living in couple families) reside in intermarried arrangements (22.6%).

- The percentage of common law arrangements among intermarried households is markedly higher than among those where both spouses are Jewish (24.6% and 3.4%, respectively).

- Jews from the United States (30.7%) and South America (28.2%) have the highest levels of intermarriage. The intermarriage level among those from the Former Soviet Union is 17.4%.

- Families earning between $50K - $99.9K have the highest intermarriage levels (40.5%). The intermarriage levels are lower in the extremes of the income distribution.

- Regarding the youngest children of intermarried couples, less than a third (30%) are identified by their parents as Jews; almost half (46.1%) are assigned no religious affiliation; and the rest (23.9%) are identified as having other religions. Whether it is the husband or the wife who intermarries has a significant bearing on the religious orientation of their children.

- Among the six largest Jewish communities in Canada, 36.7% of Jewish children are registered in Jewish day schools. The figures are 43.3% for elementary schools and 25.4% for high schools.

- When supplementary schooling is factored in, 50.5% of Jewish children residing in the five largest Canadian communities, have some exposure to education with a Jewish content.

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Census Analysis Series
Issues of Jewish Identity

This report examines issues related to Jewish identity based on figures from the 2001 Census. Specifically, three subjects are addressed: self-perceptions of Jewishness as specified in the Census; the levels and characteristics of intermarriage; and the percentage of Jewish school-aged children attending Jewish day schools in various metropolitan areas across Canada.

What defines someone as a Jew? According to Halachic law, a Jew is anyone whose mother was born as such, or who has converted to Judaism. This definition is straightforward, and does not rely on issues of beliefs, values or levels of ritual observances. Being Jewish is a birth-right, which is not withdrawn even if the person converts to another religion. Whatever the nature of one's identification, whatever the self-perception, the fact of one's Jewishness is inviolable.

However, it is in the expression of one's Jewishness, in the strength of their Jewish identity, that self-perception does play a role. The Jewish experience can relate to religious, cultural and nationalistic aspects that represent a wide spectrum of attitudes and beliefs.

According to some analysts, Judaism has remained vibrant and strong because of its ability to tolerate and embrace a wide variety of expressions. Others have contended that opening the Jewish identity to such a multitude of expressions has further frayed or fragmented the cohesion of the Jewish people. These perspectives have been at the heart of the debate on how to counteract the forces of assimilation that have threatened the cohesiveness of the Jewish people throughout the centuries.

In North America there has been increasing concern about the ability of the Jewish community to withstand the pressures of such assimilation, and these worries have implications for the future of Jewry in the Diaspora as a whole. A recent population survey in the United States, for instance, suggested that since 1996, only slightly more than half (53%) of Jewish marriages involved

two partners who were born Jewish.[1] In 2001, more than 185,000 Americans who said they were raised exclusively Jewish, indicated they practiced another religion.[2]

The Canadian situation is not as dramatic as the American findings, although assimilation has had some impact on the character of the community. Such effects have been tempered by a government policy, which emphasizes "multi-culturalism", a tolerance for various cultural expressions, which are woven into the fabric of Canadian life. This is in contrast to the concept of the American "melting pot", where ethnic expressions are often absorbed into the overall cultural milieu, and may lose their distinctiveness.

The effects of assimilation have also been influenced by the fact that Canadian Jews are more of an immigrant community than Americans. The Jewish communities in the United States are generally historically older than Canadian ones. Approximately 85% of American Jewish adults were born in that country.[3] About 40% of adult Jews were not born in Canada, and this may account for a stronger cultural and religious identity, although recent Jewish immigrants from the Former Soviet Union have not necessarily demonstrated strong religious affiliation in either country.

Comparisons of Jewish Identification

Studies done in the United States and Canada show that there are important differences in the way these communities express their Jewishness. Traditional measurements of identity and involvement have revolved around questions of ritual observance, synagogue attendance, intermarriage levels, Jewish education, ties to Israel, as well as Jewish social and communal affiliation.

Unfortunately, the last opportunity for comparing national surveys in the United States and Canada was in 1991. Although these findings were presented 15 years ago, their implications were very suggestive.

For instance, Cohen (1991) found that Canadian Jews observed more ritual practices

[1] The National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) 2000-01: Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population. United Jewish Communities, September 2003.

[2] Special analysis done of NJPS 2000-2001 data and personally communicated to the author by J. Ament, Senior Project Director, Research Department, United Jewish Communities.

[3] Ament, J. Jewish Immigrants in the United States. United Jewish Communities: Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01, October 2004.

than American Jews: 54% of Canadian Jews lit Sabbath candles, compared to 26% of Americans.[4] In terms of keeping separate meat and dairy dishes, 44% of Canadian Jews did so; whereas the figure was 18% for American Jews.

Comparisons also suggested that Canadian Jews were more close-knit, and substantially more Jewishly philanthropic than American Jews. For instance, about 41% of Canadian Jews donated at least $100 to their Federation's campaign, whereas only 21% of American Jews did so. Almost 80% of Canadian Jews said most of their friends were Jewish, compared to 51% of American Jews.

Finally, when compared with American Jews, Canadian Jews were more in touch with Israel and Israelis, more knowledgeable about Israel, and more actively pro-Israel. Almost forty percent of Canadian Jews had visited Israel twice or more, compared to 17% in the United States. Forty-two percent of Canadian Jews considered themselves to be Zionists, compared to 25% in the U.S.

The 1991 Canadian Population Survey also suggested considerable variations in the Jewish identification of people living in various localities across Canada. For instance, British Columbian Jewry fell below the national average in several measures of ritual observance and institutional affiliation.

Toronto Jews generally scored neither very high nor very low on measures of Jewish identity or involvement. On the whole, the Toronto community was somewhat less involved in many aspects of Jewish life than those in Montreal, but more involved than most Jews elsewhere in Canada.

Montreal Jewry appeared to be more observant and more Orthodox than other Canadian Jewry. Montreal Jews were also generally more communally active than Jews elsewhere.

The above findings underscore the differences between communities both within Canada and across its borders. Cohen suggests that the prevailing view among Jewish community leaders is that Canadian Jewry is actually "one generation behind" the United States in the "assimilation" process. It is therefore assumed that we have more time

[4] Cohen, S. Jewish Identity in Canada: National Character, Regional Diversity, and Emerging Trends (1991).

Table 1
Religious & Ethnicity Affiliations
Jewish Population of Canada

	#	%
Religion Jewish / Ethnicity Jewish	266,010	64.5
Religion Jewish / Ethnicity Not Jewish	63,985	15.5
Religion None / Ethnicity Single: Jewish	10,000	2.4
Religion None / Ethnicity Jewish & Other	30,525	7.4
Religion Other / Ethnicity Jewish	42,070	10.2
Total Having Any Jewish Affiliation	**412,590**	**100.0**

Table 2
Levels of Jewish Identification
Based on Religion & Ethnicity Responses
Jewish Population of Canada

	#	%
Higher Jewish Identification	329,995	89.1
Lower Jewish Identification	40,525	10.9
Total	**370,520**	**100.0**

to adjust, and perhaps that we can learn from the mistakes and successes of the American efforts. Whatever the validity of these arguments, more data is needed to study the effects of assimilation generally in Canada.

