Rethinking Jewish Vitality:
Exploring Sources of Significance, Affection and Change
In Traditional Jewish Ritual Observance

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
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2001
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Abstract

Jewish survival in the Diaspora has always been complicated by the challenge to 'successfully' integrate into a host culture and yet remain distinctive. Some scholars see increases in North American Jews' generation status (distance from the immigrant experience) and success as an indicator and/or determinant of perceived losses to ethnic attachment. Others emphasize the additive dimension and significance of creative reconstructions of ethnic modalities into alternate bases of ethnic commitment.

Deep disagreements over style and substance keep the Jewish vitality (continuity) debate at a stalemate. While ethnicity researchers are increasingly aware of the misspecification biases inherent in our current crop of assumptions, definitions and measures, they have been slow to revise their tools. To this end, over a period of thirty months, 100 in-depth, life history oriented interviews were conducted exploring the nature of Jewish identities, specifically the vitality of traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO), articulated by non-immigrant members, typically parents and offspring, of Toronto-based non-Orthodox, Jewish endogamous and intermarried households.
Variation was unearthed in the priorities deemed significant to one's TJRO (personal, familial, social, congregational-communal, ancestral-historical or universal-mystical) and the emotional orientations (active or passive) that accompany these expressions. Importantly, performing many TJRO was not necessarily indicative of vitality in this area and those performing little TJRO were sometimes more committed to the few ritual observances they chose to maintain.

The long interview format provided ample time to explore the dynamics of people's Jewish journeys. Various factors emerged and/or were assessed as agents of change and (dis)affection. Most notably, it was discovered that generation status was not a reliable predictor of Jewish vitality; it is operationally and conceptually problematic and obscures the important effects of other potentially interacting factors like differential immigrant starting points, period, and intrafamilial processes. In addition, charges of ethnic losses owing to intermarriage were found oversimplified and misdirected in light of 5 mediating variables. Other factors were identified, implications for further research noted and policy directives suggested. It was concluded that greater awareness and respect for Jewish plurality and a democratization of legitimate claims to Jewish authenticity could function to encourage and sustain ethnic attachment.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I formally began this project winter 1996 but have been fascinated by the issues explored herein ever since I can remember. Doing a qualitative study of this nature is an all-consuming labor of love, which is not to say that not unlike the birthing process there are not some rather excruciating pains associated with the delivery process. Nevertheless, nurturing this project from conception to completion has been an experience of a lifetime. There are so many people who generously shared of themselves and their time without whom I would not be in this position; to them I am forever indebted and thankful beyond measure.

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incredible group of study participants. While it is impossible to cite all 100 here by name (for reasons of space and privacy), if it were possible I would surely love to do so, as were it not for they, whose patience and generosity rarely ceased to amaze me, this project would not have come to pass. There is no drama as captivating and edifying as the human drama. I often wished it were possible to more completely detail the complete stories of my wonderful participants, but alas, at least in this format, such was not in the cards. I have no words capable of sufficiently describing how grateful I am to all of you who let me into your lives and shared with me your joys and sorrows about your Jewish journeys, such that we might together create a better Jewish world for us all. Further, much gratitude goes out to the countless, sometimes nameless, informal participants met in the field whose friendship and insights informed and shaped this work. Key persons of a formal or informal nature, who were integral and/or instructive to the process from whence this project comes include Carla Greenspan-Roter, Jewish Sociologist Jay Brodbar and Interfaith counselor Eva Goldfinger. The arduous, often isolating, nature of the write up phase of this work, make extra special the friendships I have made and sustained during the course of this process. In no particular order, thanks in this regard go to David and Dana Render, Julie Waxman, Suzanna Shankman, Steven and Evelyn, Mara Lebame and Michael, Somara, Susie, Barry, Tracey Aaron, Alan, Steven, Zillah Diamond, Shana and Jennifer. Also, I would like to thank all the families who welcomed me into their homes and ensured that I always had what to eat for Passover, Rosh Hashana and Shabat/Friday night dinners.

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For Len,

One of my main sources of significance, affection and change—
You never cease to amaze me.
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Chapter One

Introduction

I. Issue: Time and Ethnic ‘Continuity’ in a New Context

There are many ideologically and emotionally charged questions about ethnicity. Impassioned debates on the subject can be heard, or found, in coffee shops, classrooms, boardrooms, periodicals, cyberspace, and other places. North American scholars, community leaders, and ethnic members alike, continue to disagree about the meaning of ethnic identification and what happens to ethnic identities over successive generations in a new place. In a post-1960s era of individual choice, rights consciousness, self-fulfillment, and a seemingly ever-increasing distrust of organized authority structures and ‘totalizing’ discourses, how are we to conceive of ethnicity? More to the point, what is the current and foreseeable status of ethnic affiliations and affinities? Are ethnic-specific attachments disappearing? Or, rather, are they simply being redefined and/or refashioned?

One group, in particular, for whom these issues are especially complex, is the Jewish group. There remains no consensus as to the properties needed to measure the varied expressions and interpretations of Jewishness, let alone the primary glue that hangs the group together (Lipset 1991; Shapiro 1997; Waxman 1990; Webber 1994; Winter 1996). Namely, is Jewishness a religion, race, nationality, or ethnicity? Gans (1994), for instance, wonders whether the Jewish group is to be treated as an ethnic group with religious properties or a religious group with ethnic properties (see also Webber 1997). Further, conflicting images abound both within and without concerning the highly sensitive and contested topic of ‘who is a Jew’ and ‘what is Jewish enough’ (Brodey 1997; Greenberg 1999; Hyman 1998; Rubin-Dorsky and Fisher Fishkin 1996; Schiffman 1999; Schleifer 2000; Yuval-Davis 1994). While Canadian based studies investigating
the differential social incorporation/ethnic identity retention patterns of various white European groups typically find that the Jewish members of the sample are “high retainers” (Driedger 1975, 1977; Isajiw 1990; Weinfeld 1985), the notion of Jews as an “ever-dying people” endures. In fact, the Jewish group, its pro-endogamous reputation notwithstanding, is also experiencing rising intermarriage rates, disaffiliation, secularization, a breakdown in ethnic boundaries, and residential dispersion. Indeed, diverse portraits and possible future scenarios of contemporary North American Jewry have been drawn (Brym 1993; Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993; Cohen 1995; Heilman 1995; Mayer 1992; Torczyner et al 1995; Waxman 1990).³

II. Brief Historical Sketch of Toronto Jewry⁴

Any attempt to understand the present status and the future of an ethnic community is well served by at least a brief introduction into its past.⁵ Assessments of how ‘well’ an ethnic group is faring are often based on monolithic idealized conceptions of the immigrant. The great variety of imported ‘baggage’, competing coping styles and differential starting points forged in a new context make it hard to assess from whence an immigrant group has come. In the Toronto Jewish context there have been distinctive immigration periods, or waves, that have influenced the character of Toronto Jewry. For instance, most of the first Jews who settled in Toronto in the

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¹ The inter-group analyses conducted by these researchers are based however on data collected in the late 70's and perhaps since then Canadian Jewish communities have ‘caught up’ or turned toward a more assimilationist course. That said, there is current evidence of flourishing, vibrant Jewish life in Canada (Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993; Torczyner al 1995; Tulchinsky 1998).

² As prototypical experts, you might say, in the art of adaptation without complete assimilation, the discourse of fear of the group’s demise function to rejuvenate and reawaken Jewish consciousness if it has indeed become dormant. See also Simon Rawidowicz (1974), Studies in Jewish Thought, for an appreciation of the endurance of this image since ancient times.

³ See symposium featured in Moment's December 1997 issue considering the differing perspectives of 14 serious spokespersons regarding what will American Jews look like and where are they going in the 21st Century.

⁴ The brief excerpt offered here is intended to provide a historical backdrop against which the Jewish vitality patterns expressed in this study are to be understood. See Kage (1962), Paris (1980), Rosenberg 1993[1938], Rosenberg (1970), Sack (1965), Speisman (1979), Tulchinsky (1992, 1993, 1998) and Vigod (1984) for more comprehensive accounts.

⁵ Steinberg (1989a) suggests that when ethnicity is taken out of historical context the cultural traits associated with an ethnic group get inaccurately accorded independent explanatory power. Such obscures the contextual basis of ethnic identity patterns.
mid-nineteenth century⁶ were middle class British⁷ pioneering merchants⁸ who were integrated into and by no means ostracized by the wider Christian society (see Speisman 1979; Kayfetz 1959).⁹ The purchasing of land for a Jewish cemetery in 1849 and the establishment of Bond Street synagogue¹⁰ in 1897 represent the formal establishment of this first small Toronto Jewish community. Immigrant adaptation to life in Toronto for the Jews of the ‘original’ community was eased by the absence of linguistic and cultural barriers as the majority had lived in Britain or the United States. Although Toronto never encountered an influential contingent of German Jews compared to American locales like New York and Ohio, “in the 1840s the arrival of only a few was significant” (Speisman 1979: 13).¹¹ Many German Jews imported influential Enlightenment philosophies such as Moses Mendelssohn’s celebration of Jewish universalism over Jewish particularism, an important precursor to the modern Reform movement. Tulchinsky (1992) suggests that the absence of a German migration to Canada large enough to disturb or replace the traditionalist orientation of the community is one factor contributing to the difficulties associated with extrapolating from the American Jewish experience. Nevertheless, the presence of differential ideological commitments was significant enough even at this early stage to require continual compromise between traditionalist and reformer factions to avoid a split in

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⁶ A limited presence of a few Jewish individuals can be traced to the early 1800s (Sack 1965; Speisman 1979). A more sustained Jewish presence developed in the 1840s. The 1846 Canadian Census recorded twelve Jews in Toronto. Two years later twenty-seven Jewish persons were estimated.

⁷ Canadian Jewish historiography paints a community “deriving its inspirations and standards from a British source and fulfilling its modest needs as a group on the Western European pattern”(Kayfetz 1959: 25).

⁸ For example, some of the earliest Jewish immigrants set themselves up as clothiers, jewelers, and piano merchants in the prime commercial area (King Street during this period). This contrasts with the later group of Eastern European Jewish settlers who were lacking in capital resources but equipped with other assets from being artisans and ‘middlemen’ in their countries of origin (Kage 1981; Steinberg 1989a).

⁹ Notably, non-Jews contributed to fund-raising appeals to build the Bond Street synagogue.

¹⁰ See Brown (1972), Kayfetz (1959), Rose (1959), Speisman (1979), for more detailed accounts of the story of Holy Blossom (formerly Bond Street synagogue/The Hebrew Sons of Israel congregation). The Hebrew (Sons of Israel) congregation loosely banded in 1849 established itself on the third floor above a drug store at the corner of Richmond and Yonge streets in 1856. It changed its name to Holy Blossom and obtained its first synagogue site on Richmond Street in 1875, erected a new synagogue on Bond Street in 1897, and moved to its current Toronto location on Bathurst Street in 1937. According to Speisman (1979), the Toronto Hebrew congregation did not secure an ordained religious leader until 1890.

¹¹ Most of the German Jews arriving in Toronto in the mid-nineteenth century had spent time on American soil.
the small Toronto Jewish community. The lack of "institutional completeness"\textsuperscript{12} of the group is more reflective of its relatively small size and means that it is indicative of its religious homogeneity. Speisman notes (1979: 46) that from 1890 onwards Holy Blossom (formerly Bond Street synagogue/The Hebrew Sons of Israel congregation) "became a curious mixture of Orthodox and Reform elements and the minister had to walk a thin line between the two" to avoid fragmentation (see also Schoenfeld 1981: 133).

The second period (1900 to 1945)\textsuperscript{13} of Jewish immigration was the influx of Eastern European Jews who came fleeing economic hardships,\textsuperscript{14} insufferable socio-political conditions and pogroms\textsuperscript{15} that persisted through the 1880s until the early 1920s (see Vigod 1984).\textsuperscript{16} By 1911, there were 18,294 Jews residing in Toronto up from 3,103 just a decade before. It is important to note that contrary to popular mythologies of pious beginnings, "the great wave of Jewish immigration to Canada was neither strongly devout or religiously observant" (Weinfeld 1990: 92). In fact, the rabbinical authorities in Eastern Europe tried to dissuade their co-religionists not to go to what they feared to be a \textit{treife medine}\textsuperscript{17}—literally an unkosher place that had been polluted by secularism and materialism. Paris (1980), Sklare (1993) and Sorin (1997) further

\textsuperscript{12} Breton (1964: 194) coined this term to refer to the ability of the ethnic community to contain and facilitate interpersonal relations with co-ethnics. The institutional completeness of a group was seen as greatest when "the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members, members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of their needs..."

\textsuperscript{13} The mass migration of Jews from Eastern Europe (1890s to the onset of World War I) coincided with Clifford Sifton, Canadian Minister of the Interior's massive push for agricultural settlement of the West. In general, Canada needed immigrants to open up the land (See Hawkins 1991; Shaffir and Weinfeld 1981).

\textsuperscript{14} What initially started as an economically motivated migration of Eastern European Jews who had been impoverished due to overpopulation and limited sources for livelihood after the abolition of serfdom turned into mass migratory movements wrought by the onset of pogroms.

\textsuperscript{15} After 1870, Jews in the Pale of Settlement lived in fear of periodic pillaging, destruction of property, rape and massacre, bloodbaths that were targeted against them by the serfs/peasants (Kayfetz 1959; Paris 1980; Tulchinsky 1992). Even before the pogroms, Jews under Czar Nicholas rule had faced restrictions as to where they could live, what they could do, the schooling Jewish children received, and Jewish boys eight to nine years old were conscripted to the Russian army for 25 years of service (Paris 1980). The 1897 Russian census shows that of the five million Jews reported as living in Russia, 94 percent were forced to reside in the Pale of Settlement (15 western and southwestern Russian provinces, 10 Polish provinces, and several Ukrainian and Lithuanian provinces).

\textsuperscript{16} In the Ukraine, for instance, "100,000 Jews died in the pogroms which accompanied the civil war of 1918–1920. As many as 200,000 East European Jewish civilians were slaughtered, or starved, or frozen to death between 1914 and 1920" (Vigod 1984: 6).

\textsuperscript{17} See Appendix A for Jewish Vocabulary list where Jewish words and expressions are defined and identified on the basis of their origin and/or colloquial usage where appropriate.
demystify the image of the religiously oriented Jewish immigrant who clings tenaciously to 'Old World' ways. Sklare (1993: 32) suggests that many of the Eastern European Jewish immigrants coming at the turn of the century were "at best nominally Orthodox" and "had already felt the impact of secularization before they left Europe." According to Weinfeld (1990: 91-2), "Zionists of every political stripe, socialists, Bundists, Yiddishists, territorialists, anarchists, assimilationists, and others could be found among the Canadian Jewish immigrants." He suggests further that the "first two decades of the twentieth century were turbulent years of ideological debate as Europe's Jews struggled to discover answers to the perplexing 'Jewish question'" of how to be Jewish in the modern era (91).

The continued entry of Eastern European Jews to Toronto increased after World War I, and also, in part due to restrictive immigration to America by the 1920s.18 By 1921, the Toronto Jewish population had grown to 35,000 and approximately 47,000 by 1931.19 This dynamic period of growth set the stage for the proliferation of Jewish institutional structures catering to the differential needs of the community. *Landmanschaften*—mutual aid20 and fraternal organizations distinguished according to the specific town or region in Eastern Europe from which the immigrant families came—in particular played a pivotal role (see Paris 1980; Speisman 1979; Weinfeld 1990).21 Between 1931 and 194122 however the Toronto Jewish community had its smallest rate of growth since the turn of the century. During 1933 and 1939 the Canadian

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18 The Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) was established in 1919 in reaction to restrictive Canadian immigration policies introduced in 1918. Kallen (1977) ties the dormancy of the CJC in the 1920s to economic incorporation and low inter-group tensions and its re-establishment in 1934 to a rise in overt expressions of anti-Semitism noteworthy of the 1930s.

