

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JEWISH ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS  
IDENTITY**

by

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### Abstract

This research was conducted to determine the extent to which Jewish adults perceive themselves ethnically and/or religiously Jewish and how a range of personal characteristics, attitudes and practices related to the importance of ethnic and religious identity.

A random sample of 540 individuals was taken from the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver's mailing list comprised of Jewish individuals in the Lower Mainland that identify with the Jewish community. This sample completed a survey on the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity. There were significantly more people who felt it was very important or somewhat important to be ethnically Jewish than felt it was very important or somewhat important to be religiously Jewish: 92.1% versus 59.8%.

Three hypotheses were tested to examine the relationship between the importance of ethnic and religious identity(dependent variables) and the importance of ethnic and religious identity and certain personal characteristics, attitudes and practices. Cross-tabulations and analysis of variance were done to test these hypotheses. A fourth hypothesis was tested with logistic regression which was used to build a model to predict whether a subject would rate "ethnic" Jewishness as "very important" vs. "not very important" and "religious" Jewishness as "important" or "unimportant" based on a set of predictor variables.

The findings indicate a significant relationship between the two dependent variables, very few personal characteristics were related to the dependent variables, and a significant relationship was found between all the attitudes and the majority of the practices and the two dependent variables.

The most important predictor of whether a subject would rate "ethnic" Jewishness as "very important" or "not very important" was the global attitude score. The most important predictors of whether a subject would rate "religious" Jewishness as "important" or "unimportant" were global attitude and attitudes and practices reported as important because they are divinely ordained. When global attitudes were taken out of the logistic regression model due to their high degree of overlap with the global practices, the most important predictor of whether a subject would rate "ethnic" Jewishness as "very important" or "not very important" were the global practices, proportion of Jewish friends, and attitudes and practices reported as important because they provide a connection to the Jewish people. The most important predictors for whether a subject would rate "religious" Jewishness as "important" or "unimportant" were marital status, global practice, denominational affiliation and attitudes and practices reported as important because they are divinely ordained.

The individual's sense of identity and the factors that contribute to that identity are important aspects in the psychological functioning of members of ethnic, racial and religious minority groups. The information gathered from this study aids those in the helping profession in understanding the important and unique role religion and ethnicity plays in individual lives as well as identifying ethnic and religious priorities for community services.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
List of Tables .....	viii
Acknowledgment.....	xi
Chapter One	
Introduction	
Rationale .....	4
Jewish Identity and Identification.....	7
Research Questions.....	10
Chapter Two	
Background.....	11
Chapter Three	
Review of Related Literature	
Identity Development in a Psychological Frame .....	28
Jewish Continuity .....	34
The Centrality of Religion and Ethnicity in Jewish Identity .....	39
Religion as Central to Jewish identity .....	40
Ethnicity as Central to Jewish identity .....	46
Religion and Ethnicity as Central to Jewish identity .....	48
Studies examining Religious and Ethnic identity .....	51
Demographics/Personal Characteristics .....	56
Country of birth .....	57
Parents and grandparents place of birth .....	57
Sex .....	58

## Chapter Three continued...

Age.....	58
Marital Status.....	59
Families with children .....	59
Educational level .....	60
Occupation .....	60
Main language at home.....	61
Report of parent's ethnicity .....	61
Religion born into, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now.....	62
Religious and Ethnic Attitudes.....	62
Maintaining close ties to Israel and number of visits to Israel.....	64
Choosing a Jewish spouse .....	65
Having Jewish friends.....	67
Living in a Jewish neighborhood.....	68
Contributing to Jewish fundraising and volunteering in the Jewish community .....	69
Speaking Hebrew.....	70
Religious and Ethnic Practices .....	70
Lighting candles Friday night, participating in a Passover Seder, fasting on Yom Kippur, having a mezuzah, and circumcision .....	73
Observing Dietary Laws .....	74
Lighting Hanukkah candles .....	74
Attending a Holocaust remembrance event.....	74
Denominational affiliation.....	75
Belonging to a synagogue .....	76
Jewish education.....	76
Sample Composition and Sampling Methods in the Literature.....	78
Hypotheses.....	80

## Chapter Four

## Method

Sample .....	83
Procedure .....	85
Design.....	85

## Chapter Four continued...

Instrumentation .....	87
Analysis .....	92

## Chapter Five

## Results

Characteristics of the Respondent Sample .....	96
Collapsing the Dependent Variable .....	97
Hypotheses	
Hypothesis 1 .....	99
Hypothesis 2 .....	99
Hypothesis 3 .....	113
Hypothesis 4 .....	117

## Chapter Six

## Discussion

Review of Hypothesis 1 .....	132
Review of Significant Variable in Hypotheses 2 and 3 .....	133
Significant personal characteristics .....	134
Consistent attitudes and practices that were both significantly related to the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity .....	137
Attitudes inconsistent with practices .....	138
Review of Hypothesis 4 .....	147
Review of Hypotheses 1 to 4 .....	149
Limitations of the Study .....	150
Implications for Counselling and Program Development .....	153
Implications for Future Research .....	156
Conclusion .....	159
References .....	160

## Appendices

Appendix A. Key Constructs .....	169
Appendix B. Introduction Letter and Survey .....	171
Appendix C. Cross-Tabulations and T-Tests between the Significant Dependent and Independent Variables .....	172



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Dependent Variables.....	86
Table 2. Independent Variables -- Personal Characteristics .....	86
Table 3. Independent Variables -- Religious and Ethnic Attitudes .....	86
Table 4. Independent Variables -- Religious and Ethnic Practices.....	88
Table 5. Independent Variables -- Relative Importance of Attitudes and Practices Reported in the Survey .....	89
Table 6. Frequency and Percentages of the two Dependent Variables -- Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish.....	98
Table 7. Cross-Tabulations of the Recoded Dependent Variables -- Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish.....	100
Table 8. Summary Table of Chi-Squares and F Ratios between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Personal Characteristics .....	104
Table 9. Summary Table of the Chi-Squares between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Attitude Items Recoded as Unimportant versus Important.....	106
Table 10. Summary Table of the Chi-Squares between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Practice Items Recoded as Infrequent versus Frequent.....	108
Table 11. Summary Table of Chi-Squares and F Ratios between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Practice Items using Yes/No or Frequency Responses .....	109

Table 12. Summary Table of Chi-Squares between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Relative Importance Behind the Attitudes and Practices Reported in the Survey .....	112
Table 13. Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Ethnically Jewish as "Very Important" or "Not Very Important" With Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor.....	120
Table 14. Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Ethnically Jewish as "Very Important" or "Not Very Important" Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	121
Table 15. Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Religiously Jewish as "Important" or "Unimportant" With Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	122
Table 16. Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Religiously Jewish as "Important" or "Unimportant" Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor.....	123
Table 17. Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Ethnically Jewish With Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	126
Table 18. Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Ethnically Jewish Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	127
Table 19. Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Religiously Jewish With Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	129

Table 20. Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Religiously Jewish Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor .....	130
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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

"The identity of the individual develops in the course of interaction between the innate characteristics with which he (sic) is born and the influences of his social environment" (Herman, 1977, p. 33). Pinderhughes (1989) pointed out that ethnic values and practices foster the survival of the group and of the individuals within it. They also contribute to the formation and cohesiveness of the group and to both group and individual identity. The ethnic and religious group to which the individual belongs constitutes just one of many sub-identities which influences the individual's total identity. For some, ethnic and/or religious identity play a great role in the individual's overall identity, while for others it is not as significant. Pinderhughes (1989) noted:

Not only is there variation in the degree to which ethnicity is viewed as significant but the variations and inconsistencies involved in the notion of ethnicity itself can make the tasks of definition and of understanding meaning more complicated. While ethnicity refers in some groups to nationality and country of origin, for others the reference point is religion. For example, Jewish people focus less on geographical origin than other Europeans, emphasizing instead Jewish religion, peoplehood or associated values. (p. 42)

According to Himmelfarb (1980), Jewish identity is one's sense of self with regard to being Jewish. Ethnicity and religion are two of the central components that make up a Jewish person's identity (Goldscheider & Zuckerman, 1984; Herman, 1977; Waxman, 1983, Werblowsky, 1976). Ethnic identity is generally

defined as cultural classification of a segment of society. "Ethnicity refers to connectedness based on commonalties (such as religion, nationality, region, etc.) where specific aspects of cultural patterns are shared and where transmission over time creates a common history" (Pinderhughes, 1989, p. 6).

Medding (1977) states that:

Judaism was always an ethnic religion. The people of Israel, and the land of Israel and the religion of Israel were inextricably woven together so that both the people and the land (ethnic elements) were invested by the religion with the highest religious significance. The people became a people by virtue of the religious covenant. The land was sanctified, and given to them (under conditions of maintaining religious precepts) by the same covenant. In that sense, in its original form Jewish ethnicity was invested with the highest religious significance. (p. 6)

Osborne (1985) reminds his readers that Judaism is both an ethnic and religious phenomenon. He points out that large numbers of Jews think of themselves as Jews and are thought of as Jews even though they have no palpable religious commitment. For Christians, at least in theological terms, Osborne (1985) notes that there is no such thing as Christian ethnicity. One is not a Christian because one's mother is, as is the case in Judaism. One is a Christian because one has been baptized and seeks to live out the meaning of the baptismal covenant. Osborne (1985) describes the irreducible core of Jewishness as being lodged inside most Jews at the junction of ethnicity and religion. Some choose to follow one direction while some choose to follow another but the pervasive junction always exists as an influential part of Jewish identity. Krausz (1977)

pointed out that it is extremely difficult to sift out the 'religious factor' in Jewish identity from the 'ethnic factor' because the two are so interrelated. Defining Jewish identity solely in religious terms does not leave room for those who have a continued commitment but do not have religious faith. Defining Jewish identity in solely ethnic terms is limiting because our ethnic practices are often linked to religious practices.

Jewish identity according to London and Frank (1987), " is interesting scientifically because it involves both religious and ethnic characteristics conspicuously and sometimes conflictually, more than other social identities" (p. 7). Herman (1977) takes the controversial position that "Jewishness of even non-religious Jews cannot be completely divorced from its religious associations" (p. 36). Jewish religious tradition is centered in many important rituals: first in the family, then in the synagogue and community. Even when religious interests are not involved, Jews still want to surround themselves with other Jews, want to be part of a Jewish community and want their children to marry other Jews.

To summarize, the uniqueness of the Jewish culture lies in the diversity of choices its members can make in order to create their own personalized link to their group. Just as the role that religion and ethnicity play in one's overall sense of identity differs from individual to individual, so may the practices and attitudes with which the individual chooses to carry out that identity. In order to understand these different expressions of Jewish identity, studies incorporating aspects of both ethnic and religious identity may be done.

Every person has numerous identities which vary in importance in social contexts. This study seeks to discover the extent to which the behaviour and

attitudes of Jews are oriented Jewishly. It will attempt to shed light on whether ethnic and religious identity play a significant role in the individual's overall sense of identity and whether there is a relationship between one's self-perceived sense of religious and ethnic identity and certain practices and attitudes. The remainder of this chapter will contextualize the problem by providing a rationale for the study, exploring identity and identification and by presenting the research questions.

### Rationale

Our culture is constantly struggling with identity issues. Identity issues are central to the development of a person. Individuals need meaningful ways to connect to society. For a Jewish person, Jewish identity can be at the core of their personal identity. Personal identity according to Kelman (cited in Medding, Tobin, Fishman, & Rimor 1992), is "the enduring aspects of the person's definition of himself (sic)...the individual's conception of who he is and what he is over time and across situations." Included in this is "child's cultural and ethnic heritage--the groups to which he is born." These form "an inherent part of his identity...by virtue of the fact that the group[s] to which he belongs are usually an inevitable part of his life experience" (p. 14). Thus Kelman notes, an individual's ethnic and cultural heritage "enters into who and what he is, just as his biological heritage does"(p. 14). The individual, therefore, "must somehow take his cultural and biological heritage into account if he is to develop a firm identity" (p. 14).

Klein (cited in Pinderhughes, 1989) noted that:

The cultural uniqueness embodied in ethnicity is a consequence of complex, interactional dynamics that involve individual functioning as well as family



and group behavior. The sense of commonality with others and the individual ethnic meaning that people develop as a result of their experiences have implications far beyond those of shared religion, national origin, geography, or race. Involving individual psychological dynamics and socially inherited definitions of the self, ethnicity is connected to processes, both conscious and unconscious, that satisfy a fundamental need for historical continuity and security. (p. 5)

Both ethnic and religious identity play a key role in the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial minority groups. Ethnic and religious identity can be crucial to the development of members of the majority and deeply missed by those who do not have that sense of identity.

According to Herman (1977), membership in a socially stigmatized group generally has far-reaching psychological implications. Lewin (1948) maintained that an early, clear, and positive feeling of belonging to the group is essential for the individual's security, direction and identity. Weinstein-Klein (1980) confirmed that feelings about ethnic background have a direct relationship to how people feel about themselves. Some Jews may accept their membership as Jews as a mark of distinction despite difficulties they may face being part of a minority. Membership in what some define as a desirable group may increase self-esteem. Others may see membership in the group as a stigma and develop inferiority feelings about being Jewish (Herman, 1977).

With certain Jewish clients the "caseworker has the responsibility for individualizing the religious, social and communal aspects of Jewish identity, of bringing its richness to the individual and using it in the treatment process to

buttress and help the individual in his adversity" (Hofstein, 1975, pp. 268-269).

According to Pinderhughes (1989), a focus on cultural identity offers an opportunity for clients to strengthen a positive sense of self and thus to enhance psychological integration.

The study of ethnic identity is of great value for education, counselling, and religious applications. McGoldrick, Pearce, and Giordano (1982) incorporate the powerful force of ethnicity and ethnic values into the evaluation of psychological and social functioning of families: a practice which has traditionally belonged to the realms of anthropology and sociology -- but not psychotherapy. Now, sensitivity to the cultural roots of the family are central to the counselling field. McGoldrick, et al. (1982) discuss the importance of finding out the client's country of origin, the family place of residence, socioeconomic status, educational achievement, political and religious ties, etc. According to McGoldrick et al. (1982), a family's place of residence may influence the impact of their cultural heritage on their lives. Upward mobility may also lead to families dissociating themselves from ethnic roots. This study may provide us with knowledge of culture, tradition, and ethnicity; information which McGoldrick et al. (1982) stress is vital to working with individuals and families. It may also illustrate the impact of ethnic and religious identity on the individual's life and how the impact varies among the sample measured.

Jewish social scientists around North American are discussing what they perceive to be a "vanishing" Jewish community. Opponents of the traditional view suggest that North American Jews may not be fading away at all, they may simply be transforming themselves into something new. Goldscheider (cited in

Goldberg, 1992) says "over the last 1,500 years, Jews have been transformed numerous times, and it appears we're being transformed again. The question is, what are we becoming?" (p. 29). The one way to understand the transformation of the Jewish community is to ask the people what it means to be Jewish -- to see how they express Jewishness in their lives.

This research will attempt to illustrate the role ethnicity and religion play in the individual and his/her family's life. This information can be crucial when trying to understand and help a person and his/her family. This study will provide community agencies with information on the Jewish identification patterns of members of the Jewish community of Vancouver, which will help the agencies to identify priorities for future services.

#### Jewish Identity and Identification

Herman (1977) discusses the fact that little has been done by way of systematic analysis of the structure and dynamics of any ethnic identity. The studies of the Jewish group are generally limited to empirical explorations only. Most studies done in the Jewish communities in the Diaspora deal with studies of Jewish identification. *Jewish identification* is the process of thinking and acting in a manner that indicates involvement with and attachment to Jewish life. Jewish identification studies may deal with the process by which the individual comes to see himself as part of the Jewish group and the form the identification takes. Very few studies are studies of *Jewish identity*, or one's sense of self with regard to being Jewish, of what kind of Jew and what kind of Jewishness develop in the majority culture" (Herman, 1977, p. 27).

"Judaism, in contrast with Christianity (particularly Protestantism), regards concrete behaviours as more central and significant than tenets, beliefs, or attitudes" (Cohen, 1983, p. 52). They ask questions about ritual observance, Jewish organizational involvement, attitudes towards Israel, intermarriage, family, friends and other matters related to Jewish life. Steinberg (1975) pointed out that if knowledge of Jewish identification is to be acquired the unity of analysis must shift from the Jewish people--a collectivity that shares a common history--to the Jewish individual. Jewish identification must be treated as a variable. Therefore, with an understanding of concrete practices of an individual we can begin to see how they express their Jewishness in their lives. The overwhelming number of studies in recent years focus on identification due to a concern of religiosity, ethnicity and the preservation of Jewish distinctiveness. These studies are primarily concerned with the survival of the Jewish community.

Jewish identity studies focus on what being Jewish means, for example whether one considers oneself first a Jew and then an American or vice versa, the extent to which one is proud or embarrassed about being Jewish, or how important certain aspects of Jewish practice or communal involvement are to the individual etc. Liebman (1973) points out that the concern of early studies were focused on Jewish identity due to the interest on the influence of historical circumstances of immigrant adjustment and anti-Semitism. The more recent studies are focused on Jewish identification due to a concern with integration of the Jewish community.

The research for the present study will reflect both identity and identification by incorporating attitude questions and practice questions into the survey. Jewish

identity will be examined through the dependent variables eliciting information on what being Jewish means to the individual (religiously and ethnically), as well as through a number of independent attitude variables. It is important to note that the present study's independent variables of Jewish attitudes differ from the attitude questions Herman (1977) asks in his research. Herman's attitudes refer more to what being Jewish means to the individual; of what kind of Jew and what kind of Jewishness develop in the majority culture as opposed to the present study which focuses on attitudes towards practice. Some of Herman's attitude questions include: "Does the fact that you are Jewish play an important part in your life?, If you were to be born all over again, would you wish to be born a Jew? If you were born all over again, would you wish to be born an Israeli? Do you feel your fate is bound up with the fate of the Jewish people? In your opinion is the State of Israel a continuation of Jewish history? Do you identify with Jews who suffered in the Holocaust?

Jewish identification in the present study will be examined through independent variables made up of practice questions which will discover the extent to which the behaviour of Jews are Jewishly oriented. Both the identity and identification questions tap certain commitments that are part of the development of the individual's identity. Within the practice and attitude questions there is a blend of ethnic involvement and religious observance questions. There is no clear cut way to divide the questions into religious and ethnic questions because, as mentioned before, the practice or attitude (i.e., lighting Sabbath candles) may take on a religious significance for one individual and an ethnic significance for another.

The researcher is interested in whether ethnic identity and religious identity go hand in hand or whether they are independent of each other. If religion is intertwined with ethnicity, to what degree are they related and what are the overlapping practice and attitude variables that contribute to this relationship? If people's personal identification with religion and ethnicity are separate, are the practice and attitude variables that make up the ethnic or religious identification separate? Are some defining qualities separate and some overlapping? From this information we will be able to learn the relationship between the individual's self-perceived identity (dependent variable) and attitude and practice questions (independent variables), as well as the relationship between the two independent variables of practice items and attitude items.

### Research Questions

In studying religious and ethnic identity among Jews, this study will address the following questions:

- 1) How important is being 'ethnically' Jewish to the personal sense of identity of Jewish people?
- 2) How important is being 'religiously' Jewish to the personal sense of identity of Jewish people?
- 3) What personal characteristics, practices and attitudes contribute to the relative strength of one's sense of ethnic identity as a Jew?
- 4) What personal characteristics, practices and attitudes contribute to the relative strength of one's sense of religious identity as a Jew?

## CHAPTER TWO

### BACKGROUND

This chapter will provide background information to the problems being studied. It will explore Jewish identity for men and women and discuss the dramatic changes that have taken place over the years in Jewish women's and men's Jewish identity.

According to Herman (1977), in order to understand the contemporary expressions of Jewish life they have to be viewed in historical perspective. Therefore the topic of Jewish identity cannot be discussed in any meaningful way without examining it in light of its historical context. At various points in Jewish history circumstances have influenced the shaping of Jewish identity and certain themes have predominated. "Judaism of the first century would have been unrecognizable in the tenth, as that of the tenth would have been unrecognizable in the nineteenth..."(Glazer, 1990, p. 16). Values and structures of the surrounding society as well as political and social movements have had marked influences on Jewish identity (Herman, 1977). In addition to these external influences there have also been a number of internal group influences upon Jewish identity.

One of the most significant changes in Jewish identity took place between pre-modern and modern times when it became a voluntary act to be part of the Jewish community instead of an obligation. Historically Jews lived in segregated communities in virtual social and cultural isolation. Their lives were traditionally directed by Jewish custom and law. In Europe during the eighteenth century the

state obliged its citizens to declare their religious affiliation. Medding et al. (1992) noted that:

In the past, the common denominator of Jewish identity was a community of belief based on a system of shared prescriptive values. Over the last century, however, this has shifted in the direction of a community of shared individual feelings. The community of belief constituted a total system that controlled the individual's environment with a detailed pattern of prescribed actions and fixed roles. Group membership was thus clearly defined. (p. 14)

With emancipation, Jews moved out of their physical and cultural isolation (Reisman, 1979, p. 6). "Jewish emancipation denotes the abolition of disabilities and inequalities applied specially to Jews, the recognition of Jews as equal to other citizens and the formal granting of the rights and duties of citizenship" (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972, p. 693).

The most respected position to which a Jewish man could aspire and the highest of religious objectives, in traditional Jewish communities, was that of becoming a great scholar. The value Jewish tradition placed on scholarship had no equal. The women's role was to work, clean, cook and maintain the home and family so the men could most fully dedicate themselves to Judaism and properly fulfill its daily demands.

Haskalah (the Hebrew term for the Enlightenment movement and ideology), had its roots in the general European Enlightenment of the 18th century. "The specific conditions and problems of Jewish society in this period, and hence the objectives to which Haskalah aspired in particular, differed from those of the general Enlightenment movement" (Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972, p. 1433). The



ideological innovations of the Haskalah and socialism resulted, for some in a loosening of the tight grip that Jewish tradition had upon their lives; it encouraged individuals to gain greater self-control. In the 1860's, the Russians opened the doors of secular educational institutions for Jews. At first this was in conflict with the deeply ingrained ideal of Torah study that left no room for other studies, but with the onset of the Haskalah, secular studies became more acceptable in the Jewish community. The Haskalah movement contributed towards an emphasis on assimilation in matters of language, dress and manner, gender role structure as well as to the formation of relationships outside the group.

The post-emancipation Jews were thus faced with choices unavailable to the Jews of the past. They could not be coerced into leading their lives a certain way, one was free to dissociate from their community if they so desired. At this point the Jewish people had, and continue to have, the opportunity to decide how to express their Jewishness in their lives. According to Medding (1992) " the contemporary community of shared individual feelings is a voluntary and partial community of personal choice, with unclear boundaries and undefined membership. It is characterized by emotions and attachments, which, while often deep, are not always clearly articulated" (p. 14).

Upon coming to America, Jewish immigrants did not have a universal form of Jewish identification or specific guidelines of they were to lead their lives. Different forms of identification coexisted simultaneously. As political scientist Charles Liebman noted (cited in Cohen 1983), "this freedom resulted in American Jews trying to balance two competing impulses: the urge to integrate into modern America and the urge to survive as Jews" ( p. 25).

Until recently America believed it was an ethnic melting pot, its focus being to eliminate ethnic variation and create a distinct American. Some Jews, upon immigration to North America, chose to reject integration into the larger society and viewed the open society as endangering Jewish continuity. They have preserved their traditional Jewish life as much as possible. For those on the other end of the spectrum, their response has been to integrate completely and to assimilate and remove themselves from the Jewish community. The majority of Western Jews lie somewhere between the extremes. In America, the ideal position to which a Jewish man could aspire was not that of a scholar, but rather was that of a successful, highly paid professional.

Most of the Jewish immigrants who arrived in America from Eastern Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries came from Orthodox Jewish homes and even those that maintained the most minimal religious observance recognized that to succeed in America, religion was going to have to be compromised. This meant ultimately that the traditional, daily, observance of Jewish tradition would have to be forsaken.

Jews in the United States had little to do with religion and were mostly concerned with ethnic issues. But because ethnicity was not 'in' at that time, while religion was, Jews adopted an institutional form of religion in order to fit into society. Affiliation with the synagogue took on the form of ethnic attachment. The new synagogues became more of an expression of ethnicity than religiosity (Glazer, 1990, p. 14). It was a great shift from the earlier, Eastern European representation of the synagogue as a religious institution, "there was simply no room or time in this new life of hard work and economic pressure for

the pedestal upon which religious learning and synagogue attendance was traditionally placed" (Lewittes Tannenbaum, 1992, p. 20). According to Pinderhughes (1989), religious denomination was a source of meaning for persons who renounced nationality of origin for the ethnicity of the melting pot. This is where the link between ethnicity and religion becomes emeshed and indistinguishable.

The Black movement in America renewed interest in pride and Black history, culture and ethnic identity. Ethnicity became a legitimate form of self-exploration. According to Schoenfeld (1989), this resulted in group pluralism as being the new ethic. Today in Canada, ethnic diversity is an established part of the Canadian self-image. Multiculturalism has been adopted as formal government policy. Multiculturalism implies a society where diversity is accepted and encouraged. Support is available for activities which preserve and transmit a distinctive way of life. But, the policy also encourages elimination of barriers between groups and the full participation of minorities in Canadian society. In Canada, we find evidence of the blending together of people of different ethnic backgrounds. First generation immigrants live as a social and cultural minority but for the generations that follow, multiculturalism becomes more of a symbol. As pointed out by Schoenfeld (1989), the reality of Canada as a multicultural society has much to do with the high percentage of first generation Canadians in the population, as compared to the United States.

According to Medding et al. (1992), the shift in Jewish identity is paralleled and reinforced by the trend towards multiculturalism taking place in North

American society. Merelman (cited in Medding et al., 1992) describes the direction of Jewish identity as:

the decline of group belongingness and the rise of individualization. In contemporary America, many people continue to be members and identify with groups, [but] they believe their group identities to be matters of individual choice, which can be changed without stigma. Group membership thus becomes voluntary, contingent, fluid, not 'given,' fixed and rigid. (p. 14)

"In the past two decades, Jewish identity has been profoundly affected by two events-- the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel" (Herman, p. 66, 1977). The Holocaust tragically changed Jewish life. The Jewish view of their collective existence was magnified; according to Herman (1977), it was viewed as a tragedy of the entire Jewish people. "It is because of the long shadow which the Holocaust continues to cast that Jews ...react more vigorously to any threat to the existence of a Jewish community" (Herman, 1977, p. 67). The Land of Israel has always played an integral role in Jewish identity. Since the establishment of the state of Israel, according to Herman (1977), Jews find it necessary to define their Jewish identity in reference to Israel. For many Americans Israel is a source of pride and inspiration and for many it is an integral part of their identity as Jews.

Today, many members of families who gave up their ethnic connections in an effort to become part of the melting pot feel confused and deprived, yearning for a sense of culture. According to Pinderhughes (1989), "many who have embraced the melting pot had found value in the dominance and status it

represents, only to realize later that this has entailed a loss for them, particularly in light of the new societal thrust toward pluralism and respect for cultural differences" (p. 51).

In order to fully understand the background to the problem of Jewish ethnic and religious identity, it is also important to focus on gender and identity. Jewish identity in general underwent profound transformations between pre and post-modern times as did the more circumscribed world of Jewish women's self-understanding. Throughout history Jewish female identity has been profoundly affected by both internal and external forces. Although Eastern European Jewish women were central to the everyday life of the family unit, their ultimate significance was secondary, and their objective was to be supportive to the men. The women were facilitators of the Jewish ideal and essentially peripheral to Jewish life outside the home. The challenges of life in America impacted women's lives greatly and some women began moving from the periphery to the centre of Jewish life. Jewish women's roles and issues have long been ignored and it is important to provide background to their issues so that we may clearly understand the external influences on both their sense of identity and identification patterns.

The role of women in traditional Eastern European Jewish life was that of enablers, or facilitators. While men and boys pursued the highest of religious objectives, that of becoming a scholar, women were earning, often through hard manual labour, the little available money that would support their husbands and sons in study at yeshivot. These women worked, cleaned, cooked and maintained

the home and family so the men could fully dedicated themselves to Judaism and properly fulfill its daily demands.

The most respected position to which a Jewish man could aspire in the traditional Jewish communities of Eastern Europe was the of a *talmid chacham*, a great scholar. The role of the wives was to lift the burdens of everyday subsistence from their husbands so they could spend their waking hours in study. According to Hyman (1991), "in addition to performing the household tasks, women also participated in what we would call the public sphere of marketplace life and , to a lesser extent communal life" (p. 224). Hyman (1991) noted that:

East European Jewish culture offered women contradictory messages.

Although their status was clearly inferior to men's within the secular sphere women were given a great deal of autonomy in order to support their families and to provide social welfare through their own charitable associations. (p. 224)

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, certain changes in Eastern European life such as the onset of urbanization and the ideological innovations of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) and socialism enabled some women to take greater control of their lives. In the 1860's, the Russians opened up the doors of secular educational institutions to Jewish boys as well as girls, although due to financial constraints study was often limited to boys. Jewish girls began to internalize the value Jewish tradition placed on learning and began to desperately want to study. Still, the only world of study open to girls was the of the secular realm, for the study of Judaism remained available only to boys.

Religious life in Eastern European families was a segregated one. The religious life of boys and men largely took place in the yeshiva and in the synagogue. The religious life of girls and women took place in the home. Even when they prayed, women prayed mostly at home and offered different prayers from their husbands' and fathers'. All the rituals were ultimately for the sake of others; they were to enable men to fulfill and observe those Jewish customs which often excluded women.

Between 1881 and 1914 almost two million Jews arrived in the United States from Eastern Europe. These Jewish immigrants brought with them cultural, religious and social values shaped by life in the shtetls (Jewish villages), and to an extent by more recent experiences in the industrial cities of Russia. All of these values and assumptions underwent vast transformation when confronted with those of American society (Lewittes Tannenbaum, 1992).

This was a family migration, and as such women were a significant element of the immigrant population (Hyman, 1991). Not surprisingly, as they became assimilated into American life, they too experienced a great challenge to, and changes in, their identity not only as Jews but as women. According to Hyman (1991), "the complex interplay of gender, social class and religio-ethnic culture shaped the ways in which Jewish women participated in the economic, cultural, religious and political life of the immigrant Jewish community and U.S. society" (p. 223). The role of the Jewish woman as 'enabler' in the realms of work, education, and observance changed in America. In some cases Jewish women found themselves moving from the periphery to the centre of Jewish life; while for others, segregation and subservience persisted (Lewittes Tannenbaum, 1992).