Unfortunately, the Canadian Census does not allow for analyses related to Jewish attitudes and beliefs, or adherence to Jewish customs. This is an important limitation, since most factors related to Jewish identity cannot be examined using the Census. On the other hand, there are certain variables which allow for the measurement of some aspects of Jewish identity. These include the type of identification (religious or ethnic) among Jews, the level of intermarriage and its correlates, and the percentage of children attending Jewish day schools.

The following monograph will take an in-depth look at these issues, as they pertain to the national Jewish community specifically.

Self-Perceptions of Jewishness

The 2001 Census asked two questions related to one's Jewishness. The first looked at the respondent's religion. The other asked about the person's ethnic origin. Whereas the religious criterion is straightforward, the question of ethnicity is more ambiguous. Ethnicity could include implications of culture, nationality and race. It is therefore more prone to idiosyncrasies of interpretation. For instance, some respondents who identified themselves as Jewish by religion, claimed that their ethnicity was "Canadian" or "Israeli".

Respondents were allowed more than one choice for ethnicity, and a maximum of four choices. Thus, a person could say that they were ethnically Jewish and Polish. There was no way of knowing the strength of one's identification regarding a particular ethnic category; but if only one choice was made, then it could be assumed it represented the dominant affiliation.

Despite these ambiguities, Jewish identity, as defined by the Census, is unique, because it can be classified as both a religious and ethnic affiliation. One can also say something about the strength of Jewish identification by looking at different combinations using these two criteria. Thus, a person who said they were ethnically Jewish but had no religion, likely had a different self-perception as a Jew than one who claimed both religious and ethnic affiliations.

Table 3A
Levels of Jewish Identification by Provinces
(Row %)

Province	Total	Higher Jewish Identification		Lower Jewish Identification	
	#	#	%	#	%
Nova Scotia	2,785	2,120	76.1	665	23.9
New Brunswick	835	670	80.2	165	19.8
Nfld. / Labrador	190	135	71.1	55	28.9
Prince Edward Island	110	60	54.5	50	45.5
(Total Atlantic)	**(3,920)**	**(2,985)**	**(76.1)**	**(935)**	**(23.9)**
Quebec	94,665	89,915	95.0	4,750	5.0
Ontario	211,460	190,800	90.2	20,660	9.8
Manitoba	15,210	13,040	85.7	2,170	14.3
Saskatchewan	1,350	870	64.4	480	35.6
Alberta	13,895	11,090	79.8	2,805	20.2
British Columbia	29,875	21,230	71.1	8,645	28.9
Territories	165	75	45.5	90	54.5
Total Canada	**370,540**	**330,005**	**89.1**	**40,535**	**10.9**

Given the Census parameters, a Jew in this report was defined as someone who was (a) Jewish by religion, and (b) Jewish by ethnicity but had no religion. This is the Jewish Standard Definition, which was formulated in 1981 by Jim Torczyner of McGill University. It was devised because this definition was more inclusive than if religion or ethnicity were considered separately.

A category that was not included in this definition related to respondents who said they were ethnically Jewish, but claimed another religious affiliation, such as Roman Catholic or Buddhist. These people may have converted to another religion, or they may simply have had an ancestor (e.g. a grandparent) who was Jewish. In either case, it was assumed that they have a very minimal affiliation with Judaism, and were therefore not included as Jews.

Table 1 shows a breakdown of the Canadian Jewish population by category of affiliation. A large majority of Jews in this country, 266,010, consider themselves as Jewish by both religion and ethnicity. They are the group most clearly identified as Jews. A further 63,985 respondents say they are Jewish by religion, but have another ethnic affiliation.

It is interesting that 40,525 people say they are Jews by ethnicity but have no religion. Some of these may be secular Jews who consider themselves as atheists or agnostics. Others may be secular humanists who celebrate significant events in the Jewish calendar through cultural rather than religious practices. Together, these three categories comprise 370,520 individuals, which is the Jewish population of Canada according to the Jewish Standard Definition (JSD) as applied to the 2001 Census.

There are 42,070 persons in the category that was not included in the JSD (ethnic Jews indicating another religion). A further analysis reveals that 47.6% of these individuals say they are Protestant, 33% say Catholic, 9% unspecified Christians, 5.9% Christian Orthodox, 1.5% Buddhist, and 3% report various other religions.

A Closer Look at Levels of Affiliation

In the following analyses, those that indicated they were Jewish by religion are considered as having a "Higher Jewish Identification"; people who indicated that they were Jewish

Table 3B
Levels of Jewish Identification by Metropolitan Areas (>250 total Jews) (Row %)

Census Metropolitan Area	Total	Higher Jewish Identification		Lower Jewish Identification	
	#	#	%	#	%
Halifax, NS	1,980	1,580	79.8	400	20.2
Moncton, NB	270	245	90.7	25	9.3
Fredericton, NB	285	215	75.4	70	24.6
Montreal, QC	92,970	88,765	95.5	4,205	4.5
Toronto, ON	179,095	164,510	91.9	14,585	8.1
Ottawa / Gatineau	13,445	11,325	84.2	2,120	15.8
Hamilton, ON	4,670	3,850	82.4	820	17.6
Kingston, ON	1,090	855	78.4	235	21.6
Kitchener, ON	1,385	1,030	74.4	355	25.6
London, ON	2,300	1,885	82.0	415	18.0
Windsor, ON	1,525	1,330	87.2	195	12.8
Winnipeg, MB	14,775	12,765	86.4	2,010	13.6
Regina, SA	565	370	65.5	195	34.5
Saskatoon, SA	505	325	64.4	180	35.6
Calgary, AL	7,945	6,530	82.2	1,415	17.8
Edmonton, AL	4,925	3,980	80.8	945	19.2
Vancouver, BC	22,595	17,275	76.5	5,320	23.5
Victoria, BC	2,595	1,550	59.7	1,045	40.3

by ethnicity but who claimed no religion, are considered as having a "Lower Jewish Identification".

It is obviously difficult to judge the quality of identification of any person, let alone rely on the limitations of the Census criteria. But these labels are meant for comparison purposes only. Someone who said they were ethnically Jewish, but had no religion, may have a strong commitment in different ways (e.g. participation in community organizations, supporting Israel). The findings should therefore be interpreted with these caveats in mind.

As Table 2 suggests, the great majority of Canadian Jews have a higher Jewish identification (89.1%). Only 10.9% are considered as having a lower identification.