19 In 1931 there were 300 Jewish institutions facilitating the maintenance of interaction with co-ethnics (Torczyner et al 1995).


21 Jewish philanthropic societies sprung up to aid poor immigrants. New religious congregations and schools, founded by families from particular East European regions, also emerged to satisfy the tastes, preferences, social links and need for socio-cultural familiarity (e.g., Adath Israel 'Roumanian' congregation, and Eitz-Chaim Jewish school formed by Polish Jews). Synagogues often served as communal gathering points to bring fellow Jews together.
government turned its back on Jewish refugees seeking to escape Nazism. Only 4000 out of 800,000 Jews seeking refuge entered Canada during this period (Abella and Troper 1981; Paris 1980; Tulchinsky 1998). Blair, the official in charge of deciding who came to Canada during this time “expressed a personal distaste for Jews and especially for ‘certain of their habits’ [and] saw them as unassimilable” (Abella and Troper 1981: 53).

Another wave of Jewish immigrants to influence the character of Toronto Jewry is the “Displaced Persons, refugees from the horrors and uncertainties of postwar Europe” (Weinfeld 1990: 92). Between 1947 and 1952 immigration to Canada opened up and 11,064 of the 98,057 displaced Jews from Europe entered Canada. The transformation of Displaced Persons into Holocaust survivors did not occur until the conspiracy of silence about the atrocities of the Holocaust had been broken and the Holocaust was intricately tied to one’s Jewish consciousness—the ‘Never Again’ ideology firmly planted (Tulchinsky 1998; Weinfeld 1990). Various Toronto Jewish organizations were instituted to facilitate the integration of these World War II refugees (e.g., providing free loans and low cost housing). Holocaust survivors varied in terms of their circumstances—experienced internment, hiding or involvement in the Underground, had no or some surviving familial relations, ties in Toronto—and adaptive strategies (e.g., some turned towards and others rejected religious involvement, some were vocal and others silent about the atrocities). Barriers to education and employment for Toronto Jews, “the public voice of anti-Semitism” (Paris 1980: 97), began to break down with learning of the

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22 Curbed Canadian Jewish immigration commenced in the Depression era. Kayfetz (1959) refers to this stage as a ‘sub-static period’.
23 Economic interests and prejudicial public attitudes to certain ethnic groups appear to have guided Canada’s immigration policies rather than social justice principles (Abella and Troper 1981; Abella 1996).
24 Jews were cast at the bottom with other “non-preferred immigrants” such as Asians and Blacks (Abella and Troper 1981: 52). “British and American immigrants were considered most desirable followed by North Europeans. Other Europeans were tolerated and non-whites were not welcome” (Hawkins 1991; Manpower and Immigration 1974). This prestige hierarchy was based on ethnocentric beliefs propagated by the high status group based on the perceived ease of assimilability, physical and cultural distance from the traits valued by the dominant group (Porter 1965). Delegitimization of unwanted immigrants, using derogatory labels and ill-founded biological arguments, was achieved to justify exclusion.
disturbing reality of the Holocaust. Post-war prosperity in the 1950s and 1960s helped strengthen further the Toronto Jewish institutional fabric. By 1981, Toronto superceded Montreal as the largest center of Canadian Jewry, and in 1991 it made up 45.6 percent of the Canadian Jewish community with 162,605 residents. More recently large infusions of Jewish immigrants from the former USSR, Israel, South Africa and the States has added yet another dimension to the evolving shape of Toronto Jewry.

III. Assimilationist/Transformationist Debate

Jews living in the Diaspora have always been concerned with the difficulties of integration, gaining full incorporation into the wider society, and yet ensuring that the distinctiveness of their culture remains intact. Sociologists of North American Jewry are divided along a continuum of 'pessimistic' and 'optimistic' positions as to the current status and future of Jewry as it attempts to cope with increased distance from the immigration experience, increased interethnic social interactions and reduced external threats of overt hostilities.

Pessimists, typically assimilationists suggest that decreasing fertility rates, aging communities, rising intermarriage rates, diminishing Jewish ritual adherence, residential dispersion, more
universalistic philanthropy, and increasing detachment from Israel as an identity symbol, portend the trivialization and dissipation of Jewish identities (Brym 1993; Dershowitz 1996; Heilman 1995; Ritterband 1995). These researchers also highlight the vulnerabilities of the moderately affiliated, by detailing the increasing polarization of ethnic groups towards a small group of active “persisters”/“revivers” and an expanding group for whom their Jewishness carries minimal weight. Optimists, typically transformationists point alternatively to the increasing “institutional completeness” of Jewish communities, selective prioritization and redefinition of ‘traditional’ Jewish rituals, the emergence of ‘new’ Jewish identity markers, alternate bases of Jewish cohesion, and the demographic gains from Jewish conversion due to intermarriage (Cohen 1988; Goldscheider 1986; Silberman 1985). Transformationists or pluralists increasingly recognize that ethnic identities evolve to meet the exigencies of a new geographical and temporal context (Isajiw 1999; Mars 1999; Sorin 1997; Stoller 1996; Yancey et al., 1976). Like the broader assimilation/pluralism debate, with respect to Jews in the North American Diaspora, what one researcher views as content-less continuity and “symbolic religiosity” another interprets as ‘renaissance,’ revitalization and redefinition.

Inherent to the contentiousness of either position, namely claiming ethnic attachment as tenacious, reconstituted, or alternatively, weakened and marginal over time, is the problem of how to assess the vitality of ethnic affinities. Inconclusive trends abound in part because of the differential standards, criteria or variables accessible, or applied, to describe and interpret variation in ethnic identity. A stalemate situation between those that identify losses in ethnic

29 Reitz (1980) differentiates between persisters and revivers in making sense of the ethnic identity retention, survivalist patterns, of the third generation, the former having been raised in households where ethnic identity retention was evident and the latter not having experienced such ethnic socialization.

30 I will elaborate further in the literature review on Gans’s (1994) notion of symbolic religiosity. Essentially, Gans (1994) has come up with a parallel term to his 1979 concept of ‘symbolic ethnicity’. Similar to the latter, ‘symbolic religiosity’ refers to the consumption of religious symbols outside the organizational fabric and ongoing culture for purposes of feeling and being identified as a member of a particular group. In short, he speculates “a form of religiosity detached from affiliation and observance” (Gans 1994: 578).
attachment and those that interpret maintenance or renewal owing to changes in the meaning and content of such ties, exists in part because of a "dearth of sophisticated and/or analytically informed sociological research" and "unarticulated normative assumptions" (Brodbar-Nemzer 1988: 68). Prior research suffers from limited measures, elitist standards, inconsistent usage and disagreement over 'key' indices of Jewish identity, omission of relevant variables, ahistorical decontextualized analyses, reliance on cross-sectional 'snapshot' surveys, and potential discrepancies between researcher-defined and emic/nativist notions of Jewish identity criteria. For instance, Silberman (1985: 175) argues that "[b]y focusing on a few measures of religiosity or ethnicity, such as the use of Yiddish or observance of the dietary laws, one can produce a picture of straight-line decline. But to look only at these and to ignore the increased observance of other rituals or the emergence of new ways by which [North] American Jews express their Jewishness is to provide a distorted picture of what is happening." Further, while few scholars would argue with the fact that many people experience their ethnic identities as ineffable (primordial), there is nonetheless a tendency in the ethnic identity literature to overlook the significance emotions, motivations and meanings play in people's 'ethnic' lives.

31 Ruskay and Rubin Kurshan (1999: 83) note that after ten years of heightened interest in Jewish continuity following the American 1991 National Jewish Population Survey's citation of an explosive rise in intermarriage Jewish renewal, namely "new expressions of Jewish engagement" are being appreciated.

32 See Cohen (1989) for the distortion that emerges by ignoring the complexity and variety in Jewishness of the masses and invoking instead the elitist conceptions of 'the good Jew' to comprehend the Jewish identity patterns of the former.

33 The problem with not controlling for 'historical time' (Clausen 1986) or the intersection between 'personal troubles' and 'public issues' (C. Wright Mills 1959) is exemplified nicely with using orientation to Israel as a measure of Jewish identity retention. For example, Israel does not mean the same things to younger North American Jews as it does to earlier cohorts who experienced the impact of the Six Day War (1967) and the Yom Kippur War (1973) when the survival of the Jewish nation state was seriously in doubt.

34 As part of a presentation on 'Jewish Identity in the New Millennium', February 3, 1997, to a packed audience at York University, demographer DellaPergola acknowledged the difficulties in making 'accurate' Jewish population estimates due to the flexibility and fluidity of ethnic commitment and boundaries.

35 In tune with Emke's (1996: 79) appeal for restoring creativity and combating "the impoverishment of the imagination in Sociology" by challenging the separation of researcher and subject, re-valuing the subject, "studying up instead of studying down," this study focuses on how participants constructed, felt and thought about their Jewish identities (85).
Interrmarriage is often upheld as a crucial factor in retarding ethnic identity retention or frustrating ethnic identity formation in consecutive generations (Isajiw 1999; Laserwitz 1995; Lieberson and Waters 1990; Parsonson 1987). Indeed, within the North American Jewish continuity debate Cohen (1989: 33) indicates, "[a]lmost every expression of doubt about the quality of [North] American Jewish life or about its future includes, or even begins with, a discussion of intermarriage." Like other North American cities, Toronto evidences growing Jewish intermarriage. Unfortunately, it is very hard to gauge exactly how much intermarriage is occurring as sources vary in their methods, and perhaps not surprisingly, in their estimations. For instance, Brodbar-Nemzer et al (1993) report that three percent of pre-1961 Jewish marriages in Toronto were intermarriages (one percent conversionary and two percent mixed marriages) compared to thirty percent since 1986 (ten percent conversionary, twenty percent mixed).\footnote{The authors do not identify where they obtained their data. Interpreting this data is constrained by the inclusion of divorce/separated participants who may in fact be endogamously remarried, failing to distinguish serial and later order intermarriers, informal Jewish conversions and formal conversions that take place after marriage (e.g., time of first child or after sensitization to Jewish culture).} 1991 Census data reveal non-conversionary mixed marriage rates for Toronto Jewry below ten percent (see Torczyner et al 1995).\footnote{This figure is deflated in part because it does not include conversionary unions and perhaps conceals informal ethnic conversions.} A 1990 survey of 1400 Toronto Jewish households, sixteen percent of which constituted intermarried households (six percent conversionary and ten percent mixed marriages) found intermarriage to increase across generations and be more common among younger Jews (Brodbar et al 1993). Concern also exists over the rising number of non-conversionary Jewish intermarriages as these marriages are seen by some to display less of the 'traditional' Jewish markers and decreased intergenerational Jewish 'continuity'\footnote{For instance, Brodbar et al (1993) suggests that 39 percent of non-conversionary Jewish exogamous couples identify their offspring as Jewish. This figure however does not consider how many of the 61 percent are children from former non-Jewish unions, or how many assign their offspring an ethnic identity at all, or what proportion see their child as partially Jewish.} compared to their conversionary counterparts\footnote{Conversionary couples are more similar to Jewish in-married couples in terms of their traditional Jewish ritual adherence, albeit not always their organizational, friendship links and ties to Israel.} (e.g., Brodbar et al 1993; Mayer 1989; Sandberg 1986). There is a tendency to cite increased intermarriage rates as proof positive of net losses in ethnic
attachment. However, this may be misleading as it presumes intermarriage in and of itself to be “the litmus test of assimilation” (Jiobu 1988: 149). Imperfect comprehension of the role of intermarriage in explaining inter- and intra-generational persistence and transformation of Jewish identity will remain until we stop treating intermarriage as a “simple yes-or-no measure” and instead “transform a long-held dichotomy into a variable” (Yinger 1994:158).

IV. Interest in the Problem

This project was primarily born out of perceived shortcomings with the extant tools for measuring ethnic identity retention generally and Jewish attachment specifically, and the paucity of knowledge we have for understanding the role ethnicity continues to play in consecutive generations and differing familial contexts. For instance, it has been very popular to use ethnic residential concentration as a means to assess ethnic identity maintenance or commitment. However, what can we really infer from residence in a high versus a low Jewish density area? We do not know whether people, financial ability permitting, would ultimately choose to live in ‘desired’ Jewish areas, how neighborly are they, and with whom they choose to spend their ‘off work’ time if they have any. Has car culture,40 privatization of family life, postponed marriages and childlessness rendered this ethnic identity measure less useful?41 What is a ‘low Jewish density’ resident’s actual relationship to these more concentrated ‘Jewish’ areas? Is there a particular close knit quality to Jewish social interactions in ‘low’ Jewish density areas because of their size? That is, do Jews in these areas attach extra special significance to making Jewish contact and creating Jewish communal resources? Further, proliferation in Jewish residential

40 Gillis and Whitehead (1971) argue that with advances in transportation and communication systems ethnic communities can endure in spite of lessening residential concentration.
41 The Internet is also facilitating time-space compression, putting us close together with people and resources across time and space coordinates. For some, it is changing the way they experience their ethnicity, participating in chat lines on Jewish topics, spending hours on Jewish singles sites, networking with Jews locally and globally, keeping posted on Jewish activities, staying current on communal opportunities, acquiring Jewish knowledge, and experiencing Jewish traditions on-line.
options—‘in’ areas for Jews to live—demands inquiry beyond just numbers to a focus on what motivates people’s residential choices, how what they choose shapes and is influenced by their Jewishness, and their perception of the nature of Jewish life in the area.

Despite a ‘new’ awareness of the ongoing construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of ethnicity over time and space (Chervyakov et al. 1997; Isajiw 1999; Kivisto 1989; Mars 1999; Nagel 1994; Stoller 1996; Ury 2000), we have to date a limited appreciation of the meanings of these changes. Due to disagreements over the criteria for measuring the enigma of Jewish identity and how to interpret variation in ethnic expression, there has been an appeal for qualitative research to illuminate the nature of the persisting and/or emergent elements of ethnic identity (Cohen 1991; Gans 1994, 1999; Phillips 1991). While Liebman (1988, 1989) challenges the authenticity—Jewish character and depth of commitment—of selective (supposedly diluted) reformulated ethnic forms, Cohen (1989) suggests that we need to know more about how people express their Jewishness and the meanings they attribute to their engagement in ‘distinctively Jewish’ practices. By conducting in-depth life history oriented interviews this project brought into relief distortions (under- or over-estimating quality and intensity of identification) and distinguished nuances that are typically masked by a failure to explore the internal—affective and cognitive—underpinnings of behavioral and attitudinal measures. This in-depth Toronto-

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42 One area that is experiencing a rejuvenating Jewish presence is ‘downtown’ Toronto. This trend has been dubbed as “reverse migration”—people moving out of the suburbs and settling in varied downtown residential pockets sometimes to the shock of parents and grandparents who worked hard to escape at the time congested, cramped and for some roach and rodent infested living conditions. Breckenridge (1998) observes that as Jews put down ‘new’ roots in the downtown core Jewish schools, services, synagogues flourish as Jewish urbanites flow in from the suburbs. In fact, there now exists a downtown Jewish day school, the first full-time facility of its kind in the core of the city, demonstrating renewed interest among some boomers in their Jewish roots, religion and culture. The Downtown Jewish Council, just six years ago made up of only a handful of members has grown to include twenty-three organizations, some just recently formed. While living downtown is back in fashion in general, for Jews this is also the case with 15,000 Jews residing in the city’s core in 1991 up from approximately 12,000 in 1981.

43 For example, Weinfeld (1994: 249) questions whether putative objective indices of residential segregation are indeed “capturing the current realities of urban ethnic life”.