The realities of American life forced a shift in the attitudes of Jewish families towards having their women in the workforce. The ideal position to which a Jewish man could aspire in America was not that of a scholar, but rather was that of a successful, highly paid professional. Not needing your wife to help financially support the family became the new image of success for a man, thus few women worked outside the home (Hyman, 1991). While on the outside it seemed like a radical shift, the Jewish woman continued in the traditional role of "enabler". Whereas in Europe she worked for pay to allow her husband to study, in America she did not work outside the home to allow him to attain the image of material success. In reality Jewish men's incomes needed supplementing and instead of going against the prevailing cultural attitude that wives should not work, they had their children work. Often daughters worked so that the sons could study. Contributing to the livelihood of the family combined with the autonomy of choosing their own profession, leisure activities as well as founding and running labour unions demonstrated to these Jewish woman the extent of their own capabilities and worth (Hyman, 1991).

In America public school was free and more girls were included in the schooling system. For women and girls, the extent of their formal Jewish education consisted of learning how to run a traditional Jewish home from helping their mothers. Even though Jewish observance and Jewish education had taken a downward turn in popularity among immigrant families, and only a few had children enrolled in formal Jewish education, this opportunity was still closed to women: "for a formal religious education was deemed at best unnecessary, and at worst inappropriate, for girls...The Jewish identity of Jewish women, then, was



integrally connected with home and family life rather than the institutions" (Hyman, 1991, p. 233).

Upon coming to America it became the understanding that religion was going to be compromised. For married women who spent most of their time at home, religion was easy to preserve. Their religious duties centred upon the home: they found no fundamental challenges to their religious identities. Men faced a much harder time adjusting to the demands of American economic life and the choices they were forced to make resulted in their abandonment of Jewish tradition.

"Many of these women discovered that their preservation of traditional Judaism within the home held a significance in the United States that it lacked in Europe, where the synagogue had been viewed as the central institution of Jewish religious life" (Umansky, 1991, p. 272). The home became critical for the survival of Jewish identity. According to Pogrebin (1991), throughout history women's "spirituality and religiosity found expression in ways that kept them and their children affirmatively Jewish in every imaginable alien culture. They were doing hard work, vital work -- God's work -- creating Jewish life and nourishing Jewish families" (p. 141). Women moved from being the enablers of others to express Jewish identity to becoming the source of that identity. Umansky (1991) noted:

Women communicated this sense of identity by conveying the importance of Jewish ethnicity (an aspect of Jewish life primarily transmitted through the preparations of certain foods), Jewish peoplehood (through the celebration of the Sabbath and festivals and often through the taking in of fellow Jewish

immigrants as boarders), and Jewish spirituality as both moral obligation, and inner piety. (p. 273)

While women's roles were expanded, women were still restricted to their homes and communities, for most married Jewish women did not work. These upwardly mobile women began to embody public/communal expressions of their Jewish identity. By joining such women's organizations as synagogue sisterhoods, Hadassah, and the National Council of Jewish Women, women extended their roles in Jewish life to philanthropic, cultural and communal activities.

Neighbourhoods became the special turf for women. Women often looked to their neighbors as their particular community (Hyman, 1991). As civic concern became considered an accepted extension of domestic responsibility, women were able to engage themselves and their talents in projects outside the home and in the community, projects that involved founding and maintaining hospitals, charities and orphanages, amongst other essential community institutions. By becoming involved in public organizations, and by assuming positions of authority and responsibility in them, the parameters of Jewish women's activity were redefined as their relationship to the body of Jewish religious and cultural activity was expanded and enhanced (Hyman, 1991). According to Umansky (1991), within a short time Jewish women were ready to begin channeling their Jewish energies not only in auxiliary venues such as women's civic organizations, but into traditional Jewish religious activities and rituals.

As a result of the immigrant experience, a shift took place from women's peripheral home-centred religious life to an expanded Jewish identity. These women laid much of the groundwork that has led to the acceptance of women as

ritual and communal equals in many North American communities today. Jewish women's identity today is expressed in a myriad of ways. Ritual observance and study are not the only expressions of Jewish identity. Choices are now available as to how women express their Jewish identity -- choices that did not previously exist.

As we have seen through the course of history secular influences played a major role in shaping how modern Jews identify. One may think now that choices are available in how people express their Jewish identity, that more people would identify Jewishly in some way. However, Jews are still struggling with their identity in the secular world and their ethnic identity as Jews as if one has to be sacrificed or be significantly compromised in order to fit into society. Jewish women are also faced with the struggle of being a woman in both the secular world and the Jewish patriarchal world.

Pogrebin (1991) describes the Jewish woman's experience as being marginalized (not being part of the cultural norm). "With other *women* she remains The Jew, and with male *Jews* she remains The woman...she is never entirely of them" (Pogrebin, 1991, p. xiv). Many women feel that to fit in they must act differently or look differently to be accepted in both camps. This may lead to an erosion of self-esteem, and one may become a self-hating Jew, unaffiliating with the community (Pogrebin, 1991).

Pogrebin (1991) talks about the tug of war that exists between women and the Jews. Pogrebin (1991), who was for a number of years cut off from her Jewish, communal identity writes about her rocky journey toward a religious identity that is consistent with her feminist values:

I espouse both feminist and Jewish interests while accepting that, at times, one agenda might be more pressing than the other. It means working toward more Jewish consciousness in feminism and more feminist consciousness in Judaism...unless I interlace ethnicity and gender, I am internally at odds with myself and externally vulnerable; I have no clarity of purpose; I cannot be sure why I am here or where I belong in the world. (Pogrebin, 1991, p. xvi)

According to Pogrebin (1991), many Jewish women choose not to be Jewish-identified just as many choose not to be woman-identified because they believe they have the option to behave as if peoplehood or gender "doesn't matter". Golda Meir ends her biography by saying that Jews "who have tried to opt out of their Jewishness have done so...at the expense of their own basic identity" (p. 153). Pogrebin submitted that the same is true of women who acknowledge their Jewishness but try to opt out of their womanhood by denying its relevance. Pogrebin, after years of struggling, found that women can have different kinds of Jewish identity.

In the last few years Jewish women and men have begun to create new Jewish rituals to include women equally in public worship and to celebrate female experience and spirituality. These ceremonies include marking life stages of women and celebrating the life stages of women...in addition to life-cycle moments--birth, bat mitzvah, marriage, etc. (Koltun, 1976, p. 19). Pogrebin believes that Jewishness can also be expressed in individual and collective actions in the secular sphere. For other women such as Pogrebin (1991), it is important to celebrate a different kind of Jewish identity in addition to the above expansion of women's roles in Jewish ritual life:

not the one that belonged to God, prayer, and synagogue, not the sentimental kind associated with nostalgia, Yiddishisms, and chicken soup, but new political contours that were so robust and sinewy they made everything else in my wardrobe too small. (p. 154)

Pogrebin (1991) began educating herself, traveling to Israel, joining Jewish organizations and writing and speaking on Jewish issues. According to Pogrebin, (1991), "a person's identity is composed of both the "I" and a "we." The "I" finds itself in love, work, and pleasure, but it also located itself within some meaningful group identity --a tribe, a community, a "we." Pogrebin emphasized that simply capturing the Jewish "I" which includes ritual observance and personal spirituality, is not enough to hold people to Judaism. She believes that "without the connection to Jewish peoplehood --Jewish cultural, historical, and emotional linkages --people find religion but not a deep-rooted Jewish identity". Pogrebin (1991) states:

My gender identity is apparent on my person. But if I want my Jewish identity to be known, I must enact it. Wearing a Jewish star around my neck won't do; having a Jewish identity is not merely about religious pride. It is about deciding each and every day what Jewishness means and how I will actualize it in my life. Being Jewish identified doesn't only related to how I worship, what I eat, whom I marry, or where I live. It finds more concrete expression in my ethical standards, the groups I join, where I give my charitable dollars, my particular way to supporting Israel, how I interact with non-Jews, and how I live my politics. (p. 163)

The Jewish community is strengthened by women like Letty Cottin Pogrebin who have struggled with the Jew and the feminist within herself and have found their way to espousing both feminist and Jewish interests. Jewish women constitute half the Jewish population and Jewish survival demands that we actively include and maximize participation of Jewish women in all areas of Jewish life.

If we care about Jewish survival, we need to care about educating women so that by themselves, if need be -- in mixed marriages or as single mothers, in the home and in the world -- they can be the sole carriers of the Jewish heritage. We must teach them Hebrew, Jewish history, literature, and theology; encourage them to be fully involved in religious ritual; accept them in positions of influence in Jewish organizations and heed their counsel ...we must adopt a feminist agenda, and empower Jewish women for the sake of Jewish survival. (Pogrebin, 1991, p. 247).

It is clear from the above background information that Jewish identity for men and women changes over time from both internal and external influences. Herman (1977) states that "there are variations in Jewish identity which flow from the peculiarities in the historical development of various communities, from the need to adjust to changes in the Jewish situation in the non-Jewish world, from the impact of political and social movements, both of Jewish and general character, on Jewish life" (p. 63). Herman (1977), points out that Jewish identity as we know it today is the product of historical evolution. An understanding of historical influences on people's Jewish identity must be acknowledged and understood as continuing to shape Jewish identity today.

## CHAPTER THREE

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The general problem statement and the history included in Chapters 1 and 2 have touched on the changes that took place with the Jewish group and its identity as a whole during pre-and post-emancipation as well immigration to North America. With this information, one gains insight into the flexibility Jewish individuals have in today's society to create their own personal link to certain ethnic and religious practices and to develop personal attitudes that are related to their sense of identity. This chapter begins with a discussion of stages of identity development and its psychological implications, followed by a discussion of Jewish continuity. Following this will be an exploration of the centrality of religion and ethnicity in Jewish identity followed by a discussion of scholars who view religion as central to Jewish identity, ethnicity as central to Jewish identity and both religion and ethnicity as central to Jewish identity. Then the literature which addresses studies focused on religious and ethnic identity, personal characteristics, religious and ethnic attitudes, and religious and ethnic practices will be reviewed. Following this a short review of the related studies and their sampling procedures will be examined. Finally, the hypotheses for the study will be presented.

Much of the literature review is from a sociological perspective. Sociology and psychology are connected in the study of religious and ethnic identity. Ethnic and religious identity is, according to Herman (1977), an "inherently social psychological concept in that it refers to a state of mind shared by the members of

a collectivity, formed through social interaction, and anchored in historical and social structural processes" (p. 9).

### Identity Development in a Psychological Frame

According to Mead (cited in Weinstein-Klein, 1980), the identity concept has its roots in two traditions -- the early psychoanalytic theory of instinctual development and the social theory of the formation of self through interaction with others. Freud (1949) emphasized that sex and other biological drives were the primary focus in shaping personality. Freud thought that how one repressed one's instincts affected identity. Towards the end of his career, he acknowledged the social and cultural field in forming identifications. The social learning theorists (e.g., Bandura, 1971) believed that the crucial foundations of identity -- language, mind and the process of identification -- are formed through social interaction (Weinstein-Klein, 1980). But these theorists did not carry their theory far enough to acknowledge the subcultural influences which help explain why members of different ethnic groups develop unique conceptions of self.

Modern ego psychologists (Blanck & Blanck, 1974, 1979; Breger, 1974; Klein, 1976; Loevinger, 1976; Schafer, 1968; cited in Weinstein-Klein, 1980) stress ego development over instinctual drives of the id in shaping personality. Cultural and social factors played a far greater role in their theories than had been granted by the biological determinism of Freud. They insisted that differences in the social environment affect personality development. These theorists believe identity is formed as we integrate our perceptions of ourselves.

The ego psychologists argued that ego development is the major component of identity formation, and that it is the result of a series of internalizations and



identifications. Identification occurs when an individual adopts behaviour from another person or a group because this behaviour is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group. In other words, the individual becomes concerned with meeting the group's expectations for role performance. The individual may take over a role of identification and perform acts according to the expectations of others, but at the same time may integrate the role with other aspects of the self (Kelman, 1974). Internalization can be said to occur when the individual accepts influence because it is congruent with his/her value system. In adapting the new behaviour the individual makes it his/her own. As a family member, the child adopts the family's practices, conventions and rituals. The likelihood that identification will lead to internalization depends upon the focus of the identification. If the identification is positive and active, as opposed to repetitive, the individual is more likely to internalize it.

Personal identity can be defined as the individual's concept of who he/she is over time and throughout many life situations. Kelman's view of identity (1974) is that it is not fixed, but rather a constantly evolving self-definition. He pointed out that as a person's life changes, and that as he/she encounters new situations and experiences his/her identity can be modified. A person's identity is a product of his/her experiences. These experiences include the various social influences children are exposed to as they grow up. Identity represents an interaction of these social forces and personal forces.

Social identity influences how we perceive and present ourselves, as well as how we perceive and treat others (Garza & Herringer, 1986). Social identity as defined by Tajfel (cited in Garza & Herringer), is "that part of an individual's self-

concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255).

Lewin (1948) maintained that an early, clear, and positive feeling of belonging to the group is essential for the individual's security, direction and identity. He explored the dilemma of the "marginal man" and the tendency for minority group members to value the more privileged group in society and develop hostility towards their own group. It is the "uncertainty about the ground on which he stands and the group to which he belongs" which creates the aggression and conflict for the marginal man (p. 16). Weinstein-Klein (1980) pointed out that it is psychologically impossible to separate out one's group identification and ignore it; and that this results in the individual never feeling personally integrated and constantly struggling with his/her personal identity (Weinstein-Klein, 1980). Following Lewin's theory, Weinstein-Klein (1980) discovered a positive relationship between a solid, clear, ethnic group identification and self-esteem, sense of well-being, and positive self-concept.

Group identity is the group's definition of itself -- its concept of its enduring characteristics and basic values, its strengths and weaknesses, its hopes and fears, its reputation and conditions of existence, its institutions and traditions, its past history, current purposes and future prospects (Woocher, 1981). Group identity can stand on its own in that it is made up of accumulated historical products, including written documents, oral traditions, and symbolic artifacts. But, the individuals that make up the group can differ widely in their degree of involvement and emotional commitment to the group. Group identity is reflected

in the consciousness of each individual to different degrees and in different ways, depending on the nature of his/her socialization and experiences to which he/she was exposed (Kelman, 1974). These influences include parents, teachers and peers.

Erikson (1974, 1980) studied the topic of identity through the integration of psychological, social, and cultural perspectives. His concept of ego identity includes the importance of conscious and unconscious internalization of group values and ideals. He attaches historical and ethnic meanings to an understanding of psychological defenses and symptoms. Ego identity according to Erikson is an intrapsychic phenomenon that consists of the psychological core of what the person means to him- or herself (Erikson, 1974). Identity, according to Erikson (cited in Dashefsky, 1976), "is not the sum of childhood identifications, but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments" (p. 7).

Ethnic identity has become part of recent studies due to the ethnic revitalization movements in the 1960s. The shift towards studying ethnic identity is important because the groups to which one belongs are an inevitable part of one's life experiences. As individuals are socialized, first within the family and then by membership in other groups, they are exposed to different influences. Out of these influences, individuals form beliefs, attitudes, values and expectations which add to their personal core, make up their identity (Kelman, 1974).

Writers in the social sciences, for example Weinstein-Klein, 1980, according to Phinney (1990), have asserted that ethnic identity is crucial to the self-concept and psychological functioning of ethnic group members.

Pinderhughes (1989) pointed out that some people wish to be seen as individuals,

that is, not connected to any ethnic identity. Pinderhughes (1989) points out that some people view themselves as non ethnic, announcing their beliefs that a focus on ethnicity is ethnocentric and biased against others. Erikson (1966) calls this a "wider identity" which refers to identity that transcends small collectivity boundaries and centers on identity as a world citizen. Erikson considered such identity characteristic of the highest level of functioning. According to Pinderhughes (1989), "persons who embrace this orientation must be firmly anchored in some personal sense of uniqueness and self-value. Otherwise, although they may feel a meaningful connection with others, they may fail to appreciate the uniqueness of other people" (p. 45).

Pinderhughes (1989) points out that "using personal identity as a substitute for a strong, integrated sense of ethnicity can be risky. People can and do seek personal meaning in a variety of sources that can be used to substitute for ethnic meaning. Such sources include one's profession, one's talent, religious group, or gay identity" (p. 46). She feels these choices must offer a sense of meaning that grows out of a connection to others otherwise the individual may end up with feelings of uncertainty about belongingness which can result in self-hate and psychological conflict.

The personal core around which identity forms starts with innate characteristics which include the child's cultural and ethnic heritage. Phinney (1990) emphasized that one of the critical issues of ethnic identity includes the degree and quality of involvement that is maintained with one's own culture and heritage. According to Pinderhughes (1989), if one is not connected to other members of one's ethnic group, one has fewer opportunities to change negative

attitudes and develop a sense of group identity, or develop the comfort of an integrated personal identity which marks healthy functioning.

At this point the question arises as to what extent, and in what way, do individuals adopt ethnic and religious identity into their personal identity? According to Kelman (1974), the incorporation of group identity in the personal identity of individuals concerns the development of their orientation to the group itself. How central and significant a part does their membership in a particular group play in their personal identity? To what extent is their definition of who they are linked to that group? How salient is this group membership to their daily life; how intense is their involvement with it, how strong is their commitment and loyalty to it; and how solid is their sense of belongingness in it?

According to Medding et al. (1992):

...the multiple aspects of identity coexist independently rather than coalescing to form a larger, integrated whole. The result is what might be termed pluralistic personality. The significance and salience for the individual of any particular segment of his or her personal identity will vary with particular circumstances-personal, societal, historical, and so forth...neither the extent nor the intensity of the Jewish segment of personal identity is fixed. The Jewish segment may be very broad, taking in many aspects of contemporary Jewish group identity (such as religion, Israel, philanthropy, culture, group defense, friendship) or only one or few of these. At the same time, involvement in even a single, narrow segment of Jewishness may be very intense, whereas simultaneous involvement in a number of aspects may be attenuated. (p. 16)

### Jewish Continuity

Goldberg (1992), in his article "America's Vanishing Jews", questions whether American Jewry is disappearing: "Nothing less than a threat to Jewish continuity has become the most talked about crisis in Jewish community life this season" (p. 29). The reason for this scare, according to Goldberg (1992), can be summed up with the word 'intermarriage'. The Jewish population survey carried out in 1990 by the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF), set off a national wave of panic of people believing that the high rate of intermarriage (one out of two who married after 1985, married non-Jews), is a threat to Jewish continuity. Some predict the eventual disappearance of a distinctive Jewish community and a decline in Jewish values, charitable donations, support for Israel, etc.

Theorists like Neil Sandberg (cited in Waxman 1983), who are called 'straight line theorists', worry about the pattern of declining ethnic behaviour and fear its disappearance into the larger society. Straight line theory is based on the melting pot theory which implies the disappearance of ethnic groups into the host society. According to Sklare (1974) "earlier generations of social scientists believed that secularism would defeat religion, thus consuming Judaism in the process, and then the melting pot would triumph over pluralism, thus consuming Jewish ethnicity" (p. 147). Researchers on Jewish identity became consumed by the question of whether the Jewish people would survive. These theorists believe that Jews will gradually live life more and more like their fellow Canadians: participate more in social circles with people of different backgrounds and, in contrast to the multicultural vision of Canada, be less and less members of a culturally distinct group (Schoenfeld, 1989). Merelman (cited in Medding et al.,

1992) argues that this trend in American society results in the decline of group belongingness and the rise of individualism.

Traditionalists, another term for 'straight line theorists', view the intermarriage statistics as a forecast of a steep decline in the size of the American Jewish population as more and more people produce non-Jewish children. Steven Bayme (cited in Goldberg, 1992) pointed out that the overall consensus is that losses will range between 300,000 and one million in the next generation.

The traditionalists seem to dominate much of the debate, and have statistics to back up their argument. They see intermarriage as having the potential to destroy the Jewish community. Based on early statistical highlights of the CJF National Jewish Population Survey (1970) reported by Kosmin et al. (1990), the rate of intermarriage was not just high but rising. It showed 6 percent of couples intermarried before 1960 to 12 percent by 1964, 29 percent by 1971, and 52 percent after 1985. The CJF National Jewish Population Survey (1990) reported by Kosmin et al (1990) however, found an increase in American Jewish households from the 1970 survey; 57 percent of the 3.2 million American Jewish households, or 1.8 million households, consisted of Jews living exclusively with Jews.

Observers of the American Jewish community worry not merely about the physical survival of the biological descendants of Jews, but also about the continuity of Judaism as a culture, as a peoplehood, and as a religion. Early reports taken from the CJF National Jewish Population Survey (Kosmin et al, 1990) illustrate the change experienced in the American Jewish community. American Jews marry later, have their children later, and divorce more often than

Jews in other countries. Younger American Jews join and attend synagogues less frequently and belong to fewer Jewish organizations. Younger American Jews are more integrated into American society, living and working with the majority of co-workers and neighbors who are not Jewish. Home-based ritual observance continues to decline.

To Goldscheider and Zuckerman (1984), 'straight line' theorists and traditionalists seem to be adhering to the past where Judaism and Jewishness were so intertwined that any slight changes in religious expression represented a threat to Jewish continuity. Despite the challenges of modernity to Jewish tradition as discussed in the background section, numerous studies indicate that the influences of contemporary society do not effect Jewish continuity.

Opponents of the traditional view, according to Goldberg (1992), include a number of Jewish sociologists who suggest that the American Jews may not be fading away at all: they may simply be transforming themselves into something new. Straight line theory is being replaced by new theories which argue that continual attachment to ancestral religious and ethnic loyalties will pervade. This new thinking has occurred partly because of the open society we live in today -- where people feel freer to choose how they identify -- and partly because the uniqueness of Judaism allows the Jewish people the freedom to choose how they identify.

Sociologists of the transformationist viewpoint look at less-noticed data in the National population survey (1990) and other recent studies which display Jewish life as stable. Goldscheider (cited in Goldberg, 1992), points to the 85 percent of American Jewish households where the children receive exposure to



Jewish education. One hundred years ago there were very few Jewish schools anywhere in the world. "The great yeshivot of Europe in their heyday had maybe a total of 100 or 150 students altogether. We have thousands across the country" (p. 30).

Goldberg (1992) points out that never in history has a community of Jews trained more rabbis, consumed more kosher food, published more Jewish books, produced more Jewish plays and taught more children to speak Hebrew. Calvin Goldscheider (cited in Goldberg 1992) states that "the notion that we are disappearing is false, ...over the last 1,500 years, Jews have been transformed numerous times, and it appears we're are being transformed again. The question is, what are we becoming?"

Individuals continue to develop different patterns of Jewish life and culture. Jews, in order to integrate into the social mainstream, have reduced their extreme subcultural involvement and, in order to survive as Jews, innovated new modes of Jewish identity and community (Cohen, 1983; Goldscheider & Zuckerman, 1984; Reisman, 1979). There are a range of options available from the Jewish tradition all of which were formerly part of an organic whole but today exist as independent options. The modern Jew must decide which of the separate components of Jewish identity are important and how they are to be balanced (Cohen, 1983; Reisman, 1979).

Cohen (cited in Goldberg, 1992) suggests that based on a 1989 opinion poll, there are three levels of Jewish behaviour: "the intensively involved, the moderately affiliated, and the peripheral or unaffiliated" (p. 30). The intensively involved, roughly 25 percent of the total and generally affiliated with the

Orthodox and Conservative branches, are marked by practices like keeping kosher, attending synagogue regularly, observing "minor" holidays like Sukkot and Israel Independence Day, and sending their children to Jewish day schools. The unaffiliated, which Cohen estimates to be about 10 percent of the total population, avoid even such universal practices as attending a Passover seder, visiting synagogue on the High Holy Days, celebrating Hanukkah and sending their children for Bar Mitzvah training. Cohen reports that in the middle lies the broad mass of American Jews (about 65%) who adhere to those minimum practices and not much else. He sees these people as wanting continuity but not being committed to continuity beyond those practices.

With the growing knowledge of the changing expressions of Judaism, a decline in ritual observance, or synagogue attendance, is seen as being balanced out by the examination of a wide range of Jewish related activities not based on traditional modes of behaviour but on residence, education, and volunteering. These new forms of expression are family and community based. As Goldscheider (1986) pointed out, " while religion has lost its centrality and dominance in the Jewish world, it continues to play a supportive role in linking educational, family, economic and lifestyle issues to broader communal issues" (p. 183). The changes and transformations, according to Goldscheider (1986), have resulted in greater ties and networks.

Only once we understand the community can we begin to develop programs to foster Jewish identity and reach the population Cohen (1992) calls, 'moderately affiliated'. In order to reach this population one must look beyond questions of survival into more specific ways people construct their identity. It is important to

understand where this new population's priorities lie in order to develop a sense of their needs.

### The Centrality of Religion and Ethnicity in Jewish Identity

Related to the debate between traditionalists and transformationists lies the debate between religion or ethnicity as being central to Jewish identity. The question arises as to which components of one's Jewish identity -- ethnic, religious or a combination of both -- will help ensure continuity.

Rabbi Abraham Kook, (cited in Pogrebin, 1991), distinguished between "external holiness", the pious performance of rituals, and "internal holiness," the feeling of being linked to the Jewish people, the Jewish heart, and Jewish destiny. Pogrebin (1991) stressed the importance of adding fuel to the flames of internal holiness through some external holiness -- to keep these Jews Jewish, in the peoplehood sense. According to Herman (1977):

Judaism is not just a religious creed analogous to Christianity. It is the religious civilization of one particular nation, it resides in the Jewish people and reflects its history. And the Jewish people is what it is because of this religious civilization. The Jewish prayers are suffused with references to the people and its land, the religious festivals are also national celebrations.

Jews have indeed maintained throughout the centuries that there is an indissoluble connection between the Jewish people, the land of Israel, and the Torah. The Jewishness of even non religious Jews cannot be completely divorced from its religious associations. (p. 36)

According to Medding et al. (1992):

Many American Jews give strong expression to feelings of Jewishness as a central component of their personal identity even when they fail to uphold major Jewish religious beliefs and rituals. As numerous studies have documented, being Jewish is very important to many individuals. They express considerable Jewish pride, are comfortable with their Jewishness, are happy they were born Jewish, relate to other Jews as family, and want their children to remain Jewish. Despite the shift away from the community of shared belief, the religious value system remains a distinctive defining characteristic of the Jewish group at the normative and cultural levels. Popular religious observances -- i.e., those relating to *rites de passage* and the holidays -- continue to provide personal identity with its group aspects, even though the practices may have been selectively detached from a coherent and consistent whole. They serve as a vehicle for expressing shared feelings in familial and communal contexts, which reinforce and heighten the positive emotional affect of group belonging at the core of personal identity. (p. 15)

Jewish identity may be segmented but according to Medding et al. (1992), the core of Jewishness remains unambiguous, in that it is exclusively connected with the Jewish group's cultural and ethnic heritage.

#### Religion as Central to Jewish identity

The religious element in the survival of the Jewish people is an important subject for research. Religious faith, religious practice, and religious symbols lie at the heart of traditional Jewish culture. Greeley (cited in Waxman, 1983) along with numerous other researchers, believed that the Jewish religion and ethnicity

are inextricably intertwined and that the persistence of ethnic groups and ethnic identification are related to continuing religious identification. Sklare (1974) noted that the sociological study of religion perceives religion as a uniting force. The possibility of religion acting as a dividing force is present given the existence of such affiliations as Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox Judaism; but because Jewish religion is ethnic it has a historical connection that remains despite religious affiliation.

There is almost a universal feature of selective practice among Jews today (Kokosalakis, 1982). As with most religions, it is not easy to separate practice from belief. Ritual practice has always been the direct measure of Jewish religiosity. Belief in and commitment to God has always been the essence of Judaism. However, in modern society there are atheist and agnostic Jews who in some ways continue to practice Jewish rituals. This task of deciphering the individual meaning of being a Jew is complicated by the fact that Jews themselves share no common understanding of the matter. This makes understanding religious and ethnic identity even more complex.

Jewish law (Halakha) is central to religious tradition. Some Jews believe that the law was divinely ordained, and that observance is the fulfillment of God's will. For most North American Jews, the laws are not central. But as indicated through numerous population studies cited in Liebman and Cohen (1990), some forms of observance remain central. Approximately four-fifths of American Jews light Hanukkah candles, and almost 90 percent say they attend a Passover seder. The population studies also indicated practices that are less frequently observed. Over a third of respondents report that Sabbath candles are lit in their homes on

Friday evenings, and a third say they attend synagogues services at times other than High Holidays. About a third reported buying kosher meat, and about a quarter use separate dishes (p. 123).

The Boston Jewish Community conducted two Jewish community surveys (Axelerod, 1965; Fowler, 1975). They focused specifically on measures of Jewish identification. The concrete questions included home rituals such as lighting Sabbath candles, participating in a Passover service, and keeping kosher. They then examined religious service membership and attendance. The main advantages of this measurement is that it gives communities an understanding of where priorities lie over time. It has continuity with other research done in the area, for example, the CJF National Population Survey which shows that the Baby Boom generation is being drawn back to Shul (Goldberg, 1992).

Herman (1977) discusses that the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel contributed to the formation of contemporary Jewish identity. A shift has occurred in religious identity due to these circumstances, from a religious to a national basis of Jewish ethnic identity. For many Jews, their religious heritage has lost its sacred significance altogether. The paradox is that in order to maintain their ethnic identity at all, Jews still have to cling somehow to traditional religious and ritual symbols (Herman, 1977; Kokosalakis, 1982; Liebman, 1988). Religion is centered in many of the Jewish group's most important rituals, first in the family, then in the synagogue, and finally in the community.

Studies have focused on the relationship between religion and social change to further the understanding of the continued commitment to certain laws and the demise of others. Sklare (1979) points out a contradiction between the norms of

Jewish tradition and those of modernity. Traditionally ritualism was based on the religious system while today it takes on personal meaning. This generation is looking for easy ways to express their identity, as a result people refrain from religious behaviour that requires large commitments of time or demands social isolation.

Furman (1987), instead of seeing the different forms of Jewish identity in the Jewish community as a decline in religious practice, sees it as a broadening of religious practice. The main goal of prayer for Jews today, according to Furman, is not communication with God, but the rediscovery of community, cultural pursuits, and individuality. One member of a Reform synagogue eloquently described his/her attachment to the synagogue as coming from ritual observance: "my satisfaction comes out of the ethical and moral imperatives of the religion, particularly as they are brought out at a level that I am comfortable with" (Furman, 1987, p. 77).

Goldscheider & Zuckerman (1984) similar to Furman, see the decline in religious practice as bringing about the expression of new forms. These changes reflect the acceptance of religion as but one dimension of the different factors in an individual's life. They believe Judaism has survived over the years because it has been transformed. The "transformationists"-- as Liebman calls those who interpret the changes as healthy -- point out that Judaism has always changed throughout the ages. Many have considered this to be an important factor in the survival of the Jewish people. Therefore, if we are to continue to view religion as central we must accept a broader definition of religion.