Table 3A examines levels of affiliation across provinces. Quebec has the highest proportion of Jews who are highly identified (95%), followed by Ontario (90.2%) and Manitoba (85.7%).

The highest levels of individuals with lower identification are found in the Territories (54.5%) and Prince Edward Island (45.5%), although there are very few Jews living in these regions. Because the cell sizes are very small in such cases, these figures may be subject to a wide variability due to sampling errors, and should therefore be interpreted cautiously (see Appendix 2).

Table 3B examines levels of affiliation across metropolitan centers in Canada. Montreal has the highest percentage of highly affiliated Jews (95.5%). In terms of other major Jewish communities: Toronto has 91.9% who are highly identified, Winnipeg has 86.4%, Ottawa has 84.2%, Calgary has 82.2%, and Greater Vancouver has 76.5%. There is a general trend of decreasing affiliation as one moves westward from Montreal across Canada.

Victoria (40.3%), Saskatoon (35.6%) and Regina (34.5%) have the largest proportions of Jews with lower identification. Among major Jewish centers, Greater Vancouver (23.5%) has the highest percentage of individuals with lower affiliation.

Both Montreal (4.5%) and Toronto (8.1%) have very small percentages of individuals with lower Jewish affiliation, although in absolute terms, Toronto has 14,585 such

Table 4
Age by Levels of Jewish Identification
(Row %)

Age Cohort	Total	Higher Jewish Identification		Lower Jewish Identification	
	#	#	%	#	%
0-14	71,595	61,085	85.3	10,510	14.7
15-24	48,430	41,770	86.2	6,660	13.8
25-44	90,505	79,020	87.3	11,485	12.7
45-64	98,105	89,700	91.4	8,405	8.6
65+	61,870	58,410	94.4	3,460	5.6
Total Canada	**370,505**	**329,985**	**89.1**	**40,520**	**10.9**

individuals, and Montreal has 4,205. Greater Vancouver has 5,320 persons with lower affiliation.

According to Table 4, Jewish affiliation is clearly related to age. The older segments seem to have higher levels of identification. In fact, 94.4% of seniors are highly affiliated. The 0-14 age group has the highest percentage of Jews with lower identification (14.7%).

It is difficult to explain the lower levels of identification among those under 15 years. There are 10,510 such children listed by their parents as having no religious identity, and who are still counted as Jews using the Jewish Standard Definition (JSD) as a criterion. They are children who may be getting little exposure to Jewish customs or traditions, and they represent an interesting challenge: how to encourage a life-long connection to the community.

Levels of Intermarriage in the Canadian Jewish Population

The Census can be used to analyze the incidence of intermarriage in the Jewish population. Specifically, in this report intermarriage is defined as a situation where a person who falls under the Jewish Standard Definition (JSD) marries someone who is not included under this criterion. It is then possible to cross-tabulate intermarriage with a number of other variables to profile those who are most likely to marry outside their faith.

Note that individuals who converted to Judaism are considered as Jewish according to the Jewish Standard Definition. Thus, intermarriage as described in this report only examines couples where the non-Jewish spouse did not convert to Judaism. It is not possible to identify conversionary marriages using the Census information alone.

It is also important to mention that common law unions are included in the following statistics on intermarriage, as are same-sex arrangements where one of the partners is Jewish and the other is not. In this report, common law and same-sex arrangements refer to a union between “partners”, whereas individuals who are married are referred to as “spouses”.

What is the level of intermarriage among Canada’s Jews? Table 5 examines the intermarriage rate from the perspective of

Table 5
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Base Population: Jewish Spouses / Partners

	#	%
Husband Jewish / Wife Jewish	137,180	78.3
Intermarried: Husband Jewish / Wife Non-Jewish	21,260	12.1
Intermarried: Husband Non-Jewish / Wife Jewish	16,750	9.6
(Subtotal: Intermarried)	**(38,010)**	**(21.7)**
Total Jewish Spouses / Partners	**175,190**	**100.0**

Table 6
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Base Population: Individuals Living in Couple Households

	#	%
Husband Jewish / Wife Jewish	220,790	78.5
Husband Jewish / Wife Non-Jewish	30,745	10.9
Husband Non-Jewish / Wife Jewish	27,490	9.8
(Subtotal: Living in Intermarried Households)	**(58,235)**	**(20.7)**
Husband Non-Jewish / Wife Non-Jewish	2,325	0.8
Total Individuals Living in Couple Households	**281,350**	**100.0**

spouses or partners. Since there are two Jewish spouses / partners when Jews marry within the faith, such arrangements are given a count of two; whereas in intermarried families, only the Jewish spouse / partner is considered in the calculation.

According to this breakdown, 21.7% of Jewish spouses / partners are intermarried. This figure is considered the intermarriage rate for Jews residing in this country. In absolute terms, 38,010 of 175,190 Jewish spouses / partners are intermarried.

Of 38,010 spouses / partners who live in intermarried arrangements, 21,260 (55.9%) live in situations where the husband is Jewish and the wife is non-Jewish; and 16,750 (44.1%) live in arrangements where the husband is non-Jewish and the wife is Jewish. In other words, Jewish men are more inclined to intermarry than Jewish women.

What is the total number of Jews living in intermarried families, <u>including children</u>? According to Table 6, there are 58,235 persons who live in intermarried arrangements. This represents 20.7% of all individuals living in couple arrangements.

The small discrepancy between the intermarriage figures in Tables 5 and 6 (21.7% versus 20.7%) results from the fact that intermarried families typically have fewer children (see Table 10), and hence are underestimated when the rate is calculated based on all individuals, rather than only spouses / partners.

Also according to Table 6, 2,325 Jewish children are living in situations where neither parent is Jewish. They may be products of mixed marriages, where the non-Jewish partner has divorced and then married someone outside the faith while retaining custody of the children, who are nonetheless considered Jewish.

How does the 2001 level of intermarriage compare to statistics available from previous decades? Unfortunately, previous Census analyses did not examine the intermarriage rate on the basis of spouses / partners, only in terms of total individuals living in intermarried families. Also, there are small discrepancies between the Jewish Standard Definition used in the present Census, compared to previous definitions of Jewishness (see Appendix 2).