44 While previous research recognizes the subjective dimension of ethnic identity (Isajiw 1990, 1999; Reitz 1980; Yinger 1994), exploring the interrelationship between the socio-psychological (internal stuff) and external manifestations of ethnicity is still underdeveloped.
based study of post-immigrant non-Orthodox 'ethnic'45 Jews explores the multiplex ways in which people make sense of, feel about and assign import to, the typical yardsticks used to tell us about the health or vitality of ethnic, in this case Jewish attachment. Taking seriously that "before reaching a firm conclusion, [the Talmud] advises, 'go and see what the people in the street are doing'" (Silberman 1985: 225), this study zooms in on how people themselves experience, feel and think about their 'ethnic' lives.

As Gans (1999: 233) aptly notes, researchers themselves are "an intrinsic part of their own research,"46 accounting in part for the conceptual and empirical divide between "acculturationists and retentionists,"47 hence it is important to locate the personal impetus shaping this project. My veritable 'wandering Jew' status, born in Canada to parents who in their early twenties left Israel to pursue higher educational and work opportunities and living in three other countries by age seventeen, naturally stimulated my interest in immigrant adaptation, inclusionary/exclusionary and identity negotiation processes. Not feeling that my own fluid, dynamic and mutable orientation to my particular Jewish inheritance could be understood in prevailing sociological checklists of pre-determined signs of ethnic group membership, I was keen to enrich our knowledge of the various ways people approach their Jewishness. At once an insider and outsider to Toronto Jewry, being a Diaspora Jew who did not spend my formative years in a Canadian milieu, my background well positioned me to get beneath external surfaces and uncover what people's 'Jewish' doing/not doing meant to them. Valuing individuals' sense making processes

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45 The non-Jewish born spouses, irrespective of if they convert to Judaism, are included in this broad category of 'ethnic' Jews even when they feel and/or are treated as nominal members at best. Ethnic is put in single quotes to communicate the variability in the form, quality and intensity of the ethnic connection.

46 The Talmud is comprised of the written compilation of Oral law, centuries of interpretations, commentaries and explanations by the Sages about the Written law. It is intended to communicate the practical applications and meanings of the written Torah.

47 The interpretive richness of a study can be enhanced by an appreciation of researchers' autobiographies (see for example Dalin 1995; Davidman 1991, 1997; Gans 1999; Heilman 1995; Silberman 1985; Sklare 1993; Whitfield 1999).

48 Gans (1999: 235) suggests that the new researchers who "see more retention than acculturation" do so in part because of their focus on participants close to the immigration experience and their 'insider' status via the people they study (see also Alba and Nee 1997).
and invocation of narratives to define their selves, listening to how people account for their life ‘choices’ opened me to a “subtly nuanced, rich and empathetic understanding of [participants’ Jewish] lives” (Davidman 1997: 508).

Another motivating interest for this project stems from a perceived oversimplification of the endogamy/intermarriage connection to the ethnic identity persistence and change debate. It is often assumed that the role of family as “a central force” in the intergenerational transmission of ethnic identities (Lieberson and Waters 1988: 165) is undermined in intermarried households. In the Jewish context, increasing Jewish intermarriage rates are typically viewed as threats to Jewish continuity—a “spiritual holocaust,” death knell to the Jewish community (Beiser 1996: 26). Scant attention however is accorded to the actual ethnic content of these households, fluctuations in ethnic identification and intrafamilial negotiations concerning ethno-religious identity issues. Indeed the variability in types of intermarried households is often muted in particular due to the limitations of cross-sectional surveys and demographic data that treats in/out marriage as a binary category that remains uniform through the family life cycle.

Conventional approaches to understanding endogamy are therefore jettisoned in this study by letting participants “speak for themselves,” paying attention to people’s interpretation of their relationship choices, who it is that intermarriers marry, responses to people’s marriages, and pre-marital ethno-religious orientations.

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49 Davidman’s (1997) appreciation of the intersection between the personal and sociological was inspirational to me in its respect for empathetic analysis—listening to people’s own clarifying linkages.


51 Interviews however, like any verbal exchange, are interactive experiences that are colored by “impression management” (Goffman 1959; See also Davidman 1997; Hockey 1996; Mishler 1986).

52 This study includes the life stories and perspectives of born non-Jewish spouses/parents.
In surveying the literature on Jewish identity and immigrant adaptation in North America, it is evident that American, for the most part quantitative, research dominates our comprehension of the transformation and persistence of Jewish identity in the North American Diaspora. Some researchers, as well as community members themselves, suggest that the retention and lower intermarriage rates associated with Canadian Jewry compared to their American counterparts signify that Canadians are a generation behind or have a generation reprieve to prevent following in Americans’ footsteps (see Tulchinsky 1993, 1998; Weinfeld 1990).\(^{53}\) The differences that obtain in terms of religious, communal, Yiddish and Israel involvement are attributed to the different manner in which Canadian Jewry developed compared to the way American Jewry evolved, that being, specific to the distinct national contexts in which each group was and remains situated.

Tulchinsky (1993) identifies three\(^{54}\) historical factors that help understand current ‘differences’ between the two groups. First, there is the distinct, but not necessarily comparatively more severe expression of anti-Semitism in Canada, particularly French Canada (see also Brym and Lenton 1993). Second, unlike the relative dispersion and diffusion of American Jewry across several cities he identifies the greater geographic concentration of Canadian Jewry\(^{55}\) that did not allow for countervailing sociopolitical/ideological forces within the Jewish population to emerge.\(^{56}\) Third, he sees a comparatively stronger degree of religious homogeneity in Canada as resultant from the differential timing of mass European migration. Weinfeld (1990: 92) elaborates that the

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\(^{54}\) The three historical divergences are certainly implicated in the comparatively more conservative and traditionally attached Canadian Jewish terrain.

\(^{55}\) While in 1981 Winnipeg represented the third source of Jewish concentration after Montreal and Toronto, Vancouver’s Jewish residents have surpassed Winnipeg’s in numbers as evidenced by the 1991 Canadian Census. Torczyner et al (1995) find in their analysis of the 1991 Canadian Census that over 45% of all Jews in Canada reside in Toronto and together with Montreal (101,210 Jews) comprise approximately two thirds of the Canadian Jewish group.

\(^{56}\) Speisman (1979) suggests that the slow beginnings of Toronto Jewry, its small size, helped contain community fragmentation, opting for compromise between the reform and traditionalist factions rather than disrupt the cohesive front of the community.
foundations of the American mass migration were laid in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, before the full flowering of the national and ideological renaissance in Eastern Europe” whereas “Jewish immigration to Canada was more centered on the following two decades.” There was also no strong, established German Jewish group present to receive East European Jews arriving in Canadian cities, an influence that would appear to have accelerated within group religious pluralism (denominationalism) in America. Canada’s higher percentage of Jewish immigrants, having received a “proportionately larger influx of immigrants since World War II,” and proportionately more Holocaust survivors need to be considered when disentangling US/Canada Jewish contrasts (Weinfeld 1990: 88). In addition, Weinfeld suggests that it is not just the differential timing and characteristics of Jewish immigrants coming to these two countries that help explain differences, but such differences, however subtle, also have a basis in the contrasting origins of the receiving countries themselves (see also Schoenfeld 1999). That is, he attributes such differences in part to Canada being built upon a “collectivistic approach to the notion of rights, in contrast to the American emphasis on individual liberties” (Weinfeld 1990:89). Notwithstanding the potency of cultural penetration, the importation, transmission and internalization of American values and norms, as well as reciprocal socialization and cultural exchange, it is important not to be tempted by the convenience of explaining the Canadian case in terms of the American. This qualitative study of Toronto based non-Orthodox, principally second and third generation Jewish, endogamous and intermarried family members will hopefully stimulate more Canadian based research to avoid merely extrapolating from American data.

57 The groundwork for Canadian Jewry was laid more than fifty years after its American counterpart (Weinfeld 1990). Alba and Nee (1997: 842) recognize the significance of America’s four-decade “halt in the stream of mass immigration from Europe in the late 1920s, induced by restrictive immigration legislation followed by the Great Depression.”

58 This collectivistic orientation to rights is affirmed first in the British North America Act of 1867 legitimating the bicultural origins of Canada. Next, it is marked by the Multicultural Act passed in October 8, 1971 accepting the “contributions, values, and rights of all Canadian minority groups” within a bilingual framework (Weinfeld 1990: 89), and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1985). At the policy and ideological level at least, Canada demonstrates its commitment to pluralism and protecting group rights.
V. Primary Research Questions

Entering the subjective and objective worlds of Canadian born non-Orthodox Jews, their non-Jewish and Jewish born spouses, and when possible their offspring, and being immersed in Toronto Jewish communal activities and social life over the span of at least three years, exposed the multidimensional,\(^{59}\) variously (re)constructed nature of Toronto Jewish expressions (new faces and forms) with its complex mixture of idiosyncratic and conventional elements.\(^{60}\) As many people, rightly or wrongly, feel that being Jewish identified is primarily about adherence to traditional Jewish religious rituals\(^{61}\) or that one's Jewish identity is insubstantial or diluted without religious involvement (Heilman 1995; Legge Jr 1997; Liebman 1989), I chose to focus on people’s orientation to this sphere of Jewish ritual engagement.\(^{62}\) While I encountered a newly emerging, viable and varied social and postmodern/consumerist Jewishness\(^{63}\) that for some defined the primary locus of their Jewish identity, for purposes of time, clarity, and external interest I decided to restrict my analysis to exploring the vitality of people’s traditional Jewish ritual observances.

That is, I investigated the various claims of watered down\(^{64}\) and diminished [Jewish] ethnic connectedness (vitality) across successive generations and within different family structures.

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\(^{59}\) Similar to many other recent studies (e.g., Portes and Zhou 1993; Keefe and Padilla 1987), this study underscores the need for a multidimensional conceptualization and operationalization of ethnic identity. However, it also suggests further nuances and multidimensionality are located in these broader facets of ethnic identification.

\(^{60}\) Levine (1993) distinguishes between conventional and idiosyncratic or vague forms of ethnic expression. See also Jones, Marsden and Tepperman (1990) who introduce the concept of individuation, namely the increasing variety, fluidity and discontinuity in social patterns across generations.

\(^{61}\) Cohen (1995) for example uses survey data to distinguish involved Jews as those who attend synagogue twice a month or more, or have visited Israel at least twice, or maintains two sets of dishes at home for meat and dairy products (in accordance with Jewish dietary laws). Complicating matters are findings such as is the fact in Cohen’s case that 90 percent of the total sample, albeit less among the ‘involved’ group, agree with the statement that ‘a Jew can be religious even if s/he is not observant’ (401). Further, Silberman (1985: 235) notes that “[d]espite the frequent forecasts of Judaism’s imminent demise, secular Jews are turning to religious rituals to affirm their identity.”

\(^{62}\) Note that in this work I have opted to use the term ritual involvement over religious involvement given its wider applicability to people’s unique approaches to their traditional activities, especially when they are conceived of in non-religious terms.

\(^{63}\) In the conclusion chapter, I discuss in brief some of these forms as important directions for future research.

\(^{64}\) Some suggest an “edifice complex”, the extensive building of Jewish institutions (symbolic exteriors) masks an “increasingly passive laity” (Ritterband 1995: 388). Some pessimists like Ritterband for instance suggest “thinness
Instead of taking at face value that people do more or less than each other, being differentially bound to the prescriptions and proscriptions of doing and being Jewish (*mitzvot*), this project focused instead on the intentionality, how and what of connectedness/vitality manifest in this sphere.\(^5\) The following research questions shaped this doctoral work:

- How do respondents define Jewishness?
- How do people express their Jewishness in various spheres?
- What is the nature of non-Orthodox Jews’ attachment to their Jewishness in general\(^6\) and traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO) in particular?
- What strategies and styles of Jewish identity maintenance, modification, substitution and addition do people use?
- Are extant researcher-imposed survey-based measures of Jewish identity capturing people’s definitions, as well as the candor of their Jewish experience?
- How do people feel and think about the Jewish identity practices they choose, or are conditioned, to keep?
- Under what conditions does Jewish attachment attenuate, intensify, or diversify?
- What happens to Jewish identity over successive generations in Canada, increasing distance from the immigration experience?
- Is the incidence of Jewish intermarriage a useful barometer for explaining weakening attachment levels? How do, for instance, children of Jewish mixed marriages demonstrate, feel about, and make sense of a Jewish heritage?
- What are some other mechanisms of change that may mitigate the relationship between generation status, intermarriage/endogamy, and vitality of ethno-religious involvement?

### VI. Importance of this Study

Fears concerning the extent to which detraditionalization\(^7\) and assimilation are effectively undermining Jewish ethnic identity retention are overstated. This project challenges the

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\(^5\) Jewish vitality was not treated as something quantitative, but qualitative. It is not just how much you are doing, but how you are doing it, what it represents to you, its source of significance, and what are the feelings and thoughts you have about what you do or not do, or are expected to do or not do.

\(^6\) Although the data analysis chapter restricts itself to the religious or traditional ritual dimension of Jewish identity, the in-depth interviews covered all the arenas typically investigated in other ethnic identity research as questions of measurement validity were of interest to this project.
presumed 'inferiority' of non-Orthodox, post-immigrant and intermarried expressions of Jewish religious involvement which are often viewed as diluted, weakened and inauthentic. The qualitative nature of this study of non-Orthodox 'ethnic' Jews has facilitated a rich picture of the affective and cognitive dimensions of people's religio-ethnic lives, finding evidence of as much hidden strength as weakness. This study sets itself apart from other ethnic identity studies in that it draws attention to the meanings sources of significance, personal investment and emotional attachment people, not researchers, assign to their ethnic identifications. It is important because it turns our attention to "how people construct, carry out, and feel about, their ethnic and religious identities" (Gans 1994: 589). By carrying out an in-depth interview study, visiting people's homes, and compiling participant observation experiences, this new information sheds further light on the processes of maintenance, attenuation, intensification, and revitalization (innovation and retraditionalization) occurring simultaneously within Toronto Jewry.

This project also adds to our consideration of the multiple factors that may impinge on ethnic, in this case Jewish, vitality. Being sensitive to turning points in the nature of participants' Jewish connectedness, conditions under which emotional attachment (passive or active Jewish identification) is expressed are presented. For example, this study emphasizes investigating the effects of other intervening variables that may condition whether the impact of intermarriage or endogamy leads to Jewish retention, intensification, invention, acculturation, synthesis/hybridization, and/or de-ethnicization, rather than presuming changes in family

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67 Detraditionalization implies the dismantling of traditional authoritative structures, "the decline of the belief in the pre-given or natural order of things" and "a shift of authority from 'without' to 'within'" (Heelas 1996: 2).
68 In a Geertzian manner, I opt away from 'thin description' of ethnic identity indices in favor of "thick description of the meanings which underlie these practices" (see Geertz 1973: 7).
69 See however Feuerverger (1986), Herman (1989) and Isajiw (1999) for their exposition of the social psychological ingredients of ethnic identity.
70 Like Silberman (1985), this study attempts to clarify, rather than perpetuate misinterpretations, of changes in ethnic identities. As a result, Silberman finds that externally defined "lost Jews are finding their way back, others who never strayed are intensifying their practice, and others are creating new ways of expressing Jewishness which is more important to them than they thought" (225).
71 Listening to people's life stories and focusing on their meaning structures helped with the elucidation of change agents and epiphanies in people's Jewish identities.
structure have a direct impact. It also adds to the surprisingly small base of multigenerational research exploring non-linearity, or multilinearity, as complicating factors in ethnic vitality research.\textsuperscript{72} At a policy level, this dissertation could help with a redirection of resources that better address the current priorities and sources of (dis)affection in Jewish commitment.\textsuperscript{73}

VII. Coming to Terms\textsuperscript{74}

In our postmodern condition with its proliferation of choices, plasticity, and indeterminacy, there are multiple socially constructed 'truths' or realities that coexist and compete for market share. In such a climate people "call into question all the illusions of fixed systems of representation" (Harvey 1990: 51) and highlight the slipperiness of our conceptual tools. Accordingly, in the interests of clarity it is useful to introduce at this point a few key terms that figure prominently in this thesis.