Sklare (1982), in an attempt to broaden his view of religion, suggests that if we are redefining religion it is important to distinguish between ceremony and ritual. Ritual, can be classified as repetitive behaviour that is explicitly religious, while ceremony is social. Ceremony reinforces the concept that the individual is part of this social group. "Religious ritual connects the individual to some transcendent presence. It provides a bridge between man and God by engaging the participant in an act God has commanded" (Liebman & Cohen, 1990, p. 125). Over the past two decades there has been an increase in ritual behaviour among Orthodox Jews in the United States (Cohen, 1989; Liebman, 1988) and a decline in ritual behaviour among the non-Orthodox who make up 90 percent of the Jews. Ceremony allows Jews to maintain their ties to rituals but perform them in a context more conducive to their life style. This pattern allows the transformation of Jewish patterns of behaviour and the construction of new concepts of Judaism.

Glazer (1990) points out that as Jews move further from tradition it is not their beliefs but practices that change. "It is simply adapting to American life and to modernity, as it once adapted to Mesopotamia, to Spain, or to Poland" (p. 16). Glazer raised the question as to the role Judaism can play for the Jew and Jewish life when its religious content is radically reduced. Fein (cited in Glazer, 1990) in a recent survey said that 91% of Jews felt that the Jewish people would not survive without religion. On the other hand, two-thirds disagreed with the statement: "To be a good Jew, one must believe in God". This discrepancy reiterates that the definition of religion is changing and taking on new meaning.



In light of the changing definition of religion, Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968) put forth a multidimensional analysis. They divide religion into ideological, ritualistic, organizational and cultural forms. On the basis of their study they do not feel the focus of religion should be on 'religious revival', 'religious decline', or 'religious stability', but shift the focus to the realization that changes have occurred in religious expressions and that therefore religion should take on a new definition.

Liebman (1988) is concerned with the position that Jewishness can survive without Judaism. Liebman argues that if "religious factors are overlooked when studying Jewish identity, and the focus turns to ethnicity one does not know if they are studying Jewish behaviour or behaviour that happens to characterize American Jews and which can be accounted for by any number of other variables such as class, education, occupation or income" ( p. 7). Liebman believes the decline of religious practice will lead to the demise of the Jewish community. Steinberg (cited in Krausz, 1977) believes that "the modification of Jewish identity may not have guaranteed the survival of Jewish life, but only prolonged its demise" (p. 254). No longer grounded in religion, ethnic identity and involvement in community are less secure.

Krausz (1977) also has difficulty with studies like Goldstein and Goldscheider's (1969). He believes that the modernization of religion confuses the role that the religious factor plays in contemporary Jewish identification, and feels that if religious behaviour becomes secular in nature then it becomes less religiously meaningful. The only way we could see it otherwise is if we adopt an unusually broad definition of religion: one which suggests that religion is just one

of many variables of Jewish identification. This would also suggest that the meaning of religion can be changed depending on the demands of the world and therefore be diminished. Krausz (1977) believes that if this continual broadening of the definition of religious identification takes place, religion can be pushed toward non-existence.

### Ethnicity as Central to Jewish identity

According to Medding (1977):

The religion itself, furthermore, made the test for membership of the group not one of religious performance but one of ethnic origins. To join the group and be subject to its rights and obligations, it was sufficient to be born of a Jewish mother. Similarly one could not leave the group or be disqualified by not performing religious precepts, or even by active and vocal denial of the most important religious beliefs. Thus while one could be a member of the Jewish people without following the Jewish religion, one could not adopt the Jewish religion without becoming a member of the Jewish people. (p. 6)

Contemporary Jewish ethnic ties come from the sense of shared peoplehood: "These are the people of my ancestors, therefore they are my people and they will be the people of my children" (cited in Medding, 1977, p. 10). Religiosity is only one of the ways in which Jews express their Jewishness (London & Frank, 1987). When religion is not involved, Jews are known to surround themselves with other Jews, want their children to marry other Jews and be a part of the Jewish community (London & Frank, 1987). Sklare (1974) stated that the Jewish religion may be a prototype of an ethnic religion.

Goldscheider and Zuckerman (1984) discuss the fact that Judaism (the religion -- values, beliefs, rituals, ceremonies and behaviour patterns to which Jews subscribe) may be dying; they argue, however, that Jewishness is alive and well: that it is being metamorphosed to fit modern day society. This metamorphosis is known to some as 'symbolic ethnicity'. Patterns that lend themselves to transformation into symbols and easy practice such as annual holidays, should persist; so will organizations that create and distribute symbols or "ethnic goods" such as foodstuffs or written materials. Many Jews today replace religious practice with community involvement. Some researchers view this as a poor substitute and end up referring to the modern Jewish practice as a "civil religion". They believe that the ethnic identity is a temporary matter and that in time all "ethnics" will disappear (Liebman 1979).

Eisenstadt (1990) noted that many Jews did not want to lose their Jewishness but wanted to change their direction and attach themselves to different elements of Jewish tradition. He described it as a restructuring of their identity. This new identity was manifested in customs that act as symbols of a collective peoplehood, lighting candles on Hanukkah and on the Sabbath, bar-mitzvah, marriage, circumcision, etc. It is important to note that for some, these customs became rituals and these rituals became laws; in turn, there was a return to orthodoxy. This again illustrates again that there "is no simple relationship between attachment to Jewish customs and commitment to Jewish identity" (Eisenstadt, 1990, p. 23).

Yancey, Ericksen, and Juliani (1976) suggested that much of the behaviour commonly associated with ethnicity is a function of "structural situations in which

groups have found themselves" (p. 399). They argued that ethnicity is defined through identification with common origins and frequent patterns of association; and that it is developed under conditions of residential stability and segregation, common occupations and dependence on local institutions and services. They feel it is important to identify the conditions in which ethnicity is particularly salient, such as geographically based communities, common occupational positions etc.

Others like Goldscheider and Zuckerman (cited in Liebman, 1988) define the vitality or quality of Jewish life by what they call the "cohesion of the community...the strength of the Jewish community reflects the number and intensity of in-group interactions. The more the bases of interaction and the greater its intensity, the more cohesive is the community" (p. 67). Goldscheider and Zuckerman focus upon what Jews do, and assume that activity assures the vitality of Jewish life. Jewish social networks have emerged which are based on lifestyle, jobs, residence, education, and family ties. The importance of ethnic-communal forms of Jewish identity are very much part of the Jewish world today.

Religion and Ethnicity as Central to Jewish identity.

The most intriguing problem in Jewish culture revolves around trying to trace the high degree of overlap between ethnic and religious identity. According to Kokosalakis (1982), "We can thus think of Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, French Egyptians, Iraqis, etc., independently of Christianity and Islam in a way that we cannot think of Jews independently of Judaism. In short the cultural boundaries of peoplehood, nation and religion are almost coextensive and, in a sense, interchangeable amongst the Jews in a way which is not true of any other people" (p.2). Without baptism or faith in Christ there are no Christians and no Church.

But even the most orthodox Jewish theologians and ancient prophets would agree that even without faith and practice, there was a Jewish people (Werblowsky, 1976). This interrelationship (cited in Waxman, 1983) is expressed in traditional Jewish literature by the likes of Rav Saadia Gaon (circa 882-942). He asserts in his classic work, *Haemunot Vedeot (The book of Beliefs and Options)* that: "Our nation is a nation only by virtue of its Torah (religious beliefs and laws)" (p. xxii). Similarly Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague, the renowned Kabbalist of the sixteenth century (circa 1513-1609), in *Tifereth Yisrael* maintains that the Torah is realized only through the nation of Israel" (p. xxii).

Liebman's work (cited in Sklare, 1979) argues that after emancipation in Western Europe, Jews were considered (or chose to be considered) a religious rather than an ethnic group. In Eastern Europe, Jews were considered a separate nationality or ethnic group. Liebman (cited in Sklare, 1979) tells us American Judaism is mainly of Eastern European origin. Because America recognized the legitimacy of religious rather than ethnic institutions, Eastern Europeans set up religious structures and filled them with ethnic or communal content.

Waxman (1983) points out that the reassertion of religious consciousness and the reassertion of ethnicity occurred more or less at the same time. Despite the shift of emphasis on one or the other component of group identity, both religion and ethnicity have been inextricably linked. A weakening of any of these components leads to a weakening of Jewish identity as a whole. Werblowsky (1976), in illustrating the historical relationship of Jewish religion to Jewish ethnicity, says "Judaism is not a case of a religion arising somewhere and thus influencing, impregnating and shaping a people. The people and the religion

have grown together, the religion not only proclaiming beliefs and dictating behaviour which the people adopt, but imposing these very specifically on that particular people as its vocation, life-giving purpose and guarantee of existence" (p. 49). Jewish religion represented a way of life, and hence religion and culture were one.

Although much of the literature indicates that a priority is given by the Jewish people to the ethnic rather than the religious factor in Jewish identity, that identity is expressed through traditional religious symbols. "So it is through the synagogue, the festivals, the rites of passage, dietary laws, the mezuzah, Jewish education and other such signs that Jewishness becomes visible" (Kokosalakis, 1982, p. 230) . Because these signs serve as the vehicles of identity for both observant and non-observant Jews, they reiterate the difficulty of separating the religious Jew from the ethnic Jew. Therefore, questions of practice in combination with personal identification questions will help us more clearly understand the role these practices play in their sense of personal identification. Are they ethnically significant or religiously significant or both?

Researchers who study the link between religion and ethnicity do not concern themselves with a 'chicken and egg' scenario, that is, which came first and whether one can survive without the other. Their focus is on the extent to which the attributes of religion and ethnicity are reflected in the individual's identity and the extent to which religion and ethnicity influence the person. The importance of this focus is the attention paid to the bonds that unite the Jewish community rather than building barriers between those who feel religiously Jewish and those who feel ethnically Jewish and those who feel that they are a combination of both.

The following review of the literature will touch on other sources and studies that examine the majority of the questions asked in the survey. It is divided between studies examining religious and ethnic identity in a broad sense, followed by studies focussing on personal characteristics, religious and ethnic practices, religious and ethnic attitudes and it concludes with methods in the literature of gathering a sample.

#### Studies examining Religious and Ethnic Identity

Researchers, for example, Herman (1977), Brym (1989) & Cohen (1983) differ extensively on the criteria for developing questions to assess Jewish religious and ethnic identity. Herman (1977), in a comparative study of Jews from different parts of the world, asked them how they define the Jewish group -- as a religious group, as a people, as both a people and a religious group, or by another definition. Jewish identity inevitably assumes different forms in a pluralistic society like the United States, especially when compared to an anti-religious totalitarian society like the former USSR, or to the Jewish majority in Israel which provides an environment for the fuller expression of Jewish identity. In the United States, Israel, and South Africa, the majority viewed the Jewish group as both a people and a religious group. In Argentina and the former USSR the majority who were studied viewed the Jewish group as a people. All the countries rated low in the singular definition of it being a religion. This study sheds a comparative light to other places and countries which adds to the relevance of the results.

Steinberg (1975) developed a survey to measure some pieces of the vast realm of 'Jewish identity and identification'. In particular, his survey emphasized

behaviours rather than attitudes, cognitive knowledge or images. Steinberg (cited in Krausz, 1977), in an attempt to put forward a simple multidimensional model of Jewish identity, used the following core dimensions to describe Jewish identity: the 'tribal dimension,' referring to the consciousness of kind or sense of peoplehood; 'the religious dimension,' seen through religious behaviour and commitments; 'the communal dimension', which includes social activities within the communal organizational framework; 'the secular dimension,' which refers to association with other Jews and Jewish culture outside the organized Jewish community; and 'the intellectual dimension,' which concerns knowledge about Jews and Jewish affairs.

Brym (1986) refers to the Canadian Census efforts to elicit religious and ethnic information. When the census was taken in 1981 and again in 1991, Jewish citizens of Canada had an opportunity to define themselves in two different but related ways: they could answer a question on their religious identity (Not the level of practice but a simple identification with an organized religious community) and a question of the ethnic identity of their ancestors. Respondents could list as many ethnic origins as they wished, including "Canadian". In Canada the census data has been compared to local Jewish community surveys to provide the community with information on the strength of their sample.

The Canada Census, according to Brym (1981), provided the Jewish community with enough information to divide the Canadian Jewish population into four groups. The first and by far the largest group is composed of "high identifiers"--those who indicated that both their religion and ethnic origin was Jewish. The smallest group is composed of apostates who considered themselves



ethnic Jews but had converted to a non-Jewish religion. Not much more numerous are the secularists who considered themselves ethnic Jews but stated they have no religion. Altogether, these three groups-- Canada's "ethnic Jews" -- represent over 90 percent of the Canadian Jewish population. The fourth group of Canadian Jews, comprising people who specified multiple ethnic origins (e.g., Jewish and British), were labeled "assimilated". According to Reitz (cited in Brym 1989) "people who specify multiple ethnic origins tend to identify weakly with any one ethnic group" (p. 38). The 1986 "mini-census" does not ask questions about respondents' religion, so for that year Jews could only be divided into two groups--ethnic and assimilated. In 1986 the total number of Jews was up 17 percent over 1981. However, the increase is attributed to the number of assimilated Jews in the five years between the census. The number of ethnic Jews in Canada is down nearly 7 percent from five years earlier. Brym's study is limited because it gives us figures but no information on the range of people that fall in, for example, the high identifiers, or the ethnic Jews category. As far as we know, from the figures given by Brym individuals are all the same within a category. It does not provide information that we can use for practical purposes: information on the extent to which people identify with their religious or ethnic origin would.

Torczyner (1983) cross tabulated 18 variables in 52 tables; to use with the census data; for example: age, sex, income status, year of immigration, mother tongue, occupation, schooling and intermarriage rates. Each of these tables were designed for replication in approximately 130 regions in Canada. Data was generated and details of Jewish life in urban neighbourhoods as well as in far

remote rural villages was illustrated. Comparable data was also obtained for the non-Jewish community in order to identify trends and issues common to and different from the Jewish population.

The census data remains the most exact and effective population measure; however, it does have its limitations. The census does not address attitude and behavioural elements that define social, cultural and religious viability. The detailed account of community composition contained in the census needs to be complimented with measures of community affiliation, practices and participation.

The National Population Survey according to Kosmin et al., (1990), incorporates basic demographic information, as well as attitudes and behaviour data to profile communities. Its purpose is to provide an opportunity for as many people as possible to reveal whatever is Jewish about their identity by asking: How important is being Jewish to you in your life? According to Kosmin et al., (1990) "The typologies reflect a principal feature of Jewishness, namely that it is an amalgam of ethnicity and religion, and the fact that America allows for choice about one's religio-ethnic identity (p. 4). This study does not arrogate to itself the ultimate definition of who or what is a Jew; being Jewish is very broad and takes on different meanings for everyone. In order for this attitudinal information to be relevant we must understand what part of being Jewish is important, for example, ethnically and religiously.

According to Kosmin et al., the CJF National Jewish Population Survey (1990) did attempt to further understand individuals' attitudes by asking three pertinent questions. One of the questions was: "When you think of what it means

to be a Jew in America would you say that it means being a member of: 1) a religious group? 2) an ethnic group? 3) a cultural group ? 4) a nationality? 5) something else". Being Jewish as defined by cultural group membership was the clear preference of three of the four identity groups. Definition in terms of ethnic group was the second highest and was cited more frequently than religious group by every Jewish identity group. Surprisingly, nationality was especially cited by assimilated Jews. The low level of positive support for religion is interesting. Further analysis shows that less than 5 percent of all respondents consider being Jewish solely in terms of being a member of a religious group, whereas 90 percent define being Jewish as being a member of a cultural or ethnic group. Nevertheless there continues to be firm associational ties with the Jewish community, belief and practice. There are four times as many Jews in the United States of America who practice religion as there are secular Jews: 4.4 million to 1.1 million. This question provides us with added information in that it breaks Jewish identification down into core categories. What the questions miss is firstly, the extent to which the individual sees it as an ethnic or religious group because they are simply required to answer yes or no. Secondly, it does not elicit personal feelings on how important being ethnically and/or religiously Jewish is. It is more of a question tied to how society (America in this case) views being Jewish.

Dauids (1982), in a survey of York University students, hypothesized that students who indicated a high sense of Jewish identity would also tend to view themselves as more religious; they would tend to have a more extensive Jewish educational background, and would be less likely to favor non-traditional

behaviour such as significant consumption of liquor, soft drugs, and involvement in premarital sex (p. 676). Davids found that he had made assumptions that were not that simple to prove. His findings illustrated that Jewish identity is actually quite independent of Jewish religiosity, since 5 out of 6 students in his study reported a high sense of Jewish identity but less than 1 out of 10 reported themselves to be highly religious. These findings, as pointed out by Davids, are limited in that they may only indicate that campus Jewish organizations do not reach the highly religious students who may establish their contacts off campus or may not attend this particular University. One conclusion to be drawn from this study is that we must tap ethnic group life that falls outside religious institutions in order to promote Jewish identity today.

The following section will include a literature review on the use of certain personal characteristics, practices and attitudes in the literature.

#### Demographics/Personal Characteristics

Medding et al. (1992) points out that "Jewishness constitutes only one segment of personal identity, existing alongside others, such as those deriving from being an American, college educated, a high-income earner, or a social and political liberal, for example. Needless to say, the various aspects of personal identity inform and shape each other. Thus, the shape of Jewishness plays a part in how Jews act out their various roles in American society, while their various roles in American society influence their Jewish identity" (p. 16). Judaism has emerged as a dynamic source of networks and resources binding together family, friends, and neighbours, ethnically and religiously (Goldscheider, 1986).

It is important to be aware that the demographic, social and economic structures of North American Jewish communities are rapidly changing. Goldstein et al. (1990) believe there is a great need for continuous monitoring of the demographic situation because the demographic structure of the Jewish community greatly affects its social, cultural and religious viability.

Country of birth. According to Torczyner (1983) almost two-thirds of all Canadian Jews were born in this country. Out of the remaining one-third, 17% were born in Central Europe and immigrated to Canada before and after World War II, and more recently from the former U.S.S.R. Jewish immigration from Middle Eastern countries peaked between 1961 and 1970, and there are 6,930 Jews who were born in Israel and currently reside in Canada. Herman (1977) discusses that an immigrant can never completely shed the traces in his Jewishness of the culture of his country of origin.

There are also significant regional variations in Jewish identity across Canada. Cohen (1991) observes that Canadian Jewry has a distinctive national character, but that major Jewish population centres within Canada differ extensively from one another. For example, Montreal Jewry is more observant and communally active; Winnipeg has strong organizational life, conservative synagogue affiliation but a lower than average attachment to Israel. British Columbia's Jews fall below the national average in several measures of ritual observance and institutional affiliation. In fact, the Vancouver Jewish population may be more similar to the Seattle Jewish community than to Toronto's.

Parents and grandparents place of birth. Kosmin, et al. (1990) measured the 'Americanization' of the population by the number of each respondents'

grandparents born in the United States. A clear inter-generational pattern of assimilation was suggested. The data indicated an increasing distance from Jewish identity with each successive generation a family is resident in America. It is important to note here that studies of Jewish identity in American communities are not directly applicable here, since as Cohen (1991) notes, the identity of Canadian Jews is quite distinctive from that found among their Jewish counterparts in the United States.

Cohen (1990) found that Canadian Jewry is not becoming less Jewishly active with the passing generations. According to Cohen (1990), "Canadian Jewry is one generation behind the United States in the 'assimilation' process...Canada is one generation closer to the well-spring of rich Jewish life in the Europe of yesteryear" (p. 1).

Trends also provide information for Jewish organizations and service providers in order to prepare for the coming years (Einwohner, 1990; Kosmin, et al. 1990). According to Cohen (1991), many Canadian Jewish leaders express fears for the continuation of intensive Jewish commitment in the next generation.

Sex. Gender and Jewish identity was addressed in detail in the background section of Chapter 2. The majority of cited studies reviewed did not focus on controlling for gender except when relating gender to specific variables such as the number of males and females who are intermarried (Brym, 1989) and gender and Jewish education (Cohen, 1988).

Age. Generational differences are a distinguishing aspect when it comes to ritual observance. The older the generation the more likely they will be ritually observant. The decline in ritual observance takes place in the third generation and

stabilizes in the fourth. According to Cohen (1983), without a personal commitment (expressed in high ritual observance) or a sustainable religious identity (such as Orthodoxy), later generations are less motivated to affiliate with an organized Jewish community. However findings indicate that there is a growth in traditional observance and in Orthodoxy among the Canadian young. In some ways, the younger Jews are actually more involved in traditional ritual observance. In other ways, such as forms of communal affiliation and most forms of ritual practice, younger Jews are hardly different from their elders (Cohen, 1991).

Torczyner (1983) in comparing the age distribution of Jews with that of the Canadian population as a whole, found that Jews have a somewhat smaller percentage of young people. He pointed out that 19% of all Jews are under the age of 15, while 22% of the Canadian population falls in the under 15 range. The percentage of aged is of vital significance: more than 15% of all Jews are over 65, while less than 9% of Canada's general population falls in this category.

Marital Status. According to Torczyner (1983), data from the Canadian census indicated Jews live in smaller families than non-Jewish Canadians. He pointed out that 37% of all Jews live alone or with one other person and that 8 out of 10 Jews live in families with 4 or fewer members. Only 6% live in families where there are 6 or more persons while 11.2% of non-Jews live in such families.

Families with children. According to Einwohner (1990), families with children are an important consideration in studies of Jewish identity because they may have a certain set of priorities at this time because of the children. According to London and Frank (1987), marriage and children tend to involve people more

in Jewish life: there is a difference in identity between single and married people. According to the Canadian Census (1991) determining whether the respondent is male or female is necessary to understanding the changing roles of men and women in our families, community and the work force.

Educational level. Studies have shown high education may result in higher rates of intermarriage and alienation from the community. Third and fourth generation North American Jews entered graduate and professional schools which counted towards their successful integration into modern times. Torczyner (1983) showed that more than 1/4 of all Jews over the age of 15 have completed university while less than 1/3 have not completed high school. He reports three times as many Jews have finished college than non-Jews. The 1990 National Population survey lists 90% of American Jews as college-educated; many also are the children of mothers and fathers who are college educated. These findings may be result of leaving home early and the 'liberalizing' effect college may have on Jewish identity.

Occupation. According to Cohen (1983), while professions broadly conceived have little impact on Jewish identity, members of certain professional occupations either under or over participate in Jewish institutional life. The Jewish labour force finds its largest proportions in managerial and professional occupations (27% of all Jews). An additional 22.5% of Jews work in clerical or sale-related occupations.

The Jewish concentration in particular educational levels and occupational statuses means that there is a shared lifestyle, as well as shared work patterns, neighbourhood types, and family patterns among Jews. The increasing similarity



in occupational and educational status is the basis for increased connections and networks. For many, according to Cohen (1983), "the organized community probably offers them few material or social rewards for participating; its business-oriented ambiance conflicts with certain professional subcultures; and certain professions are, in fact, able to serve as surrogate communities in place of the religious or ethnic group" (p. 92). Professions can often become like communities and may at times replace religious communities.

Some professions, on the other hand, integrate their members into Jewish institutional life. Their members' values, interests and cultural styles are compatible with religious affiliation (Cohen, 1983). Cohen (1983) pointed out that a variety of higher-status Jews showed 1) lower in-group marriage and friendship, 2) greater participation in the synagogue and other aspects of Jewish institutional life, and 3) fewer traditional religious beliefs and ritual practices. The modern Jewish community has utilized professional and occupational commitments to their benefit. This is done through specific professional fund-raisers or committees utilizing the professional expertise.

Main language at home. Torczyner (1983) in examining the Canadian Census (1981) found that 7 out of 10 Canadian Jews first spoke English at home. Those whose mother tongue is Yiddish, represent less than 10% of the Jewish population and 5% of Canadian Jews have a mother tongue of French.

Report of parent's ethnicity. The present study looks at whether 'Jewish' is one of the ethnic groups that respondents report their parents belong to. As Kosmin (1990) says, answers about identity may be "predictors of behaviour". If one perceives membership in the Jewish religion as central to their Jewish identity

and perceives their ethnic identity as Canadian; they may act very differently in a communal context than someone who sees ethnicity, not 'religion' as central to his or her Jewish identity and behaviour. In the 1991 census a pattern emerges on single and multiple ethnic origins of the major centres of Jewish population. For Montreal and Quebec, Toronto and Ontario, Winnipeg and Manitoba, the majority of Jews indicated a single ethnic origin--Jewish. Moving west to Vancouver and British Columbia, one-half of the 22,000 Jews of Greater Vancouver indicated in 1991 that they considered their origin to include more than one ethnic identity.

Religion born into, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now. Information on the religion the respondent was born into, and religion the respondent is now as well as the religion one's spouse was born into and religion spouse is now, provides us with insight into the diverse nature of the population we are studying. If the person being studied is a different religion from their spouse this may add information to an understanding of why that individual may be leading their lives a particular way. According to Kosmin, et al. (1990), the majority of the adult population is currently married. One way to assess intermarriage is to note the identification of the current marriage partner. Kosmin et al. (1990) study indicated that the choice of marriage partners has changed dramatically over the last few decades. Intermarriage is one obvious barrier, according to Einwohner (1990), to the community's ability to promote and maintain itself.

### Religious and Ethnic Attitudes

According to Phinney (1990), a specific question that has concerned researchers is the relationship between what people say they are (ethnic self-

identification) and what they actually do (ethnic involvement) or how they feel (ethnic pride). In a study of Irish adolescents in England, "Ullah (cited in Phinney, 1990) found a close relationship between ethnic self definition and indices of ethnic group behaviour; as did Der Karabetian in a study with Armenian Americans. In contrast, a study of East Indian adolescents in England (Hutnik) revealed little relationship between ethnic identity and behaviour" (p. 506).

According to Herman (1977), "almost any study of Jewish attitudes is pretentiously called a study of Jewish identity...of what being Jewish means, of what kind of Jew and what kind of Jewishness develop in the majority culture" (p. 28). Attitudes like practices highlight patterns of commitment and support but it is possible, as noted in Phinney's study (1990), that one's attitudes may be different from their practices. The present study's attitude questions as mentioned in the background section in Chapter 1, focus on attitudes towards practice. Therefore it will be possible to see if the attitudes and practices are consistent. The literature in the area of Jewish identity has focused more on practices than attitudes.

The following section will report the literature that addresses the different attitude variables. Some of the attitude questions overlap with the practice questions and therefore will only be reported once, in the practice section. These overlapping variables include religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, having Jewish friends, visiting Israel, providing culturally Jewish educational programs for children, and contributing to Jewish fundraising efforts.

Maintaining close ties to Israel and number of visits to Israel. According to Chazan (1992), "the symbolic meaning of Israel pervades the collective consciousness of Jewish religion and culture" (p. 1). According to Schweid and Segal (cited in Chazan, 1992), theologians and historians concerned with the Jewish experience have focused on the central role Israel played throughout the ages in both collective Jewish consciousness and personal Jewish identity. Chazan (1992) points out that, the concept of return to Zion is a major theme in Jewish thought and prayer. According to Herman (1977), Jews everywhere find it necessary to define their Jewish identity with reference to Israel. Even for the anti-Zionists it still serves as a reference point. Religious rituals and symbolic acts expressing attachment to the Holy Land were part of the behaviour of all Jews. For Jews who have left or are trying to leave the former Soviet Union, Israel is the focal point of their identity. For North American Jews, Israel is a source of pride and many feel threats on Israel are a threat to their existence as Jews (Herman, 1977). The modern State of Israel is a place where Jewish values, ideas and history can be experienced by all visitors. Israel, according to Goldberg (1992), has had a dramatic effect on strengthening Jewish youngsters positive feelings about being Jewish.

In the CJF National Population Survey of American Jews (1970), (cited in Cohen, 1983) three pro-Israel measures were tested -- concern for Israel, support for her policies, and travel to Israel -- each eliciting different information. Younger people seemed to be less pro-Israel than their elders; in all cases the more ritually observant were more pro-Israel. The vast majority of the American population professed to care deeply about Israel; a large majority agree with most

of the government policies; and a considerable majority have spent time in Israel: all of which indicate their commitment. The 1967 Israeli war had a profound effect on American Jews. People felt their fate was tied up with Israel and their feelings and commitments more than displayed this. The concern for Israel became one of the most unifying means by which Jews expressed their Jewishness. London and Frank (1987) discuss the potential of visits to Israel as an important factor in shaping and forming Jewish identity. According to Silberman (1985), nearly one Jewish adult in five in the United States has visited Israel more than once, and travel to Israel is seen as an act of religious and ethnic identification.

Choosing a Jewish spouse. According to Medding et al. (1992), the subject of intermarriage arouses fears about issues of group survival. One aspect is quantitative: the offspring of intermarriage may not remain Jewish; within a few generations there may be fewer Jews and a greatly weakened Jewish community. The other aspect is qualitative: even if intermarriage does not lead to lesser numbers of persons living with a Jewish parent, a question still remains as to their sense of Jewishness : that is, the intensity of their communal affiliation, ethnic identification and religious practice.

The quantitative research highlights that intermarriage varies with age. Both marriages between Jews and non-Jews and marriages in which one spouse converts to Judaism are more prevalent among young adults than older adults. Since 1985, according to Goldberg, the National Population Survey (1990), indicates less than half of Jewish marriages involve both partners who were born Jewish. According to Goldberg (1992), among these mixed couples, only 28

percent are raising their children as Jews; the rest are being raised as Christians or with no religion.

Medding et al. (1992), in a study on Jewish identity in conversionary and mixed marriages, focus on the qualitative aspects of Jewish intermarriage in the United States. They put forward a theory of Jewish identity which became the framework for a systematic empirical analysis of Jewish identification and behavior in households representing three basic marriage types: inmarriage between two born Jews; conversionary marriage, between a born Jew and a born non-Jew who converts to Judaism; and mixed marriage, between a born Jew and a born non-Jew who does not convert to Judaism. Medding et al. (1992) attempt to clarify whether and under what conditions Jewish identity is maintained in such marriages and to evaluate the character and content of that Jewish identity. The study affirms that mixed marriages without conversion participate significantly less in Jewish communal and religious activities than do in-married and conversionary couples. According to Medding et al. (1992) "dual identity households are segmented and pluralist, responding to the individual needs of both partners in an intermarriage and catering to their different if not competing religious and ethnic heritages. Findings indicate that conversion usually leads to the achievement of medium and high levels of Jewish identification, and more often that not brings about a qualitative identity transformation that results in the acquisition of an unambiguous Jewish identity by the convert and the establishment of a single-identity household" (p. 37).