Table 7A
Intermarriage Levels Across Provinces
Base Population: Jewish Spouses / Partners
(Row %)

Province	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Nova Scotia	1,495	870	58.2	625	41.8
New Brunswick	360	140	38.9	220	61.1
Nfld. / Labrador	100	30	30.0	70	70.0
Prince Edward Island	30	0	0.0	30	100.0
(Total Atlantic)	**(1,985)**	**(1,040)**	**(52.4)**	**(945)**	**(47.6)**
Quebec	44,325	38,090	85.9	6,235	14.1
Ontario	100,840	81,070	80.4	19,770	19.6
Manitoba	7,270	5,510	75.8	1,760	24.2
Saskatchewan	550	260	47.3	290	52.7
Alberta	6,765	4,320	63.9	2,445	36.1
British Columbia	13,380	6,860	51.3	6,520	48.7
Territories	85	40	47.1	45	52.9
Total Canada	**175,200**	**137,190**	**78.3**	**38,010**	**21.7**

Notwithstanding these caveats, 46,000 Canadian Jews lived in such arrangements in 1991.[5] This compares to 58,235 in 2001, an increase of 27% in the last decade.

In 1981, 30,375 Jews lived in such arrangements.[5] Hence, in the last two decades there has been an increase of 92% in the number of individuals living in intermarried households. In short, the number has almost doubled since 1981.

The increase in the number of individuals living in intermarried households should be considered in the context of the overall Jewish population increase in the last two decades. Between 1981 and 2001, the Jewish population of this country increased by 18.1% compared to 92% in the number of persons living in intermarried arrangements. In short, the intermarriage levels have significantly outpaced the increase in the number of Jews in this country in the last twenty years.

The Geographic Distribution of Intermarried Households

Table 7A looks at intermarriage levels across provinces. The areas with the highest intermarriage rates are Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland / Labrador, and New Brunswick. However, these three regions have very few Jews between them. The highest intermarriage levels for provinces with at least 5,000 Jews include British Columbia (48.7%) and Alberta (36.1%).

The provinces with the lowest intermarriage levels include Quebec (14.1%) and Ontario (19.6%).

Table 7B looks at intermarriage rates across metropolitan areas. The highest intermarriage levels are found in Moncton (68%), followed by Victoria (66.8%), Fredericton (63.6%), and Regina (56.9%).

Among major Jewish communities in the country (population > 5,000), Greater Vancouver has the highest rate of intermarriage (41.3%). The lowest intermarriage levels are found in Montreal (13.1%) and Toronto (15.6%).

[5] Torczyner, J. L. et al. Demographic Challenges Facing Canadian Jewry: Initial Findings from the 1991 Census. Council of Jewish Federations Canada and McGill Consortium for Ethnicity & Strategic Social Planning.

Table 7B
Intermarriage Levels Across Metropolitan Areas (>250 total Jews)
Base Population: Jewish Spouses / Partners
(Row %)

Census Metropolitan Area	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Halifax, NS	1,035	640	61.8	395	38.2
Moncton, NB	125	40	32.0	85	68.0
Fredericton, NB	110	40	36.4	70	63.6
Montreal, QC	43,490	37,790	86.9	5,700	13.1
Toronto, ON	85,210	71,910	84.4	13,300	15.6
Ottawa / Gatineau	6,500	4,430	68.2	2,070	31.8
Hamilton, ON	2,130	1,350	63.4	780	36.6
Kingston, ON	485	230	47.4	255	52.6
Kitchener, ON	670	340	50.7	330	49.3
London, ON	1,070	620	57.9	450	42.1
Windsor, ON	765	530	69.3	235	30.7
Winnipeg, MB	7,065	5,420	76.7	1,645	23.3
Regina, SA	255	110	43.1	145	56.9
Saskatoon, SA	195	120	61.5	75	38.5
Calgary, AL	3,880	2,550	65.7	1,330	34.3
Edmonton, AL	2,455	1,640	66.8	815	33.2
Vancouver, BC	10,225	6,000	58.7	4,225	41.3
Victoria, BC	1,175	390	33.2	785	66.8

Table 8
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Age of Spouses / Partners
(Row %)

	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Both Spouses < 30 Years	7,355	4,610	62.7	2,745	37.3
At Least One Spouse 30-39 Years	40,750	27,350	67.1	13,400	32.9
At Least One Spouse > 39 Years	140,725	114,180	81.1	26,545	18.9
Both Spouses > 39 Years	126,420	104,840	82.9	21,580	17.1

Note: The age categories described above may overlap with one another. Hence, the totals of the columns represent more than 100% of the households in question.

Table 9
Individuals Living in Intermarried Households
Age Breakdowns
(Row %)

Age Cohort	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
0-14	62,295	48,200	77.4	14,095	22.6
15-24	36,260	29,755	82.1	6,505	17.9
25-44	66,435	48,170	72.5	18,265	27.5
45-64	76,055	60,275	79.3	15,780	20.7
65+	37,965	34,385	90.6	3,580	9.4
Total Individuals Living in Couple Households	**279,010**	**220,785**	**79.1**	**58,225**	**20.9**
0-4	19,455	14,435	74.2	5,020	25.8

The Characteristics of Intermarried Households

Table 8 looks at the ages of Jewish spouses / partners living in intermarried arrangements. Note that the age categories represented in this table may overlap with one another. American studies have shown that younger adults are more inclined to intermarry than their older counterparts. This trend seems to be verified by the current Census data.

For instance, the intermarriage rate when both spouses are less than 30 years of age is 37.3%. It is 32.9% if at least one spouse is between 30-39 years, 18.9% if there is at least one spouse greater than 39 years, and 17.1% if both spouses are older than 39 years. It seems that the intermarriage rate for younger couples is significantly higher than for older ones.

Table 9 provides an interesting statistic. More than one of five Jewish children under 15 years (22.6%), who reside with both parents, live in an intermarried arrangement. This represents 14,095 children.

A further examination shows that 25.8% of children less than 5 years, who reside with both parents, live in an intermarried arrangement. This involves 5,020 children.

It should be noted that the above statistics likely underestimate the number of children under 5 years residing in intermarried families, since only those identified by their parents as being Jewish are included in this count. Later data presented in this report will show that a significant percentage of younger children in intermarried families are not considered to be Jewish by their parents.

Table 10 shows the number of children living at home by various couple arrangements. When both spouses are Jewish, the mean number of children living at home is higher than in intermarried situations (1.2 and 0.9 children, respectively). Although both figures appear low, the reader should note that these are not measures of fertility, because they do not take into account children living outside the home.

Further analysis reveals that there tends to be a very similar number of children when a wife is Jewish and intermarries (mean=1.0) as when the husband is Jewish and intermarries (0.9).

Table 10
Number of Children in Intermarried Households

Number of Children	Total		Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	46,785	43.9	28,935	42.2	17,850	47.0
One	19,995	18.8	11,965	17.4	8,030	21.1
Two	26,110	24.5	16,990	24.8	9,120	24.0
Three	9,955	9.3	7,465	10.9	2,490	6.6
Four	2,390	2.2	1,945	2.8	445	1.2
Five or more	1,360	1.3	1,285	1.9	75	0.2
Total Couple Households	**106,595**	**100.0**	**68,585**	**100.0**	**38,010**	**100.0**
Mean Number	--		1.2		0.9	

Table 11
Family Structure in Intermarried Households

Family Structure	Total		Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Married couples	94,950	89.1	66,290	96.6	28,660	75.4
Common-law couples	11,650	10.9	2,300	3.4	9,350	24.6
Total Couple Households	**106,600**	**100.0**	**68,590**	**100.0**	**38,010**	**100.0**

Arrangements in which both spouses are Jewish have a significantly higher percentage of households with at least three children living at home (15.6%), compared to intermarried arrangements (8%).