The key questions of this work address the issue of Jewish ethnic identity persistence and change. Such processes whereby individuals or groups are absorbed into and adapt to the dominant culture and its opportunity structures are often referred to as assimilation.\textsuperscript{75} This is a term, however, that has come under attack of late, as it is thought by some to be inherently susceptible to ideological bias and myth making.\textsuperscript{76} Assimilation, for many, does not adequately capture the selective, highly contextual nature of the processes of internalizing any particular host cultures'.

\textsuperscript{72} See Kertzer (1983) for problems associated with measuring and defining generational status. Further, Professor Julie McMullin (Tuesday 9 February 1999) presents some of the theoretical and methodological challenges in conducting multigenerational research.
\textsuperscript{73} For example, in Schoem's (1989: 137) ethnographic study of a Jewish Afternoon school he cites, "We are not dealing with bad Jews. We are dealing with different Jews...We are dealing with people who have an entirely different agenda of priorities and needs."
\textsuperscript{74} A Jewish vocabulary list for this project can be found in Appendix A. Other terms such as traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO), Jewish non-Orthodoxy and new concepts derived from this work such as secular traditionalism, spiritual traditionalism, outsiderism and revitalization are defined later in the data analysis chapter.
\textsuperscript{75} Yinger (1994: 39-40) defines assimilation as "a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies, ethnic groups, or smaller cultural groups meet. It is a variable, not an attribute... When we treat it as a variable, we see that assimilation can range from the smallest beginnings of interaction and cultural exchange to the thorough fusion of the groups."
\textsuperscript{76} See International Migration Review's 1997 journal devoted to reconsidering the usage of the term assimilation.
In particular the idea of some inevitable similarity or conformity to an imagined homogeneous host culture has been problematized (e.g., Alba and Nee 1997; Glazer 1993, 1998; Hurtadó 1997; Isajiw 1999; Yinger 1994; Zhou 1997). Accordingly, Isajiw (1999) favors a more narrow use of assimilation, preferring “cultural incorporation” or “inculturation” to better represent the interactivity (reciprocal socialization) inherent in immigrant adaptation processes. This study supports attempts to redress interpretations of what was typically understood as a zero-sum, unidirectional, unilinear, unidimensional process of progressive cultural fusion or ethnic identity disappearance. The vitality of ethnic identity is often considered the countervailing force, or flip side of, assimilation. However, ethnic identity maintenance, renewal and intensification processes can coexist with processes of incorporation into the wider, or alternative, societal structures. The creation of ‘new’ customized ethnic identities make it hard nonetheless to separate neatly assimilative and dissimilative pressures.

Ethnic identity is here recognized as possessing subjective (internal) and objective (external) properties (see Isajiw 1985, 1990, 1999; Jenkins 1996; Yinger 1994). The subjective aspects of identification with a group involve “the social-psychological process of self-inclusion or exclusion and inclusion or exclusion by others” (Isajiw 1999: 176), in-group consciousness, as well as “feelings of sympathy, attachment and commitment” to participation within the group (20). The objective aspects of ethnic identity comprise visible signs of attachment like participation in ethnic functions, institutions and organizations, co-ethnic friendship networks, celebration and

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77 Assimilation can remain a viable and useful concept if it is redefined in light of recent research indicating the potentially reversible, selective processes of subtractive ethnic attenuation and the too often ignored, or delegitimized, additive and/or substitutive newly emergent ethnic ways and means. This definition would allow for assimilation/dissimilation's multidimensionality, declines, retention and/or additions in different facets of ethnic expression, the coexistence of optimistic and pessimistic identification resolutions (glass half full/empty scenarios).

78 The broad concept of ethnic identity, in this case Jewish identity, is used interchangeably or treated synonymously hereafter with the terms ethnic ties, connection, affinity, expression, attachment, and commitment. It is important to note that this project represents an individual level analysis and therefore does not focus on changes to, and dimensions of, ethnic group cohesion/solidarity.

79 Yinger (1994: 41) writes, “We cannot develop a theory of assimilation without paying attention to its reciprocal, dissimilation [ethnic identity retention]—the process whereby intrasocietal differences are maintained and created around subcultural groups.”
observedance of customs and rituals, knowledge of ethnic group’s history, ethnic language and orientation to an ancestral homeland. The nature of emotional connectedness/attachment assigned to such socially produced external features is here deemed integral to understanding the vitality (health) of ethnic ties. My interest in vitality, rather than the brute strength/level of ethnic identity, developed as a result of my search to get beyond the mere computation of behavioral and attitudinal actions. It was my hope that focusing on the quality or nature of ethnic identity would help shed light on the question of Jewish longevity, the likelihood of ethno-religious practices and commitments enduring.

VIII. Plan of Remaining Chapters

The next chapter provides an analytical review of the competing arguments and empirical evidence forwarded by key thinkers in the Jewish assimilation, survivalist and transformationist debates. Additionally, ethnic identity responses like ethnic rediscovery or return, symbolic ethnicity and religiosity are entertained. The role attributed to such agents of change as intermarriage/endogamy, generation status and life course factors are examined. I also investigate the range of extant ways for conceptualizing and explaining ethnic (Jewish) identity. Chapter three considers the need for a qualitative study to explore the issue of Jewish ‘continuity’ in a Canadian-born context, specifically the complex nature of ‘traditional’ Jewish ritual adherence, delving into the thoughts and feelings people imbue in, and stimuli affecting, the Jewish customs they elect to preserve or create. The pros and cons of my method of engaging in intensive interviews and participant observation experiences as a research vehicle and its efficacy to illuminate the nuances of Jewish expression and mechanisms of Jewish vitality are discussed. Next, I describe critical aspects of the research process, the who, what, when and why of my research adventure, exploring in depth the subjective and objective Jewish worlds of 100

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80 The dialectical relationship between the internal and external facets of Jewish identity is explored in this study.
multigenerational\(^{82}\) members of Canadian acculturated non-Orthodox Jewish endogamous and intermarried families. Chapter four considers a conceptual framework I arrived at inductively to help organize the data accumulated in the thirty months spent formally in the field. Like any other 'ideal typical' schema, the model introduced serves as a heuristic device to expose intra-ethnic differences in constructing and reconstructing ethnic identity practices, the emergence of trend setting phenomena like outsiderism, innovation and retraditionalization/retribalization together with the persistence of majority, normative/conventional ethnic identities. Describing the nuances in expressing traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO) is not the only goal of this study, but the second component of this data analytical chapter turns to people's life stories/histories to help account for variation in vitality of Jewish identity, notably within the ritual sphere. In the concluding chapter I outline the principal findings of this study, suggest areas for future research, signal attention, among other things, to emerging primary\(^{83}\) bases of Jewish ethnic alignment demonstrated in the informal and consumption spheres (i.e., social and consumerist Jewishness\(^{84}\)), and present possible policy implications.

This non-traditional look at the vitality of Jewish identity, specifically the traditional Jewish ritual involvement, expressed by 100 Toronto based post-immigrant successive generation members of non-Orthodox\(^{85}\) Jewish intermarried and endogamous families expands how we consider what happens to ethnic ties in a new temporal and spatial context. My focus on non-

\(^{81}\) Complicating matters in some situations is as John Simpson (1996: 117) suggests, "The old and new have been reversed. Modernity has become tradition and tradition has become the new modernity."

\(^{82}\) While not always possible, I tried to interview at least three members of any family representing at least two generations of Canadian Jewish experience post the immigrant (first generation) encounter. In terms of the intermarried sample, couples and, if relevant, their offspring were included if the Jewish spouse and/or parent was the child or grandchild of Jewish immigrants.

\(^{83}\) Although for some TJRO was not their primary source of Jewish identity, I centered my analysis on what people did find significant in their Jewish ritual engagement, the motivations, priorities and how much of themselves they had inscribed in their rationales for TJRO doing.

\(^{84}\) An underestimation of the role ethnicity continues to play persists because of a tendency to ignore the way ethnic groups shape their own assimilation processes, carve out their own trendy ways of being and doing (niche) in the mainstream culture.

\(^{85}\) The non-Orthodox subsumes a wide range of denominations/movements including Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, non-affiliated ethnic Jews, and atheist yet ethnic Jews, and non-Orthodox religious converts.
Orthodox Jewish members came about in part because of the oft-postulated greater risk for intergenerational Jewish identity loss among Canadian-born non-Orthodox Jewry (Brym 1993; Kallen 1977), and my interest in newly emergent modalities of ethnic identity. Moving away from an anthropological tradition that exoticizes the 'other' and that privileges interest in the extraordinary,\(^{86}\) this study functions to expose some of the extraordinary within the ordinary, and boldly searches beneath the taken-for-granted\(^{87}\) assumptions of 'middle of the road' Jewish life.

\(^{86}\) See for example ethnographic works about the ultra-Orthodox carried out by Belcove-Shalin (1988), Davidman (1993), and Shaffir (1974, 1993).

\(^{87}\) See also journal of mundane behavior (www.mundanebehavior.org) for an inspirational look into mining normal behavior and challenging our obsession with the fantastical.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

I. Conceptualizing Ethnic Identity

Varied conceptions have been forwarded regarding the source and nature of ethnic identity. As such, ambiguity and confusion continues to color our understanding of the nature and import these identity claims will have at the onset of the 21st Century (Arnow 1994; Finkelkraut 1994; Gitelman 1999; Goldberg and Krausz 1993; Putnam 1993). While some researchers regard ethnic identities as ascribed, constant, essential, overpowering, and involuntary (e.g., Geertz 1973; Isaacs 1975; Shils 1957), others conceive such commitments as achieved, protean, variable, constructed, and chosen (Gans 1999; Joselit 1994; Kivisto 1989; Nagel 1994; Stoller 1996; Yancey et al 1976; Waters 1990). In this section, I detail competing perspectives about the constitution of ethnic identity in general and Jewish identity in particular. I also examine efforts to recognize the multidimensional character of ethnic identity (Isajiw 1999; Yinger 1994), as well as the interconnectedness of behavior, affect, and cognition (Arnow 1994; Herman 1989), and the interrelationship of circumstance and content (Cornell 1996; Jenkins 1994, 1996).

Isajiw (1985) identifies over twelve elements used in defining ethnicity, of which the most often cited are ancestry, culture, religion, race, and language. Isajiw (1975: 128) defines ethnic identity as a “commitment to a social grouping of common ancestry, existing within a larger society of different ancestral origins, and characterized by the sharing of some common values, behavioral patterns of symbols different from those of the larger society.” In general, theorists can be

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1 The concepts ethnic group and ethnicity did not appear in Standard English dictionaries until the 1960s (Glazer and Moynihan 1975). Van den Berghe (1997) remarks in this regard, “the term ethnicity is itself a relative newcomer to the vocabulary of the social sciences and its meaning is by no means clearly settled, [there is a] considerable degree of uncertainty and confusion” (see also Ballard 1997).
divided into two types, those who conceptualize ethnic identity as something that is principally subjective, or internal in nature, and those who view it as objective, or external phenomenon (Breton 1984; Dashefsky 1975; Driedger 1974; Gorenburg 1999; Himmelfarb 1982; Isajiw 1990; Reitz 1980; Weinfeld 1994). Some scholars also reserve the term ethnic identity for the former, one's psychological location in relation to the group, and invoke the concept ethnic identification to refer to the latter, namely the behavioral expressions associated with group membership. For instance, as Himmelfarb (1982: 57) suggests:

Jewish identification is the process of thinking and acting in a manner that indicates involvement with and attachment to Jewish life [while] Jewish identity is one's sense of self with regard to being Jewish.

The roots of the subjective or social-psychological approach can be traced back to Max Weber. Weber drew attention to the significance of the symbolic/ideological realm, underscoring the perceptions of common descent, shared destiny and cultural differences as engendering this tie independent of whether an objective blood relation or cultural similarities obtain. In fact, in terms of ethnogenesis, Weber (1968: Vol. 1, 389) states:

We shall call 'ethnic groups' those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent. Because of similarities of physical type or of customs, or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration. This belief must be important for the propagation of group formation. Conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relation exists. Ethnic membership (Gemeinsamkeit) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter. In our sense, ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand, it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity. This belief tends to persist even after the disintegration of the political community, unless drastic differences in the custom, physical type, or above all, language exist among its members.

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2 Of the 65 sociological and anthropological studies spanning the 1945-1971 period examined by Isajiw, he finds only 13 with clearly stated definitions of ethnicity compared with 52 with implicit reference to ethnic matters.

3 Dashefsky (1975) identifies four different theoretical approaches borrowed from the Psychology and Sociology fields, the group dynamicist and psychoanalytical approaches in terms of the former and the sociocultural and interactionist approaches in terms of the latter. He distinguishes two competing ontological views—micro and macro—giving credence on one hand to individuals shaping their own realities, participating in a symbolic universe, and defining themselves in relation to others, and on the other hand to being socialized into and constrained by a pre-existing social structure.
For Weber, ethnic identity clearly does not inhere in something concrete and real, but is a matter of believing ethnic categorizations/designations and salient criteria for being labeled as such. Anticipating my conclusion that researchers who try to transcend subjective/objective and micro/macro distinctions and measure the interplay of feelings, thoughts and behaviors, Weber here sees the perpetuation of ethnic groups in both voluntaristic and deterministic terms, a reciprocal relationship between ideological and material forces (see Bodemann 1990). Thus, the writing of Weber served both to inspire those that would later conceive of ethnicity as an individualistic rational choice, a product of free will, and those who view it as a social construction, emergent from sociopolitical agents.

Subjective theorists conceive of ethnic identity then as largely in the minds of people (social-psychological processes), denoting in particular the way people self-include/exclude and are included/excluded by others (Barth 1969; Weinrich 1988). Since the seminal work of Barth\(^5\) (1969) wherein attention was transferred away from enumerating the 'cultural stuff' (observable attributes) linked to being an ethnic member and directed toward the instantiation of psychological borders, us-them perceptions, social scientists strive to tap this variable 'consciousness of kind'. According to Barth, the social psychological dimension of ethnic identity construction/boundary negotiation, how people see themselves and others, see and are perceived by others, not the specific cultural content, that is most important.

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\(^4\) Dashefsky (1972) argues that ethnic identity is a higher order concept capturing an underlying sense of self whilst ethnic identification is a lower order concept that constitutes an expression or rudimentary behavioral outcomes of those self-definitional processes.

\(^5\) Until Barth, a trait approach toward ethnicity, fuelled notably by the work of anthropologists, reigned (Hurtadó 1996; Roosens 1989). In fact, Isajiw (1974) finds in his investigation of a sample of sociological and anthropological definitions of ethnicity that the majority of works use an objective approach.
While he recognized that an ethnic group is a form of social organization, "the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those that the actors themselves regard as significant" (Barth: 14). Physical or cultural "diacritics" are only meaningful when manipulated by or deemed significant by the in-group to maximize intra-group cohesion and control inter-group interaction, and/or by the out-group to propagate status closure. For Barth, ethnic ties are communicated through insider/outsider categorization processes, the interplay of self-ascription and the identity conceptions imposed by others (see also Isajiw 1977, 1985, 1990, 1999; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Weinrich 1988). By directing interest to people's subjective worlds, Barth strengthened an observation that Gordon (1964) had made earlier, namely that people could adopt some of the tastes, styles and practices of the majority group culture and still be categorized as different and/or retain feelings of belonging to one's ancestral group.