According to Medding et al. (1992), Jews who enter into mixed marriages assume that this will not prevent them from continuing to affirm and maintain the

Jewish element at the core of their personal identity. They see Jewish identity as a personal issue and are convinced that a mixed family is compatible with strong personal expressions of Jewishness, that is, feeling part of the Jewish people, being proud of one's Jewishness, attending synagogue, performing Jewish rituals or supporting Israel. They feel that neither partner's personal identity need impinge on the other.

Medding (1992) notes that others realize that being Jewish is a legacy inherited from their ancestors and that these elusive cultural differences are at the heart of many of their decisions. Even people who, due to modernity, put their family's traditions behind discover that their ethno-religious backgrounds affect the work they do, the way they choose to raise their children, the way they think about education, food, sex, and money. Medding (1992) pointed out that some realize this very early on, while some do not recognize it until they have children. He feels that no matter how much people know or do not know about intermarriage there is an increasing acceptance of intermarriage in the community.

Attitudes toward intermarriage have become much more accepting of a non-Jewish partner. According to Fishman and Goldstein (1992), fully one-third of those who identify themselves as Jewish by religion would support or strongly support the marriage of their child to a non-Jewish person; only 22 percent would oppose such a marriage.

Having Jewish friends. A number of surveys indicate that one way Jews maintain their connection to the community is through having Jewish friends. Haller and Greeley (cited in Yancey, Ericksen and Juliani, 1976) define ethnicity in terms of "frequent patterns of association and identification with common

origins... crystallized under conditions which reinforce the maintenance of kinship and friendship networks" (p. 392). Fishman and Goldstein (1993) argue that a number of students have pointed out the increasing importance of Jewish social networks among friends, in neighborhoods, and at work in strengthening Jewish identity and bonds to the community.

Rosen (cited in London & Frank, 1987) also believes that peer influence has an important impact on Jewish identity. Where peer and parental influences differ, peers are often more influential. Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) show that adolescent peers are important religious influences on both the younger and older generations of adult Jewish men studied.

Living in a Jewish neighborhood. Goldscheider (1986) illustrated that the community defined in geographic terms does not appear to be significantly associated with Jewish continuity or Jewish identity. According to Goldscheider (1986), earlier theoretical and empirical work on Jewish immigrants viewed residential concentration as a carry-over of old world patterns of ghetto segregation. As noted above, American Jews moved toward greater assimilation and integration into American society. Residential integration was associated with lower levels of Jewishness. Today when asking a residential question we must take into account that it is not necessarily an individual's choice to live in a non-Jewish area. It might be due to schooling, transportation, housing costs or housing availability. The data does not show Jews living in areas of low Jewish density as alienated from other Jews, or preferring assimilation.

According to Goldscheider (1986), Jews value living in Jewish neighbourhoods. It is possible that the ethnic composition of a neighborhood



plays a minor role in housing choices for most Jews. It is also clear that the desire to assimilate is not characteristic of those who live in areas of low Jewish density. Among those who perceive that their neighborhoods have almost no Jews, two-thirds would like to have more Jews living there. Over three-fourths of those in areas which do not have a high concentration of Jews report that more than half of their friends are Jewish. As Kosa (cited in Yancey, Ericksen & Juliani, 1976) has demonstrated, it is possible for ethnic networks to exist in geographically dispersed areas; however ethnicity may be strongest in a geographically clustered area.

Contributing to Jewish fundraising and volunteering in the Jewish community. There are a number of reasons why people volunteer their time to Jewish organizations or give to philanthropic drives. According to Woocher (1981), philanthropy constitutes one of the central tenets of American Jewry's civil religion of "sacred survival". Past research, according to Fishman and Goldstein (1993), has indicated that membership in Jewish organizations and voluntarism in Jewish causes is particularly related to factors affecting Jewish identification, including years of Jewish education, intensity of ritual practice, and synagogue attendance. Cohen's formulation (1983), of the Boston Jewry survey (Axelrod, Fowler & Gurin, 1965; Fowler, 1975) indicated that relatively assimilated Jews have been leaving the philanthropic circles. The number of leaders who are Orthodox and received a yeshiva or day school education increased between 1965 and 1975.

Some obvious reasons people volunteer their time or contribute financially to the Jewish community include social status, association reasons, learning

leadership skills, etc. Women are also more likely than men to belong to Jewish organizations, and the number of memberships increases with age.

Speaking Hebrew. According to Brenner (cited in Weinstein Klein, 1980) people often feel it is important to learn Hebrew because it is the language of their Jewish ancestors and would therefore provide a connection to that aspect of our Jewish identity.

### Religious and Ethnic Practices

Judaism is pervaded by ritual practice. Perhaps the most traditional expression of Jewishness, according to Medding et al. (1992), is through the rituals Jews perform or in which they participate. An orthodox Jew is reminded of his Jewishness constantly by adhering to all the commandments and rituals. Generational differences are a distinguishing aspect when it comes to ritual observance. The older the generation the more likely they will be ritually observant. Jewish ritual observance has declined as the population moves further from the immigrant generation, though some evidence shows a trend back to increased observance in the third and fourth generations. According to Cohen (1983), without a personal commitment (expressed in high ritual observance) or a sustainable religious ideology (such as orthodoxy), later generations are less motivated to affiliate with an organized Jewish community. This generation will find new ways to express their Jewish identity.

Cohen's study (1988) focuses on measures of "Jewish identification." His questionnaire examines behaviours rather than attitudes because he felt behaviours were more likely to be understood and enhance continuity with previous literature. His measure of Jewish identity assess three broad categories.

1) Intimate Associations; the questionnaire asked about the religious upbringing and current religious identity of respondents' spouses as well as how many of their three closest friends were Jewish. 2) Ritual Observance: the questionnaire asked about a variety of ritual practices currently observed by the respondents and by their parents when they were growing up. These ranged from Passover Seder and Hanukkah candle-lighting to less frequent practices, to refraining from handling money on the Sabbath. 3) Communal Involvement: the questionnaire asked about a variety of attachments to organized Jewish life, including organizational and synagogue membership, charitable donations, Israeli travel, denominational affiliation, and reading Jewish newspapers. Jewish social scientists for example (Brodbar-Nemzer, 1991; Kosmin et al., 1990; Tobin & Fishman, 1987) conducting Jewish population surveys over the last two decades have focused on these areas to measure Jewish commitment and involvement.

Lazerwitz (1973) developed a 'multivariate model of Jewish identification' which indicated that there is type of identification that runs from childhood home religious background to religious education, behaviour, activity in ethnic organizations, and to concern for one's children's religious education. He compared his findings to a separate set of concepts and procedures developed from a study of Christian religious and ethnic dimensions. In his findings, ethnic community life and religious institutions are somewhat separate for Protestants but not for Jews. He found that there was no dominant Jewish identification variable; rather, there were a number of influential variables. His Jewish identification indices are: childhood home Jewish background, Jewish education, religious behaviour, pietism, Jewish ideology, Jewish community involvement,

Jewish organizational activity, Jewish socialization of children and concern for world Jewry. The basic statistical tool for the study was generated by a series of multiple regression equations. Since these regression equations are linear additive models, Lazerwitz (1973) checked each one for any sizable interactions. Within the overall pattern of Jewish identification, determined by the variables mentioned above, the religious variable, expressed as synagogue membership and degree of traditionalism (operationalized as, attendance at weekly religious services and at annual religious holidays, as well as home religious observances), has a positive effect on Jewish identification. The most relevant data indicated that the Jewish ethnic communal dimension is closely related to religious behaviour by a strong beta of 0.37.

This information tells us that Jewish identification will be high where religion and tradition operate. These findings only tell us that religion has a positive effect on those who already have a commitment to religion. It does not provide information on what variables have an effect on Jewish identification where religion does not operate. Reitz (cited in Hammond, 1988) also suggested that the stronger people's ethnic ties are, the more they remain loyal to the religious organization associated with their ethnic groups. There is also literature documenting that church involvement is greater among those whose other organizational secondary commitments are greater.

National and local communities have continued the process of researchers who study Jewish identification multidimensionally by surveying themselves (Brodbar-Nemzer, 1991; Einwohner, 1990; Kosmin, et al. 1990; Tobin & Fishman, 1987; Tobin & Sassler, 1988). Through the process of examining the

community, its resources and contributing members, the reports describe and document various characteristics of their local group. Its purpose is to help community leaders, planners, and members understand the community today and prepare for future challenges. Because changes in the community have taken place both locally and nationally many researchers felt the need to develop standardized procedures in the development of an instrument as well as in the tabulation and analysis of the results.

Lighting candles Friday night, participating in a Passover Seder, fasting on Yom Kippur, keeping Kosher, having a mezuzah, and circumcision. According to Cohen (1983) the Boston Jewish Community's National Population Survey (Fowler, 1975) indicated that the ritual with the largest decline in practice from second to third generation was in keeping Kosher at home; in the middle were lighting Sabbath candles, putting a mezuzah up in the home, Yom Kippur fasting, and observing Passover dietary rules; the smallest decline was in Passover Seder participation. Ritual circumcision remains a common practice although some choose other alternatives for a variety of personal convictions.

Some follow the Sabbath practice extensively and others perform a few customs such as lighting candles and having an evening meal. No matter how the Sabbath is observed it does remain a symbol that links the Jewish past with the present (Kokosalakis, 1982, p. 215): it seems convenient in that individuals can make it fit into their lives in whatever way they choose.

Pogrebin (1991) also stresses that even through many Jews may only have a twice a year affirmation of faith (the high Holy days), this may be what keeps them Jewish at all. Those two days in shul may trigger memories of their Jewish

heritage and provide them with a few rituals that touch them deeply and continue the chain of historical continuity.

Observing dietary laws. Birnbaum (cited in Kokosalakis, 1982) points out that the dietary laws are one of the vital resources by means of which Jewish tradition helps to identify the individual Jew with his people. Dietary laws used to have central significance to Jewish identity because one eats every day, one is forced to bring Jewish culture to their everyday life. According to Kokosalakis "kosher practice in conjunction with the Sabbath alters space and time qualitatively and elevates experience onto a higher plane of reality" (p. 218).

The dietary laws ('kashruth') are exceedingly complex. Cohen (1983) pointed out that dietary rules in the Boston Jewish Community's National Population Survey (Fowler, 1975), are one of the first ethnic and religious practices to be given up. Less demanding and less segregating ritual observances erode more slowly. Passover Seder participation held steady. Interestingly, those who do not adhere to the dietary laws today do not feel less Jewish.

However, according to Goldberg (1992), the market for kosher food alone, in America today is estimated at a million to a million-and-a-half kosher keeping Jews (half Orthodox, half Conservative and other).

Lighting Hanukkah candles. Pogrebin (1991) stresses the importance of the ritual side of holidays like Hanukkah and lighting the candles to "remember their intrepid forebears whose courage allowed Jews to live to see another Hanukkah." (p. 108).

Attending a Holocaust remembrance event. The memory of the Holocaust still has a continuing influence on Jewish identity. One of the reasons the Jewish

community reacts so strongly to any threat to their community is because of the looming shadow the Holocaust casts. The Holocaust, according to Herman (1977), affects the way Jews see themselves and the way they perceive their relationship to the non-Jewish world. He feels that no study of Jewish identity can ignore the impact of the Holocaust. Although Holocaust Remembrance Day is a deeply moving day, Herman (1977) points out that this memorial day must become part of Jewish traditional observance. Herman (1977) believes that:

Across thousands of years the exodus from Egypt has been celebrated in Jewish homes, and in each generation Jews see themselves as if they were personally liberated from bondage. And on Tisha Be'Av (the fast on the ninth day of the month of Av) Jews through the centuries have continued to mourn the destruction of the Temple. The Holocaust, too, must become part of the Jewish calendar and be perpetuated in the Jewish historical consciousness. (pp. 112-113).

Denominational affiliation. According to London and Frank (1987), the best indicator of participation in Jewish religious and communal life is identifying oneself as either Orthodox, Conservative, Reform etc. According to Medding et al. (1992), American Jews think of themselves as being Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform Jews, even when they are not formally affiliated with a synagogue or temple. In many surveys, there is an additional category of "Just Jewish"; for some it is a specific denominational alternative, and for others it is a residual category for all who give a broad general term of denominational affiliation". According to Goldscheider (1986), the data from the 1975 Jewish population survey indicated

that three-fourths of adult Jews identify denominationally. Twice as many Jews identify denominationally as join synagogues.

Belonging to a synagogue. According to Herman (1977), "the diaspora religious institutions such as the synagogue serve more than just a religious function in the Jewish community and affiliation with them is often an expression of Jewish identification rather than of religiosity" (p. 36). As noted earlier, in the 1950's and 60's Jews followed the trend of society and became "joiners", for them synagogues, Jewish organizations, and philanthropic agencies provided integration into middle-class society (Cohen, 1983). Between 1965 and 1975, a number of historic events changed the reasons behind participation in religious and ethnic institutions. Jews became secure with their position in middle class society and ethnic assertiveness became the new priority. Synagogue membership and attendance give public expression to religious affiliation and identification (Medding et al., 1992). It is possible one may consider oneself religious but not belong to any synagogue or organization. One may choose to perform ritual practice in a more private, familial way.

According to Waxman (1983), non-affiliation does not necessarily equal the decline of religion. Religion does not have to be institutionalized. The decline in affiliation might just indicate the search for alternative expressions of one's Jewishness.

Jewish education. The impact of Jewish education has been studied at length. The goal of the educational system is to transmit Jewish knowledge. The Jewish educational system is not designed to create Jewish identity but to intensify an already existing one.



Fishman and Goldstein (1993) report that Jewish education is one of the most effective tools for producing Jewishly identified adults. In their study on Jewish education and Jewish behaviour of American adults, they show that Jewish educational institutions which offer substantial Jewish schooling, comprise one of the best hopes for having a positive impact on meaningful Jewish continuity in the United States.

The data for Fishman and Goldstein's study, drawn from the 1990 National Jewish Population study, demonstrate that more extensive forms of Jewish education are closely associated with greater Jewish identification, especially among younger American Jewish adults (ages 25-44). American Jewish adults under age 45 who have received substantial Jewish education (more than six years of supplementary school or day school) are more likely than those who receive minimal or no Jewish education to be married to a Jew, to prefer living in a Jewish neighborhood, to volunteer time for and give money to Jewish organizations, to join and attend synagogue, and to perform rituals in their homes and place a strong emphasis on the creation of a Jewish home. The associational effect of extensive formal Jewish education and heightened Jewish identification is more dramatic among younger American Jews, ages 18-44 than among older groups.

Jewish education has changed through the last two decades; especially in the proportion attending all-day Jewish schools as opposed to afternoon and weekend classes: 36 percent in day schools, up from 16 percent two decades ago, or a total of 168,000 receiving the intensive all-day schooling. According to Bock and Himmelfarb (cited in Cohen, 1988), through an analysis of the National Jewish

Population surveys, the number of school hours makes a difference. A minimum of 3,000 hours of Jewish instruction is necessary for a lasting impact: that is, at least seven years of full-time schooling (day school education). In other words, part-time Jewish education has little effect on adult Jewish identity. These results further indicate that the childhood home exerts more influence than the Jewish school on adult Jewish identification. They also indicate that the impact of informal Jewish education through camps (specifically if it is reinforced at home in the city), and youth groups which is introduced during high school and university, has shown to be beneficial to adult Jewish identification. Einwohner (1990) believes that the Jewish education of children is a crucial factor in maintaining Judaism.

The following are related studies and examples of their sampling composition and sampling methods.

#### Sample Composition and Sampling Methods in the Literature

A number of North American surveys studying Jewish communities include a broad definition of who is a Jew. The definition of a Jew, according to traditional Jewish law, is a person born to a Jewish mother or converted to Judaism in accordance with the prescribed procedures of Jewish law. A mere declaration of faith or the feeling of belonging does not make a person a Jew. Nor does a person cease to become a Jew because of either lack of faith or lack of a sense of belonging (Herman, 1977). Therefore, those who are not considered by traditional Jewish law as Jews, might still be counted as Jews. The definitions vary among sections of the Jewish community. Community studies may diverge on the question of descent (Jewish father and non-Jewish mother may define a

Jew); or the requirements for conversion; or they may completely disregard conversion and descent and regard anyone expressing a feeling of belonging as a Jew. Most community studies count both affiliated and non-affiliated residents, and also include those born and raised as Jews but who at present consider themselves of no religion. Some studies even include spouses and children who are not Jewish and show no "identification".

The most common sampling frame in Jewish community studies is an organization list that contains Jewish names and addresses. These lists bias the sample to affiliated Jews. According to Sklare (1979), the bias might not be as big in small communities where affiliation rates are as high as 90 percent. Bias is more of a problem in big cities where the unaffiliated are likely to be a large proportion of the Jewish population. These and other sampling problems have been overcome to some extent with new types of survey designs.

Community censuses and the National Jewish Population Study increased the efficiency of locating a Jewish respondent by identifying areas where Jews were clustered and then sampling according to Jewish concentration. One method used was random digit dialing of phone numbers within exchanges in which Jewish households were clustered (Sklare, 1979 p. 69). Typically areas of Jewish concentration were determined by counting persons with "distinctive Jewish names," which was found to produce a sample very similar to the general population of Jews (Himmelfarb et al., 1983). A drawback here is that a person who lives in a non-Jewish neighbourhood is less likely to be included in the sample. Another method was to use random digit dialing of phone numbers of the general population but this proved too expensive. A third and more economical

possibility was to rely on a weekly or biweekly national omnibus survey regularly conducted by selected survey organizations to screen for eligible Jewish households.

The CJF National Population Survey (Kosmin, et al. 1990) serves as a measure of the dynamics of local change in individual communities. Focusing on local community survey alone introduces bias resulting from over representation by larger communities. The National surveys include people from communities of all sizes and is representative of both affiliated and non-affiliated. Local surveys done in conjunction with a national survey offer the prospect of complementary analysis. These community studies are based on the CJF core questionnaire, which will allow a qualitative standard to be set and provide opportunities for national and international comparability.

Methods for gathering the sample for the present study will be illustrated in the method chapter.

The following are the hypotheses outlined for the present study.

#### Hypotheses:

1) There will be a significant relationship between the strength of Vancouver Jewish adults self-perceived sense of Jewish ethnic identity and the strength of their self-perceived sense of Jewish religious identity.

2) There will be a significant relationship between the strength of ethnic identity (question #17-dependent variable) and;

(a) the following personal characteristics: country of birth , parents born in North America, grandparents born in North America, sex, age, marital status, having children, number of children, occupation, educational level, main language at

home, parent's ethnicity-Jewish, religion born into, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now, household income (survey questions 1- 16);

(b) the following religious and ethnic attitudes: maintaining ties to Israel, performing religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, choosing a Jewish spouse, children marrying someone Jewish, having Jewish friends, living in a Jewish neighbourhood, providing culturally specific educational programs for one's children, joining Jewish community organizations, contributing to Jewish fundraising efforts, volunteering in Jewish community, having a paid subscription to a Jewish magazine, and speaking Hebrew, (survey questions 19 (a)-(m) );

(c) the following religious and ethnic practices: lighting candles Friday night, participating in a Passover Seder, no work/school on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, fasting on Yom Kippur, handling money on Shabbat, keeping two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy, keeping kosher outside the home, lighting Hanukkah candles, attending a Holocaust remembrance evening, celebrating Israel Independence Day (Yom Ha'atzmaut), attending a Purim celebration, putting a mezuzah on the door, having son ritually circumcised, sons having non-ritual circumcision, sons having no circumcision, having a Bar or Bat Mitzvah, arranging a Bar or Bat Mitzvah for one's children, proportion of Jewish friends, visiting Israel (number of times and total amount of time spent in Israel), visiting sights related to the Holocaust, denominational affiliation/type of Judaism consider self, synagogue membership, type of synagogue, Jewish education (formal/ informal), providing Jewish education for children (formal/informal), contributing to Israel based charities, contributing to Federation/Combined Jewish

Appeal, contributing to Synagogues or temples, contributing to local Jewish institutions (survey questions (20 (a)-(k) - 33) and;

(d) the following reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey: attitudes and practices divinely ordained, attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people, (survey question 34 (a) and (b) )

3) There will be a significant relationship between the strength of religious identity(question #18-dependent variable) and the personal characteristics identified in Hypothesis 2a, the religious and ethnic attitudes identified in Hypothesis 2b, the religious and ethnic practices identified in Hypothesis 2c and reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey identified in Hypothesis 2d.

(4) There will be a set of predictor variables (made up of personal characteristics, religious and ethnic practices and religious and ethnic attitudes) to determine the strength of one's ethnic identity and the strength of one's religious identity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHOD

The method of data collection selected for this study was a questionnaire that was completed by 246 members of the Jewish Community of the Lower Mainland. The research methods -- generation of the sample, procedure, design, instrumentation, and analysis -- are presented in this chapter.

#### Sample

According to the Council of Jewish Federations, the Greater Vancouver Jewish community is classified as a "large intermediate city", with a population of approximately 20,000 Jews in the Lower Mainland.

The population from which the sample for this study was drawn was based on a list of Jewish people from across the Lower Mainland compiled by the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver. The Federation is a member of the Council of Jewish Federations, the continental association of 189 Jewish Federations which are the central community organizations serving nearly 800 localities in the United States and Canada. Federations work with constituent agencies and the volunteer sector to enhance the social welfare of the Jewish community in areas such as aging, youth services, education, and refugee resettlement.

The Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver list is updated annually from all institutions and organizations in the community and through word of mouth. There is continual verification of names, addresses and phone numbers. The list includes anyone who identifies in some way with the Jewish community. In a smaller community like Vancouver, an extensive community list is still biased to

affiliated persons but may represent a much larger proportion of the population than a similar list in a larger city. It would have been ideal to reach those who do not identify with the organized Jewish community in any way but since this study asks questions pertinent to people who do identify in some way with a Jewish community, it is appropriate to sample from the Jewish Federation list.

The 1986 Canada Census indicated the population of Jews living in the Lower Mainland was 19,000. The Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver's list, which is the sampling frame for this study, had 5,300 families in 1986, with a mean of 2.7 people per family, making a total of approximately 14,310 individuals on their list. The Jewish Federation list represents 75% of the known Jewish population from the 1986 Census, that is, 14,310 on the Federation list out of 19,000 Jews. From initial examination of the 1991 Canada Census results the Federation believes its list captures a minimum of 65% of the 1991 Jewish population. With the list used for the sample of the present study representing such a high percentage of the population and the method of compilation and constant updating, it is reasonable to assume that this sampling frame was representative of the community at large. In addition, there is no other way to survey this type of community in a cost and time efficient manner.

A random sample of 512 names was taken from this list. The random sample was made up of individuals not households, which ensured that the survey reached both males and females. The list also included people from different places in the Lower Mainland and different age groups.



### Procedure

A pilot study was done on an informal basis to elicit feedback about the format of the survey before the full mail survey is conducted. The full mail-out survey comprised of 512 names from the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver's mailing list. A strong response rate, that is, 40% would result in 205 completed surveys, enough for the proposed analysis. Since the actual response rate was 246 returned surveys, that is, 48%, procedures to deal with a low response rate were not implemented.

### Design

This study was a correlational survey design. The dependent variables (see Table 1) were strength of ethnic identity (question # 17) and strength of religious identity (question # 18). The independent variables included;

- (a) the following personal characteristics (see Table 2): place of birth, members of family born in Canada, sex, age, marital status, number of children, type of employment, educational level, language spoken at home, ethnic group parent belong, religion born, raised and now, household income (survey questions 1-16);
- (b) the following religious and ethnic attitudes (see Table 3): maintaining ties to Israel, performing religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, choosing a Jewish spouse, children marrying someone Jewish, having Jewish friends, living in a Jewish neighbourhood, providing culturally specific educational programs for one's children, joining Jewish organizations, contributing to Jewish fundraising efforts, participating in Jewish activities, groups or clubs, having a paid subscription to a Jewish magazine, speaking Hebrew (question 19 (a)-(m));

Table 1

Dependent Variables


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How important is being "ethnically Jewish" to your own personal sense of identity?	How important is being "religiously" Jewish to your own personal sense of identity?
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Table 2

Independent Variables -- Personal Characteristics


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Parents born in North America	Main language at home
Grandparents born in North America	Parents ethnicity: Jewish
Sex	Religion born into
Age	Religion now
Marital status	Religion spouse born into
Education level	Religion spouse now
Occupation	Income (combined household)
Spouses occupation	

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Table 3

Independent Variables -- Religious and Ethnic Attitudes


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Maintain close ties to Israel	Culturally Jewish education for children
Perform religious practices	Join Jewish community organization.
Belong to a synagogue	Contribute to Jewish fundraising
Choose a Jewish spouse	Volunteer in Jewish community
Children marry Jewish	Paid subscriptions to Jewish magazines
Have Jewish friends	Speak Hebrew
Live in a Jewish neighborhood	

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(c) the following religious and ethnic practices (see Table 4): lighting candles Friday night, attending a Passover Seder, attending a Succoth celebration, staying home from work on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, fasting on Yom Kippur, handling money on Shabbat, keeping two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy, keeping kosher outside the home, lighting Hanukkah candles, attending a Holocaust remembrance evening, celebrating Israel Independence Day, attending a Purim celebration, putting a mezuzah on the door, having one's child circumcised, having a Bar or Bat Mitzvah or arranging it for one's children, proportion of Jewish friends, visiting Israel (number of times and total amount of time spent in Israel), visiting sights related to the Holocaust, denominational affiliation/type of Judaism consider self, synagogue membership, Jewish education (formal/ informal), providing Jewish education for children (formal/informal), donating to Jewish philanthropies (questions 20 (a)-(k)-33) and;

(d) the following reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey (see Table 5): attitudes and practices divinely ordained, attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people, (survey question 34 (a) and (b) )

### Instrumentation

The researcher has accumulated the survey questions from other surveys that have been used and reported throughout North America. Questions about religious and ethnic practices were drawn from the study of the Boston Jewish community (Cohen, 1978, 1980). Questions were used from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey carried out by the Council of Jewish Federations as a follow-up

Table 4

Independent Variables -- Religious and Ethnic Practices


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Light candles Friday night	Type of synagogue
Participate in a Passover Seder	Formal Jewish education: elementary day school
No work/school on High Holydays	Formal Jewish education: elem. supp. school
Fast on Yom Kippur	Formal Jewish education: high school
Handle money on Sabbath	Formal Jewish education: post high school
Separate dishes for meat and dairy	Informal Jewish education: summer camp
Keep Kosher outside home	Informal Jewish education: youth groups
Light Hanukkah candles	Informal Jewish education: Israel programs
Attend Holocaust remembrance	Informal Jewish programs: at home
Celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut	Children formal Jewish educ.: elem. day school
Attend a Purim celebration	Children formal Jewish educ.: elem. supp. school
Mezuzah on door	Children formal Jewish education: high school
Sons had ritual circumcision	Children formal Jewish educ.: post high school
Sons had non-ritual circumcision	Children informal Jewish educ.: summer camp
Sons had no circumcision	Children informal Jewish education: youth groups
Did you have Bar/Bat Mitzvah	Children informal Jewish educ.: Israel programs
Bar/Bat Mitzvah for your children?	Children informal Jewish education: at home
Proportion of Jewish friends	Total years formal Jewish education
Visited Israel	Total years informal Jewish education
How many times been to Israel	Total years children informal Jewish education
Total time spent in Israel	Contribute to Israel-based charities
Visited Holocaust historical sites	Contribute to Federation/CJA
Denominational affiliation	Contribute to synagogues/temples
Current member of a synagogue	Contribute to local Jewish institutions

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Table 5

Independent Variables -- Relative Importance of the Attitudes and PracticesReported in the Survey


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Attitudes and practices divinely ordained	Attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people
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to the Council of Jewish Federations survey of 1970-71. The National Jewish population study was a large representative sample of the American Jewish community and contained many questions of Jewish identification. A number of local studies were examined which also provided information for questions asked in the survey. These included: a study of the Jewish community of Greater Seattle (1990), Jewish Federation of Greater Houston demographic study, Toronto Jewish Community survey, Boston Jewish Community surveys (1965 and 1975) and a number of other local Jewish Federations whose questions followed similar formats to the other local surveys.

The attitude questions were compiled from part of a survey developed by James Torczyner of the McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning (MCESSP) in conjunction with the Council of Jewish Federations. The pilot survey was issued to key Jewish leaders to gain an understanding of their perceptions of the nature and composition of the Jewish community as well as the key social planning priorities. The responses to the survey were to be used to determine the kind of data from the 1991 Canadian Census which would be most beneficial to the community for planning purposes to develop profiles of Jewish communities in Canada.

The content validity of this survey is addressed through instrument construction. The questions in this survey are clear, concise, and language usage is carefully constructed. A question was asked at the end of the survey as to how easy it was to understand the survey questions which gave feedback on the strength of the survey. The questions in the survey seem to measure what the research questions were set out to measure. The majority of questions were close ended which is more efficient at eliciting reliable responses from individual to

individual. In order to test for other forms of validity a second scale would be needed to derive information on the validity of the instrument.

A reliability analysis was done measuring the internal consistency of the attitude items in survey question no. 19 and practice items in survey question no. 20. The Cronbach's alpha score derived indicated that the attitude and practice items were related to each other, indicating internal consistency within the attitude and practice questions. The alpha for the attitude items was .92 and the alpha for the practice items was .77.

The reliability of the instrument over time is difficult to determine because it was compiled from a number of surveys. We would need to repeat the survey 2-3 times to gain information on its test-retest. A final test of reliability is whether the results are sensible in other words fit with the literature and the hypotheses.

The dependent variables for this survey were measures of Jewish identity: a) How important is being 'ethnically' Jewish to your sense of identity? and b) How important is being 'religiously' Jewish to your sense of identity? (questions 17-18, both indexed on a four point scale).

The independent variables were questions about personal characteristics and levels of practice (behaviour) and attitude. There were 16 demographic/ personal characteristic questions (items 1-16 the categories were recoded based on combining those with smaller frequencies and combining them with similar categories), 13 attitude questions (item 19 made up of 13 subset questions which are indexed on a four point scale), 25 practice questions ( items. 20-33, including 11 subset questions which are indexed on a four point scale and the remainder of

the practice questions vary -- see survey for details) and finally there were two questions asking the reasons for relative importance of the attitudes and practices reported in the survey (item 34 which are indexed on a four point scale).

### Analysis

The analysis began with basic descriptive statistics, including frequency tables for every question, and means, medians and standard deviations for the interval scale personal characteristic and practice items. The ordinal practice and attitude items were indexed on a four point scale which resulted in a forced choice study. The researcher felt it was better to have people make a decision than to have a neutral choice. Each ordinal scale item was recoded as a binary variable ("not very important" vs. "very important" for importance of ethnically Jewish, "unimportant" vs. "important" for importance of religiously Jewish and "unimportant" vs. "important" for attitude items, and "infrequent" vs. "frequent" for the practice items) and the proportion of "important" and "frequent" responses computed. The finer breakdown of the four categories was not needed and the breakdown into two categories increased the cell sizes. The way the categories were combined into binary items was driven by what happened to the data in other words the distribution of the respondents choices. The interval data was recoded differently for each question, driven by the distribution of the data.