Table 11 looks at family structure by couple arrangements. It can be seen that the percentage of common law arrangements among intermarried households is significantly higher than among those where both spouses are Jewish (24.6% and 3.4%, respectively). In short, almost a quarter of intermarried couples live in common law situations.

The level of common law arrangements among the intermarried (24.6%) is even higher than that for the overall Canadian population (16.4%).

Who Intermarries?

Table 12 looks at intermarriage by place of birth. Jews born in Canada have an intermarriage rate of 22.2%.

Jews from the United States (30.7%) and South America (28.2%) have the highest levels of intermarriage among immigrants. The latter also happen to be among the most recent arrivals to Canada. The level of intermarriage among Jews from the Former Soviet Union is 17.4%, a lower level than for non-immigrant Jews.

The lowest incidence of intermarriage is found among those born in Israel (9%). There are also relatively low intermarriage levels among Jews born in North Africa / Middle East (excluding Israel) (9.4%) and Eastern Europe (13.2%).

Regarding intermarriage by year of immigration (Table 13), those who arrived between 1970-1979 have the highest level of intermarriage of any landed immigrant group (20.3%). Those who came between 1960-1969 (19.9%) and 1990-2001 (19.6%) have similar levels of intermarriage.

The lowest intermarriage rates are found among those who immigrated before 1960 (14%), and between 1980-1989 (14.2%). It is not immediately apparent why the latter group should have such relatively low intermarriage rates.

A more detailed analysis of intermarriage levels involving year of immigration and place of birth is shown in the table below.

Table 12
Individuals Living in Intermarried Households
by Place of Birth
(Row %)

Place of Birth	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Canada	189,050	147,075	77.8	41,975	22.2
Israel	11,295	10,275	91.0	1,020	9.0
Eastern Europe (excl. FSU)	14,425	12,515	86.8	1,910	13.2
Former Soviet Union	21,295	17,600	82.6	3,695	17.4
Western Europe	11,215	8,065	71.9	3,150	28.1
North Africa / Middle East (excl. Israel)	10,125	9,170	90.6	955	9.4
United States	12,100	8,385	69.3	3,715	30.7
South America	1,895	1,360	71.8	535	28.2
Other	7,635	6,355	83.2	1,280	16.8
Total Individuals Living in Couple Households	**279,035**	**220,800**	**79.1**	**58,235**	**20.9**

Table 13
Individuals Living in Intermarried Households
by Year of Immigration
(Row %)

Year of Immigration	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Non-immigrants	190,675	148,280	77.8	42,395	22.2
Before 1960	16,240	13,960	86.0	2,280	14.0
1960 - 1969	11,270	9,025	80.1	2,245	19.9
1970 - 1979	15,940	12,710	79.7	3,230	20.3
1980 - 1989	16,630	14,265	85.8	2,365	14.2
1990 - 2001	25,875	20,795	80.4	5,080	19.6
Non-permanent residents	2,400	1,765	73.5	635	26.5
Total Individuals Living in Couple Households	**279,030**	**220,800**	**79.1**	**58,230**	**20.9**

This breakdown examines the intermarriage rate of immigrant groups arriving between 1990-2001. It is clear that large percentages of immigrant Jews arriving from South America (36.3%) and Western Europe (30.2%) live in intermarried households.

Approximately one in five (20.9%) of individuals originating in the FSU are intermarried. The lowest intermarriage rates are found among Israeli-born Jews (7.9%)

In absolute terms, of 5,075 immigrants who arrived between 1990-2001, and who live in intermarried households, 2,760 were born in the Former Soviet Union, 675 in the United States and 345 in Eastern Europe. The remainder (1,295) originated in various other regions.

Intermarriage Rates of Jewish Immigrants Arriving Between 1990-2001 by Place of Birth

	%
Israel	7.9
Eastern Europe (excl. FSU)	29.4
Former Soviet Union	20.9
Western Europe	30.2
N. Africa / Middle East (excl. Israel)	9.4
United States	26.0
South America	36.3
Other	11.8
Total	19.5

Unfortunately, regarding statistics related to intermarriage and year of immigration, it is not possible using the Census data alone to determine whether individuals had intermarried in this country, or had arrived here with their non-Jewish spouse.

Table 14 examines the relationship between level of education and intermarriage. Note that some education categories described in this table overlap with one another. The findings suggest that those with higher levels of education are slightly more inclined to intermarry.

For instance, when both spouses have less than a university education, the intermarriage level is 21.8%. If at least one spouse has a university undergraduate degree the intermarriage rate is identical, at 21.8%. If at least one spouse has a university graduate degree the intermarriage level is 20.8%. Finally, the highest rate of intermarriage is found when both spouses have university graduate degrees, such as MAs or PhDs (23%). It may be that as one continues with their educational involvement in a secular milieu, there are more opportunities for inter-faith encounters, although the

Table 14
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Education of Spouses / Partners
(Row %)

	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Both Spouses Less Than Univ. Education	62,490	48,840	78.2	13,650	21.8
At Least One Spouse Univ. Undergraduate	73,250	57,260	78.2	15,990	21.8
At Least One Spouse Univ. Graduate	62,825	49,750	79.2	13,075	20.8
Both Spouses University Graduates	20,525	15,800	77.0	4,725	23.0

Note: The education categories described above may overlap with one another. Hence, the totals of the columns represent more than 100% of the households in question.

differences obtained above are somewhat small.

It is interesting that in the United States there is an opposite link between level of education and intermarriage. The National Jewish Population Survey (2000-2001) found that 34% of those with a high school education or less were intermarried, compared to 31% with a university undergraduate degree, and 27% with a university graduate degree.[6] Cohen (1989) reports that among American men who never attended university, the intermarriage rate is over 40%; of those with an undergraduate degree, only 18% are intermarried.[7]

As Table 15A shows, the relationship between intermarriage and income status is complex. Intermarriage seems to be more prevalent among middle-income families as far as income ranges are concerned. Those families earning between $50K - $99.9K have the highest intermarriage levels (40.5%).

The intermarriage levels are lower in the extremes of the income distribution. For instance, the rates are 34.8% among families earning under $25,000 per year, and 26.7% among families earning $150,000 or more.

As Table 15B shows, the median income of intermarried couples ($79,215) is lower than that of arrangements where both spouses are Jewish ($89,710).