According to Isajiw (1990: 36), the "internal, subjective aspects of ethnic identity refer to images, ideas, attitudes and feelings." For example, Dashefsky (1976: 8) defines ethnic identification as "a generalized attitude indicative of a personal attachment to the group and a positive orientation toward being a member of the group. Ethnic identification takes place when the group in question is one with whom the individual believes he has a common ancestry based on shared individual characteristics and/or shared sociocultural experiences." One however does not have to have a positive orientation to one's ethnic group in order to achieve an ethnic identity because sometimes the most marginal, alienated, deprecating members of the group have acute ethnic

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6 Erikson (1964: 90) too recognized that ethnic identities were forged in the context of social relations, emerging not as "the sum of childhood identifications but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments."

7 Weber's notion of status closure is useful in understanding the perpetuation of group solidarity and stratification systems in that selective criterion are identified based on ethnocentric ideologies to legitimize group boundaries and unequal access to group membership.

8 Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that ethnic identities arise and achieve their relevance from inter-group social comparisons.

9 Weinrich (1988) considers the identity strain that emerges from a discrepancy between one's personal identity (private sense of self) and one's social identity (externally ascribed label).
consciousness. Indeed, Philip Roth's ambivalent protagonist in his popular novel Portnoy's Complaint, Alexander Portnoy, is very much affected by his Jewish roots despite his 'successful' integration into a non-Jewish world and disdain for Jewish insularity. Woody Allen too is a classic example of being critically reflective about the American Jewish culture that has shaped him, a veritable "eji (embarrassed Jewish individual)" as Kalmar (1993) defines the term who would score low on the usual Jewish identity indicators, and yet reveals an irrepressible Jewish identity consciousness. In effect, as Shapiro (1997: 17) notes, "choosing to deny Judaism is thus a quintessential Jewish act, and the Jew who rejects Judaism is transformed into the most committed Jew." Seidman (1998: 256) explores this legacy of Jewish marginality, a powerful, albeit "hidden tradition of Jewish vicarious identifications" (e.g., rallying behind the particularist concerns of another group being distinctively Jewish). Arendt uncovers the subterranean tradition of secular Jewish experience and the "conscious pariah" ethnic type (Biale 1998).

Isajiw (1990) identifies three subjective sources that he sees as informing an internal orientation toward ethnic recruitment and attributes associated with group membership: [1] affective, [2] cognitive, and [3] moral. At the affective level, he introduces the variation in favorable and preferential feelings one articulates or shares toward one's co-ethnics as distinct from other group members, as well as toward "the cultural patterns of one's group as against the cultural patterns of

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10 Gordon (1964: 24) suggests that ethnic identities are above all social–psychological phenomenon encapsulating a "sense of peoplehood."

11 An inability of the New York intellectuals to divest themselves of their Jewishness is revealed in an expressed strain between universalism and particularism.

12 Kalmar (1993) paints the portrait of an eji as a cultural by-product of contradictory assimilationist pressures; advocating full political participation from new immigrants and adoption of the dominant group's values and norms while simultaneously erecting social boundaries to exclude certain minority groups from access to resources and rewards. Notwithstanding achieved upward social mobility (e.g., climbing out of their low entrance status), 'social distance' prevented Jews from escaping completely their badge of Jewishness. Drawing on infamous figures such as Marx, Durkheim, Trotsky, Freud and Woody Allen, Kalmar illustrates that regardless of them organizing their lives around Shylock's defence (negating any differences, stressing commonalities between Jews and Gentiles) and abdication of religious affiliation, their 'social identity' continued to be branded Jewish. A "universalist, abstract eji spirituality" (97) evolved in response to enduring us/them distinctions.

13 By Jewish identity consciousness, I mean the internal state of mind (thoughts and feelings) related to grappling with what it means to be a Jew.
other groups or societies” (37). In terms of the cognitive component, he includes how people cognize alignment with co-ethnics, stereotypical images they hold of self or the group and stereotypical, socially produced, ideas and perceptions by others of oneself and one's group. For Isajiw, investigating how people think about their ethnic identities is also related to their cultural repertoire, awareness and internalization of key symbols, historical events, and values attached to the group. Lastly, he refers to the moral facet of ethnic identity as variation in feelings of group obligations, commitment to perpetuating group ideologies and a sense of binding to particular conceptions of being an ideal ethnic member.

A lesser mentioned, albeit important, contributor to the subjectivist case comes from an unlikely source, the Primordialist camp. Primordialist thinking is typically associated with the works of Shils (1957), Geertz (1973), and Isaacs (1975), who focus on what are sometimes referred to as the ‘non-rational’ aspects of ethnic identity, namely the alleged ineffability, sacredness, and coerciveness of ethnic bonds. The literal meaning of primordial implies apriority, ‘givenness’, and preexistence, and thus would suggest that it is inherently contradictory to speak of overpowering feelings of ethnic connectedness as deriving from specific circumstances. Isaacs (1975: 31) underscores the “extraordinary strength” of these primordial affinities, the “ready-made set of endowments and identification which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth.” However, in this way the ‘non-rational’ aspects of ethnic identity have been disconnected from ‘rational’ conceptions of ethnic identity, socially produced responses to social, political and economic circumstances (Cornell 1996; Matsuo 1992; Scott 1990). Notably, Shils does not operationalize “ineffable significance,” nor does Geertz do so for his “perceived links of descent”

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14 For some social-psychologists like Roger Brown (1989), ethnocentrism—seeing one’s group as superior to other groups and judging them by the standards and patterns set by one’s own group—is an inevitable aspect of ethnic identity formation. Feeling pride and comfort in being tied to a group comes out of differentiating yourself and your group in contradistinction to another. The ‘others’ both within and without collude and sometimes instigate this ethnic differentiation process (e.g., Bodemann 1990; Moerman 1965). For example, Bodemann demonstrates how first the Nazis, and second, the West German state, “created the Jews” to serve diverse ideological mandates.

15 See also Grosby (1994) and Stack (1986).
(Gil-White 1999). While according some credence then to the importance of affect and cognition, primordialism does not adequately capture the complexity of people's thoughts and feelings about being and doing ethnic. For example, contentions among ethnic group members regarding who is initiated into the group, and heterogeneity in ethnic actors' feelings and thoughts oriented to their participation in the group, are often overlooked.

Burgess (1978: 267) finds primordialist accounts "analytically uninstructive in so far as one seeks to understand a group's relative position in social and political space, or its relative capability in society." Eller and Coughlan (1993: 183) advocate dispensing the term primordialism entirely from the "sociological lexicon." Nevertheless, its axis on affect, the emotional import of ethnic attachments, continues to make primordial accounts of ethnogenesis and ethnic identity persistence appealing. Eller and Coughlan (1993: 192), social constructionists, acknowledge that humans are not "wholly sober and rational agent[s]"16 and argue that: [1] affectivity and instrumentality should be conceived as poles rather than opposites, [2] the conflation of primordial with emotional mystifies emotion and assumes such to be an instinctual imperative, and [3] the genesis of emotion is squashed in the primordialism approach as it "offer[s] no real language to talk about emotion and attachment" (194).

In addition, they suggest that "what earlier scholars mistakenly labeled 'primordial' may indeed have been the unique strength of emotional attachments commanded by ethnic movements that derive their appeal from cultural and symbolic phenomena rather than material interests" (196).17 Still, as Jenkins (1996: 812), aware of this crude division between 'ethnicity in the heart' and 'ethnicity in the head', recognizes, primordialism "alerts us to the need to acknowledge affect and

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16 By implication, assumptions of ethnic identity as material interests (Bell 1975), and as strategically manipulable based on perceived means/ends, cost/benefit calculations and maximization of net gains proposed in Rational Choice/Situational theories (Banton 1983), are also challenged.
emotion in our consideration of ethnicity.” As Burkitt (1997) notes, the subject of emotions has been long in coming to the attention of social scientists. Game (1997: 387) points out that work that takes heed of emotions “presents itself as a significant departure in the social sciences filling a rather embarrassing gap in a discipline that claims to be concerned with social relations.” In this regard, Scheff (1990: 3-4) too underlines that “the social sciences have been characterized by remarkably simplistic understandings of human beings and their motivations.” This lack of information is what inspired this work in which I probed what might be referred to as the depth subjective or sub-subjective.18

In contrast, ‘objective’ conceptions of ethnic identity highlight people’s observable behavioral manifestations, shared signs and practices such as language, religion, ancestral heritage, and customs. For instance, Isajiw (1990) sees external markers of ethnic identity as comprised of:

1 speaking an ethnic language, practicing ethnic traditions, and so on; 2 participation in ethnic personal networks, such as family and friendship [i.e., endogamy and friendship exclusivity]; 3 participation in ethnic institutional organizations, such as churches, schools, enterprises, media; 4 participation in ethnic voluntary associations, such as clubs, ‘societies’, youth organizations; and 5 participation in functions sponsored by ethnic organizations, such as picnics, concerts, public lectures, rallies, dances.

Others consider residential practices in their list of conventional indicators used to measure interethnic and intraethnic differences in inter-and intra-generational ethnic identity patterns (Kalbach 1990; Reitz 1980; Reitz and Breton 1994). Variations in modes of ethnic expression retained, created and rejected across consecutive generations, within different contexts, and differential strategies for conveying ethnic identity across varied ethnic groups, have alerted researchers to the need for measuring multiple forms of ethnic expression.

17 Rather than dispense with concepts whose original interpretations seem currently outmoded, we are better off recasting these terms to be relevant to contemporary lived realities and provide a means for tracing their evolution through time and across space.

18 Gordis and Ben-Horin (1991: viii) critique extant Jewish identity studies that are limited to surveying a set selection of behaviors, attitudes and beliefs while failing to investigate whether there is “a psycho-cognitive reality underlying these manifestations.” See also Brodbar-Nemzer (1988: 80).
Increasingly, the complex relationship and constitution of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity are being considered (Ayalon et al 1988; Burgess 1976; Driedger 1975, 1977; Himmelfarb 1982; Hirschman 1983; Isajiw 1990, 1993, 1999; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Richard 1991; Stoller 1996; Yinger 1994). In some cases this includes attempts to reconcile the subjective-objective divide by exploring internal orientations toward identifying with the socially defined cultural practices of an ethnic group together with, and in relation to, externally expressed manifestations and/or interactions with co-ethnics (Arnow 1994; Herman 1989; Isajiw et al 1993). Other ethnic identity theorists focus on overcoming the mutual exclusivity of primordial and circumstantial perspectives, a dichotomization of the rational, “the calculating nature of non-primordial relations” (Van den Berghe 1978: 405), and non-rational, “orgies of passion” (ibid), conceptions of ethnic identity (Cornell 1996; Gil-White 1999; Gorenburg 1999; Scott 1990). For example, Scott (1990) retains the idea of ineffable affective significance toward co-biological descendents but rejects the assumption of apriority inherent in primordial thinking. Borrowing from Spicer (1971), Scott argues that primordial sentiments are mediating variables, accounting for the positive correlation between degree of opposition faced by an ethnic group and the degree of ethnic group solidarity/ethnic identity retention. In the face of group opposition, group members seize upon primordial symbols like a “historical sense of distinctiveness” to foster a sense of group belonging (Scott: 164).

Social constructionism, a synergistic way of seeing ethnic identity as tied to subjective/social-psychological processes, does not eliminate cultural content from its analyses (Gitelman 1999; Isajiw 1999; Jenkins 1996; Joselit 1994; Kivisto 1989; Mars 1999; Nagel 1994; Stoller 1996). Cornell (1996: 267) underscores this “conception of ethnicity as a contingent, volitional,

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19 In the interests of clarity, I here sometimes refer to circumstantialist thinking as inclusive of a variety of theories that arose in response to the primordial perspective. Specifically, this includes conceptions of ethnic identity as a by-product of materialist forces—epiphenomena (e.g., Bonacich 1991; Hechter 1978), a situational phenomenon, strategically manipulated based on rational means-end calculus (e.g., Banton 1983), and a subjective phenomenon, socially created and negotiated constructs (e.g., Nagel 1994).
negotiated phenomenon in which both societal circumstances and the creative assertions of human groups play variable and interacting roles.” As Van den Berghe (1978: xvii) reinforces, “these subjective perceptions do not develop at random; they crystallize around clusters of objective characteristics that become badges of inclusion or exclusion.” Further, imagined communion, a deep comradeship with fellow members one in many circumstances may never meet, is rendered within a sociopolitical matrix that involves a “simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present” (Anderson 1983: 30).20 Hobsbawm (1983: 1-2) also argues that memory of the past is better conceived as a negotiation of the present’s appropriate past, an ideologically-laden construction that serves to legitimize the present and frame the future.21

For example, Finkielkraut (1994) relies on a particular interpretation of what constitutes an authentic and viable Jewish identity when suggesting that post-Holocaust era Jewish identity claims are exalted and promoted largely to mask the vacuity of substance in their cultural content. Further, in-group disagreement over who is a member, what acts and attitudes include one within the group, how one is positioned within the group and how one feels being aligned to the group, make isolating the subjective (internal) and objective (external) properties of ethnic identity difficult, if not unhelpful. Such culturally and ideologically malleable discourses circulate within power relations, functioning to underscore the manner in which identity must be understood within a socio-historical matrix of social relations, with actors operating at various levels and multiple competing interests (e.g. Hyman 1998; Lasry 1993; Mars 1999; Shokeid 1988; Yuval-Davis 1994). Horowitz (1999) exemplifies the boundary maintenance mechanisms

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20 One interviewee, 78 year old G11/2 London (UK) born Anne Baker sums up this “imagined community” orientation that many Diasporic Jews hold toward Israel: “I think that everyone who goes to Israel has that feeling that they somehow belong there. It’s just something that is so incredible that it’s hard to explain that when you go there, you step off the plane and you’re at home. It’s an incredible feeling and none of us could understand why we felt that way, but everybody feels that way.”

21 See also Calhoun (1993) who shares this conception of ethnic identities as invented, continually negotiated, and reconstituted constructs across spatio-temporal coordinates.
of internally ascribed discourses in a metaethnic discourse on 'who or what is an authentic Jew', including arguments about 'sufficient' criteria for citizenry and special rights in Israel.

Various questions exist regarding the applicability of general ethnic identity frameworks to the understanding of any particular ethnic group. Does the Jewish group for instance due to its specific religious properties need "a unique or special framework" (Sklare 1982: 268)? Can Jews "analytically and ethnographically, be comparable to other ethnic groups" (Webber 1997: 259)? For example, Gans (1994) rethinks his earlier treatment of Jewishness as primarily an ethnic phenomenon, asking specifically whether the relative longevity of the Jewish group is not related to the prominence of its religious dimension. He offers a "terminological solution" to the question of which takes priority for an ethnic group, namely religion or shared culture, calling them religio-ethnic or ethno-religious respectively. While Gans's effort to restore the place of religious commitments within ethnic identity debates is a move in the right direction, his insistence on a rigid classification for particular ethnic groups is an untested hypothesis that obscures the diversity of intra-ethnic bases of attachment. Whether or not, for instance, being Jewish is primarily religious or ethnic varies by location, time, and unit of analysis (Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993; Chervyakov et al 1997; Herberg 1960; Kosmin and Lachman 1993; Mars

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22 Goldberg (1993) distinguishes between internally (within group) and externally ascribed (inter-group) discourses.
23 Gans defines a religio-ethnic group as "a religious group with ethnic secular characteristics" which he differentiates from an ethno-religious group, namely an ethnic group with religious characteristics (he offers Italian Catholics as an example).
25 Using data obtained from a 1990 American National Jewish Population Survey (n=673) Winter (1996) found that people defined their Jewishness in multiple ways. Respondents were asked whether they thought being a Jew in America meant being a member of a religious group, ethnic group, cultural group, nationality, or something else. 46 percent viewed it as being a member of a religious group, 59 percent an ethnic group, 72 percent a cultural group and 41 percent a nationality. Importantly, 8 percent of the sample did not find any of these categories appropriate.
26 Herberg (1960) highlighted a triple melting pot thesis, anticipating religious cohesion replacing ethnic cohesion for the acculturating descendants. He argued, "People tend more and more to identify and locate themselves socially in terms of three great sub-communities—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish—defined in religious terms..." (56). Herberg's tendency to see the primacy of religious commitment must however be also understood in the context of his own personal path from Marxism and passionate atheism to Judaism. Irrespective of whether Herberg is correct, his thesis draws attention to how endogamy indexes restricted to in-group marriages across ethnic lines may obscure the degree of endogamy that while transcends nationality boundaries rests within religious groups.
Making a case for Jews being a racial, religious, ethnic or cultural group becomes especially complicated when something like participating in synagogue life is pursued, as it often is for the non-Orthodox, more to affirm ethnic loyalty and solidarity than one's religious faith or devotion. Sharot (1991) speaks of a 'Jewish civil religion' wherein ethnic survival, preserving a people, is primary and religion is used as a prop to realize this end (see also Woocher 1986). Brodbar-Nemzer (1988: 67) argues that Jews are both an ethnic/cultural and religious category and that the "disentangling of these two components at a conceptual, behavioral or social psychological level is difficult and, in terms of the experiences of the vast majority of American Jews, probably futile."