The two dependent variable (or outcome or responses) variables -- importance of "ethnic" Jewishness and importance of "religious" Jewishness -- were cross-tabulated. The significance between them was assessed using a chi-square test and Spearman's correlation for rank-ordered data. The statistical analysis reflected the ordinal characteristics of the dependent variables.



The two dependent variables were cross-tabulated with each of the personal characteristics, and with each attitude and practice item. Any items that showed statistically significant association with either dependent variable were kept as potential predictor variables in the later model-building analysis. Correlations between the dependent variables and the attitude and practice items were also computed (using Spearman's correlation for rank-ordered data) so that we could further understand the relationship between the attitude and practice items.

Further analysis was done using techniques of statistical model-building. The dependent variables were recoded to binary variables by combining importance of ethnically Jewish into ("not very important" vs. "very important") and importance of religiously Jewish into ("unimportant" vs. "important"). The way we combined the variables was determined once we examined the data. With binary response variables, logistic regression was used to build a model to predict whether a subject would rate "ethnic" Jewishness as "not very important" or "unimportant" or "religious" Jewishness as "important" or "unimportant", based on a set of predictor variables.

The potential set of predictor variables were drawn from drawn firstly from the cross-tabulations and chi-square analysis discussed earlier. Secondly, correlation matrices of the items were constructed to examine the extent of correlation among practice and attitude items. This provided information on the relationship between practice and attitude items. The distinct subsets of highly correlated items, were entered in the model in a combined form (i.e., as a total). A global "attitude" score was derived by adding the ordinal scale scores on the attitude items-question 19 a-m. Similarly, a global "practice" score was created

by adding the ordinal scale scores on all the practice items of question 20 a-k. This minimized the problems of multicollinearity (i.e., highly correlated predictor variables) in the model. The global practice and attitude score was especially useful due to the concern that the practice and attitude scales overlapped too much. Multicollinearity can cause instability in the model and little confidence in its predictive ability. All the models were fit using stepwise variable selection techniques. Specifically, both forward selection and backward elimination was used; agreement between the two methods provided a kind of internal validation of the model.

The overall level of significance was set at .05. Because there were a number of tests there could have been multiple testing problems therefore the alpha level for each test was set at a more stringent level by dividing .05 by the number of tests (Bonferoni method). This resulted in the level of significance being set at less than .005 for each test.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESULTS

The research findings are presented in this chapter. The chapter begins with a discussion of the characteristics of the respondent sample. Following that, a report of the frequency of the dependent variables -- importance of ethnically and religiously Jewish will be given. Then the means and standard deviations for the continuous/ interval measures of personal characteristics and practice items will be illustrated. Analyses conducted in preparation for the hypothesis-testing analysis are presented in Appendix C. This analysis reported in Appendix C includes the chi-square tables and F ratios to test the significance between the two dependent variable (importance of ethnically Jewish and importance of religiously Jewish) and between the two dependent variables and each of the ordinal data personal characteristics, attitudes and practices. Each of the tables presented have been broken down into 2 x 2 tables to ensure enough respondents are in each cell. (Importance of ethnically Jewish was broken down into "very important" and "not very important" and religiously Jewish was broken down into "unimportant" vs. "important". The personal characteristics were also broken down individually(see Appendix C ). Each ordinal scale (attitudes and practices) was recoded as a binary variable ("unimportant" vs "important" for attitude items, and "infrequent" vs "frequent" for the practice items). The reason the categories for the analysis were broken down was based on the fact that there were too many cells with an expected frequency (E.F.) of less than five. The method used to base the decision for the breakdown was combining the cells with few respondents and combining

compatible or overlapping categories. The first three hypotheses will be evaluated and those variables with a significant relationship and those with no relationship to the dependent variables are reported. Finally, Hypothesis 4 will be evaluated, building the logistic regression model will be illustrated and the final predictor variables for importance of ethnically Jewish and religiously Jewish reported.

#### Characteristics of the Respondent Sample

There were 540 surveys mailed out originally and 28 surveys came back with wrong addresses. The overall response rate for returned surveys were 48% (246 of 512); considered separately by gender, the overall response rate was 59% for women and 41% for men.

There were 66% of the respondents born in Canada, 8% in the United States, and 25 % elsewhere. The percentage of the respondents whose parents were born in North America was 66%. Those married or living common-law came to 65%. The number of respondents with children was 67%. Those that had a Bachelors degree came to 28% and those with a graduate degree came to 36%. There were 73% of the respondents that indicated that their parents ethnicity was Jewish. The respondents that were born Jewish was 88% and the number that are Jewish now is 95%. There were 65% who spouses were born Jewish and 72% of the respondents that had Jewish spouses now.

Age, occupation and spouses occupation were all taken from a sample of 246. The mean age was 40.67 with a standard deviation of 13.18. The occupations were based on Blishen et al. (1981) socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada. The index is most applicable in situations where access to data is limited to occupational titles and where one desires a unidimensional,

contextual indicator which locates individuals in the Canadian occupational hierarchy at a given point in time. The occupation mean for the respondents was 49.80 with a standard deviation of 26.40 and the mean for the spouse's occupation was 51.97 with a standard deviation of 27.26. Occupations that fall around the mean of 50.0 include: managers, instructors, occupations in the social sciences, sales occupations.

#### Collapsing the Dependent Variables

The frequency of the dependent variables (importance of ethnically and religiously Jewish) are reported in Table 6. They indicate that 92% of the respondents reporting importance of ethnically Jewish fell into the important and somewhat important range which left very few in the unimportant range. In comparison, 60% of respondents reporting religiously Jewish fell in the important and somewhat important range. The researcher chose to break down the dependent variables (ethnically Jewish and religiously Jewish) into different categories for the analysis, guided by the different distribution of the data. Through a examination of the data, two new categories chosen for importance of ethnically Jewish were "very important" and "not very important" which divides the distribution of subjects into those that thought being ethnically Jewish was very important versus the rest. This decision was based on the need to ensure enough subjects fell into the unimportant range so that we could fairly compare it to the important range. In order do this, all subjects who fell in the somewhat important range were recategorized as part of the not very important group. The new categories chosen for importance of religiously Jewish were "important" vs "unimportant" which divides the distribution of subjects into those who thought

Table 6

Frequency and Percentages of the Dependent Variables -- Importance of  
Ethnically and Religiously Jewish

Importance of ethnically Jewish (n = 242)		
	<u>n</u>	Valid percent
Very important	145	59.9
Somewhat important	78	32.2
Somewhat unimportant	10	4.1
Very unimportant	9	3.7
Importance of religiously Jewish (n=244)		
	<u>n</u>	Valid percent
Very important	41	16.8
Somewhat important	105	43.0
Somewhat unimportant	61	25.0
Very unimportant	37	15.2

being ethnically Jewish was very important and somewhat important and those who thought being ethnically Jewish was somewhat unimportant and very unimportant. These categories work well due to the more even distribution of the variable, the importance of religiously Jewish.

### Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. There will be a significant relationship between the strength of Vancouver Jewish adults self-perceived sense of Jewish ethnic identity and the strength of their self-perceived sense of Jewish religious identity.

Question 17-How important is being "ethnically" Jewish to your own personal sense of identity? (collapsed into two categories "very important" and "not very important") and Question 18-How important is being "religiously" Jewish to your own personal sense of identity (collapsed into "important" vs "unimportant") were cross-tabulated in Table C-1 (see Appendix C) for the data supporting the chi-square and F ratios.

Hypothesis 1 was supported by the results (see Table 7). The two dependent variables have a significant relationship ( $\chi^2 = 34.61$ ,  $p = .0000$ ).

Hypothesis 2. There will be a significant relationship between the strength of ethnic identity (question #17-dependent variable) and;

(a) the following personal characteristics: country of birth, parents born in North America, grandparents born in North America, sex, age, marital status, having children, number of children, occupation, educational level, main language at home, parent's ethnicity-Jewish, religion born into, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now, household income (survey questions 1-16);

Table 7

Cross-tabulation of the Recoded Dependent Variables -- Importance of Ethnically Jewish and Importance of Religiously Jewish

<u>Importance of ethnically Jewish</u>	<u>Importance of religiously Jewish</u>		Row Total
	Unimportant	Important	
Not very Important	61.0	35.0	96.0
Very Important	37.0	108.0	145.0
Column Total	98.0	143.0	241.0

Number of missing observations = 5;  $\chi^2 = 34.61$ ;  $p < .0001$



(b) the following religious and ethnic attitudes: maintaining ties to Israel, performing religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, choosing a Jewish spouse, having children marry someone Jewish, having Jewish friends, living in a Jewish neighborhood, providing culturally specific educational programs for one's children, joining Jewish community organizations, contributing to Jewish fundraising efforts, volunteering in Jewish community, having paid subscriptions to a Jewish magazine, speaking Hebrew, (survey questions 19 (a)-(m) );

(c) the following religious and ethnic practices: lighting candles Friday night, participating in a Passover Seder, no work/school on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, fasting on Yom Kippur, handling money on Shabbat, keeping two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy, keeping kosher outside the home, lighting Hanukkah candles, attending a Holocaust remembrance evening, celebrating Israel Independence Day (Yom Ha'atzmaut), attending a Purim celebration, putting a mezuzah on the door, having son ritually circumcised, sons having non-ritual circumcision, sons having no circumcision, having a Bar or Bat Mitzvah, arranging a Bar or Bat Mitzvah for one's children, proportion of Jewish friends, visiting Israel (number of times and total amount of time spent in Israel), visiting sights related to the Holocaust, denominational affiliation, synagogue membership, denominational affiliation/type of Judaism consider self, Jewish education (formal/ informal), providing Jewish education for children (formal/informal), contributing to Israel based charities, contributing to Federation/Combined Jewish Appeal, contributing to Synagogues or Temples, contributing to local Jewish institutions (survey questions 20 (a)-(k) - 33) and;

(d) the following reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey: attitudes and practices divinely ordained, attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people ( survey question 34 (a)-(b) ).

Tables for the significant cross-tabulations and analysis of variance and t-tests between importance of ethnically Jewish and the personal characteristics are reported in Table C-2 (see Appendix C), attitudes are reported in Table C-3 (see Appendix C), practices are reported in Table C-4 (see Appendix C) and reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices are reported in Table C-5 (see Appendix C).

There were significant relationships between importance of ethnically Jewish (question 17 recoded as very important and not very important) and: the following *personal characteristics*: age ( $F = 1.91$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); religion born into ( $\chi^2 = 10.17$ ,  $p = .0014$ ); the following *religious and ethnic attitudes*: maintaining close ties to Israel ( $\chi^2 = 37.41$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); performing religious practices ( $\chi^2 = 25.02$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); belonging to a synagogue ( $\chi^2 = 32.58$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); choosing a Jewish spouse ( $\chi^2 = 29.50$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); children marrying Jewish ( $\chi^2 = 32.47$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); having Jewish friends ( $\chi^2 = 23.12$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); living in a Jewish neighborhood ( $\chi^2 = 24.66$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); providing culturally Jewish educational programs for children ( $\chi^2 = 26.92$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); joining Jewish community organizations ( $\chi^2 = 19.22$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to Jewish fundraising ( $\chi^2 = 20.89$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); volunteering in a Jewish community organization ( $\chi^2 = 36.91$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); having paid subscriptions to Jewish magazines ( $\chi^2 = 16.74$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); the following *religious and ethnic practices*: lighting candles on Friday night ( $\chi^2 = 15.93$ ,  $p =$

.0001); participating in a Passover Seder ( $\chi^2 = 11.83$ ,  $p = .0006$ ); no work/school on High Holidays ( $\chi^2 = 27.36$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); fasting on Yom Kippur ( $\chi^2 = 14.90$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); separating dishes for meat and dairy ( $\chi^2 = 14.41$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); attending a Holocaust remembrance evening ( $\chi^2 = 9.84$ ,  $p = .0017$ ); celebrating Yom Ha'atzmaut ( $\chi^2 = 8.10$ ,  $p = .0013$ ); attending a Purim celebration ( $\chi^2 = 10.41$ ,  $p = .0013$ ); putting a mezuzah on front door ( $\chi^2 = 16.39$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); having son ritually circumcised ( $\chi^2 = 9.09$ ,  $p = .0026$ ); proportion of Jewish friends ( $\chi^2 = 37.20$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); visiting Israel ( $\chi^2 = 13.04$ ,  $p = .0003$ ); total time spent in Israel ( $\chi^2 = 18.65$ ,  $p = .0048$ ); denominational affiliation ( $\chi^2 = 26.43$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); synagogue membership ( $\chi^2 = 16.37$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); type of synagogue ( $\chi^2 = 13.49$ ,  $p = .0037$ ); number of years of formal Jewish education including: post high school ( $F = 11.15$ ,  $p = .002$ ); informal Jewish education: youth groups ( $\chi^2 = 13.30$ ,  $p = .0003$ ); informal Jewish education: at home ( $\chi^2 = 10.60$ ,  $p = .0011$ ); number of years of informal Jewish education Israel programs ( $F = 5.54$ ,  $p = .0007$ ); total number of years of informal Jewish education ( $F = 2.75$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); total number of years providing children informal Jewish education ( $F = 5.34$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to Israel-based charities ( $\chi^2 = 23.80$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to synagogues or temples ( $\chi^2 = 16.56$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to local Jewish institutions ( $\chi^2 = 24.22$ ;  $p = .0000$ ); and the following *reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey*: attitudes/practices divinely ordained ( $\chi^2 = 12.14$ ,  $p = .0005$ ); attitudes/practices connection to Jewish people ( $\chi^2 = 14.42$ ,  $p = .0001$ ). Summary table and significance levels for the personal characteristics are reported in Table 8, the attitude items recoded as unimportant vs important are reported in Table 9, the practice items recoded as

Table 8

Summary Table of Chi-Squares and F Ratios between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Personal Characteristics.

Personal characteristics	Importance of ethnically Jewish (recoded as not very important or very important)	Importance of religiously Jewish (recoded as unimportant or important)
Country of birth	$\chi^2 = 4.37$	$\chi^2 = 4.18$
Parents born in N.A	$\chi^2 = 2.41$	$\chi^2 = 2.31$
Grandparents born in N.A	$\chi^2 = 0.00$	$\chi^2 = 0.16$
Sex	$\chi^2 = 0.08$	$\chi^2 = 0.05$
Age	$F = 1.91^*$	$F = 1.46$
Marital status	$\chi^2 = 0.73$	$\chi^2 = 5.35$
Have children	$\chi^2 = 0.04$	$\chi^2 = 3.50$
How many children?	$\chi^2 = 3.50$	$\chi^2 = 0.68$
Education level	$\chi^2 = 1.44$	$\chi^2 = 2.33$
Occupation	$F = 1.42$	$F = 1.42$
Spouses occupation	$F = 1.37$	$F = 1.13$

\* $p < .005$

Table 8 (continued)

Personal characteristics	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Main language at home	$\chi^2 = 0.30$	$\chi^2 = 1.12$
Parents ethnicity: Jewish	$\chi^2 = 1.76$	$\chi^2 = 1.53$
Religion born into	$\chi^2 = 10.17^*$	$\chi^2 = 1.77$
Religion now	$\chi^2 = 6.41$	$\chi^2 = 18.80^{***}$
Religion spouse born into	$\chi^2 = 2.92$	$\chi^2 = 9.86^*$
Religion spouse now	$\chi^2 = 2.64$	$\chi^2 = 18.02^{***}$
Income (combined household)	$\chi^2 = 1.64$	$\chi^2 = 4.41$

\* $p < .005$ . \*\*\* $p < .0001$

Table 9

Summary Table of Chi-Squares between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Attitudes Items Recoded as Unimportant versus Important

Attitude items	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Maintain close ties to Israel	$\chi^2 = 37.41^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 19.18^{***}$
Perform religious practices	$\chi^2 = 25.02^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 119.93^{***}$
Belong to a synagogue	$\chi^2 = 32.58^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 56.57^{***}$
Choose a Jewish spouse	$\chi^2 = 29.50^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 14.96^{**}$
Children marry Jewish	$\chi^2 = 32.47^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 26.61^{***}$
Have Jewish friends	$\chi^2 = 23.12^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 13.74^{**}$
Live in a Jewish neighborhood	$\chi^2 = 24.66^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 18.28^{***}$
Culturally Jewish education for children	$\chi^2 = 26.92^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 8.52^*$
Join Jewish community organization.	$\chi^2 = 19.21^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 28.00^{***}$
Contribute to Jewish fundraising	$\chi^2 = 20.89^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 15.99^{**}$
Volunteer in Jewish community	$\chi^2 = 36.91^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 14.87^{***}$
Paid subscriptions to Jewish magazines	$\chi^2 = 16.74^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 17.01^{***}$
Speak Hebrew	$\chi^2 = 7.12$	$\chi^2 = 14.92^{**}$

\* $p < .005$ . \*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\* $p < .0001$

infrequent vs frequent are reported in Table 10 and the practice items with a yes/no response and frequency responses are reported in Table 11 and the relative importance of the attitudes and practices reported in the survey are reported in Table 12.

There were no significant relationships between Jewish ethnic identity (recoded as not very important and very important) and the following variables: the following *personal characteristics*: country of birth, parents born in North America, grandparents born in North America, sex, marital status, having children, number of children, education level, occupation, spouses occupation, main language at home, parents ethnicity, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now, income; the following *religious and ethnic attitudes*: speaking Hebrew; and the following *ethnic and religious practices*: handling money on the Sabbath, keeping kosher outside the home, lighting Hanukkah candles, sons having non-ritual circumcision, sons having no circumcision, having a Bar/Bat Mitzvah, Bar/Bat Mitzvah for your children, how many times been to Israel, visiting Holocaust historical sights, formal Jewish education (elementary day school, elementary supplementary school, High school, post High school); informal Jewish education (summer camp, Israel programs); providing children formal Jewish education (elementary day school, elementary supplementary school, High school, post high school); providing children informal Jewish education (summer camp, youth groups, Israel programs, at home), number of years of formal Jewish (elementary day school, elementary supplementary school, High school); number of years of informal Jewish education (Jewish summer camp, Jewish youth groups, at home), number of years providing children with informal Jewish

Table 10

Summary Table of Chi-Squares between Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Practice Items Recoded as Infrequent versus Frequent

Practice items	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Light candles Friday night	$\chi^2 = 15.93^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 35.93^{***}$
Participate in a Passover Seder	$\chi^2 = 11.83^*$	$\chi^2 = 11.75^{**}$
No work/school on High Holydays	$\chi^2 = 27.36^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 28.67^{***}$
Fast on Yom Kippur	$\chi^2 = 14.90^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 25.88^{***}$
Handle money on Sabbath	$\chi^2 = 0.15$	$\chi^2 = 4.78$
Separate dishes for meat and dairy	$\chi^2 = 14.41^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 22.93^{***}$
Keep Kosher outside home	$\chi^2 = 5.97$	$\chi^2 = 10.78^*$
Light Hanukkah candles	$\chi^2 = 6.04$	$\chi^2 = 6.67$
Attend Holocaust remembrance	$\chi^2 = 9.84^*$	$\chi^2 = 15.10^{**}$
Celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut	$\chi^2 = 8.10^*$	$\chi^2 = 11.42^{**}$
Attend a Purim celebration	$\chi^2 = 10.41^*$	$\chi^2 = 22.29^{***}$

\* $p < .005$ . \*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\* $p < .0001$



Table 11

Summary Table of Chi-Squares and F Ratios between Importance of Ethnically  
and Religiously Jewish and the Practice Items using Yes/No or Frequency  
Responses

Practice items	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Mezuzah on door	$\chi^2 = 16.39^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 31.13^{***}$
Sons had ritual circumcision	$\chi^2 = 9.09^*$	$\chi^2 = 4.80$
Sons had non-ritual circumcision	$\chi^2 = 5.67$	$\chi^2 = 2.75$
Sons had no circumcision	$\chi^2 = 0.12$	$\chi^2 = 2.38$
Did you have Bar/Bat Mitzvah	$\chi^2 = 5.14$	$\chi^2 = 0.03$
Bar/Bat Mitzvah for your children?	$\chi^2 = 1.47$	$\chi^2 = 1.40$
Proportion of Jewish friends	$\chi^2 = 37.20^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 15.07^*$
Visited Israel	$\chi^2 = 13.04^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 0.69$
How many times been to Israel	$\chi^2 = 17.59$	$\chi^2 = 5.96$
Total time spent in Israel	$\chi^2 = 18.65^*$	$\chi^2 = 14.84$
Visited Holocaust historical sites	$\chi^2 = 3.79$	$\chi^2 = 1.27$
Denominational affiliation/type of Judaism consider oneself	$\chi^2 = 26.43^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 57.30^{***}$

\* $p < .005$ . \*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\* $p < .0001$

Table 11 (continued)

Practice items	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Current member of a synagogue	$\chi^2 = 16.37^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 18.36^{***}$
Type of synagogue	$\chi^2 = 13.49^*$	$\chi^2 = 8.17$
Formal Jewish education: elementary day school	$\chi^2 = 2.74$	$\chi^2 = 0.04$
Formal Jewish education: elementary supplementary school	$\chi^2 = 2.33$	$\chi^2 = 0.09$
Formal Jewish education high school	$\chi^2 = 5.05$	$\chi^2 = 2.60$
Formal Jewish educ: post high school	$\chi^2 = 0.08$	$\chi^2 = 3.88$
Informal Jewish education: summer camp	$\chi^2 = 0.94$	$\chi^2 = 0.00$
Informal Jewish education: youth groups	$\chi^2 = 13.30^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 2.34$
Informal Jewish education: Israel programs	$\chi^2 = 5.32$	$\chi^2 = 0.03$
Informal Jewish programs: at home	$\chi^2 = 10.60^*$	$\chi^2 = 1.28$
Children formal Jewish education: elementary day school	$\chi^2 = 4.70$	$\chi^2 = 3.28$
Children formal Jewish education: elementary supplementary school	$\chi^2 = 2.36$	$\chi^2 = 1.83$
Children formal Jewish education: high school	$\chi^2 = 0.73$	$\chi^2 = 0.67$

\* $p < .005$  \*\* $p < .001$  \*\*\* $p < .0001$

Table 11 (continued)

Practice items	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Children formal Jewish education: post high school	$\chi^2 = 1.12$	$\chi^2 = 0.63$
Children informal Jewish education: summer camp	$\chi^2 = 3.49$	$\chi^2 = 2.67$
Children informal Jewish education: youth groups	$\chi^2 = 3.10$	$\chi^2 = 1.53$
Children informal Jewish education: Israel programs	$\chi^2 = 3.04$	$\chi^2 = 1.40$
Children informal Jewish education: at home	$\chi^2 = 4.63$	$\chi^2 = 2.03$
Total years formal Jewish education	$\underline{F} = 1.37$	$\underline{F} = 1.78$
Total years informal Jewish education	$\underline{F} = 2.75$	$\underline{F} = 1.22$
Total years children informal Jewish education	$\underline{F} = 5.34$	$\underline{F} = 9.46$
Contribute to Israel-based charities	$\chi^2 = 23.80^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 3.54$
Contribute to Federation/CJA	$\chi^2 = 3.86$	$\chi^2 = 4.10$
Contribute to synagogues/temples	$\chi^2 = 16.56^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 25.66^{***}$
Contribute to local Jewish institutions	$\chi^2 = 24.22^{***}$	$\chi^2 = 7.67^*$

\* $p < .005$ . \*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\* $p < .0001$

Table 12

Summary Table of Chi-Squares between the Importance of Ethnically and Religiously Jewish and the Reasons for Relative Importance of the Attitudes and Practices Reported in the Survey

Reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Importance of religiously Jewish
Attitudes and practices divinely ordained	$\chi^2 = 12.14^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 21.95^{***}$
Attitudes and practices providing a connection to Jewish people	$\chi^2 = 14.42^{**}$	$\chi^2 = 4.39$

$^{**}p < .001$ .  $^{***}p < .0001$

education (Jewish summer camp, Jewish youth groups, Israel programs, at home), total number of years of formal Jewish education, total number of years of informal Jewish education, and total number of years providing children with informal education, contributing to Federation/Canadian Jewish Appeal.

Hypothesis 3. There will be a significant relationship between the *strength of religious identity* (question #18-dependent variable grouped as important vs. unimportant) and;

(a) the following personal characteristics: country of birth , parents born in North America, grandparents born in North America, sex, age, marital status, having children, number of children, occupation, educational level, main language at home, parent's ethnicity-Jewish, religion born into, religion now, religion spouse born into, religion spouse now, household income (survey questions 1-16);

(b) the following religious and ethnic attitudes: maintaining ties to Israel, performing religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, choosing a Jewish spouse, having children marry someone Jewish, having Jewish friends, living in a Jewish neighborhood, providing culturally specific educational programs for one's children, joining Jewish community organizations, contributing to Jewish fundraising efforts, volunteering in Jewish community, having a paid subscription to a Jewish magazine, speaking Hebrew (survey question 19 (a)-(m) );

(c) the following religious and ethnic practices: lighting candles Friday night, participating in a Passover Seder, no work/school on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, fasting on Yom Kippur, handling money on Shabbat, keeping two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy, keeping kosher outside the home, lighting Hanukkah candles, attending a Holocaust remembrance evening,

celebrating Israel Independence Day (Yom Ha'atzmaut), attending a Purim celebration, putting a mezuzah on the door, having son ritually circumcised, sons having non-ritual circumcision, sons having no circumcision, having a Bar or Bat Mitzvah, arranging a Bar or Bat Mitzvah for one's children, proportion of Jewish friends, visiting Israel (number of times and total amount of time spent in Israel), visiting sights related to the Holocaust, denominational affiliation, synagogue membership, denominational affiliation/type of synagogue Judaism consider self, Jewish education (formal/ informal), providing Jewish education for children (formal/informal), contributing to Israel based charities, contributing to Federation/Combined Jewish Appeal, contributing to Synagogues or temples, contributing to local Jewish institutions (survey questions 20 (a)-(k) ) - 33) and; (d) the following *reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey*: attitudes and practices divinely ordained, attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people (survey question 34 (a)-(b) ). Tables of the significant cross-tabulations and analysis of variance and t-tests between importance of religiously Jewish and the personal characteristics are reported in Table C-6 (see Appendix C), attitudes are reported in Table C-7 (see Appendix C), practices are reported in Table C-8 (see Appendix C) and reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices are reported in Table C-9 (see Appendix C).

There was a significant relationship between the importance of religious identity and: the following *personal characteristics*: religion now ( $\chi^2 = 18.80$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); religion spouse born into ( $\chi^2 = 9.86$ ,  $p = .0017$ ); religion spouse now ( $\chi^2 = 18.02$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); the following *religious and ethnic attitudes*: maintaining

close ties to Israel ( $\chi^2 = 19.18$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); performing religious practices ( $\chi^2 = 119.93$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); belonging to a synagogue ( $\chi^2 = 56.57$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); choosing a Jewish spouse ( $\chi^2 = 14.96$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); children marrying Jewish ( $\chi^2 = 26.61$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); having Jewish friends ( $\chi^2 = 13.74$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); living in a Jewish neighborhood ( $\chi^2 = 18.28$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); providing culturally Jewish education for children ( $\chi^2 = 8.52$ ,  $p = .0035$ ); joining Jewish community organizations ( $\chi^2 = 28.00$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to Jewish fundraising ( $\chi^2 = 15.99$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); volunteering in Jewish community ( $\chi^2 = 14.87$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); having paid subscriptions to Jewish magazines ( $\chi^2 = 17.01$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); speaking Hebrew ( $\chi^2 = 14.92$ ,  $p = .0001$ ) and the following *religious and ethnic practices*: lighting candles Friday night ( $\chi^2 = 35.93$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); participating in a Passover Seder ( $\chi^2 = 11.75$ ,  $p = .0006$ ); no work/school on High Holidays ( $\chi^2 = 28.67$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); fasting on Yom Kippur ( $\chi^2 = 25.88$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); separating dishes for meat and dairy ( $\chi^2 = 22.93$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); keeping kosher outside the home ( $\chi^2 = 10.78$ ,  $p = .0010$ ); attending a Holocaust Remembrance ( $\chi^2 = 15.10$ ,  $p = .0001$ ); celebrating Yom Ha'atzmaut ( $\chi^2 = 11.42$ ,  $p = .0007$ ); attending a Purim celebration ( $\chi^2 = 22.29$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); putting mezuzah on front door ( $\chi^2 = 31.13$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); proportion of Jewish friends ( $\chi^2 = 15.07$ ,  $p = .0046$ ); denominational affiliation ( $\chi^2 = 57.30$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); synagogue membership ( $\chi^2 = 18.36$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); number of years providing children with informal Jewish education-summer camp ( $F = 12.51$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); total years providing children with informal Jewish education ( $F = 9.46$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to synagogues/temples ( $\chi^2 = 25.66$ ,  $p = .0000$ ); contributing to local Jewish institutions ( $\chi^2 = 7.67$ ,  $p = .0055$ ); and the following *reason for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey*:

attitudes/practices are divinely ordained: ( $\chi^2 = 21.95$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). Summary table with significance levels for: the personal characteristics are reported in Table 8, the attitude items recoded as unimportant vs important are reported in Table 9, the practice items with a infrequent vs frequent response are reported in Table 10, the practice items with a yes/no response, frequency responses are reported in Table 11 and the importance behind the attitudes and practices reported in the survey are reported in Table 12.

There is not a significant relationship between importance of Jewish religious identity and the following *personal characteristics*: country of birth, parents born in North America, grand-parents born in North America, sex, age, marital status, have children, number of children, occupation, spouses occupation, educational level, occupation, spouses occupation, main language at home, parents ethnicity, religion born into, income; the following *religious and ethnic practices*: having son ritually circumcised, sons having non-ritual circumcision, sons having no circumcision, having a Bar/Bat Mitzvah, having a Bar/Bat Mitzvah for your children, visiting Israel, how many times been to Israel, total time spent in Israel, visiting Holocaust historical sites, synagogue membership, formal Jewish education (elementary day school, elementary supplementary school, high school, Post High school), informal Jewish education: (summer camp, informal Jewish education: youth groups, Israel programs, at home), providing children formal Jewish education: (elementary day school, elementary supplementary school, high school, post high school), providing children informal Jewish education: (summer camp, youth groups, pIsrael programs, at home), number of years of formal Jewish education (elementary day school, elementary



supplementary school, high school, post high school), number of years of informal Jewish education (Jewish summer camp, Jewish youth groups, Israel programs, at home); number of years providing children informal Jewish education (Jewish youth groups, Israel programs, at home) and total years of formal Jewish education, total years of informal Jewish education and total years providing children informal Jewish education. Israel based charities, Federation/Combined Jewish appeal, local Jewish institutions and the following *reason for the relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey*: attitudes/practices providing a connection to the Jewish people,

In summary, Hypothesis 1 was supported by the results. Hypothesis 2 and 3 were partially supported for certain variables as listed above and in Tables 2-5. The hypotheses did not suggest a direction of relationship for the variables. However, the results in the cross-tabulation of tables (see Appendix C) show the direction of the differences. In most cases of attitudes or practices, for example, visiting Israel or not visiting Israel, the more explicit Jewish attitude or practice of visiting Israel is significantly related to greater importance attributed to being ethnically or religiously Jewish. The specific nature of the relationships of the significant variables will be taken up in the discussion chapter.