Results from the National Jewish Population Survey in the United States (2000-2001) are compatible with the current findings. The American study found that intermarriage levels peaked in the middle of the income distribution, and were less pronounced in the extremes. For instance, 38% of households earning between $50,000-$99,999 were intermarried, compared to 32% of households earning less than $25,000, and 28% of households earning more than $150,000.[8]

The Affiliations of Children in Intermarried Families

How children are being brought up in intermarried families has profound

[6] NJPS (2000-01) Report on Jewish Life: Variations in Intermarriage. See the United Jewish Communities Web Site: http://www.ujc.org

[7] Cohen, S. Alternative Families in the Jewish Community. The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations (1989).

[8] Special analysis done of NJPS 2000-2001 data and personally communicated to the author by J. Ament, Senior Project Director, Research Department, United Jewish Communities.

Table 15A
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Family Income
(Row %)

	Total	Both Spouses Jewish		Intermarried	
	#	#	%	#	%
Under $25,000	8,210	5,350	65.2	2,860	34.8
$25,000 - $49,999	18,240	11,430	62.7	6,810	37.3
$50,000 - $99,999	36,115	21,495	59.5	14,620	40.5
$100,000 - $149,999	20,210	12,855	63.6	7,355	36.4
$150,000 or more	23,820	17,460	73.3	6,360	26.7
Total Couple Households	**106,595**	**68,590**	**64.3**	**38,005**	**35.7**

Table 15B
Intermarriage Breakdowns
Median Family Income

	Median Income ($)
Both Spouses Jewish	89,710
Intermarried	79,215

implications for the issue of Jewish continuity. Since the intermarriage level among Canada's Jews is 21.7% there is little doubt that the Jewish population cannot afford to "lose" these families to the pressures of assimilation.

Table 16 is very revealing in this regard. As expected, among Jewish families, the great majority of the youngest children (95.8%) are identified by their parents as Jews, 3.6% are assigned no religious affiliation, and 0.6% are identified as having other religions. Note, however, that despite the fact that the great majority are identified as Jews, it is impossible to determine their level of exposure to Jewish customs and rituals. There is also no way to know from the Census how these identifications translate into actual behaviors and attitudes.

Regarding the youngest children of intermarried couples, just under a third (30%) are being brought up as Jews; a little less than half (46.1%) have no religious affiliation; and the rest (23.9%) are being brought up within other religions.

In other words, 70% of these children in intermarried families are not identified as belonging to the religious orientation of the Jewish spouse. It is difficult to say whether they are having either minimal or no exposure to Judaism, but the findings are suggestive nonetheless.

Table 16 also shows that whether a Jewish man or woman intermarries is a critical factor in the identification of the youngest child. For instance, in cases where Jewish men intermarry, 18.9% of youngest children are identified as Jewish, 51.1% as having no religious affiliation, and 30% as having another religion. In short, 81.1% do not have the religious orientation of the Jewish father.

In cases where Jewish women intermarry, 43.9% are identified as Jewish, 39.8% as having no religious affiliation, and 16.3% as having another religion. In short, just over half (56.1%) do not have the religious orientation of the mother.

Enrolment in Jewish Day Schools

A basic foundation of Jewish life is the education that children are given during their formative years. A sound Jewish education should instill the values and beliefs that form essential ingredients of one's "Jewishness". This perspective can best be promoted if the

Table 16
Religion of Youngest Child in Intermarried Households

Religion of Youngest Child	Both Spouses Jewish		Husband Jewish / Wife Non-Jewish		Husband Non-Jewish / Wife Jewish		Total Intermarried	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Jewish	37,995	95.8	2,110	18.9	3,945	43.9	6,055	30.0
Catholic	90	0.2	1,455	13.0	725	8.1	2,180	10.8
Protestant	75	0.2	1,235	11.1	475	5.3	1,710	8.5
Christian Orthodox	40	0.1	340	3.0	115	1.3	455	2.3
Muslim	10	0.0	20	0.2	15	0.2	35	0.2
Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh	0	0.0	60	0.5	40	0.4	100	0.5
Para-religious groups	0	0.0	10	0.1	0	0.0	10	0.0
No religious affiliation	1,420	3.6	5,710	51.1	3,580	39.8	9,290	46.1
All other religions	25	0.1	235	2.1	95	1.1	330	1.6
Total Couple Households	**39,655**	**100.0**	**11,175**	**100.0**	**8,990**	**100.0**	**20,165**	**100.0**

child gets sufficient exposure to Jewish history and customs, in an environment that benefits from the encouragement of educators and peers.

Studies have shown that a full-time Jewish education, although not a guarantee of high levels of Jewish identification and affiliation, does greatly influence these factors. Studies in the United States and Canada have indicated that a Jewish education has a positive impact 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.

For most local communities there is a long-standing tradition of helping children whose parents are unable to afford fees for a Jewish education. According to information supplied by various Jewish communities in this country, the level of students attending day schools who received some financial support in 2001, ranged from 26% in Calgary to 57% in Vancouver.[9] The total amount of scholarship dollars given that year among communities in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Calgary was 9.7 million. Clearly the major communities recognize the need to make Jewish education affordable and accessible for all eligible children whose parents want them to pursue such an education.

It is in this context that the present analysis was undertaken to determine the percentage of Jewish children enrolled in Jewish day schools. This analysis, in fact, represents a relatively refined estimate because discrete age groups of Jews (aged 0-19 years) are available from the Census data.

Table 17A presents levels of enrolment for Jewish elementary schools across the six largest Jewish communities in the country. The first column relates to the base population of elementary school-aged children as reflected in the 2001 Census statistics; the second column shows enrolment in the Jewish day school system; the next column presents the percentage of the base population registered in Jewish elementary schools; and the last column shows the number of children enrolled in non-Jewish elementary schools.

According to Table 17A, the levels of Jewish elementary school enrolment range from

[9] The figures for Ottawa were not available here.

Table 17A
Percent Enrolled in Jewish Elementary Schools
(2001)

	2001 Census Base Population	Enrolled in Jewish Day Schools	**Percent of Base Enrolled**	Total in Non-Jewish Schools
Montreal (K-6)	8,550	5,677	**66.4**	2,873
Toronto (K-8)	22,020	8,046	**36.5**	13,974
Ottawa (K-8)	1,715	505	**29.4**	1,210
Winnipeg (K-6)	1,335	632	**47.3**	703
Calgary (K-6)	730	221	**30.3**	509
Vancouver (K-7)	2,120	704	**33.2**	1,416
Total	**36,470**	**15,785**	**43.3**	**20,685**

Table 17B
Percent Enrolled in Jewish High Schools
(2001)

	2001 Census Base Population	Enrolled in Jewish Day Schools	**Percent of Base Enrolled**	Total in Non-Jewish Schools
Montreal (7-11)	6,235	2,633	**42.2**	3,602
Toronto (9-12)	10,560	2,305	**21.8**	8,255
Ottawa (9-12)	1,080	68	**6.3**	1,012
Winnipeg (7-12)	1,175	243	**20.7**	932
Calgary (7-12)	675	75	**11.1**	600
Vancouver (8-12)	1,545	68	**4.4**	1,477
Total	**21,270**	**5,392**	**25.4**	**15,878**

66.4% in Montreal to 29.4% in Ottawa. The levels in Ottawa (29.4%) and Calgary (30.3%) are similar. Interestingly, Winnipeg has the second highest level of Jewish elementary school enrolment in the country (47.3%). The average level of Jewish elementary school enrolment across these six communities is 43.3%.