Both the religious and tribal/communal (ethnic) dimensions of ethnic groups require careful depth analysis if we are to gain an accurate appreciation of their complex and highly interdependent relationship. Importantly, a largely inescapable awareness of the many normative and prescriptive claims associated with one's religion can exert a powerful behavioral and attitudinal influence on even highly irreligious individuals, if only perhaps in reaction.

In the context of an ongoing, often passionate "debate about the nature of the Jewish entity [that] continues within and outside it" (Chervyakov et al 1997: 285), it is critical that we hold up for review the extant longstanding, potentially outmoded criteria for measuring this complex, multifarious phenomenon. While it has been popular to over-rely on limited indicators of Jewish identity, "potentially 'lopsided' scales" (Phillips 1991: 8) based on researchers' preconceived notions of what items to include, Jewish sociologists are finally awakening to respondents' varied interpretive orientations (Chervyakov et al 1997; Cohen 1991, 1995; Greenberg 1999; Silberman 1985). In Phillips's (1991) overview of what he views as key Jewish identity studies he distinguishes two general styles in the Jewish sociological landscape: change-oriented and
content-oriented research. The former tend to focus on specifying and accounting for changes in the levels of predetermined Jewish identity items while the latter focus on investigating the nature of Jewish identity, the meanings that subjects themselves attribute to what they do, think and designate as significant sources of attachment. Change-oriented studies offer portraits of what Jews were, are or are becoming in a North American context (Cohen 1988; Goldscheider 1986; Gordis and Ben Horin 1991), however, researchers are too slow to incorporate the contributions of content-oriented works which might function to enhance measurement validity.\textsuperscript{28} Gordis and Ben Horin (1991: ix) indicate that our extant Jewish identity research toolkits "appear to be, at best, incomplete" due to their failing to explore what they refer to as "the underlying psychodynamic reality" of Jewish attitudinal and behavioral manifestations. That said, some researchers who appreciate that "doing Jewish' and 'feeling Jewish' rarely come in separate experiential packages" (Arnow 1994: 30), are striving for a more holistic analysis, investigating Jewish identity at the cognitive, affective, and behavioral levels (Herman 1989; London and Chazan 1990; London and Hirschfield 1991). Responses to, for example, whether or not one is a member of a Jewish organization tells us nothing about subjects' actual participation, their type of organizational commitment, and the nature of organization involvement (i.e., rationales for and feelings toward [non]membership and participation). Asking participants the extent of their agreement with statements such as 'I know Jewish history and/or Jewish culture' are also limited by differential standards of what people perceive as constituting knowledge, potentially overlooking the variety of ways of appreciating the extensive body of Jewish history and Jewish 'multiculture'.

\textsuperscript{27} Herman (1989: 20) emphasizes that social scientists, "like all other men and women, have their biases, i.e., a priori beliefs and valuations about the phenomena to be studied" and that these "beliefs and valuations...often remain hidden—even to the scientist himself—and their operation is accordingly unchecked."

\textsuperscript{28} Recognizing that extant measures may be ill-suited to keep pace with changing interpretations of what it means to be Jewish, America's national and local Jewish community surveys are only recently being reworked and becoming hip to the reconfiguration of Jewish identities (Bullard 1999).
II. Straight Line Theory Revisited

The intense controversy about ethnic dissipation, intensification or reconfiguration over time, not to mention in relation to varied living arrangements, is very much a function of the way one defines and measures the nature or vitality of ethnic identity. Clearly any charges of loss or gains to an ethnic identity need to be contextualized within a particular understanding and definition of the same. Unfortunately, very often political and ideological agendas cloud the clear explication of researchers' assumptions that underlie their choice of measures, analytical tools and hence, not surprisingly, their findings. For example, Gans (1999: 235) argues that the new researchers who "see more retention than acculturation" do so in part because of their focus on participants close to the immigration experience and their 'insider' status via the people they study (see also Alba and Nee 1997). In this section, I will explore some of the competing theoretical frameworks associated with the assimilation debate over ethnic continuity in North America. I will begin with a brief outline of the original approach to describing and explaining the changes in ethnic identity over time in a new context, often referred to as the 'Straight Line' assimilation model. Afterward, I will present some reasons to question the 'Straight Line' model together with new conceptual frameworks and empirical works that have been advanced to try and resolve its difficulties and/or better represent the issue of ethnic identity change.

While some people argue that we might be better off to jettison completely the term assimilation from our analysis of ethnic and race relations, I favor a more moderate approach that instead focuses on further improving this concept lest we inadvertently throw the baby out with the bath water. Having long ago in fact escaped academia and penetrated the public lexicon in multiplex, often inconsistent, ways, Glazer (1993) queries whether the term assimilation is not so charged

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29 As Merton (1987) aptly argues, it is unproductive to try and explain a phenomenon without establishing first what is the nature of the phenomenon, its constituents, and whether it in fact exists before presuming a relationship obtains.
and misconceived that it is difficult to employ in a useful or analytical manner. Glazer has found that the term is finding disfavor amongst his students owing to its allegedly ethnocentric underpinnings and purported link to a systemic devaluation of minority cultural practices. Still, he believes its ability to describe and explain the experiences of some ethnic groups should not be lost or obscured in an effort to avoid its ideological connotations (c.f. Hirschman 1991). Yinger (1994: 38) informs that in “these times of ethnic conflict and resurgence, assimilation has become something of a swearword.” He too cautions however that its applicability derives when it is preserved as “a descriptive, not an evaluative concept” (40). It is my belief that assimilation can overcome its maligned history of ethnocentrism, prejudice, accidental or not, and the presumption of necessary irreversible one-sided losses to become a useful ethnographic tool. Alba and Nee (1997: 827) acknowledge the “deficiencies of earlier formulations and applications of assimilation” but together with others attempt to refine and recast it in contemporary, palatable terms (see also Barkan 1995; Gans 1999; Isajiw 1999; Zhou 1997).

Many decades have passed since Park (1950: 150) put forward his orderly ethnic life cycle of “contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation,” but his idea of weakening interethnic boundaries followed by the ultimate absorption within the majority group culture given increased interethnic contact continues to receive attention.31 Park avoids stating a specific rate at which he felt minority groups ultimately abandoned their ethnic attachments. The unfalsifiability, and hence limited utility, of his stage model comes from his concession that only certain conditions such as ethnic/racial prejudice and discrimination could retard this “final perfect product” (Park and Burgess 1969: 361), a unilinear movement toward the dissolution of ethnic distinctions and separate group fates. Park’s assumption of loosening ethnic ties over

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30 Given our confessional times, analysts increasingly acknowledge that our ‘conceptual baggage’, personal biographies, and the affective dimension of ethnic loyalties and particular ethnic content shapes what we report and how we interpret what we observe (e.g., Cohen 1989; Gans 1999; Yinger 1994).
31 See also Newman (1978), Shibutani and Kwan (1965), Schermerhorn (1978), Warner and Srole (1945), for further elaboration of the assimilation paradigm associated with the Chicago school.
successive generations of interaction leaves no room for the varied styles of ethnic identity persistence that do occur often in spite of the pressures to fuse with the dominant group. He oversimplifies the “process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life” (Park and Burgess 1969: 360). That is, minority group members are presumed to be passive recipients who accept the normative standards, customs and conditions imposed upon them by the dominant group.

Lieberson (1985[1970]) contends that earlier race and ethnic cycles such as that of Park (1950) and Bogardus (1928) describe unilinear movement from self-segregation in the first generation to assimilation already by the third generation because their work is only applicable to certain specific contact situations. Lieberson (1985: 10) accords primacy to the nature of initial inter-group contact in accounting for “divergent consequences...as racial nationalism and warfare, assimilation and fusion, and extinction.” He argues that the maintenance of ethnic ties and tensions is contingent upon whether the migrant or indigenous group that make contact are “superordinate” or “subordinate” in terms of technology, institutional structures, and organizational capacity. In particular, Lieberson identifies two possible contact situations: [1] a migrant group subordinates an indigenous group and ethnic identity resistance, segregation and conflict ensues e.g., Amerindians in Canada (see Bonacich 1991; Dickason 1992); and [2] a migrant group is subordinate technologically to the indigenous group, hastening cultural and structural assimilation e.g., Portuguese Canadians. Notwithstanding Lieberson’s improvement on earlier ethnic life cycle models, namely by incorporating a multilinear approach to understanding the consequences of interethnic contact for ethnic identity retention, he continues to conceptualize assimilation or maintenance of ethnic ties as unidimensional outcomes, hence missing the coexistence of assimilationist and pluralist trends.
Gordon's (1964) seminal work transforms this tendency to view assimilation as a singular melting pot process (i.e., the adoption of Anglo-Saxon cultural patterns) and conceive it instead as a multidimensional set of processes. He introduces the complexity, potential incompleteness and unevenness in the assimilation process for different ethnic groups by distinguishing seven types of assimilation sub-processes. These seven dimensions of incorporation into the dominant culture include: [1] cultural assimilation or acculturation (conformity to majority group's culture), [2] structural assimilation (active involvement in majority group's institutions, clubs, cliques, i.e., primary networks), [3] amalgamation (marital assimilation), [4] identificational assimilation (identification with host society), [5] attitude receptional assimilation (are not targets of prejudice), [6] behavior receptional assimilation (are not receptors of discrimination), and [7] civic assimilation (freedom from value and power conflict). Identifying multiple modes of absorption into the host society permits an appreciation of the differential states of incorporation across ethnic groups. Gordon's recognition that an ethnic group could score high for instance in terms of cultural assimilation but remain low with regard to incorporation into the majority group's clique structures has been a useful aid to describing in part the North American Jewish experience (Phillips 1991; Rosenthal 1960; Sklare 1993). For instance, Rosenthal (1960) introduced the phrase 'acculturation without assimilation.'

While dubious of Gordon's presumption that acculturation meant the immigrant group sheds its customs, values, tastes, practices in favor of those championed by the 'host' culture, Sklare instead identifies criteria by which many American Jews both adapt to the wider environment yet do not disappear into it. For Sklare and Greenblum (1979), North American Jews carried on

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32 Gordon rejects the "naiveté" of a single melting pot theory (129), and instead attributes cultural assimilation to "a 'transmuting pot' in which all the ingredients have been transformed and assimilated to an idealized 'Anglo-Saxon' model" (128).

33 Gordon's concept of structural assimilation is more accurately labeled primary structural assimilation because it taps only integration at the level of personal relations and social institutions. Gordon fails to identify secondary structural assimilation, which "entails equality of access to power and privilege within the society's major institutions—the economy, polity, education, and so on" (Marger 1994: 118).
rituals in a way that permitted both survival and integration (i.e., adaptation not abandonment). Enduring Jewish rituals: [1] can be redefined in modern terms, [2] do not demand social isolation, [3] accord with the religious culture of the larger community while providing a 'Jewish' alternative when such is felt to be needed, [4] are child-centered and are [5] performed annually or infrequently. It is important to note however that there is also counter-acculturative forces present within the Jewish community and far more stylizing, namely the picking and choosing of one's ethnic-specific manner of approaching the mainstream than is generally assumed. What may appear like assimilation to one person is a sense of ethnic bonding or identification to another. The adaptation process is at best partial and incomplete.

Though Gordon has advanced the assimilation/pluralism debate with his multidimensional approach to assimilation, like his predecessors he presumes an irreversible, one-way process of incorporation and socialization into the dominant host culture. This zero-sum, subtractive thinking (e.g., ethnic identity loss equals host identity gain), obscures the actual reciprocal, mutual adjustment processes between host and migrant communities (see Hurh and Kim 1993; Isajiw 1999; Rumbaut 1997). Researchers are increasingly recognizing that ethnic identities evolve to meet the exigencies of a new geographical and temporal context (Sorin 1997; Stoller 1996; Yancey et al 1976). Importantly, in this regard, the multiplex processes of acculturation cease to be construed as net losses. Participation in the majority culture and persisting ethnic connected-ness is not necessarily mutually exclusive, in many cases strategies are invoked to reinforce and maintain multiple allegiances (Hurh and Kim 1993; Hurtadó 1997). Calling into question the assumptions and presumptions of hard line assimilationists, who more or less argue for an inexorable, inevitable straight-line decline in ethnic ties, these thinkers evidence selective ethnic identity retention, redefinition, revivals, additions, and inventions in the ethnic sphere.
Gordon's multidimensional perspective is less helpful in trying to explain variation in ethnic identity across spatio-temporal contexts because he does not empirically investigate the interaction between the differing levels of assimilation in these seven spheres. While Gordon's assimilation model recognized the multiple spheres in which societal integration takes place, we are still left in the dark as to what passes for assimilation, what people interpret as assimilation, whether incorporation into the dominant culture necessitates ethnic identity loss, and the conditions accounting for ethnic identity change. Further, Gordon simply presumed that cultural assimilation was a precursor for example to structural assimilation and the latter was a prerequisite for marital assimilation rather than multiethnic friendship networks and intermarriage reinforcing or redefining ethnic identity retention.

Early assimilation models did not sufficiently appreciate the ethnic minority group's creative adaptive strategies including their choice to live alongside and their role in shaping the 'so perceived' dominant group/host culture they are being socialized into. Cultural assimilation typically refers to the migrant group adopting the styles of a monoculture rather than contributing to the creation of or adapting to a multiculture. There is no such thing as culture with a big 'C'. The term acculturation hinges on an assumption that there is an abstract, definitive, monolithic entity to which minority groups can be absorbed into. According to O'Bryan et al (1976: 180), "quantitative studies indicating identity incorporation do not tell us much about what Canadian identity means to those who acquire it." In assuming an individual's reference group is the Anglo majority group negates current inventions of ethnic identity that borrow across minority cultures and 'so called' competing identities. Take the innovation to ethnic practices forged by a 23 year old G2\(1/2\) male interviewed in my study who looks to his Rastafarian 'brothers' to inform his approach to Jewishness, not the mythical non-ethnic, culture-less, de-religionized, mainstream.
Further, assimilation research is constrained due to contentiousness behind what we count as ethnic identity loss or gain and what are the costs and consequences of these processes. For instance, the accessibility of bagels, a Jewish ethnic food, now on every corner, removes for some its capacity to signify ethnic membership. However, others aptly point out that these processes continue in other forms, namely where you buy your bagel and what type you choose are new sources of ethnic signification. Bagels in this sense function as a discursive symbol for where one stands on the cult of authenticity and cult of synthesis continuum. It no longer means the same thing for a Jew to lose him/herself in this culture as for someone else whose group’s cultural ways have not been co-opted into, or have not carved out their own ethnic niche within, the mainstream. In fact, the mainstream culture is becoming more Jewish (e.g., Seinfeld’s Judaizing, or sensitizing of the North American public to Jewish colloquialisms and cultural nuances, and Madonna’s sexing up Judaism’s image by popularizing Kabbalah). Canadian filmmaker Simchah Jabovicci illuminates well this Jewish cultural penetration, the extent to which Jews are involved in making the world in which people live in North America, in his documentary ‘Hollywoodism’ (see also Weinfeld 1998). Incorporation into the dominant culture does not then dictate ‘dejewification’ nor does negation of one’s ethnic origin(s) imply entry into the dominant culture’s ways, means and institutional structures. Removing a prior monolithic bias, specifically a taken for granted conception of a mono-cultural, homogenous group, restores awareness to the complex nuances that tell us what ‘really’ is being absorbed, upheld, rejected, introduced or redefined.