Hypothesis 4. There will be a set of predictor variables (made up of personal characteristics, religious and ethnic practices and religious and ethnic attitudes) to determine the strength of one's ethnic identity and the strength of one's religious identity. The items chosen for the logistic regression were based on a number of criteria, the first criterion was that the variables were responded to in most cases. A number of variables had a great deal of missing cases, for

example, circumcision. The circumcision variable had a number of missing cases because many people did not have children or sons. Secondly, variables that showed statistical significance in the cross-tabulations and F ratios helped guide the choice of items in logistic regression. However, some variables were chosen for the logistic regression that did not meet the .005 criterion in Hypothesis 1 and 2. They were chosen based on an understanding of the literature regarding the Jewish community, which indicated certain variables should be significant. Most of the extra variables chosen that did not meet the .005 criterion, showed some promise, they made a modest change or difference and they had few missing cases. Income however, was one exception, it was chosen because it acts as a surrogate for a number of variables asked in the survey that relate to socioeconomic status. One's answers to certain questions may be guided by the fact that they are unable to afford to send their children to day school or live in a Jewish neighborhood. One may note that sex was not put in the prediction model but appeared from the literature review to be an important variable to use. The relationship between sex and importance of ethnically and religiously Jewish was so low that it would give no information to the logistic regression.

Global attitude and practice scores were derived by adding the ordinal scale scores on the attitude items (survey question 19 a-m) and the ordinal scale scores on the practice items (survey question 20 a-k) and were chosen as variables for the logistic regression model. Global scores were developed for a number of reasons. Firstly, an overall Jewish attitude score and overall Jewish practice score allows us to understand the relationship global practices and attitudes have to the importance of being ethnically Jewish and religiously Jewish. Secondly, because

we found that there is a high correlation among practice and attitude items, these items were collapsed into a single derived variable and entered into the model in a combined form. This will minimize the problems of multicollinearity that is, highly correlated predictor variables in the model. 'Multicollinearity' can cause instability in the model and little confidence in its predictive ability. Finally, the use of global scores was also driven by previous studies which developed global scales, for example, (Goldscheider, 1986) to understand the population being studied.

The mean for the global attitude score is 69.56 and the standard deviation is 17.60. The mean for the global practice score is 62.16 and the standard deviation is 13.78. The global attitude score was significantly related to the importance of being ethnically Jewish ( $F = 101.23$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and religiously Jewish ( $F = 97.70$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). The global practice score was significantly related to the importance of being ethnically Jewish ( $F = 43.75$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and the importance of being religiously Jewish ( $F = 69.29$ ,  $p = .0000$ ).

The variables chosen for the logistic regression model are entered in a specific order. See Tables 13 and 14 which illustrate the building of the logistic regression model for importance of ethnically Jewish. See Tables 15 and 16 for building the model of importance of religiously Jewish. The order the variables are chosen is based on the lowest  $p$  value and by the highest  $r$  value generated in the logistic regression. The selection of the variables was done in a forward model selection which adds information one by one from the selected variables to help improve prediction. Backward selection was also done, in which all variables are entered and the insignificant ones are pruned. This was done to

Table 13

Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Ethnically Jewish as  
"Very Important" or "Not Very Important" With Global Attitude as a Potential  
Predictor

Stage	Response variable	Predictors	Percent predicted correctly
1	Importance of ethnically Jewish		57.84% (majority category)
2	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Attitude (p=.0000)	80.0%

Table 14

Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Ethnically Jewish as "Very Important" or "Not Very Important" Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Stage	Response variable	Predictors	Percent predicted correctly
1	Importance of ethnically Jewish		57.84% (majority category)
2	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people ( $p=.0000$ )	75.68%
3	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Global practices ( $p = .0000$ ) and attitudes/practices providing a connection to the Jewish people ( $p = .0000$ )	76.76%
4	Importance of ethnically Jewish	Global practice ( $p = .0007$ ), proportion of friends Jewish ( $p = .0047$ ) and attitudes/ practices providing a connection to the Jewish people ( $p = .0002$ ).	77.84%

Table 15

Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Religiously Jewish as  
"Important" or "Unimportant" With Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Stage	Response variable	Predictors	Percent predicted correctly
1	Importance of religiously Jewish		57.53% (majority category)
2	Importance of religiously Jewish	Global attitude (p=.0000).	74.73%
3	Importance of religiously Jewish	Global attitude (p= .0000) and attitudes/practices devinely ordained (p=.0036)	73.66%
4	Importance of religiously Jewish	Marital status (p= .0010), global attitude (p=.0000) and attitudes/practices devinely ordained(p= .0010).	77.96%

Table 16

Stages of Building the Regression Model for Predicting Religiously Jewish as "Important" or "Unimportant" Without Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Stage	Response Variable	Predictors	Percent predicted correctly
1	Importance of religiously Jewish		57.53% (majority category)
2	Importance of religiously Jewish	Global practice ( $p = .0000$ ).	70.43%
3	Importance of religiously Jewish	Global practice ( $p = .0000$ ) and attitudes/practices divinely ordained ( $p = .0001$ ).	73.66%
4	Importance of religiously Jewish	Marital status ( $p = .0067$ ), global practice ( $p = .0000$ ) and attitudes/practices divinely ordained ( $p = .0000$ )	73.12%
5	Importance of religiously Jewish	Marital status ( $p = .0132$ ), global practice ( $p = .0029$ ), denominational affiliation ( $p = .0024$ ) and attitudes/practices divinely ordained ( $p = .0005$ ).	74.19%

check the forward selection model and there was virtually no change between backward and forward selection which provides us with a kind of internal validation. In some instances the percent correct goes up and down as more variables are added to the model. Due to the multicollinearity between some of the variables the percentages will go up and down. Building the model does not mean that the percent correct will go in one direction, it depends on the new variable being added and its relationship in combination with the other variables. The p value reported in the building of the logistic regression model tests whether that predictor variable is significant in the logistic regression model but it is not enough information to decide if the term should be in the model, it has to be entered with other variables to test its prediction level.

There were 185 respondents who answered all the variables chosen for the logistic regression used to predict importance of ethnically Jewish recoded as "very important" and "not very important". These questions included: country of birth, place of parents birth, age, marital status, income, global attitude(survey questions 19 a-m), global practice (survey question 20 a-k), mezuzah on front door, proportion of friends Jewish, denominational affiliation, contributing to Jewish philanthropies, attitudes and practices divinely ordained, attitudes and practices providing a connection to the Jewish people.

The following is a report of the final predictor variables for the importance of ethnic identity. In the absence of any predictor variables, we can predict that someone will say it is very important to be ethnically Jewish (the larger of the two categories between very important and not very important to be ethnically Jewish -- the majority category) 57.84% of the time. This majority category also confirms the direction of the hypotheses by saying that more people feel it is very important to be ethnically Jewish than not very important.



One variable out of the range of variables listed above for the logistic regression model was found to be a significant predictor of the importance of ethnically Jewish: global attitude (see Table 17). When knowing this variable we can predict people's responses to ethnically Jewish as either very important or not very important 80% of the time.

The logistic regression was done taking global attitudes out as a predictor, to see what would come first as a predictor without the influence of attitudes. Attitude was such a dominate predicator that we wanted to see what variables attitude might have been masking.

Three variables were found to be significant predictors of the importance of ethnically Jewish when global attitude was taken out as a potential predictor; these variables include global practice, proportion of Jewish friends, attitudes and practices reported providing a connection to the Jewish people (see Table 18). When in combination these three variables are successful in predicting ethnically Jewish as being very important or not very unimportant 77.84% of the time. There were 186 respondents who answered all the variables chosen for the logistic regression used to predict importance of religiously Jewish recoded as "important" vs. "unimportant". The variables chosen include: country of birth, parents born in North America, age, marital status, income, global attitude, global practice, mezuzah on front door, proportion of friends Jewish, denominational affiliation, contributing to Jewish charities, and attitudes and practices divinely ordained and providing a connection to the Jewish people.

The following is a report of the final predictor variables for importance of religious identity. In the absence of any predictor variables we can predict that

Table 17

Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Ethnically Jewish With  
Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Observed	Predicted		Percent correct
	Not very important	Very important	
Not very important	56	22	71.79%
Very important	15	92	85.98%
			Overall 80.0%

  

Variables in the equation					
Variable	B	S.E.	df	Sig	R
Global attitude	.1040	.0153	1	.0000	.4180

Table 18

Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Ethnically Jewish Without  
Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Observed	Predicted		Percent correct
	Not very important	Very important	
Not very important	52	26	66.67%
Very important	15	92	85.98%
			Overall 77.84%

  

Variable	Variables in the equation				
	B	S.E.	df	Sig	R
Global practice	.0554	.0164	1	.0007	.1936
Proportion of Jewish friends	.4319	.1528	1	.0047	.1542
Attitudes/ practices providing a connection to the Jewish people	-1.1036	.3013	1	.0002	-.2129

someone will say it is important to be religiously Jewish (the larger of the two categories between important and unimportant to be religiously Jewish -- the majority category) 57.53% of the time. This majority category also confirms the direction of the hypotheses by saying that more people feel it is important to be religiously Jewish than unimportant.

Three variables from the range of variables listed above were found to be significant predictors of the importance of religiously Jewish; these variables include marital status, global attitude, and attitudes and practices reported as important because they are divinely ordained (see Table 19). When in combination these variables are successful at predicting the response to religiously Jewish as being unimportant or important 77.96% of the time.

Four variables were found to be significant predictors of the importance of being religiously Jewish when global attitude was taken out as a potential predictor; these variables include marital status, global practice, denominational affiliation, and attitudes and practices reported as important because they are divinely ordained (see Table 20). When in combination these variables are successful at predicting religiously Jewish as being important or unimportant 74.19% of the time.

Backward elimination was done for all the above which provided the same results.

Table 19

Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Religiously Jewish With  
Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Observed	Predicted		Percent correct
	Not very important	Very important	
Unimportant	54	25	68.35%
Important	16	91	85.05%
			Overall 77.96%

Variable	Variables in the equation				
	B	S.E.	df	Sig	R
Marital status	.6756	.2049	1	.0010	.1870
Global attitude	.0654	.0137	1	.0000	.2871
Attitudes/ practices divinely ordained	-.6967	.2123	1	.0010	-.1859

Table 20

Observed and Predicted Frequency of Importance of Religiously Jewish Without  
Global Attitude as a Potential Predictor

Observed	Predicted		Percent correct		
	Not very important	Very important			
Unimportant	50	29	63.29%		
Important	19	88	82.24%		
			Overall 74.19%		
Variables in the equation					
Variable	B	S.E.	df	Sig	R
Marital status	.5480	.2211	1	.0132	.1278
Global practice	.0527	.0177	1	.0029	.1646
Denominational affiliation	-	-	5	.2470	.0000
Attitudes/ practices divinely ordained	-.7921	.2275	1	.0005	-.1998

## CHAPTER SIX

### DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes the results to the four hypotheses outlined in Chapter 3. The first section is the discussion of the results of Hypothesis 1. This is followed by a discussion of the significant variables in Hypothesis 2 and 3 which will be broken down into a discussion of the significant personal characteristics, practices and attitudes. The practices and attitudes will be further broken down into attitudes and practices that are consistent with each other (if one says something is important and their actions follow) and attitudes and practices that are not consistent with each other (if one says something is important but their actions do not follow). Following this, the report on Hypothesis 4 will be reviewed. Then a discussion of Hypotheses 1 to 4 will be presented. The limitations of the study will then be discussed followed by implications for counselling and program development and implications for future research. It is important to note that when discussing a significant relationship in the four hypotheses that it refers to a relationship at the  $< .005$  level. When referring to no relationship, it means that there was no relationship at the  $< .005$  level of significance; it does not mean there was no relationship at all between the variables.

It is important to note when reviewing the following relationships, that the data gathered for this study was simply a snapshot in time. As indicated in the background section, historical external and internal issues affected Jewish identity throughout the ages. The consequence of internal and external issues continues today. However, we can only assume that the demands of contemporary society

together with longitudinal influences, play a role in influencing one's Jewish identity but researchers would need to do further studies incorporating questions relating to the societal influences to carry these thoughts further.

### Review of Hypothesis 1

There was a significant relationship between the strength of Vancouver Jewish adults self-perceived sense of Jewish ethnic identity and the strength of their self-perceived sense of religious identity therefore Hypothesis 1 was supported. A test of agreement was also done to see how consistent people were between their personal sense of religious identity and their personal sense of ethnic identity. Assessing agreement allows us to see the consistency in the way people answered the survey. The proportion of agreement for the two dependent variables was 147/241 or 61%. In other words 61% of the people that felt that being ethnically Jewish was important to their personal sense of identity also agreed that being religiously Jewish was important to their personal sense of identity and those that felt that being ethnically Jewish was not important to their personal sense of identity, felt being religiously Jewish was not important to their personal sense of identity. It is important to note, however, that more people felt being ethnically Jewish was very important than those who felt religiously Jewish was very important. Some of the comments made at the end of the survey alluded to a sense of ambivalence about religion among some of the respondents.

The findings of the present study reinforce much of the literature that discusses Jewish identity as being made up of a link between ethnicity and religion. In the literature (Goldscheider & Zukerman, 1984; Herman, 1977; Waxman, 1983; Werblowsky, 1976), Judaism has been viewed as both an ethnic



and religious phenomenon, in other words an ethnic religion. Krausz (1977) points out that it is difficult to sift out the religious factor in Jewish identity from the ethnic factor which is reinforced by the strong relationship of the two variables and the sense of agreement in this study. A weakening of either of the components leads to a weakening of Jewish identity as a whole.

In addition, when it comes to expressing an individual's commitments to ethnic and religious identity, researchers like Krausz (1977); Herman (1977); and London and Frank (1987) take the position that the Jewishness of even non-religious Jews cannot be completely divorced from its religious traditions. For example, although much of the literature including this present study indicate that a priority is given by the Jewish people to the ethnic rather than the religious factor in Jewish identity, that identity is often expressed through traditional religious symbols. It is through the synagogue, the festivals, the rites of passage, dietary laws, the mezuzah, Jewish education and other such signs that Jewishness becomes visible (Kokosalakis, 1982). Because these signs are the expression of identity for both observant and non-observant Jews, this emphasizes the difficulty of separating the religious Jew from the ethnic Jew. Therefore, it is possible that one may identify more strongly as either an ethnic Jew or a religious Jew but the way the individual expresses, for example, ethnic identity, may differ very little from another person's expression of their religious identity. In Judaism it is not easy to separate practice from belief.

#### Review of Significant Variables in Hypotheses 2 and 3

Hypothesis 2 and 3 were divided among personal characteristics, practices and attitudes. The majority of personal characteristics had no significant

relationship to ethnic or religious identity. All the attitudes had a significant relationship with the importance of religious and ethnic identity except for speaking Hebrew and importance of ethnically Jewish. The majority of practices had a significant relationship with the importance of religious and ethnic identity with the exception of handling money on the Sabbath, keeping Kosher outside the home (for importance of ethnically Jewish only), lighting Hanukkah candles, circumcision, having a Bar/Bat Mitzvah, visiting Holocaust sights, and the majority of the education questions.

Significant personal characteristics. The personal characteristics that have a significant relationship with importance of ethnically Jewish are age and religion born into and the personal characteristics that have a significant relationship to the importance of religiously Jewish are religion now, religion spouse born into and religion spouse now. It was surprising in light of the literature examined in Chapter 3 that more personal characteristics were not significantly related to the dependent variables. Other studies discussed in Chapter 3, compare personal characteristics to more narrow topics, for example, age and Jewish education or occupation and volunteering in the Jewish community. It is possible that importance of ethnically and religiously Jewish are not discriminating enough to pick up a relationship with personal characteristics.

The findings of the present study showed a significant relationship between increase of age and importance of ethnic identity but Cohen's (1991) findings differ by indicating that younger Jews are hardly different from their elders in many forms of communal affiliation and most forms of ritual practice. The present findings do not indicate a relationship between religious identity and age.

However, according to Cohen (1991) and his findings on age and religious identity, there is a growth in traditional observance and in Orthodoxy among the young Canadian Jews. In some ways, according to Cohen (1991) the younger Jews are actually more involved in traditional ritual observance.

The religion one is born into and importance of ethnic identity had a significant relationship in the findings of the present study. This is confirmed by Medding (1977) who discussed that membership of the Jewish group was not one of religious performance but one of ethnic origins. Medding (1977) pointed out that to join the group and be subject to its rights and obligations, it was sufficient to be born of a Jewish mother. One could not leave the group or be disqualified by not performing religious practices. One could be a member of the Jewish people without following the Jewish religion.

The religion the person is now, the religion the spouse is born into and the religion the spouse is now is significantly related to the importance of religious identity. If the person is Jewish or if their spouse is Jewish they are more likely to feel it is important to be religiously Jewish. If a person is a different religion from their spouse this may play a role in how the individual identifies Jewishly. For example, Medding et al. (1992) focused on how Jewish identification fares in conversionary and mixed marriages. They found that the overall level of Jewish identification in mixed-marriages is low therefore they found a negative relationship between strength of identifying Jewishly and being married to someone who is not Jewish. Their findings indicated that conversion usually leads to the achievement of medium and high levels of Jewish identification.

The findings of the present study indicate that one's or one's spouses religion is not related to the importance of personal ethnic identity, but is related to the importance of religious identity, people may continue feeling ethnically Jewish when they are intermarried. Their sense of ethnicity or feeling part of the Jewish people is not taken away from them even when their practical expression of ethnic identity may be tailored to fit their new life in a home with two different backgrounds. However, when one's spouse is of a different religion, the person's religious identity may be challenged due to differences in the spouse's priorities in the home and in the community.

Despite the extensive discussion in the background section in Chapter 2 about the differences between men and women in the Jewish community throughout history, this study did not find any significant relationship between sex and the importance of ethnic or religious identity. This may very well be do to the fact that there has been a shift in North America, from women's peripheral home based religious life to the home becoming the core and essential preserver of Jewish identification. With the critical home-based religious duties, and communal work, women managed to develop paths to enhance Jewish life for North American women. This groundwork has led to the acceptance of women as ritual and communal equals in many North American communities today. Women have managed to move from the periphery towards the centre of Jewish life and expression. If this study had been done years ago, we may have found a significant relationship between sex and the importance of ethnic or religious Jewish identity but today the present study does not indicate a relationship. One of the comments made in the comment section of the survey was that questions

relevant to women's experiences were not included which may have provided us with gender specific information for this discussion.

Consistent attitudes and practices that were both significantly related to the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity. The following will focus on the significant, consistent practice and attitude variables from the present study. These include: maintaining close ties to Israel, performing religious practices, belonging to a synagogue, denominational affiliation, importance of having Jewish friends, living in a Jewish neighborhood, contributing to Jewish community fundraising events, reasons for relative importance of attitudes and practices reported in the survey as being divinely ordained and providing a connection to the Jewish people.

The study of Jewish identity and identification have been of great interest in the research of North American Jews. Jewish identity according to Herman (1977) is one's sense of self with regards to being Jewish (attitudes) and Jewish identification is the process of thinking and acting in a manner that indicates involvement with and attachment to Jewish life (practices).

Ritual practice has always been the direct measure of Jewish religiosity. Judaism is pervaded by ritual practice. According to Medding (1992), the most traditional expression of Jewishness is through the rituals Jews perform or in which they participate. Goldscheider and Zukerman (1984) focus upon what Jews do and assume that activity assures the vitality of Jewish life. According to Cohen (1983), Judaism, in contrast with Christianity (particularly Protestantism), regards concrete behaviours as more central and significant than tenets, beliefs or attitudes.

It is important to note that the majority of attitudes measured in the present study were attitudes towards practices as opposed to the attitudes about one's self in regards to being Jewish which Herman (1977) addresses (i.e., "If you were born all over again, would you wish to be born a Jew?"). As planned in the present study, the majority of attitude questions had a corresponding practice question for example, "How important is it for you to belong to a synagogue and are you currently a member of a synagogue?". The attitudes measured in the present study like practices, highlight patterns of commitment and support to the Jewish people because for the most part the strong attitudes are followed through with practice, with exceptions of the attitudes that are not consistent with practices discussed in the next section. It turns out the majority of practices represented in the attitude questions and the practices reported in the practice section that were consistent with each other, were both significantly related to the importance of ethnic and religious identity. Also both the global attitude and global practice questions were significantly related to the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity.

The significant relationship between the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity and attitudes towards maintaining close ties to Israel was confirmed in the literature. Cohen (1982) reinforces that the concern for Israel after the 1967 Israeli war became one of the most unifying means by which Jews expressed their Jewishness. Herman (1977) discusses the fact that Jews everywhere find it necessary to define their Jewish identity with reference to Israel. Chazan (1992) points out that the symbolic meaning of Israel pervades the collective consciousness of Jewish religion and culture and the concept of Zion is a major theme in thought and prayer. The present study's findings indicate that

the practice of Israel programs alone do not have a significant relationship to ethnic identity but the number of years of Israel programs have a significant relationship to ethnic identity. Silberman (1985) points out that nearly one Jewish adult in five in the United States has visited Israel more than once. According to London and Frank (1987) the potential visits to Israel are important factors in shaping and forming Jewish identity.

The attitude towards performing religious practices and actually practicing religious practices are significantly related to the importance of ethnic and religious identity. Judaism is pervaded by ritual practice. Performing rituals is the most traditional expression of Jewishness. The literature indicated that there continues to be a firm associational tie with the Jewish community's belief and practice. There are four times as many Jews in the United States who practice religion as there are secular Jews. The comment section in the survey indicated that some individuals felt a sense of ambivalence towards their level of observance. "When I attend synagogue I feel a deep connection on some emotional level, and yet I feel no connection to the prayers ... the observances of Judaism, for example, Purim do not mean anything to me, and yet I feel guilty that I'm not more observant ...".

Cohen (1983) points out that less time committing and less segregating ritual practices erode more slowly. The High Holy days are one practice that has not declined in practice and in fact participating in the High Holy days may be a very significant part of one's Jewish identity. The Sabbath practice has been adopted on an individual basis, some follow the Sabbath practice extensively and others perform a few customs such as lighting candles and having an evening

meal. This was confirmed in the present study by the relationship between lighting candles Friday night and importance of ethnic and religious identity and the lack of relationship between not handling money on the Sabbath and importance of ethnic and religious identity. Some practices which are considered more time demanding such as dietary laws, which require daily routines, used to have central significance to Jewish identity are one of the first practices to be given up. This decline in following dietary laws was confirmed in this study which indicated that keeping kosher outside the home was not significantly related to Jewish ethnic identity. However, keeping kosher in the home was significantly related to the importance of both ethnic and religious Jews. One important note from examining the tables in Appendix C is that lighting candles and keeping kosher overall are more of an infrequent practice than a frequent practice but when they are practiced they both relate to the importance of ethnic and religious identity. In order to understand why some practices are continued by the majority of respondents and why others are not, an understanding of contemporary society and its influences on its members must be studied in relationship to the practices.

The relationship between Jewish religious and ethnic identity and the attitude towards the importance of belonging to a synagogue was confirmed in the literature. According to Herman (1977), "the Diaspora religious institutions such as the synagogue serve more than just a religious function in the Jewish community and affiliation with them is often an expression of Jewish identification rather than religiosity" (p. 36). When the Jews first came to the United States, they had little to do with religion. But because expressing ethnicity was not popular at the time and religion was, Jews took on an



institutional form of religion to fit into society. Affiliation with the synagogue took the form of ethnic attachment. The new synagogues became more of an expression of ethnicity than religiosity (Glazer, 1990, p. 14). According to Waxman (1983) it is possible individuals may consider themselves religious and not belong to a synagogue, however the present study indicated a strong relationship between religious identity and belonging to a synagogue.

How one considers oneself Jewish (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, Just Jewish, Secular, Some other religion) was significantly related to the importance of ethnic and religious identification. In other words how one considers oneself Jewish according to London and Frank (1987), is the best indicator of participation in Jewish religious and communal life. According to Pinderhughes (1989), when the Jews first came to North America religious denomination was a source of meaning for persons who renounced nationality of origin for the ethnicity of the melting pot. One of the comments made on the survey was that there was not room to discuss reasons for the choice of synagogue which may have provided necessary information for future studies.

The significant relationships between importance of ethnic and religious identity and the attitude towards the importance of having Jewish friends and the proportion of Jewish friends were also confirmed in the literature. A number of surveys indicate that one way Jews maintain their connection to the community is through having Jewish friends. According to Rosen (cited in London & Frank, 1987), peer influence has an important impact on Jewish identity. Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) pointed out that adolescent peers are important religious influences on both younger and older generations.

The relationship between living in a Jewish neighborhood was significantly related to importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity. Overall, Jews value living in Jewish neighborhoods but they do not always have the choice due to economic constraints. When asking a residential question, it would have been helpful, as indicated by some of the comments on the survey, to take into account that it is not necessarily an individual's choice to live in a non-Jewish area, it might be due to schooling, transportation, housing costs or housing availability. As Kosa (cited in Yancey et al. 1976) points out, it is possible for ethnic networks to exist in geographically dispersed areas, however, one would expect it would be more important for the people who find it important to be religiously Jewish to live in Jewish area because of the necessity to be close to religious institutions on the Sabbath and holidays.

The present study indicated a significant relationships between the attitude and practice of contributing to Jewish community's fundraising events and volunteering in Jewish community activities and the importance of religious and ethnic identity. Some reasons people contribute financially or volunteer their time include social status, association reasons, learning leadership skills, etc. Also being involved in common institutions and services, according to Haller and Greeley (cited in Yancey, Ericksen & Juliani, 1976), reinforces the maintenance of kinship. Each of the above benefits of volunteering would play a role in both the importance of being ethnically and religiously Jewish.

Cohen (1983) examined the Boston community surveys of 1965 and 1975 which indicated that assimilated Jews have been leaving the circles of Jewish philanthropists. Cohen's findings differ from the findings of the present study

which indicate a relationship between importance of ethnically Jewish and involvement in the community. However, it is important to note that we can not place too much emphasis on the comparison between Cohen's study and the present study because Cohen is discussing 'assimilated Jews' and the present study is discussing the 'importance of ethnically Jewish' which can not be equated as the same. The ten years between the two Boston community studies shows an increase in the number of leaders who are Orthodox and who received yeshiva or day school education. The present study confirms the relationship between importance of religious identity and involvement in the community.

The reasons behind the relative importance of the attitudes and practices reported in the survey as the basis for providing a connection to Jewish people and attitudes and practices as being divinely ordained were both significantly related to the importance of ethnic identity. One basis for the importance of ethnic identity is the connection to the Jewish people and this sense of ethnic identity is manifested in customs that act as symbols of a collective peoplehood. Therefore, one would expect the attitudes and practices reported as important because they provide a connection to the Jewish people. The significant relationship between the importance of ethnic identity and the attitudes and practices as important because they are divinely ordained bring up questions of dissonance. It is possible that one who feels it is important to be ethnically Jewish may have resolved their internal struggle with the Jewish religion while answering this survey by concluding that the attitudes and practices reported were important also because they were divinely ordained. It is important to note that the relationship between importance of ethnically Jewish and the relative importance of attitudes and

practices as important because they were divinely ordained is based on a group of people who felt it was also important or somewhat important to be religiously Jewish. It would be interesting to see if there would have been a relationship between those who felt only being ethnically Jewish was important and the attitudes and practices reported important because they were divinely ordained. The argument could be made however that the relationship between importance of ethnically Jewish and attitudes and practices being divinely ordained, occurred as a shift over time. In other words, their customs become rituals and these rituals become laws and in turn their attitudes and practices took on a divinely ordained meaning. The most significant relationship between the importance of being religiously Jewish and the the importance behind the attitudes and practices reported in the survey were that their attitudes and practices are important because they are divinely ordained. This result was expected in light of the fact that for many religious Jews the belief in and commitment to G-d has always been the essence of Judaism not necessarily the connection to the Jewish people.

Attitudes inconsistent with practices. The following will focus on the inconsistent practice and attitude variables from the present study in which either the attitude or practice were reported significant but not both. These include: marrying someone Jewish, children marrying someone Jewish, and Jewish education.

Medding et al. (1992) noted that "the contemporary community of shared individual feelings is characterized by emotions and attachments, which, while often deep, are not always clearly articulated" (p.14). Merelman (cited in Medding et al. 1992), describes the fact that many American Jews give strong

expression to feelings of Jewishness, even when they fail to uphold major Jewish religious beliefs and rituals. Some attitudes do not coincide with individual practices. This is a clear case where the individuals surveyed said one thing was important to them (for example marrying someone Jewish) but in many cases practiced something different. In the following examples, one is reminded of the tenets of researchers like Cohen (1983) who regard concrete behaviour as more significant and central to Judaism than one's attitudes or beliefs. It becomes clear how significant the actual practices are to Judaism when we read about discrepancies in attitude and practice.

The attitude toward marrying Jewish and importance of ethnically Jewish were significantly related, however, the present study indicates that 28% of the respondents are married to someone not Jewish. It appears from the present study and the intermarriage statistics that in many cases individuals do not follow what they believe to be important. Since 1985, according to the National Jewish Population survey (1990), less than half of Jewish marriages involve two partners who are Jewish. Possibly when faced with the decision of marrying someone not Jewish, people feel they can work something out and not compromise their ethnicity. The literature indicates that for many who feel neither ethnicity nor "marrying out" is important, also think they can put their family's traditions on the back burner. In many cases, however, it turns out that they often discover their ethno-religious backgrounds affect many important factors in family life.

The relationship between marrying someone Jewish and importance of being religiously Jewish is reinforced in the literature. According to Medding et al.

(1992), about nine in ten Orthodox and Conservative Jews are married to another Jew.