In absolute terms, the Toronto community has the largest number of children attending Jewish elementary schools (8,046), followed by Montreal (5,677), and Vancouver (704). The total number of children attending Jewish elementary schools across these six communities is 15,785. The total number attending non-Jewish elementary schools is 20,685.

Table 17B looks at enrolment levels in Jewish high schools in 2001, across the six largest communities in Canada. The levels range from 42.2% in Montreal to 4.4% in Vancouver. Ottawa also has a relatively low level of Jewish high school enrolment (6.3%). The average level of enrolment across these communities is 25.4%.

In absolute terms, there are more children attending Jewish high schools in Montreal (2,633) than Toronto (2,305). This is a remarkable finding, given that Toronto has 10,560 Jewish children of high school age, compared to 6,235 in Montreal. Winnipeg has the next highest number of students attending Jewish high school, with 243. The total number of children in Jewish high schools across these communities is 5,392.

Table 17C examines total enrolment in Jewish day schools in 2001, across the six largest communities. The levels range from 56.2% in Montreal to 20.5% in Ottawa. The levels for Calgary (21.1%) and Vancouver (21.1%) are comparable to those of Ottawa. The average level of total enrolment for all six communities is 36.7%. In other words, a little more than a third of Jewish children are enrolled in Jewish day schools.

In absolute terms, Toronto has the largest total number of children enrolled in Jewish day schools (10,351), followed by Montreal (8,310), and Winnipeg (875). Of 57,740 children residing in the largest six communities, 21,177 are enrolled in Jewish day schools, and 36,563 attend non-Jewish schools.

Table 17C
Percent Enrolled in Jewish Day Schools
(2001)

	2001 Census Base Population	Enrolled in Jewish Day Schools	**Percent of Base Enrolled**	Total in Non-Jewish Schools
Montreal (K-11)	14,785	8,310	**56.2**	6,475
Toronto (K-12)	32,580	10,351	**31.8**	22,229
Ottawa (K-12)	2,795	573	**20.5**	2,222
Winnipeg (K-12)	2,510	875	**34.9**	1,635
Calgary (K-12)	1,405	296	**21.1**	1,109
Vancouver (K-12)	3,665	772	**21.1**	2,893
Total	**57,740**	**21,177**	**36.7**	**36,563**

Table 17D
Percent Having Exposure to Jewish Instruction
(Day & Supplementary School Enrolment)
(2001)

	2001 Census Base Population	Enrolled in Jewish Day Schools	Enrolled in Supplement. Schools	Total With Jewish Instruction	**Percent With Jewish Instruction**	Total With No Jewish Instruction
Montreal	14,785	8,310	692	9,002	**60.9**	5,783
Toronto	30,365	9,364	5,874	15,238	**50.2**	15,127
Ottawa	2,795	573	419	992	**35.5**	1,803
Winnipeg	2,510	875	77	952	**37.9**	1,558
Vancouver	3,665	772	352	1,124	**30.7**	2,541
Total	**54,120**	**19,894**	**7,414**	**27,308**	**50.5**	**26,812**

Finally, Table 17D examines the total number of children who have some exposure to Jewish education. In this analysis, supplementary school registration was added to the total enrolment. According to the results, the levels of Jewish exposure range from 60.9% in Montreal to 30.7% in Greater Vancouver. About half (50.5%) of total Jewish children across the five largest communities have some exposure to education with a Jewish content.

In absolute terms, 15,238 children in the Toronto Jewish community have exposure to a Jewish education, followed by 9,002 in Montreal, and 1,124 in Greater Vancouver. Of 54,120 Jewish children in the five communities, 27,308 have some Jewish exposure, whereas 26,812 do not. It is this latter group that presents challenges for fostering Jewish connection and affiliation among school-aged children who might not otherwise be exposed to Jewish traditions and culture.

Note, however, that Table 17D does not take into account children who are receiving Jewish instruction from private teachers, tutors, or family members, but who may not be attending Jewish day or supplementary schools.

The Challenges Ahead

Jews have long relied on the commitment and participation of their fellow members to help shape the community they live in. As mentioned in this report, Canadian Jews have a unique quality of Jewish life in North America, but if this is to continue, some of the questions raised in this report must be addressed. Indeed, given the recent trends suggested by the Census statistics, issues related particularly to affiliation and intermarriage, would seem to require serious consideration on the part of community leaders and planners across the country.

More ways must be found for communities to create openings for those less likely to be active within a Jewish milieu. Those who were described as having a lower affiliation in this report need greater opportunities to participate and to identify venues where they will be welcomed. The Census figures suggest that a large group see their Jewishness not in terms of the religious aspects of the faith, but have a more secular perspective. Are there ways of introducing

them to Jewish experiences that are interesting, relevant and vital?

Looking at Jewish centres across the country, there are very few initiatives currently geared to reaching the unaffiliated. Community organizations and programs typically cater to those who live in traditional "Jewish" neighborhoods, whereas those who reside in the geographic fringes of community life are often least considered. People who self-identify as Jews and participate through their own motivation have chosen to come to community events or partake of programs. But what about those who have chosen to stay home? How can we make Judaism and Jewish life more attractive or relevant for them?

One way to reach the unaffiliated is through radio and television media. This approach helps bridge geographic distances, but it is also a costly one. Another approach is to provide events and programs that are particularly relevant to less identified Jews. This will take creativity and investment of resources. On the other hand, their lack of participation may have wider implication for the future cohesiveness of Jewish communities across Canada.

Federations must sensitize their constituent agencies to the issue of outreach to the unaffiliated. They can also raise the profile of Judaism among staff and lay leaders within the Federated system: by bringing a stronger Jewish element into their work, and having them think more deeply about their Jewishness. In short, connecting community workers and leaders with their own Jewishness may help them communicate a deeper commitment and understanding to those who feel estranged or disengaged from community life.

Among those communities where there has been a recent decline in their Jewish populations, more efforts should be made to reach out to every Jew. These communities in particular must create more opportunities for participation among the unaffiliated generally.