Isajiw (1990, 1999) has coined the term selective generational identity construction in reference to his study of Toronto’s ethnic groups, including the Jewish group. His research underscores the variability, unevenness and non-linearity in ethnic identity across successive generations (see also

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34 The author of Kosher Sex, Rabbi Shmuley Boteach (2000: 29), contemplates in a recent article a “world becoming more Jewish.”
Weinfeld 1985; Driedger 1975, 1977; Reitz 1980; and Solomon 1994). Furthermore, he recognizes that notions of ethnic vitality or "foci of identity" can shift with time and competing interpretive systems demonstrating differential valuations and distributions of what is reconstructed or abandoned (Isajiw 1999: 192). Finding variation in the aspects that are retained and discarded across ethnic groups and generation categories Isajiw (1999: 193) later introduces five social-psychological strategies people use to deal with "doubleness," specifically dual socialization within the culture of an ethnic group and that of the broader society. These include:

1. Keeping the two worlds apart.
2. Pushing the world of the broader society aside, and engaging oneself primarily in the ethnic world.
3. Pushing the ethnic world aside and engaging oneself primarily in the world of the broader society.
4. Pushing the ethnic world and the world of the broader society away and involving oneself in alternative activities.
5. Bringing the two worlds together in creative activities.

Recent scholarship reveals far more complexity and diversity in assimilation dynamics and outcomes in general, and second-generation experiences in particular, than previous research predicted (Fukuoka 2000; Mars 1999; Portes and Zhou 1993; Stoller 1996). For instance, Hurh and Kim's (1993) study of the immigrant adaptation patterns of 622 Korean adult immigrants living in the Chicago area in 1986 supports a move away from zero-sum analyses, uncovering varied modes of adaptation rather than the singular assumptions of substitution, attenuation or retention often proposed.

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35 Driedger (1977: 77) for example rejects the crudeness of 'straight-line' descriptions of intergenerational ethnic identity decline, favoring instead a "multilinear, multidimensional, pluralist minority relations approach."

36 Kallen (1977) considers also alternative responses to absorption, abandoning of in-group attachments in favor of integration into the dominant group, such as encapsulation and compartmentalization strategies. Encapsulation or self-segregation is exemplified by Kallen in the case of Lubavitch Hassidic Jews while compartmentalization entails the penetration of host society's institutions together with remaining structurally separate (cf. Gordon 1964).

37 Portes and Zhou (1993) prefer the term segmented assimilation to accentuate the incompleteness and partialness of the adaptation process for the descendents of immigrants.

38 Stoller (1996) captures varied ethnic identity modalities in her interviews with 35 Finish Americans (primarily second and third generation): 1/ ethnicity and the self, 2/ orientation to Finland (past and present), 3/ real world ethnicity (ethnic infrastructure and lived relations), and 4/ ethnicity as social construction (symbolic and creative accomplishments).
They identify five adaptive strategies: [1] replacement (loss of ethnic attachment is accompanied by progressive incorporation into the host culture), [2] addition (retention of ethnic modalities together with Americanization), [3] blending or synthesis (hybridized ethnic forms), [4] attachment or ethnic maintenance (pluralist position), and [5] marginalization (alienation from both). Fukuoka's (2000) exploratory study of younger generation Koreans residing in Japan also illustrates this move beyond the oversimplified dichotomy of assimilation versus dissimilation, documenting a diversity of identity resolutions. For analytical purposes, he paints four ideal-typical responses to 'doubleness' including what he refers to as pluralist, nationalist, individualist, and assimilationist/naturalization orientations.

Not all the early ethnicity scholars however anticipated a wholesale dissipation of ethnic ties across successive generations. Such 'bumps' in the trajectory of ethnic groups were captured in Hansen's (1990[1938]) classic contribution, namely the "principle of third generation interest." This work painted a second generation disinterested in parochial attachments that they worried might impede their social mobility and social acceptance, followed by a third generation as a secure group now in the position to rediscover and appreciate the culture of their ancestors. Hansen was in fact ahead of his times in informing the popular adage 'what the immigrant's son wants to forget, the grandson wants to remember.' Academics offer varied interpretations of Hansen's message (Archdeacon 1990; Kivisto 1990), including different readings of what he meant by or if he indeed proposed a 'return' to the first generation ethnicity. As Hansen's account of inter- and intra-group meetings over time and increased social mobility puts the emphasis on people's interest in exploring the experiences of the first two generations, not merely recreating 'old' ways and beliefs, he is viewed by some as a forefather of the 'new ethnicity' (Archdeacon 1990).39 Hansen pioneered the view that each succeeding generation in effect

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39 The third generation, rightly or wrongly, are charged by Hansen with the important task of writing their immigrant people's history, as well as to the construction of a new, more improved, national/host cultural identity.
brings forth into existence a new type of ethnic identity. In this way, the emergence of subjective ethnic identity forms, elsewhere named affective, attitudinal or symbolic ethnicity, may operate in tandem with declines in traditional sources of attachment (e.g., Gans 1979, 1999; Weinfeld 1985).

Of late, it has become fashionable to reconsider the assimilation process in light of the growing evidence that many generations into a new context people still care about their ancestral heritage.40 Scholars claim that the ‘new’ ethnicity expressed post the immigration experience is an option to be freely and easily exercised “without undue interference in other aspects of life” (Gans 1979: 203), or not, rather than a matter of fate (Alba 1990; Gans 1999; Waters 1990).41 Such scholars recognize that the native-born members of ethnic groups have maintained a subjective commitment, but question the import, substantiability, or costs of maintaining without it necessarily impinging on where they elect to live, go to work, and who they marry (Hirschman 1991; Heilman 1995). That is, the new “symbolic ethnicity, an ethnicity of last resort, which could nevertheless persist for generations”—a sense of connection to one’s ethnic heritage outside of participation in the “ongoing practice of the ethnic culture”—exists largely as a consequence of its cost-less, privatized, non-burdensome nature (Gans 1979: 193).42 The relative importance assigned to ‘feeling ethnic’ as distinct from ‘being ethnic’ and to the ‘food, song and dance’ aspects of ethnic identity does not disturb from this perspective the overall move in an acculturative direction (i.e., declining salience of ethnic identity). Indeed, Heilman (1988, 1995) casts doubt about the accumulative effect of what he sees as the emptiness and shallowness of

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40 Hirschman (1991) argues that a rejection of assimilation theory on the grounds of observed ethnic identity persistence and a reaffirmation of or re-expressions of ethnic identities and ethnic conflicts was premature.

41 Researchers reconcile this seeming contradiction between the emergent strength of subjective attachments and holiday identity and the apparent demise of ‘real’ or what is sometimes called objective ethnicity.

42 In 1979, amidst the wake of renewed ethnic sentiments, Gans presented this equally applauded and contested term “symbolic ethnicity” to capture a new form of ethnic identity that he felt reflected the ongoing process of acculturation and societal incorporation among the later generations now distant from the immigration experience.
“optional Judaica” and the insubstantiality of the Jewishness heralded by those he calls passive and Heritage Jews.

While Gans (1994: 579) concedes that symbolic ethnicity subsumes “a wide range of ethnic identifications” (e.g., from disembodied ethnic feeling statements to badges of cosmopolitanism and distinctiveness), rich variation in consumption patterns, types of personal commitment, emotional attachment, and intentions get lost when one presumes a dislocation from material/institutional moorings. He notes that ethnic identity tends to become more and more ideological with increasing distance from the immigrant experience. However, in so doing he overlooks the creation of new materially relevant signs of ethnic attachment that are available to each generation and varied rationales for and ways of being ethnically engaged. Gans’s vision of ‘new’ ethnicity and religiosiy is ineluctably frustrated by people attaching significance to different vehicles of ethnic identity, diminishing importance in some facets, displaying persistence or intensification in others, and in general demonstrating an ongoing process of negotiation within the ethnic culture. There is no room in his constructs for contradictions, ambivalence, experimentation, and ethnic inventions, notably other later generation responses.

Gans underestimates the newly evolving body of traditions, failing to recognize it as a new culture. While he clarifies his case for symbolic attachments, suggesting that he did not see them as trivial or a pale substitute to “real ethnicity,” he continues to underestimate the significance of these creative, highly personalized forms that continue to inform people’s everyday lives and social location. His usage of the term ‘symbolic’ masks these socially created, highly customized, stylized, and individuated modes of ethnic expression (e.g., Stoller 1996). Although he is onto something with arguing for a new type of ethnicity, he pays little heed to the virulence associated with identity politics, multiple meanings attached to symbols, the boundary enforcement function of these signifiers, and the power of personal choice. Gans is still not taking these new
forms of attachment seriously enough: it’s not just about being different or about it not being ‘too much work,’ nor is it necessarily that ‘low on people’s lists’ or a mere non-conflictual add on or label. These are new emergent forms consisting of different readings attached to, and communicated by, a variety of non-universal symbols. In a context of “linguistic chaos” and semantic struggles, choice of terms and measures count: When does something decay? When is change good? What is a bad change? Given myths and illusions about where we were and where we are now, there is fertile ground for devaluing adaptations that occur.

Gans discounts the potency behind what he brands “microinventions” that he suggests go on all the time yet do not amass into “macroinventions.” As such, he does not recognize that varied adaptations to integrationist and survivalist forces can grow and evolve to a liminal (in-between) stage that marks the beginning of its ascent or descent in popularity. That said he does recognize that “symbolic religiosity” may become a mainstream religious practice that adapts religiosity to secular priorities, or becomes a way of maintaining some religiosity in the wake of increasing agnostic or atheistic tendencies” (589). It is not only the size of one’s ethnic repertoire that matters, but also how one feels about and uses what repertoire one does have. Is it better to be doing one thing that you really care about than several things that you carry on unreflectively or without conviction (quantity versus quality issue)? It is a subject for empirical investigation whether as Gans suggests the likelihood of ‘macroinvention’ decreases as people’s reservoir of ethnic knowledge diminishes. This hypothesis implies that ethnic members are incapable of being creative agents who participate in the co-construction of their ethnic present/future. Put another way, such obscures the proactive quality inherent in identity construction processes: people are not mere puppets of the system, victims losing themselves in something, but are actively involved in its creation. Gans underestimates the human agency entailed by suggesting

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4 Gans’s (1994: 585) sister concept symbolic religiosity “refers to the consumption of religious symbols, apart from regular participation in a religious culture and in religious affiliations—other than for purely secular purposes.”
that the “new constructions of ethnicity are themselves potential evidence of continuing acculturation (580).” In conflating adaptation with cultural assimilation, we are left with an incomplete portrait of ethnic/religious identities for post-immigrant generations, a result of losing sight of the energies expended in, styles of, and the effects of negotiating, reworking, and participating in the refashioning of newly emerging forms.

While Gans posits and initiates interest in “a form of religiosity detached from affiliation and observance (578),” he leaves the door wide open to explore people’s feelings about and rationales for their ritual consumption. To refine the application of symbolic ethnicity and religiosity Gans understands that we need to explore how many persons, for instance, celebrate de-institutionalized religious rituals “mainly because of religious reasons, to be with family, friends and neighbors, out of habit, obligation, or for a combination of all of these” (585). He recognizes that identifying symbolic ethnicity/religiosity, discovering to what uses symbols are being put, requires ethnographic fieldwork and intensive interviews.

III. Jewish Continuity Debate

The trends are anything but clear cut; serious observers disagree over what they are and, equally important, what they portend (Silberman 1985: 22).

Jewish survival in the Diaspora has always been complicated by the allegedly conflicting demands to ‘successfully’ integrate into a host culture and yet remain distinctive. Some scholars see increases in North American Jews’ social acceptance and socioeconomic status as a veritable double-edged sword, trading societal rewards at the expense of ethnic culture and attachments (Brym 1993; Dershowitz 1997; Heilman 1995). Others however find that incorporation and the acculturation process does not portend attenuating Jewish ties, but rather facilitates creative

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44 My data analysis chapter shows that people are doing all kinds of interesting things to refashion/ customize their Jewishness, in this case within the sphere of religious ritual participation.
refashioning of ethnic modalities and alternate displays of ethnic attachment (Levine 1993; Jaffe McLain 1995; Silberman 1985). In this section, I consider the Jewish-specific literature concerning the continuity/assimilation debate, including questions surrounding Jewish identity measurement criteria, the competing interpretations of relevant data, and probable sources of Jewish affection and disaffection.

In surveying the literature on Jewish identity and immigrant adaptation in North America, it is evident that American, for the most part quantitative, research dominates our comprehension of the transformation and persistence of Jewish identity in the North American Diaspora. Some researchers, as well as community members themselves, suggest that the retention and lower intermarriage rates associated with Canadian Jewry compared to their American counterparts signify that Canadians are a generation behind or have a generation reprieve to prevent following in Americans’ footsteps (see Tulchinsky 1992, 1993, 1998; Weinfeld 1990). Tulchinsky (1993) and Weinfeld (1990) forward contextual factors to explain why for instance Jews in Canada report stronger ties to Israel, donate more money to Jewish fund-raising appeals, are more likely to be members of Jewish organizations and to observe Jewish rituals, than are their American Jewish counterparts.

Tulchinsky (1993) identifies three historical factors that help understand current ‘differences’ between the two groups: [1] greater geographic concentration of Canadian Jewry, [2] greater religious homogeneity as a result of differential timing of East European Jewish migration (see also Weinfeld 1990), and [3] different experiences of anti-Semitism. However, perhaps we are

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55 Breton and Reitz (1994) argue that although Canadians like to subscribe to the cultural mosaic distinction Canadian and American ethnic groups are heading in the assimilating direction “at about the same pace.” The fact that immigrants comprised in 1991 16percent of Canada’s population and 8percent of America’s population and the differences that obtain in generation composition in the two contexts sustains in the researchers’ opinion the “illusion of difference” which is inherent to “popular thinking” (6-7).


67 See introduction for detail on Canada/US Jewish differences.
not comparing apples to apples and the US/Canada differences in the sphere of ethnicity are misplaced or illusory (cf. Breton and Reitz 1994). Differences cannot be conclusively drawn across national contexts due to incommensurable measures utilized, variations in size and composition of Jewish samples, and a failure in both cases to explore new modes of attachment and varied bases of Jewish commitment. However, if the two groups can be said to be at present virtually indistinguishable, we can at least now agree that such a state of affairs assumed different developmental trajectories.

Weinfeld (1990) points out that it is not just the differential timing and characteristics of Jewish immigrants coming to these two countries that help explain differences, but such differences, however subtle, also have a basis in the contrasting origins of the receiving countries themselves.\(^{48}\) Aside from an enduring image of Canada as an ethnic mosaic and America as a melting pot,\(^{49}\) explanatory power is assigned to the fact that Canada was built on a “collectivistic approach to the notion of rights, in contrast to the American emphasis on individual liberties”(ibid: 89). At the policy and ideological level, Canada demonstrates its commitment to pluralism and protecting group rights (Isajiw 1997; Kallen 1995; Schoenfeld 1999). Recognition of cultural diversity is portrayed in the acceptance and image of harmonious “coexistence of groups with different cultures”(Anderson and Frideres 1981: 297).