The findings in the present study indicates a relationship between attitudes towards children marrying someone Jewish and importance of religious and ethnic identity. These findings differ from the literature. According to Fishman and Goldstein (1992) fully one-third of those who identify themselves as Jewish by religion would support or strongly support the marriage of their child to a non-Jewish person; only 22% would oppose such a marriage. However, the comment section on the survey indicated people who "married out" but want their children to be raised Jewish.

The literature discusses the impact of Jewish education on Jewish identity. The findings from the present study indicate total years of formal Jewish education is not significantly related to the importance of Jewish ethnic and religious identity. However, Fishman and Goldstein (1993) reported that Jewish education was one of the most effective tools for producing Jewishly identified adults. Bock and Himmelfarb (1988) point out that the number of school hours makes a difference. The only form of Jewish education that was significantly related to importance of ethnic identity (not religious identity) in the present study was informal Jewish education (youth groups and at home). The present study supports the findings in the literature that indicates childhood home exerts more influence than the Jewish school on adult Jewish identification. The literature also indicates the impact of informal Jewish education through youth groups which has shown to be beneficial to Jewish identification. It is important to note that many of the educational questions were not applicable to Israelis who have a

different educational system which was pointed out in the comment section of the survey.

#### Review of Hypothesis 4

In agreement with Hypothesis 4, there were a set of predictor variables capable of predicting the importance of being ethnically Jewish and another set capable of predicting the importance of being religiously Jewish. People's global attitudes (survey question 19 a-m) are the highest predictor variable for both the importance of being ethnically Jewish and the importance of being religiously Jewish.

It appears on the surface by noting the above results of the logistic regression and Hypotheses 1 and 2 that more attitudes than practices are significantly related to the importance of ethnic and religious identity. In other words, that what people say, is a better predictor of their personal sense of religious and ethnic identity than what they actually do. However it is important to note both global attitudes and practices are related to the importance of ethnic and religious identity. These findings of both attitudes and practices relating to the importance of ethnically Jewish and religiously Jewish are reinforced when we look more closely at the results of the logistic regressions. As we saw in the results chapter, the global attitude overlapped extensively with the global practice. When global attitude was taken out as a possible predictor variable, global practice became a predictor for importance of religiously Jewish and importance of being ethnically Jewish.

The results from the present study indicating global practice as a predictor variable and global practice as being significantly related to the importance of

ethnic and religious identity indicates that the Jews surveyed in the present study and in the literature (Cohen, 1983; Goldscheider & Zukerman, 1984) regard concrete behaviour as significant to Judaism. However, it is important to note again that the global attitude was still a more significant predictor in the logistic regression and the global attitudes were more significantly related to importance of ethnic and religious identity than practices which reinforces that there are still more people who say something is important than follow the practice. The cases where attitudes are not consistent with practices and therefore people just feel a practice is important but do not follow up with their actions have been discussed above.

The next significant predictor for the importance of ethnically Jewish (when global attitude was taken out as a potential predictor) together with global practice was the attitudes and practices reported in the survey as providing a connection to the Jewish people. Medding (1977) points out that contemporary Jewish ethnic ties come from the sense of shared peoplehood. Even when religion is not involved, Jews are known to surround themselves by other Jews and be part of the Jewish community. Ethnicity has been defined through identification with common origins and frequent patterns of association, which not only supports the importance of a connection to the Jewish people but also supports the next predictor of importance of ethnically Jewish, (again when global attitudes are removed) which is proportion of Jewish friends.

One of the significant predictors for importance of being religiously Jewish (with global attitudes and without global attitudes as predictors) was attitudes and practices being divinely ordained. According to Kokosalakis (1982), it is not easy



to separate practice from belief. Belief and commitment to G-d has always been the essence of Judaism. Jewish law (Halakha) is central to religious tradition. Some Jews believe that the law was divinely ordained and observance was the fulfillment of G-d's will.

Demographics for the most part do not act as predictors for religious or ethnic identity. However, marital status together with global practice did become a predictor for religiously Jewish (when global attitude was removed). This is not a surprise as pointed out by London and Frank (1983), marriage and children tend to involve people more in Jewish life.

Denominational affiliation became a predictor for religious identification (when global attitude was removed as a potential predictor). According to London and Frank (1987), the best indicator of participation in Jewish religious and communal life is identifying oneself as either Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform etc. According to Goldscheider (1986), the data from the 1975 Jewish population survey indicated that 3/4 of adult Jews identify denominationally.

#### Review of Hypotheses 1 to 4

The results reported in this thesis illustrated that more people felt being ethnically Jewish was more important than being religiously Jewish. Many personal characteristics do not have a significant relationship to ethnic and religious identity and identification. People have very strong attitudes towards practicing and for the most part the corresponding practices were followed. Specific attitudes and practices that have a significant relationship to religious and ethnic identity were defined. Finally a set of predictor variables that determine the strength of one's ethnic identity and the strength of one's religious identity were

developed. The results of the logistic regression allow us to carry the findings from Hypotheses 1,2 and 3 a step further. It is possible to go beyond the significant relationships and actually use some of these significant variables to predict whether a subject would rate "ethnic" as "very important" or "not very important" or "religious" Jewishness as "important" or "unimportant", on the basis of the derived set of predictor variables.

### Limitations of the study

The way in which Jews identify is an empirical question that calls for the application of survey methods and techniques (Steinberg, 1975). Jewish identification must be treated as a variable, which implies that the range of variation must be explained and that its consequences for behaviour analyzed (Steinberg, 1975). Some anthropologists and sociologists believe it is too difficult to quantify elements of culture such as beliefs and practices. When dealing with questions of religion, which deal with deep cultural and personal experiences, quantification can at best provide information on socio-cultural trends and only glimpses into the information qualitative data can produce. However, survey research has been the most common type of research design used in studies of American Jews. This researcher is aware of the limits of quantitative research but feels that the survey design is an appropriate method for this study. The survey method allows us to reach a large number of people with a diverse number of questions.

Sample biases are discussed in the method chapter although the results from the 1981 Canadian Census indicated that the sample for this present study is very similar to the sample depicted in the census results. For example, in the present

survey 33.7% of the respondents were born outside Canada which is the same for the 1991 Canadian Census.

A limitation of the logistic regression model is that cross validation was not accounted for in this study. Ideally, a different sample would be used to test the regression model that was developed here.

One limitation of the survey may have been in the wording of the dependent variables. A comment made in the survey was that a definition should have been provided for ethnic versus religion. This idea was discussed during the development stage of the survey but it was decided that it was important to have people report their own personal sense of ethnic and religious identification not one that was defined for them. One possible way to gather similar information to the information elicited by the dependent variables, was instead of wording them as attitude questions, ask the census questions of "What is your ethnicity?" and "What is your religion?". With the answers to these questions one could then possibly cross-tabulate those answers with the importance of being ethnically Jewish and the importance of being religiously Jewish and the attitudes and practices asked in the survey.

A further limitation of the study includes the attitude questions high degree of overlap with the practice questions which was intentional when the survey was developed. In one way, this is beneficial because we can compare attitudes to practices and gain information on how important certain aspects of Jewish practice or communal involvement are to the individual. But in another way it is limiting in that we are not examining attitudes on which previous studies on Jewish identity have focused for example, whether one is proud or embarrassed

about being Jewish, or whether one considers themselves first a Jew and then an Canadian or vice versa. In the present study the scope of information that attitude questions can potentially attain has been limited.

Because of the large number of relationships examined in this study, a stringent level of significance was set. Relationships between dependent and independent variables that were not found to be significant in this study, may in fact, be so related. Also, when the comment section of the survey instrument was reviewed a number of comments from the comment section of the survey were discrepant or not evident in the statistical findings. For example, the findings of the present study did not indicate a significant relationship between having children and the importance of religious or ethnic identity. However, many comments indicated the importance of having children and the importance of identifying oneself as Jewish. One person commented that --"In the past I would normally not go to synagogue or join one. However, now being married with children, I believe it is important to give my children the opportunity to experience our religion as I did as a youth." London and Frank (1987) indicate that marriage and children tend to involve people more in Jewish life.

It would be important in future studies to look further at people who reported just ethnically Jewish as important or just religiously Jewishness as important. This study did not separate out those who felt it was important to be ethnically Jewish and those who felt it was important to be religiously Jewish, it focused on those who those individuals where there was a relationship between ethnic and religious identity. It would have been interesting to see whether there would have been a significant relationship between those who felt it was

important to be ethnically Jewish but not important to be religiously Jewish and for example, the attitudes and practices reported as important because they are divinely ordained. It is possible different information would be derived if all the personal characteristics, attitude and practice variables were examined in comparison to those who felt it was important to be ethnically or religiously Jewish but not both.

Some of the respondents felt that the survey was too narrow in that it missed out on secular identity and other forms of affiliation or possibilities for Jewish expression. One person commented that "the survey does not touch upon the "cultural" or intellectual aspects of Judaism. Members of the community who express or experience their Judaism through study, art, music, dance, cuisine, etc. may not have been adequately represented. One person felt the survey explored the mainstream establishment of the Jewish community and missed out on the exciting diversity of being Jewish. If this had been taken into account during the development of the survey, the questions may have been applicable to a wider variety of people.

#### Implications for Counselling and Program Development

As discussed in Chapter 2's section on identity development in a psychological frame, feelings about one's ethnic background have a direct relationship to how people feel about themselves. In a clinical setting the counsellor has the responsibility to help the client or family members to recognize their cultural values and individualize the religious, social and communal aspects of Jewish identity to help resolve conflicts. As Pinderhughes (1989) pointed out,

a focus on cultural identity offers an opportunity for individuals to strengthen a positive sense of self and enhance psychological integration.

When responding to questions asked in the present survey one is challenged to explore their religious and ethnic identity. For each respondent different history and experiences flow underneath their answers. Getting in touch with these experiences below the surface is one of the benefits to answering a survey like the present. There were 246 people who answered this survey and out of that number, as indicated by the responses in the comment section, there were many who were challenged to look inward when responding to the survey.

Responses to the survey illustrated that many people seem to have an incongruency between ethnic identity and religious identity as there were so many more people who felt it was important to be ethnically Jewish. From the literature it appears that people are struggling with these two definitions of what it means to be Jewish and how to express their identities in a way that they are comfortable with. Those who feel strongly ethnically Jewish not only struggle with their religious identity but also with how to express their ethnic identity. Expression of ethnic identity often results in religious practice which for some may be a conflict because they do not feel religiously Jewish or comfortable with religious practices. In counselling the individual can explore these conflicting feelings and work towards understanding how they would like to express their religious and/or ethnic identity in their lives.

There was also a discrepancy between respondents attitudes and practices. For some, they will note after responding to the survey that their Jewish attitudes overlap with their practices, giving them insight into their present priorities and

how they have chosen to lead their lives. These people for example can learn that they follow through with their beliefs and can feel a sense of gratification once they realize the sense of commitment they have in their daily lives. Others may see a discrepancy between their attitudes and practices and feel confused. Feeling strongly about something and not following through with it, may be a pattern in their lives. This discrepancy in their lives may also provide the individual with insight into values they have and strongly believe in but end up blocking or compromising due to their current lifestyle. Numerous comments in the survey instrument were made that people wish they for example, had a mezuzah on their door. Expressing this wish may lead to some sort of change. Getting in touch with their inner sense of identity allow people to understand themselves better and express their needs and desires.

The 1991 census shows that only 16,565 persons were recorded as Jewish by religion in British Columbia, compared with 30, 985 who described themselves as Jewish by ancestry. But, the figures don't say who's Jewish. Some claiming to be Jewish solely by ancestry (ethnic origin) may be Jewish according to religious law, even though they may be assimilated. Others who list themselves as Jews by religion may be converts. Studies like the present in combination with census statistics can help fill in the blanks about people's backgrounds and personal definitions of what it means to be Jewish.

Statistics which indicate British Columbians for example, generally identify less with religion has significant implications for groups like the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver. From this information they can begin developing community projects which compliment the community members

expressed sense of identity and needs. Possibly in the end these projects may also help bring out people's sense of religious identity.

The Jewish Federation of Vancouver will be able to examine closely the individual variables from the present study and the census data. They will look beyond the relationship and test what attitudes and practices were reported in the important ranges. For example, a total of 66% of the respondents who found it important to be religiously Jewish found it important to light candles on Friday night. A total of 47% who felt it was important to be ethnically Jewish found it important to light candles Friday night. This provides the community with specific information to use to develop programs in the community for example, how the celebration of Shabbat can become part of your life even if you are not religious. The results can also help in developing programs focusing on variables that had a relationship with Jewish ethnic and religious identity and help ensure they continue to be part of people's lives. Further studies can look closely at the relationships between the variables from the present study and examine them in further detail- how many Jewish school graduates care deeply about Israel? Questions at this level of detail can drive program development.

#### Implications for Future Research

Huberman (1990) states that as we move toward the twenty-first century our unfinished business demands attention. Better solutions must be worked out to promote affiliation, strengthen Jewish education, increase our financial resources, expand our leadership base, and reach out to those most physically at risk. A variety of data sources must be used, in combination with a classic population



data base to design solutions to meet unmet needs. Surveys like the present provide us with insight into individual needs as well broader communal needs.

Researchers like the McGill Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning in conjunction with the Council of Jewish Federations is using data from Census Canada to develop a series of profiles on Jewish communities across Canada. One of the tables for the first run of information includes: Jewish identity: a composite variable of Jewish by religion and Jewish by ethnicity. The present survey has overlapping interest areas with the census and other communities who surveyed themselves to tie in with the census. The development and distribution of a survey such like the present one, in the early 1990's has the particular advantage of enhancing the value of the survey results by allowing maximum comparability in contents and timing with the data from the 1991 census. It can also be compared with other newly developed community surveys. Surveys like the present can assess themselves in context of the national community and compare themselves with other communities of different or similar size.

Measuring attitude change over time would be important for future research. The limits of this cross-sectional research like the present study, is information is taken at one point in time -- it is simply a snapshot in time. It would be helpful in future research to select subsets of persons from the present survey and re-survey them at regular time intervals to understand how the community is changing over time.

As mentioned above comments were made that questions relevant to woman's experiences were not included in the present survey. It would be helpful

in future studies to zero in on teenager, women, seniors, etc. Huberman (1990) mentioned the idea of asking teenagers to describe in detail successful experiences in Jewish school, youth groups and camps. Results from the present study can be divided up between men and women and their responses examined closely.

Future research can take responses to the present study and examine them in light of social influences such as disintegration of the extended family and the high rate of intermarriage. This can lead to an understanding of the relationship between societal influences and ethnic and religious identity. With this bigger picture one is better able to understand the gaps in one's Jewish life created by social influences and work towards finding ways to fill them.

In future studies a closer examination could be made developing attitudes versus practice as the central question of a study. In examining discrepancies between attitude and practice some differences may be from individual choice and others may be from lack of community availability and funding. This understanding can help lead to community planning priorities.

Goldscheider (1983) has argued strongly for the need to assess the Jewish population in comparison with non-Jews to help provide a standard against which to measure the dynamics of the Jewish population. While the focus for the present study has been on Jewish identity it might be beneficial in further studies to research other ethno-religious groups and take information from the present study and use it as a comparative analysis to other ethnic identities.

Finally, it would be important in addition to asking questions like the present study, to ask the respondent to describe ethnic and religious identity and its relative importance in the broader context of their identity. For example, if an

individual's identity was made up of sections in a pie how big a section would Jewish ethnic and religious identity take up in that pie?

### Conclusion

The current study examined the relationship between Jewish ethnic and religious identity. While there are limitations to the findings of the study, the data does provide insight into how the sample of Vancouver Jewry perceive themselves Jewishly (ethnically and/or religiously) and how they choose to express their sense of Jewish identity in their daily lives. The data allowed us to see the overlap between ethnic and religious identity. We learned about the relationship between certain personal characteristics, attitudes and practices and the importance of ethnic and religious identity. We had insight into the strength of the sample's attitudes towards Jewish practices as well as whether they follow through with the practices they reported as important. With the help of certain personal characteristic, practice and attitude variables we are also able to predict whether one would report it to be important or unimportant to be ethnically and/or religiously Jewish. The Jewish community of Greater Vancouver has the basis for an exploration of the needs and priorities of the Vancouver Jewish community relative to ethnic and religious identity.

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## APPENDIX A

### Key Constructs in the Study of Identity

Identity: "Identity is probably the most widely used concept to describe the individual's sense of who he or she is...Identity in any one of its facets is built up through a series of identifications" (Dashefsky, 1976, p. 5).

Ethnic Group: According to Hughes and Hughes (cited in Shibutani and Kwan , 1965) "an ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others" ( p. 47). An ethnic group consists of those who share a unique social and cultural heritage that is passed on from generation to generation" (Mindel & Habenstein, 1976, p. 4). Gordon (cited in Mindel and Habenstein, p.4), sees those who share a feeling of "peoplehood" as an ethnic group.

Ethnic Identity: Ethnic identity is a cultural classification of a segment of society. "The product of the individual's conscious and unconscious attachment to his ethnic group is an *ethnic identity*" (Weinstein-Klein, 1980, p.9). According to Gordon, cited in (Weinstein-Klein, 1980), the "*sense of peoplehood*" constitutes the crucial aspect of ethnic group identity. This sense includes both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the group and a feeling that "these are the 'people' of my ancestors, therefore they are my people, and they will be the people of my children and their children"(p.9). Ethnic identity development is an essential human need. It provides a sense of belonging and a sense of historical continuity for an individual. According to Erikson

(1950), ethnic identity is a process located both in the core of the individual and in his or her communal culture.

Religion: Religion according to Sklare (1974), "is a uniting force which helps to strengthen the collective will, a force which helps to integrate individuals into a social system, as well as a force which gives legitimation to that system. Religion can be uniting because it is suprasocial-in a suprasocial system the bonds which hold the individual to the group are more than ephemeral, they are not easily cast asunder, they are more not mere cultural styles" (p.148).

Religious identity: Religious identity according to Herman (1977) gives people a sense of a uniting force ordained by God.

## APPENDIX B

## Introduction Letter and Survey



Department of Counselling Psychology  
Faculty of Education  
5780 Toronto Road  
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6T 1L2  
Tel: (604) 822-5259  
Fax: (604) 822-2328

November 30, 1992

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am writing to you to invite your participation in a research project on Jewish religious and ethnic identity. The project, entitled "The Relationship between Jewish Ethnic and Religious Identity," is intended to determine the factors that contribute to the sense of the Jewish ethnic and religious identity among Jews living in Vancouver. The project is being conducted as the research requirement for my Master's degree in the Department of Counselling Psychology at the University of British Columbia. The project is being supervised by Dr. Richard Young whose telephone number is 822-6380. This study was designed in consultation with the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver which is the central planning body for the community.

Your name was selected from a random sample of the mailing list of the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver. No one including myself, has had access to your name, nor can any names be attached to the responses. The list has been retained by the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver and was not released to me at any time. Your input as a member of the Greater Vancouver Jewish community is critical to this research. I would appreciate your participation in filling out this survey on Jewish identity.

The survey will gather information on self-perceived ethnic and religious identity which are important personal aspects in the psychological functioning of members of ethnic and racial and religious minority groups. The results of the study will be of great value in education, counselling and community planning. This study will illustrate the significant role ethnicity and religion play in the individual's life and the importance for those in the helping profession to understand and become familiar with this influence.

This survey will take approximately fifteen minutes to fill out. It is your choice whether to participate in the survey. There is no identifying information on the survey, so individual anonymity is assured. The Jewish community is changing and in order to meet the needs and priorities of the community and enhance services it is important to understand how individuals express their Jewishness. Eventually, the data from the survey will be shared with the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver.

If you choose to participate, it is assumed that consent has been given to use the results of the survey to contribute to the analysis section of the study. Please answer the questions to the best of your ability. Care in responding is essential if the results are to be beneficial. Again, let me assure you neither myself, nor anyone, has access to the names of those selected.

If you choose to complete the survey your prompt return in the enclosed envelope would be greatly appreciated. For further information regarding this study please feel free to contact me at 222-1502.

Thank you very much for your interest and time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "JS Glassman".

Janna Stark Glassman

JSG/kt



## SURVEY: The Relationship Between Jewish Ethnic and Religious Identity

---

**INSTRUCTIONS:** Please circle the most appropriate (letter, number or yes/no/not applicable) or fill in the blanks where indicated.

---

1. In what country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_  
If you were born outside of Canada, in what year did you immigrate to Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Which of the following members of your family were born in North America?
  - (a) One or more of your parents?                      Yes              No
  - (b) One or more of your grandparents?              Yes              No
3. Are you:                      Male                      Female
4. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Marital status:
  - (a) Married (and not separated)                      (b) Married and separated
  - (c) Divorced                      (d) Widowed
  - (e) Never married (single)                      (f) Living common-law
6. Do you have children?              Yes              No  
If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_  
What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_
7. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_  
If married, what is your spouse's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
8. What is the highest level of education you completed?
  - (a) Less than high school
  - (b) Secondary (high) school graduation
  - (c) Certificate or diploma
  - (d) Bachelor's degree
  - (e) Graduate or advanced degree
9. What are the first three digits of your postal code? \_\_\_\_\_

10. What is the main language you speak at home? \_\_\_\_\_

11. To which ethnic group(s) do/did your parents belong? \_\_\_\_\_

	Jewish	Catholic	Protestant	Other	None
12. In what religion were you born?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. What religion are you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. In what religion was your spouse born?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. What religion is/was your spouse?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Which of the following categories best represents your household's combined income before taxes for 1992?

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) less than \$20,000  | (b) \$20,000 – \$49,999 |
| (c) \$50,000 – \$79,999 | (d) \$80,000 – \$99,999 |
| (e) over \$100,000      |                         |

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Very Unimportant
17. How important is being "ethnically" Jewish to your own personal sense of identity?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. How important is being "religiously" Jewish to your own personal sense of identity?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. How important is it for you to ...				
(a) maintain close ties to Israel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) perform religious practices	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) belong to a synagogue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) choose a Jewish spouse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) have your children marry someone Jewish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) have Jewish friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(g) live in a Jewish neighbourhood	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(h) provide culturally Jewish educational programs for your children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(i) join Jewish community organizations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(j) contribute to the Jewish community's fundraising efforts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(k) volunteer in Jewish community activities, groups, or clubs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(l) have paid subscriptions to Jewish periodicals or magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(m) speak Hebrew	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. How often do you (or does someone in your household) participate in or observe each of the following practices?
- |  | Never                    | Sometimes                | Usually                  | Always                   |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) Light candles Friday night                                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (b) Participate in a Passover Seder                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (c) Stay home from (work/school) on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (d) Fast on Yom Kippur   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (e) Handle money on the Sabbath                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (f) Keep two separate sets of dishes for meat and dairy          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (g) Keep kosher outside the home                                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (h) Light Hanukkah candles                                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (i) Attend a Holocaust Remembrance Evening (i.e. Kristallnacht)  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (j) Celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut (Israel Independence Day)           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (k) Attend a Purim celebration                                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
21. Do you have a mezuzah on your front door?      Yes      No
22. If you have male children, did any of them undergo
- |  |     |    |
|--|-----|----|
| (a) Ritual circumcision (Bris)?            | Yes | No |
| (b) Non-ritual circumcision at a hospital? | Yes | No |
| (c) No circumcision?                       | Yes | No |
23. Did you have a Bar or Bat Mitzvah?      Yes      No
- Will you arrange or have you arranged a Bar or Bat Mitzvah for your own children?      Yes      No
24. What proportion of your friends are Jewish?
- |                      |               |
|----------------------|---------------|
| (a) less than 10%    | (b) 10% – 25% |
| (c) 25% – 50%        | (d) 50% – 75% |
| (e) greater than 75% |               |
25. Have you visited Israel?      Yes      No
- If yes, how many times have you been to Israel? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is the total amount of time you have spent in Israel? \_\_\_\_\_
26. Have you visited any historical sites related to the Holocaust?      Yes      No

27. Do you consider yourself to be
- |                         |                  |             |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (a) Orthodox            | (b) Conservative | (c) Reform  |
| (d) Reconstructionist   | (e) Just Jewish  | (f) Secular |
| (g) Some other religion |                  |             |
28. Are you currently a member of a synagogue or temple?      Yes      No
- Is that synagogue/temple
- |              |                  |            |
|--------------|------------------|------------|
| (a) Orthodox | (b) Conservative | (c) Reform |
| (d) Other    |                  |            |
29. Did you receive any formal Jewish education at:      Number of Years
- |                                     |     |    |       |
|-------------------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| (a) Elementary day school           | Yes | No | _____ |
| (b) Elementary supplementary school | Yes | No | _____ |
| (c) High school                     | Yes | No | _____ |
| (d) Post high school                | Yes | No | _____ |
30. Have any of your children received formal Jewish education?
- |                                     |     |    |                |
|-------------------------------------|-----|----|----------------|
| (a) Elementary day school           | Yes | No | Not applicable |
| (b) Elementary supplementary school | Yes | No | Not applicable |
| (c) High school                     | Yes | No | Not applicable |
| (d) Post high school                | Yes | No | Not applicable |
31. Did you receive any informal Jewish education at:      Number of Years
- |                         |     |    |       |
|-------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| (a) Jewish summer camp  | Yes | No | _____ |
| (b) Jewish youth groups | Yes | No | _____ |
| (c) Israel programs     | Yes | No | _____ |
| (d) At home             | Yes | No | _____ |
32. Have any of your children received informal Jewish education?      Number of Years
- |                         |     |    |       |
|-------------------------|-----|----|-------|
| (a) Jewish summer camp  | Yes | No | _____ |
| (b) Jewish youth groups | Yes | No | _____ |
| (c) Israel programs     | Yes | No | _____ |
| (d) At home             | Yes | No | _____ |
33. Did you contribute to any Jewish philanthropies or charities in 1992?
- |                                       |     |    |
|---------------------------------------|-----|----|
| (a) Israel-based charities            | Yes | No |
| (b) Federation/Combined Jewish Appeal | Yes | No |
| (c) Synagogues or temples             | Yes | No |
| (d) Local Jewish institutions         | Yes | No |

Very Important	Somewhat Important	Somewhat Unimportant	Very Unimportant
-------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------	---------------------

- 
- This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

## APPENDIX C

## Hypothesis 1

## Tables C-1

Cross - tabulations of the dependent variables -- importance of being  
ethnically and religiously Jewish

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q18_R		
	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
Q17_R2		1.00	2.00	
1.00	61	35	96	
Not very importa	63.5	36.5	39.8	
	62.2	24.5		
2.00	37	108	145	
Very important	25.5	74.5	60.2	
	37.8	75.5		
COLUMN	98	143	241	
TOTAL	40.7	59.3	100.0	

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
33.05344	1	0.0000	39.037	NONE
34.61141	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

**APPENDIX C****Hypothesis 2****Tables C-2**

**Significant cross - tabulations and t - tests of importance of being ethnically  
Jewish and certain personal characteristics**



GROUP 1 - 017\_R2 EQ 1.00  
 GROUP 2 - 017\_R2 EQ 2.00

VARIABLE	NUMBER OF CASES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	STANDARD ERROR	F VALUE	2-TAIL PROB.	POOLED VARIANCE ESTIMATE			SEPARATE VARIANCE ESTIMATE		
							T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2-TAIL PROB.	T VALUE	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2-TAIL PROB.
04 Age												
GROUP 1	96	39.8750	10.674	1.089	1.91	0.001	-0.78	238	0.435	-0.83	236.37	0.406
GROUP 2	144	41.2431	14.753	1.229								

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 017\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY 012\_R Recode:Religion born into

PAGE 1 OF 1

		012_R		
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT		Jewish	Other	ROW TOTAL
Q17_R2		1.00	2.00	
	1.00	78	19	97
Not very importa		80.4	19.6	40.1
		36.4	67.9	
	2.00	136	9	145
Very important		93.8	6.2	59.9
		63.6	32.1	
COLUMN TOTAL		214	28	242
		88.4	11.6	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
8.90477	1	0.0028	11.223	NONE
10.17052	1	0.0014	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

**APPENDIX C****Hypothesis 2****Tables C-3**

**Significant cross - tabulations of importance of being ethnically Jewish and  
certain attitudes**

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19A\_R Recode:Maintain close ties to Israel  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19A_R		
Q17_R2	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
1.00	54	43	97	
Not very importa	55.7	44.3	40.1	
	67.5	28.5		
2.00	26	119	145	
Very important	17.9	82.1	59.9	
	32.5	73.5		
COLUMN TOTAL	80	162	242	
	33.1	66.9	100.0	

CHI-SQUARE D.F. SIGNIFICANCE MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5  
 35.71932 1 0.0000 32.066 NONE  
 37.40526 1 0.0000 ( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19B\_R Recode:Perform religious practices  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19B_R		
Q17_R2	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
1.00	58	39	97	
Not very importa	59.8	40.2	40.1	
	59.2	27.1		
2.00	40	105	145	
Very important	27.6	72.4	59.9	
	40.8	72.9		
COLUMN TOTAL	98	144	242	
	40.5	59.5	100.0	

CHI-SQUARE D.F. SIGNIFICANCE MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5  
 23.70103 1 0.0000 39.281 NONE  
 25.01975 1 0.0000 ( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19A\_R Recode:Maintain close ties to Israel  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19A_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	ROW
COL PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		54	43	97
Not very importa		55.7	44.3	40.1
		67.5	26.5	
2.00		26	119	145
Very important		17.9	82.1	59.9
		32.5	73.5	
COLUMN		80	162	242
TOTAL		33.1	66.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
35.71932	1	0.0000	32.066	NONE
37.40526	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19B\_R Recode:Perform religious practices  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19B_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	ROW
COL PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		58	39	97
Not very importa		59.8	40.2	40.1
		59.2	27.1	
2.00		40	105	145
Very important		27.6	72.4	59.9
		40.8	72.9	
COLUMN		98	144	242
TOTAL		40.5	59.5	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
23.70103	1	0.0000	39.281	NONE
25.01975	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19C\_R   Recode:Belong to a synagogue   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19C_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT		Unimport	Importan	
ROW PCT		ant	t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
-----				
Q17_R2				
1.00		57	38	95
Not very importa		60.0	40.0	39.6
		62.6	25.5	
-----				
2.00		34	111	145
Very important		23.4	76.6	60.4
		37.4	74.5	
-----				
COLUMN		91	149	240
TOTAL		37.9	62.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
31.04124	1	0.0000	36.021	NONE
32.57548	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19D\_R   Recode:Choose Jewish spouse   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19D_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT		Unimport	Importan	
ROW PCT		ant	t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
-----				
Q17_R2				
1.00		47	48	95
Not very importa		49.5	50.5	39.7
		66.2	28.6	
-----				
2.00		24	120	144
Very important		16.7	83.3	60.3
		33.8	71.4	
-----				
COLUMN		71	168	239
TOTAL		29.7	70.3	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
27.95174	1	0.0000	28.222	NONE
29.50187	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 7