The high percentage of intermarried households in communities across the country is not unexpected, given the generally high rates experienced by Jewish communities across the continent. Although Canada has traditionally had lower levels of intermarriage than the United States, the number of individuals living in such

arrangements has almost doubled since 1981, and the level continues to rise.

Beyond questions of conversion and who should be considered a Jew, what type of initiatives can be taken regarding the issue of intermarriage? One approach relates to fostering accommodation: making the intermarried couple feel comfortable and accepted enough to participate in community life. This process partly relates to education: explaining Jewish customs and traditions to the non-Jewish spouse; and exposing the children of intermarried couples to Jewish values and traditions.

This approach involves giving intermarried families a "taste" of Judaism, so that they will be more inclined to choose Jewish options for their children, even if they are not necessarily inclined to raise their children Jewishly.

Jewish communities across the country have few programs currently geared to intermarried couples. Moreover, very few shuls in Canada have outreach programs specifically targeting intermarried couples. In short, organized Jewish communities across this country are not taking a proactive approach regarding this issue, despite the rising numbers of intermarried persons.

Moreover, there are only scattered initiatives within specific communities providing opportunities for Jewish young adults to meet one another. Whereas there has been an increase in Jewish dating services, (including online services), it would seem desirable for young Jews to have more such opportunities: perhaps in the context of a Jewish Community Centre or Hillel. It is evident that as young Jews enter university the chances of engagement with non-Jews are pervasive. It is therefore difficult to say whether such increased opportunities for meeting fellow Jews will have any long-term impact on their choice of partners.

Finally, the above figures suggest that a little more than a third (36.7%) of children are enrolled in Jewish day schools in the six largest communities across Canada. Given the evidence of the benefits of a Jewish education in terms of forming a Jewish identity, and instilling Jewish commitment and pride, communities must continue to find ways to make Jewish schools more accessible for parents who are not now considering them as alternatives.

Aside from reflecting on how to bring people into the Jewish fold, efforts should also focus on those who already have some sense of Jewish identity, which may be further strengthened and enriched. As mentioned, the best way for people to have some continuity in terms of their Jewish identity relates to education. Unfortunately, much of this exposure is over by the time a person has completed the primary or high school level.

Hence, communities must also strive to increase meaningful opportunities for adults to encounter Jewish ideas and values. Encouraging graduates of Jewish schools to continue with more sophisticated adult education may be a valuable means of re-enforcing Jewish continuity.

Appendix 1
The Jewish Standard Definition

This report uses what is known as the "Jewish Standard Definition" to distinguish who is Jewish from the rest of the population. Jim Torczyner of McGill University and the Jewish Federation of Montreal formulated this definition in 1981, using a combination of religious and ethnic identification.

According to this criterion, a Jew is defined as anyone who specified that they were:

- Jewish by religion and ethnicity.
- Jewish by religion and having another ethnicity.
- Jewish by ethnicity with no religious affiliation.

Anyone who specified another religion (Catholic, Muslim, etc.) and a Jewish ethnicity were excluded in the above definition.

Using this criterion, it is not possible to say how a person behaves "Jewishly": for instance, whether they adhere to traditions or attend synagogue on a regular basis. However, despite this limitation, the fact that we can identify Jewish affiliation at all is critical for using the Census as a tool to better understand our community. The Jewish Standard Definition is meant to be as inclusive as possible, reflecting the varied expressions that comprise the richness of the Jewish experience.

It is important to note that a significant change to the "Jewish Standard Definition" was implemented in the current analysis of Census data. The category of those who had "no religion and a Jewish ethnicity" was expanded to include those with "no religious affiliation and a Jewish ethnicity".

The category of "no religious affiliation" is broader than that of "no religion" because it includes those who consider themselves agnostics, atheists and humanists, as well as those having no religion. Since it is possible to be Jewish and have such affiliations, it was felt that this change would better reflect the broad spectrum of Jewish affiliation. Data from previous Censuses have been re-analyzed to ensure compatibility with the current criterion.

Appendix 2
The Reliability of the Census

The Census is a massive and complex undertaking, and although high standards are applied throughout the process, a certain level of error still characterizes the endeavor. Such errors can arise at virtually any point in the Census process, from the preparation of materials to the collection of data and the processing of information.

There are a number of principal types of errors that impact on the Census. In coverage errors, dwellings or individuals are missed, incorrectly enumerated or counted more than once. Regarding non-response errors, responses to the Census cannot be obtained from a certain number of households and/or individuals because of extended absence or extenuating circumstances.

In response errors, the respondent misunderstands a Census question and answers incorrectly or uses the wrong response box. Processing errors occur during the coding and inputting of data.

Finally, sampling errors apply only to the long-form. Statistics based on this form are projected from a 20% sample of households. The responses to long-form questions, when projected to represent the whole population inevitably differ from the responses that would have been obtained if these questions were asked of all households.

Statistics Canada has a number of quality control measures that ensure Census data are as reliable as possible. Representatives edit the questionnaires when they are returned, and follow up on missing information. There are also quality control measures in place during the coding and data entry stages.

Despite these controls, a number of errors and response-biases can nonetheless impact data obtained from the Jewish population. For instance, certain segments of the Jewish community may be reticent to answer Census questions fully or accurately.

Recent immigrant populations, who are suspicious of government-sponsored projects and are wary of being identified as Jewish, may avoid indicating such an affiliation, or may answer certain questions more cautiously.

Members of the Chassidic and Ultra-Orthodox communities may be more reluctant to participate fully in the Census effort, due to specific Biblical injunctions that prohibit Jews from "being counted." It is unclear whether such restrictions have had an impact on their responses, but anecdotal evidence suggests that these communities respond adequately. For instance, the Tosh Chasidic community of Montreal, which is fairly isolated geographically from the rest of the Jewish population, has had significant representation in previous Censuses, although it is unclear as to what extent their enumeration was complete.

Finally, since both the religion and ethnicity questions are only included in the long-form of the Census, sampling error arising from projections based on a 20% sampling of households is a factor in all Census analyses related to the Jewish community.

The level of sampling error inherent in any cell of a data table can be precisely calculated. Statistics Canada provides a table that measures these errors, and they are summarized below. Obviously, for large cell values, the potential error due to sampling will be proportionally smaller than for smaller ones.

When using the table, the reader should consider the right column as reflective of the average level of error expected for a given cell size. Of course, some cells may reflect errors smaller or larger than the average. About ninety percent of errors will fall between ± the average error specified below. Ten percent of errors are expected to fall outside this range.

Cell Value	Average Error
50 or less	15
100	20
200	30
500	45
1,000	65
2,000	90
5,000	140
10,000	200
20,000	280
50,000	450
100,000	630

Source for Appendix 2: 2001 Census Dictionary Reference Guide (pg. 275). Published by Statistics Canada, August 2002. Catalogue No. 92-378-XPE.