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19E\_R Recode:Children marry Jews  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19E_R		
	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
	1.00	43	48	91
Not very importa		47.3	52.7	39.9
		70.5	28.7	
	2.00	18	119	137
Very important		13.1	86.9	60.1
		29.5	71.3	
	COLUMN TOTAL	61	167	228
		26.8	73.2	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
30.75512	1	0.0000	24.346	NONE
32.47263	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 18

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19F\_R Recode:Have Jewish friends  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19F_R		
	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00	38	59	97	
Not very importa	39.2	60.8	40.2	
	67.9	31.9		
2.00	18	126	144	
Very important	12.5	87.5	59.8	
	32.1	68.1		
COLUMN TOTAL	56	185	241	
	23.2	76.8	100.0	

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
21.64981	1	0.0000	22.539	NONE
23.12111	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19G\_R   Recode:Live in Jewish neighbourhood

..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19G_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	
COL PCT		ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		75	22	97
Not very importa		77.3	22.7	40.2
		53.6	21.8	
2.00		65	79	144
Very important		45.1	54.9	59.8
		46.4	78.2	
COLUMN		140	101	241
TOTAL		58.1	41.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
23.35018	1	0.0000	40.651	NONE
24.65429	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19H\_R   Recode:Culturally Jewish educ--children

..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19H_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	
COL PCT		ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		22	67	89
Not very importa		24.7	75.3	40.1
		88.0	34.0	
2.00		3	130	133
Very important		2.3	97.7	59.9
		12.0	66.0	
COLUMN		25	197	222
TOTAL		11.3	88.7	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
24.72316	1	0.0000	10.023	NONE
26.92413	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 24

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19I\_R Recode:Join Jewish community orgs  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19I_R		
	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00	46	50		96
Not very importa	47.9	52.1		40.2
	60.5	30.7		
2.00	30	113		143
Very important	21.0	79.0		59.8
	39.5	69.3		
COLUMN TOTAL	76	163		239
	31.8	68.2		100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
17.99664	1	0.0000	30.527	NONE
19.21866	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 7

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q19J\_R Recode:Contribute to Jewish fundraising  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19J_R		
	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
	1.00	35	61	96
Not very importa		36.5	63.5	39.8
		67.3	32.3	
	2.00	17	128	145
Very important		11.7	88.3	60.2
		32.7	67.7	
	COLUMN TOTAL	52	189	241
		21.6	78.4	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
19.44655	1	0.0000	20.714	NONE
20.88271	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5



----- C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F -----  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19K\_R   Recode:Volunteer in Jewish community  
 ----- PAGE 1 OF 1 -----

		Q19K_R		
COUNT		Unimport	Importan	ROW
ROW PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
-----				
Q17_R2				
1.00		63	32	95
Not very importa		66.3	33.7	39.9
		62.4	23.4	
2.00		38	105	143
Very important		26.6	73.4	60.1
		37.6	76.6	
-----				
COLUMN		101	137	238
TOTAL		42.4	57.6	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
35.29744	1	0.0000	40.315	NONE
36.90641	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 8

----- C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F -----  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q19L\_R   Recode:Paid subscriptions/Jewish magazin  
 ----- PAGE 1 OF 1 -----

		Q19L_R		
COUNT		Unimport	Importan	ROW
ROW PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
-----				
Q17_R2				
1.00		64	30	94
Not very importa		68.1	31.9	39.5
		52.0	26.1	
2.00		59	85	144
Very important		41.0	59.0	60.5
		48.0	73.9	
-----				
COLUMN		123	115	238
TOTAL		51.7	48.3	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.67419	1	0.0001	45.420	NONE
16.74234	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 8

**APPENDIX C****Hypothesis 2****Tables C-4**

**Significant cross - tabulations of importance of being ethnically Jewish and  
certain practices**

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20A\_R   Recode:Light candles Friday night  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20A_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2	1.00	76	21	97
	Not very important	78.4 49.7	21.6 23.6	40.1
	2.00	77	68	145
	Very important	53.1 50.3	46.9 76.4	59.9
COLUMN TOTAL		153 63.2	89 36.8	242 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
14.86560	1	0.0001	35.674	NONE
15.93294	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20B\_R   Recode:Participate in Passover Seder  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20B_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2	1.00	18	79	97
	Not very important	18.6 72.0	81.4 36.4	40.1
	2.00	7	138	145
	Very important	4.8 28.0	95.2 63.6	59.9
COLUMN TOTAL		25 10.3	217 89.7	242 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
10.39042	1	0.0013	10.021	NONE
11.82607	1	0.0006	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20C\_R   Recode:No work/school on High Holydays  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		Q20C_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2		1.00	2.00	
Not very important	1.00 47.4 68.7	46 52.6 30.0	51 83.8 70.0	97 40.6
Very important	2.00 16.2 33.3	23 83.8 70.0	119 59.4	142
COLUMN TOTAL		69 28.9	170 71.1	239 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
25.86450	1	0.0000	28.004	NONE
27.36392	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 7

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20D\_R   Recode:Fast on Yom Kippur  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		Q20D_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2		1.00	2.00	
Not very important	1.00 49.0 56.6	47 51.0 31.0	49 75.2 69.0	96 39.8
Very important	2.00 24.8 43.4	36 75.2 69.0	109 60.2	145
COLUMN TOTAL		83 34.4	158 65.6	241 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.84619	1	0.0002	33.062	NONE
14.89574	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q20F\_R Recode:Separate dishes meat/dairy  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20F_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Infrequent	Frequent	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		92	4	96
Not very importa		95.8	4.2	40.5
		45.5	11.4	
2.00		110	31	141
Very important		78.0	22.0	59.5
		54.5	88.6	
COLUMN		202	35	237
TOTAL		85.2	14.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.02675	1	0.0003	14.177	NONE
14.40765	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 9

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q20I\_R Recode:Attend Holocaust Remembrance  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20I_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Infrequent	Frequent	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
1.00		88	8	96
Not very importa		91.7	8.3	39.8
		44.4	18.6	
2.00		110	35	145
Very important		75.9	24.1	60.2
		55.6	81.4	
COLUMN		198	43	241
TOTAL		82.2	17.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
8.79350	1	0.0030	17.129	NONE
9.84213	1	0.0017	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20J\_R   Recode:Celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20J_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt		
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
	1.00	89	7	96
Not very importa		92.7	7.3	40.0
		43.8	18.9	
	2.00	114	30	144
Very important		79.2	20.8	60.0
		56.2	81.1	
	COLUMN TOTAL	203	37	240
		84.6	15.4	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
7.09493	1	0.0077	14.800	NONE
8.10012	1	0.0044	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q20K\_R   Recode:Attend Purim celebration   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20K_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt		
		1.00	2.00	
Q17_R2				
	1.00	76	21	97
Not very importa		78.4	21.6	40.2
		47.5	25.9	
	2.00	84	60	144
Very important		58.3	41.7	59.8
		52.5	74.1	
	COLUMN TOTAL	160	81	241
	TOTAL	66.4	33.6	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
9.52989	1	0.0020	32.602	NONE
10.40764	1	0.0013	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 017\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q21   Mezuzah on front door?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q21		
	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
		1	2	
017_R2				
1.00		53	44	97
Not very importa		54.6	45.4	40.2
		31.7	59.5	
2.00		114	30	144
Very important		79.2	20.8	59.8
		68.3	40.5	
	COLUMN	167	74	241
	TOTAL	69.3	30.7	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.25489	1	0.0001	29.784	NONE
16.38737	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 017\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q22A   Sons had ritual circumcision?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q22A		
	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
		1	2	
017_R2				
1.00		26	14	40
Not very importa		65.0	35.0	38.1
		31.0	66.7	
2.00		58	7	65
Very important		89.2	10.8	61.9
		69.0	33.3	
	COLUMN	84	21	105
	TOTAL	80.0	20.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
7.63522	1	0.0057	8.000	NONE
9.08654	1	0.0026	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 141

CROSS TABULATION OF  
Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q24 Proportion of Jewish friends  
PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q24					ROW TOTAL
		Under 10 %	10%-25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	Over 75%	
Q17_R2		1	2	3	4	5	
1.00 Not very importa	COUNT	24	19	21	20	13	97
	ROW PCT	24.7	19.6	21.6	20.6	13.4	40.4
	COL PCT	85.7	51.4	42.9	29.9	22.0	
2.00 Very important	COUNT	4	18	28	47	46	143
	ROW PCT	2.8	12.6	19.6	32.9	32.2	59.6
	COL PCT	14.3	48.6	57.1	70.1	78.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		28	37	49	67	59	240
		11.7	15.4	20.4	27.9	24.6	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
37.20090	4	0.0000	11.317	NONE

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

CROSS TABULATION OF  
Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q25A Visited Israel?  
PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q25A		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
Q17_R2		1	2	
1.00 Not very importa	COUNT	62	35	97
	ROW PCT	63.9	36.1	40.1
	COL PCT	33.7	60.3	
2.00 Very important	COUNT	122	23	145
	ROW PCT	84.1	15.9	59.9
	COL PCT	66.3	39.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		184	58	242
		76.0	24.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
11.95433	1	0.0005	23.248	NONE
13.04035	1	0.0003	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4



..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q25C\_R   Recode:Time spent in Israel  
..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		Q25C_R							
Q17_R2	COUNT	Up to 4	1-3 mont	3-6 mont	6-12 mon	1 year	1-3 year	Over 3 y	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT	weeks	hs	hs	ths	s	s	ears	
	COL PCT	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	7.00	
Not very importa	1.00	21	19	4	2	5	3	43	97
		21.6	19.6	4.1	2.1	5.2	3.1	44.3	40.1
		47.7	31.1	25.0	16.7	50.0	15.8	53.8	
Very important	2.00	23	42	12	10	5	16	37	145
		15.9	29.0	8.3	6.9	3.4	11.0	25.5	59.9
		52.3	68.9	75.0	83.3	50.0	84.2	46.3	
COLUMN		44	61	16	12	10	19	80	242
TOTAL		18.2	25.2	6.6	5.0	4.1	7.9	33.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE   D.F.   SIGNIFICANCE   MIN E.F.   CELLS WITH E.F. < 5  
.....  
18.65435   6   0.0048   4.008   2 OF 14 ( 14.3%)  
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   Q27   Type of Judaism you consider yourself  
..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		Q27						ROW TOTAL
Q17_R2	COUNT	Orthodox	Conserva	Reform	Reconstr	Just Jew	Secular	
	ROW PCT	tive	tive	tionis	ish	ish		
	COL PCT	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1.00		20	18	4	37	11		90
Not very importa		22.2	20.0	4.4	41.1	12.2		39.5
		27.4	45.0	28.6	52.9	68.8		
2.00		15	53	22	10	33	5	138
Very important		10.9	38.4	15.9	7.2	23.9	3.6	60.5
		100.0	72.6	55.0	71.4	47.1	31.3	
COLUMN		15	73	40	14	70	16	228
TOTAL		6.6	32.0	17.5	6.1	30.7	7.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE   D.F.   SIGNIFICANCE   MIN E.F.   CELLS WITH E.F. < 5  
.....  
26.43413   5   0.0001   5.526   NONE  
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 18

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q28A Current member of synagogue? PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q28A		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
COUNT	ROW PCT			
COL PCT		1	2	
Q17_R2				
1.00		37	58	95
Not very importa		38.9	61.1	39.6
		28.0	53.7	
2.00		95	50	145
Very important		65.5	34.5	60.4
		72.0	46.3	
COLUMN		132	108	240
TOTAL		55.0	45.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.31540	1	0.0001	42.750	NONE
16.37133	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q28B Type of synagogue PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q28B				ROW TOTAL
		Orthodox	Conserva tive	Reform	Other	
COUNT	ROW PCT					
COL PCT		1	2	3	4	
Q17_R2						
1.00		2	13	16	5	36
Not very importa		5.6	36.1	44.4	13.9	27.9
		6.9	28.3	48.5	23.8	
2.00		27	33	17	16	93
Very important		29.0	35.5	18.3	17.2	72.1
		93.1	71.7	51.5	76.2	
COLUMN		29	46	33	21	129
TOTAL		22.5	35.7	25.6	16.3	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.48669	3	0.0037	5.860	NONE

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 117

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY Q31B1   Informal J.educ: youth groups   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q31B1		
	COUNT	Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2		1	2	
Not very importa	1.00	36	47	83
		43.4	56.6	39.9
		29.5	54.7	
Very important	2.00	86	39	125
		68.8	31.2	60.1
		70.5	45.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		122	86	208
		58.7	41.3	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
12.26959	1	0.0005	34.317	NONE
13.29738	1	0.0003	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 38

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 Q17\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY Q31D1   Informal J.educ: at home   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q31D1		
	COUNT	Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT			
Q17_R2		1	2	
1.00	44	36		80
Not very importa	55.0	45.0		39.8
	32.1	56.3		
2.00	93	28		121
Very important	76.9	23.1		60.2
	67.9	43.8		
COLUMN TOTAL	137	64		201
	68.2	31.8		100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
9.62024	1	0.0019	25.473	NONE
10.60356	1	0.0011	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 45

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q33A Contribute to Israel-based charities?  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q33A		
		Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT			
COL PCT				
		1	2	
Q17_R2				
1.00		31	50	81
Not very importa		38.3	61.7	40.1
		26.1	60.2	
2.00		88	33	121
Very important		72.7	27.3	59.9
		73.9	39.8	
COLUMN TOTAL		119	83	202
		58.9	41.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
22.39462	1	0.0000	33.282	NONE
23.79678	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 44

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q33C Contribute to synagogues, temples?  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q33C		
		Yes	No	ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT			
COL PCT				
		1	2	
Q17_R2				
1.00		33	43	76
Not very importa		43.4	56.6	40.0
		28.4	58.1	
2.00		83	31	114
Very important		72.8	27.2	60.0
		71.6	41.9	
COLUMN TOTAL		116	74	190
		61.1	38.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.34730	1	0.0001	29.600	NONE
16.56008	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 56

----- CROSS TABULATION OF -----  
 Q17\_R2 Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish BY Q33D Contribute to local Jewish institutions?  
 ----- PAGE 1 OF 1 -----

		Q33D		
		Yes	No	ROW
				TOTAL
Q17_R2	COUNT			
	ROW PCT			
		1	2	
		COL PCT	COL PCT	
Not very importa	1.00	28	50	78
		35.9	64.1	40.2
		25.2	60.2	
Very important	2.00	83	33	116
		71.6	28.4	59.8
		74.8	39.8	
COLUMN		111	83	194
TOTAL		57.2	42.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
22.78553	1	0.0000	33.371	NONE
24.22014	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 52

## APPENDIX C

### Hypothesis 2

#### Tables C-5

Significant cross - tabulations of importance of being ethnically Jewish and the relative importance of certain attitudes and practices reported in the survey

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 017\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   034B\_R   Recode:Att/prac connect to Jewish people  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		034B_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Importan	Unimport	ROW
COL PCT	COL PCT	t	ant	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
017_R2				
1.00		81	13	94
Not very importa		86.2	13.8	40.2
		37.0	86.7	
2.00		138	2	140
Very important		98.6	1.4	59.8
		63.0	13.3	
COLUMN		219	15	234
TOTAL		93.6	6.4	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
12.42367	1	0.0004	6.026	NONE
14.41666	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 12

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 017\_R2   Recode 2:Importance ethnically Jewish   BY   034A\_R   Recode:Att/prac divinely ordained  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1 .....

		034A_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Importan	Unimport	ROW
COL PCT	COL PCT	t	ant	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
017_R2				
1.00		24	64	88
Not very importa		27.3	72.7	41.7
		27.6	51.6	
2.00		63	60	123
Very important		51.2	48.8	58.3
		72.4	48.4	
COLUMN		87	124	211
TOTAL		41.2	58.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
11.17199	1	0.0008	36.284	NONE
12.14013	1	0.0005	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 35

**APPENDIX C****Hypothesis 3****Tables C-6**

**Significant cross - tabulations between importance of being religiously Jewish and  
certain personal characteristics**



CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q13\_R Recode: Religion now  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q13_R		
		Jewish	Other	ROW TOTAL
Q18_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	86 87.8 37.1	12 12.2 100.0	98 40.2
Important	2.00	146 100.0 62.9		146 59.8
	COLUMN TOTAL	232 95.1	12 4.9	244 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
16.27485	1	0.0001	4.820	1 OF 4 ( 25.0%)
18.80225	1	0.0000		( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q14\_R Recode: Religion spouse born into  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q14_R		
		Jewish	Other	ROW TOTAL
Q18_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	39 39.8 30.7	59 60.2 50.4	98 40.2
Important	2.00	88 60.3 69.3	58 39.7 49.6	146 59.8
	COLUMN TOTAL	127 52.0	117 48.0	244 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
9.04931	1	0.0026	46.992	NONE
9.85274	1	0.0017		( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

		Q15_R		
		Jewish	Other	
COUNT	ROW PCT			ROW
COL PCT				TOTAL
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	41	57	98
		41.8	58.2	40.2
		28.9	55.9	
Important	2.00	101	45	146
		69.2	30.8	59.8
		71.1	44.1	
COLUMN		142	102	244
TOTAL		58.2	41.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
16.91223	1	0.0000	40.967	NONE
18.01855	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

**APPENDIX C****Hypothesis 3****Tables C-7**

**Significant cross - tabulations between importance of being religiously Jewish and  
certain attitudes**

Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19A\_R Recode: Maintain close ties to Israel  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19A_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	ROW
COL PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	48	50	98
		49.0	51.0	40.3
		60.0	30.7	
Important	2.00	32	113	145
		22.1	77.9	59.7
		40.0	69.3	
COLUMN		80	163	243
TOTAL		32.9	67.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
17.97731	1	0.0000	32.263	NONE
19.17655	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19B\_R Recode: Perform religious practices  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19B_R		
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	ROW
COL PCT		ant	t	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	80	18	98
		81.6	18.4	40.2
		82.5	12.2	
Important	2.00	17	129	146
		11.6	88.4	59.8
		17.5	87.8	
COLUMN		97	147	244
TOTAL		39.8	60.2	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
117.02807	1	0.0000	38.959	NONE
119.93248	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q19C\_R   Recode:Belong to a synagogue   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19C_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	65	33	98
		66.3	33.7	40.3
		70.7	21.9	
Important	2.00	27	118	145
		18.6	81.4	59.7
		29.3	78.1	
COLUMN TOTAL		92	151	243
		37.9	62.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
54.55942	1	0.0000	37.103	NONE
56.56901	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q19D\_R   Recode:Choose Jewish spouse   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19D_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	42	55	97
		43.3	56.7	40.2
		59.2	32.4	
Important	2.00	29	115	144
		20.1	79.9	59.8
		40.8	67.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		71	170	241
		29.5	70.5	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.86603	1	0.0002	28.577	NONE
14.95975	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

018\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   019E\_R   Recode:Children marry Jews   PAGE 1 OF 1

		019E_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	
COL PCT		ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
018_R				
	1.00	42	51	93
Unimportant		45.2	54.8	40.3
		67.7	30.2	
	2.00	20	118	138
Important		14.5	85.5	59.7
		32.3	69.8	
COLUMN		62	169	231
TOTAL		26.8	73.2	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
25.07333	1	0.0000	24.961	NONE
26.61226	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 15

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

018\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   019F\_R   Recode:Have Jewish friends   PAGE 1 OF 1

		019F_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport	Importan	
COL PCT		ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
018_R				
	1.00	35	63	98
Unimportant		35.7	64.3	40.3
		61.4	33.9	
	2.00	22	123	145
Important		15.2	84.8	59.7
		38.6	66.1	
COLUMN		57	186	243
TOTAL		23.5	76.5	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
12.62306	1	0.0004	22.988	NONE
13.74337	1	0.0002	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 018\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY 019G\_R Recode: Live in Jewish neighbourhood  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		019G_R		ROW TOTAL
018_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	73	25	98
		74.5	25.5	40.3
		51.8	24.5	
Important	2.00	68	77	145
		46.9	53.1	59.7
		48.2	75.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		141	102	243
		58.0	42.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
17.16508	1	0.0000	41.136	NONE
18.28041	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 018\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY 019H\_R Recode: Culturally Jewish educ--children  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		019H_R		ROW TOTAL
018_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	17	71	88
		19.3	80.7	39.1
		65.4	35.7	
Important	2.00	9	128	137
		6.6	93.4	60.9
		34.6	64.3	
COLUMN TOTAL		26	199	225
		11.6	88.4	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
7.31944	1	0.0068	10.169	NONE
8.52119	1	0.0035	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19I\_R Recode:Join Jewish community orgs  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19I_R		
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT		Unimport ant	Importan t	ROW TOTAL
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	50	48	98
		51.0	49.0	40.5
		64.9	29.1	
Important	2.00	27	117	144
		18.8	81.3	59.5
		35.1	70.9	
COLUMN TOTAL		77	165	242
		31.8	68.2	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
26.52452	1	0.0000	31.182	NONE
27.99227	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19J\_R Recode:Contribute to Jewish fundraising  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19J_R		
COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT		Unimport ant	Importan t	ROW TOTAL
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	34 34.7 64.2	64 65.3 33.7	98 40.3
	2.00	19 13.1 35.8	126 86.9 66.3	145 59.7
	COLUMN TOTAL	53 21.8	190 78.2	243 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
14.74333	1	0.0001	21.374	NONE
15.98429	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3



..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19K\_R Recode: Volunteer in Jewish community  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19K_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
	1.00	66	32	98
Unimportant		67.3	32.7	40.7
		64.1	23.2	
	2.00	37	106	143
Important		25.9	74.1	59.3
		35.9	76.8	
	COLUMN	103	138	241
	TOTAL	42.7	57.3	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
39.19152	1	0.0000	41.884	NONE
40.86862	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19L\_R Recode: Paid subscriptions/Jewish magazin  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19L_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Unimport ant	Importan t	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
	1.00	66	31	97
Unimportant		68.0	32.0	40.2
		52.8	26.7	
	2.00	59	85	144
Important		41.0	59.0	59.8
		47.2	73.3	
	COLUMN	125	116	241
	TOTAL	51.9	48.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.94394	1	0.0001	46.689	NONE
17.01092	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q19M\_R Recode: Speak Hebrew  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q19M_R		
Q18_R	COUNT	Unimport	Importan	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	ant	t	
		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	72 74.2 50.3	25 25.8 25.5	97 40.2
Important	2.00	71 49.3 49.7	73 50.7 74.5	144 59.8
	COLUMN TOTAL	143 59.3	98 40.7	241 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.90364	1	0.0002	39.444	NONE
14.91861	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

## APPENDIX C

## Hypothesis 3

## Tables C-8

Significant cross - tabulations between importance of being religiously Jewish and  
certain practices

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q20A\_R Recode: Light candles Friday night  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20A_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt	nt	
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
	1.00	84	14	98
	Unimportant	85.7 54.5	14.3 15.6	40.2
Important	2.00	70	76	146
		47.9	52.1	59.8
		45.5	84.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		154	90	244
		63.1	36.9	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
34.32768	1	0.0000	36.148	NONE
35.93175	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

CROSS TABULATION OF  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q20B\_R Recode: Participate in Passover Seder  
 PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20B_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt	nt	
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
	1.00	18	80	98
	Unimportant	18.4 72.0	81.6 36.5	40.2
Important	2.00	7	139	146
		4.8	95.2	59.8
		28.0	63.5	
COLUMN TOTAL		25	219	244
		10.2	89.8	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
10.31738	1	0.0013	10.041	NONE
11.74695	1	0.0006	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   Q20C\_R   Recode: No work/school on High Holydays  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20C_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Infrequent	Frequent	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	47	51	98
		48.0	52.0	40.7
		67.1	29.8	
Important	2.00	23	120	143
		16.1	83.9	59.3
		32.9	70.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		70	171	241
		29.0	71.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
27.14189	1	0.0000	28.465	NONE
28.66769	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   Q20D\_R   Recode: Fast on Yom Kippur  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20D_R		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Infrequent	Frequent	
COL PCT		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	52	45	97
		53.6	46.4	39.9
		61.9	28.3	
Important	2.00	32	114	146
		21.9	78.1	60.1
		38.1	71.7	
COLUMN TOTAL		84	159	243
		34.6	65.4	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
24.49470	1	0.0000	33.531	NONE
25.87683	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q20F\_R Recode: Separate dishes meat/dairy  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20F_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt	nt	
		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	96 98.0 47.5	2 2.0 5.4	98 41.0
Important	2.00	106 75.2 52.5	35 24.8 94.6	141 59.0
COLUMN TOTAL		202 84.5	37 15.5	239 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
21.22535	1	0.0000	15.172	NONE
22.93344	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 7

..... CROSS TABULATION OF .....  
 Q18\_R Recode: Importance religiously Jewish BY Q20G\_R Recode: Keep kosher outside home  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20G_R		
	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt	nt	
		1.00	2.00	
Q18_R				
Unimportant	1.00	95 96.9 44.0	3 3.1 11.1	98 40.3
Important	2.00	121 83.4 56.0	24 16.6 88.9	145 59.7
COLUMN TOTAL		216 88.9	27 11.1	243 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
9.45291	1	0.0021	10.889	NONE
10.77555	1	0.0010	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q20I\_R   Recode: Attend Holocaust Remembrance  
..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20I_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt		
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
	1.00	92	6	98
	Unimportant	93.9 46.0	6.1 14.0	40.3
Important	2.00	108	37	145
		74.5	25.5	59.7
		54.0	86.0	
COLUMN TOTAL		200	43	243
		82.3	17.7	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
13.80099	1	0.0002	17.342	NONE
15.10330	1	0.0001	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q20J\_R   Recode: Celebrate Yom Ha'atzmaut  
..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20J_R		
	COUNT	Infrequent	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt		
Q18_R		1.00	2.00	
	1.00	92	6	98
	Unimportant	93.9 45.1	6.1 15.8	40.5
Important	2.00	112	32	144
		77.8	22.2	59.5
		54.9	84.2	
COLUMN TOTAL		204	38	242
		84.3	15.7	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
10.23514	1	0.0014	15.388	NONE
11.41906	1	0.0007	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   Q20K\_R   Recode: Attend Purim celebration   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q20K_R		
Q18_R	COUNT	Infreque	Frequent	ROW TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT	nt		
		1.00	2.00	
Unimportant	1.00	82	16	98
		83.7	16.3	40.3
		50.9	19.5	
Important	2.00	79	66	145
		54.5	45.5	59.7
		49.1	80.5	
	COLUMN TOTAL	161	82	243
		66.3	33.7	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
21.00041	1	0.0000	33.070	NONE
22.28690	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3



..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

018\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   021   Mezuzah on front door?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		021		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
		1	2	
018_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT			
Unimportant	1.00	49 50.0 28.8	49 50.0 67.1	98 40.3
Important	2.00	121 83.4 71.2	24 16.6 32.9	145 59.7
	COLUMN TOTAL	170 70.0	73 30.0	243 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
29.55859	1	0.0000	29.440	NONE
31.12977	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....

018\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   024   Proportion of Jewish friends   PAGE 1 OF 1

		024					ROW TOTAL
		Under 10 %	10%-25%	25%-50%	50%-75%	Over 75%	
		1	2	3	4	5	
018_R	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT						
Unimportant	1.00	17 17.5 60.7	21 21.6 53.8	21 21.6 42.0	24 24.7 36.4	14 14.4 23.7	97 40.1
Important	2.00	11 7.6 39.3	18 12.4 46.2	29 20.0 58.0	42 29.0 63.6	45 31.0 76.3	145 59.9
	COLUMN TOTAL	28 11.6	39 16.1	50 20.7	66 27.3	59 24.4	242 100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
15.06576	4	0.0046	11.223	NONE

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q27   Type of Judaism you consider yourself   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q27						ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Orthodox	Conserva	Reform	Reconstr	Just Jew	Secular	
COL PCT		tive			uctionis	ish		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
Q18_R	1.00							
Unimportant		16	12	7	42	16		93
		17.2	12.9	7.5	45.2	17.2		40.4
		21.6	30.0	50.0	59.2	100.0		
	2.00							
Important		15	58	28	7	29		137
		10.9	42.3	20.4	5.1	21.2		59.6
		100.0	78.4	70.0	50.0	40.8		
COLUMN		15	74	40	14	71	16	230
TOTAL		6.5	32.2	17.4	6.1	30.9	7.0	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
57.29767	5	0.0000	5.661	NONE

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 16

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q28A   Current member of synagogue?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q28A		ROW TOTAL
COUNT	ROW PCT	Yes	No	
COL PCT				
		1	2	
Q18_R	1.00			
Unimportant		38	60	98
		38.8	61.2	40.5
		28.4	55.6	
	2.00			
Important		96	48	144
		66.7	33.3	59.5
		71.6	44.4	
COLUMN		134	108	242
TOTAL		55.4	44.6	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
17.24596	1	0.0000	43.736	NONE
18.35727	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 4

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   Q33C   Contribute to synagogues/temples?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q33C		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
COUNT	ROW PCT			
COL PCT	COL PCT			
		1	2	
Q18_R	1.00	29	46	75
Unimportant		38.7	61.3	39.1
		24.8	61.3	
	2.00	88	29	117
Important		75.2	24.8	60.9
		75.2	38.7	
COLUMN		117	75	192
TOTAL		60.9	39.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
24.13276	1	0.0000	29.297	NONE
25.64513	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 54

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F   .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY   Q33D   Contribute to local Jewish institutions?   PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q33D		ROW TOTAL
		Yes	No	
COUNT	ROW PCT			
COL PCT	COL PCT			
		1	2	
Q18_R	1.00	35	43	78
Unimportant		44.9	55.1	40.0
		31.5	51.2	
	2.00	76	41	117
Important		65.0	35.0	60.0
		68.5	48.8	
COLUMN		111	84	195
TOTAL		56.9	43.1	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
6.90242	1	0.0086	33.600	NONE
7.69976	1	0.0055	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 51

## APPENDIX C

### Hypothesis 3

#### Tables C-9

Significant cross - tabulations between importance of being religiously Jewish and the relative importance of certain attitudes and practices reported in the survey

..... C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F .....  
 Q18\_R   Recode: Importance religiously Jewish   BY Q34A\_R   Recode:Att/prac divinely ordained  
 ..... PAGE 1 OF 1

		Q34A_R		
Q18_R	COUNT	Importan	Unimport	ROW
	ROW PCT COL PCT	t	ant	TOTAL
		1.00	2.00	
1.00		19	68	87
Unimportant		21.8	78.2	41.2
		22.1	54.4	
2.00		67	57	124
Important		54.0	46.0	58.8
		77.9	45.6	
	COLUMN	86	125	211
	TOTAL	40.8	59.2	100.0

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
20.63233	1	0.0000	35.460	NONE
21.94533	1	0.0000	( BEFORE YATES CORRECTION )	

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 35