While Canada’s multiculturalism policies project an image of equalitarian pluralism,\(^{50}\) some argue that this politicized support for cultural retention promotes divisiveness, reification of

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\(^{48}\) See also Lipset (1985) who sees the universalistic, individualistic and achievement-oriented ethos of Americans compared to the particularistic, collectivistic and traditionalist ethos of Canadians as rooted in the early experience of the American war of independence in contrast with the persistent loyalty to British authority demonstrated by Canadian subjects.

\(^{49}\) The idealistic notion of a melting pot entails the egalitarian blending of cultures to create a “new cultural product”(Gordon 1964: 74). Melting pot theory, however, does not transcend the level of rhetoric and imagery and is hard to operationalize because of the amorphous nature of a putative melting pot.

\(^{50}\) Marger (1994) identifies two forms of ethnic pluralism, equalitarian and inequalitarian. In terms of the former, pluralism is achieved on the basis of consensus with ethnic groups holding equal access to political and economic
cultural differences, and the entrenchment and cloaking of ethnic inequities (Bibby 1990; Bissoondath 1994; Fleras and Elliot 1990; Kallen 1995; Lautard and Loree 1984; Porter 1965). In so doing, equalitarian pluralism theorists are “absolving societal institutions of responsibility for the terrible inequities that divide and imperil us” (Steinberg 1989: 298). Policies underpinned by superiority/inferiority claims act as smokescreens to legitimize the perpetuation of majority and minority relations (Abella and Troper 1981; Porter 1965). Breton and Reitz (1994) demystify the melting pot/mosaic dichotomy that is popularly believed and reified by academics to describe America and Canada respectively. The scholars note a discrepancy between how “Canadians actually feel about ethnic minorities, [and] of how ethnic minorities in Canada behave” (6). According to their analysis of Decima Research’s 1989 poll findings, there was a statistically significant difference between Canadians and Americans favoring cultural maintenance in ethnic minorities. Canadians were less likely to be in favor of cultural retention than their American counterparts. The authors attribute this disjuncture between myth and practice to the framing of a metaethnic discourse within different ideological contexts, specifically that Americans evaluate cultural retention in the context of an ethos of individualism while for Canadians feelings about cultural retention are embedded in a discourse associated with governmental policies. Notwithstanding the potency of cultural penetration, the importation, transmission and internalization of American values and norms, as well as reciprocal socialization and cultural exchange, it is important not to be tempted by the convenience of describing and explaining Canadian Jewish cases by relying entirely on American insights and examples. It is fruitful to consider a sampling of both Canadian and American thinkers/players in the Jewish specific continuity debate.

power at the same time that they retain their cultural and structural distinctiveness. In terms of the latter, conflict and competition sustain and reproduce ethnic separateness and unequal opportunity structures (ethnic stratification).
Brym (1993) divides Jews into two general categories in his thought-provoking report on the status of Canadian Jewry. Working with 1981 and 1986 Canadian Census data, he presents descriptive statistics demonstrating a marked 236 percent increase from 29,055 (9.9 percent) to 97,650 (28.4 percent) for so named assimilated Jews, that is those who report Jewish and at least one other ethnic origin. Meanwhile, over this five-year period persons who report an exclusively Jewish ethnic origin, those he refers to as ethnic Jews, sustained a 7 percent decline in numbers from 264,020 (90.1 percent) to 245,855 (71.6 percent). The total number of Jews in Canada increased 17 percent over this same five-year period, rising from 293,735 to 343,505.

Notwithstanding impressive socioeconomic 'triumphs' and a predominantly receptive and hospitable Canadian environment, Brym describes what he refers to as "the dilemma of Canadian Jewry's success" (22), namely a shrinking and divided Jewish ethnic group whose success may be its own undoing. Pointing to the dramatic rise in multiple ethnic origin reporting within the Jewish group, Brym makes the case for an increasingly acculturated and assimilated population that tripled in size over the study period. Following Reitz (1980), Brym argues that multiple ethnic reporting is indicative of weakening ethnic loyalties, comparatively speaking, for any particular ethnic group. He goes on to identify non-conversionary intermarriages which purportedly constitute two thirds of Jewish intermarrieds (see Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993), immigration, natural increase in the assimilated group, conversions to Judaism, and secular drift as representing approximately one third of the increase in his assimilated category. The other two thirds of the 69,000 person increase he suggests are possibly related to hitherto non-Jewish-reporting Jews, perhaps rediscovering their Jewish roots in response to the destigmatization of, and trend toward celebrating, one's ethnic ancestry and minority attachment. However, Brym cautions us not to get too optimistic about the possibility of a significant ethnic revival. He, like

51 Given the absence of a religion question in the 'mini census', Brym subdivides his broad 'ethnic Jews' category only in 1981 into: high identifiers—persons who report both their ethnic origin and religion as being Jewish; secularists—Jewish ethnic origin, no religion and apostates—Jewish ethnic origin, another religion. Brym overlooks the vital presence of Jews—typically converts or those who do not read their Jewishness in ethnic terms—who report Jewish as their religion but not their ethnic origin (but see Torczyner et al 1995).
Gans (1979, 1994), speculates that much of this ‘so called’ rediscovery is primarily “symbolic” in nature and will not likely, as such, offset losses in the traditional bases of Jewish involvement (e.g., philanthropy, communal involvement, and heritage language learning). It is the socio-demographic profile of the Canadian Jewish population and the hegemonic character of the mainstream Jewish community (see also Taras and Weinfeld 1993; Waller 1993), which Brym argues spell a threat to Jewish continuity. Citing below replacement fertility rates and an aging population, Brym forewarns a continued decline in the number of ethnic Jews.

While Brym’s study raises some serious questions and concerns, it is important as always to further examine the methods a study employs and presumptions it makes to arrive at its conclusions, as they may unwittingly produce erroneous or misleading results. To begin with, there are inherent limitations in Brym’s attempt to infer dissipating Jewish ties from increases in Jewish multiple ethnic origin reporting. Importantly, the Canadian Census ethnic origin variable may be quite insufficient as a measure of people’s “psychological commitment to an ethnic group and its unique style of interaction” (Isajiw et al 1993: 178). Ethnicity and religion are measured in the Census at the nominal level, a practice that obscures intra-group variations, including the emotional and cognitive orientations that inform the character of these ethnic/religious identity patterns. Put another way, persons are “placed in the same category as others for whom the salience of national origin may have been greater” (Yancey et al 1976: 399). For instance, persons who for whatever reason, be it mere interest or respect for one’s ‘complete’ ancestral/national heritage, report multiple ethnic origins, may nevertheless demonstrate a more vital attachment than someone who perhaps automatically, as if by reflex, checks off a single ethnic origin. Hence, claims of weakening ties and an increasingly polarized community must be contextualized within

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\[52\] Given that Jewish women rank high on all socioeconomic dimensions, Brym suggests that an inverse relationship between fertility and a woman’s educational attainment, labor force participation, and income attainment threatens the standing of the Jewish group. Goldscheider (1986) however finds that contrary to the general populace where this inverse relationship between for instance a woman’s education and their fertility expectations obtains the reverse
the questionable presumption of uniformity in intent, interpretation and affect in people’s ethnic origin reporting. Notably, people assign different meanings and experience different emotions in regards to the official documentation and recording of their ancestry (e.g., fear or pride etc). In addition, people continue to express confusion about the ambiguity and ‘exact’ meaning, not to mention differences between, higher order concepts such as ethnic identity, ethnicity, religion, nationality, race, etc. For example, in Howell’s multiethnic case study examination of Canadian families, qualitative interviews with 21 Montreal based Jewish family members instanced a wide range of interpretations and confusion about these questions.

Additionally, inter-censal changes in the phrasing of the ethnic origin question further complicate and contribute to flux in the ethnic category (see Kalbach and Kalbach 1999; Pryor et al 1992). Furthermore, other factors such as distance from the immigration experience, age, educational attainment, intermarriage, marital status, and indirect family member reporting, can also effect “[d]istortions and inconsistencies in ethnic reporting” (Lieberson and Waters 1986: 79; cf. Berry and Laponce 1994; Li 1978; Waters 1990). Although Brym acknowledges comparability constraints related to the incompatible phrasing of the ethnic origin question in the 1981 Census versus preceding Canadian Censuses (i.e., 1981 Census—first time possible to report multiple ancestors), he ignores the implications of other phraseology changes in post 1981 Censuses. For example, in the 1986 Census the word ancestor was pluralized as it had been in 1981 —“To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person’s ancestors belong?”—but, “the phrase ‘mark or specify as many as applicable’ was added” (Pryor et al 1992: 219; see also Kalbach and Kalbach 1999). In highlighting the dramatic rise in Jewish multiethnic reporting Brym neglects to include the important fact that an almost equivalent rise occurred in the general

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53 MA Sociology student Tracey Aaron conducted the interviews in 1993.
54 The chapter on and transcripts for these Canadian based Jewish family members were obtained with permission from the author, professor Nancy Howell, department of Sociology, University of Toronto.
Canadian population as well with 11 percent of Canadians reporting multiple ethnic origins in 1981 and 28 percent doing so in 1986 (see Pryor et al 1992). Consequently, the notion that there are some unique features about the Jewish community that are contributing to its loss of distinctiveness appear suspect. The reporting of multiple ethnic origins is perhaps more likely a function of changes in the measurement instrument itself and/or broader societal forces.

Treating the reporting of multiple ethnic origins as an indicator of attenuating ethnic commitments is premature and may misrepresent the 'real' sources of Jewish communal disaffection. Equating multiethnic reporting for Jews with assimilation is tempting but upon closer inspection misses out on the growing tendency to express and reconstruct Jewish identity in multiple ways across successive generations. Ethnic differentiation is not static but varies with changing circumstances. Further, since there is no cross-tabulation of multiethnic origin reporting with religion, we do not know the proportion of the people who report their religion as Jewish among this 'assimilated' group, information that would enhance our understanding of where people stand. Additionally, without knowing how many of those reporting multiethnicities are the offspring of mixed marriages and/or controlling for differences in ethnic socialization and child-rearing styles and practices, an exaggerated picture foreshadowing the demise of Canadian ethnic Jewry may be entertained (see Arnow 1994; Sprott 1994). Furthermore, multiple ethnic origins are not rank ordered, leaving undisclosed differential valuation or importance of ethnic memberships, as well as the meanings ascribed to these different ancestries. Lastly, the problem with using the ethnic origin question to evidence Jewish ethnic group shrinkage is not knowing what proportion of people interpret the census question

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55 See Ayalon et al 1988, Driedger 1975, and Silberman 1985 for said implications of using limited measures to operationalize ethnic continuity. Driedger and Chappell (1994: 239) also question the interpretive utility of Census ethnic responses when nothing is revealed about "choice of friends, extent of parochial education, participation in ethnic organizations and use of ethnic media, as well as the salience of identity and symbolic features of ethnic identity."

56 I will critically revisit the oft proposed or assumed intermarriage and ethnic identity 'loss' linkage later in this section.
objectively compared to subjectively (i.e., as a fact of the matter ancestral origin report versus a personalized interrogation of one's own cultural commitments/identity). Internal self-ascribed identities can conflict with externally ascribed labels (Barth 1969; Weinrich 1988). For example, persons who do not maintain or present themselves as Jews in either the subjective or objective sense, for whatever reason, be they persecution-minded Holocaust survivors and/or atheists, may nevertheless remain embedded in a richly Jewish web of social connections, and as such continue to manifest a significant form of Jewish identity (Goldscheider 1986; Kalmar 1993).

Csillag (Thursday March 26 1998)’s Canadian Jewish News interview with Brym and Torczyner hosted a debate about the applicability of the conclusions and issues raised in Brym’s earlier 1993 study (mentioned earlier) in light of 1996 Census Jewish ethnic origin results. The mini-census showed a drop of 5 percent over the 1991 Census for exclusive Jewish ethnic origin reporting. Meanwhile, again there was a dramatic rise (26 percent) in Jewish multiethnic background reporting. According to Brym, over half of Canada’s Jews will identify themselves as of mixed ancestry by 2001 and a “deep rift” will increase principally among those who on the one hand see being Jewish as an ethnicity (a cultural or historic attachment) and on the other a religion (4).

Tortcyner however cautions us not to take these numbers too seriously given the ongoing controversial nature of Jewish identity itself both within and without the community, namely is it an ethnic identity, nationality, social group, religion, race, or some combination of all of these. Tortcyner favors a blended use of both the ethnic origin and religion markers,\(^7\) since mini-censuses like the 1996 Census do not include the latter he suggests we hold off on any strong

\(^{7}\)Tortcyner, Brotman and Brodbar (1995) use 1991 ethnic origin and religion information to gain an idea of the numbers within the Toronto Jewish group who see themselves as inheriting a Jewish ethnic or religion membership or both. In 1991 in Toronto 122,745 (82.3 percent) reported Jewish by religion and ethnic origin, 17,370 (10.7 percent) Jewish by religion and other ethnic origin, and 11,485 (7.1 percent) reporting no religion and Jewish by ethnic origin. In Toronto then the proportion of persons who report their religion as Jewish was extremely high (92.9 percent of Toronto Jews that met the researchers definition of Jewish identity status). This rate of identification is slightly higher than the rest of Canada wherein 89 percent identify as such. They do not include the 10,915 persons who described themselves as Jews by ethnic origin yet report a religion other than Judaism. Adding these persons to the Toronto Jewish population they suggest would increase the total population by about 6 percent.
pronouncements until 2001 when a less limited portrait of Canadian Jewry can be offered. It is important to consider an additional complicating factor related to the 1996 Census ethnic origin question that reduces our ability to draw reliable inferences from the results (see Kalbach and Kalbach 1999). While respondents did not have to grapple with a new wording for the question itself, they were now provided with an open-ended format consisting of four write-in spaces in which they were instructed to specify as many ethnic origin ancestries as applicable. Importantly, new to this Census the category ‘Canadian’ was now included among the twenty-four examples of ethnic or cultural origin groups to which the person’s ancestors might have belonged. Kalbach and Kalbach (1999) note that this decision was made based on the frequency (i.e., the fifth most frequently reported response) of Canadian ethnic origin responses in the 1991 Census in spite of its absence as a choice. Relevant here is the fact that usage of the Canadian response category itself has experienced an impressive increase from 4 percent in 1991 to 31 percent in 1996 (19 percent exclusively Canadian and 12 percent Canadian plus other ethnic origins). This increase may also be due to Canada’s official multicultural ethos that has among other things promoted the idea that one can simultaneously maintain multiple ethnic allegiances. It may be that a great deal of the growth occurring in the multiethnic origin category for Canada’s Jews is related to this nation-wide trend towards recognizing one’s Canadianness as a non-conflictual valid ethnic category in its own right. The quasi-closeted and embarrassed Jewishness, situational displays of Jewish identity common to the ‘shah generation’ (Silberman 1985: 55) was replaced by ethnic pride and identity politics for succeeding generations (i.e., a transformed climate where one could at least in theory publicly be a Jew and not jeopardize Canadian belonging-ness).

However, Heilman (1995: 162) questions the substance backing these assertions of highly flexible Jewish pride or what he calls “symbolic ethnic visibility,” admitting one is Jewish yet

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58 Ben Rose (April 28 2000), a member of this cohort, recounts a period in which fellow Toronto Jews were fearful and insecure about revealing their Jewish status or being too open or noticeable.
confining this expression to non-burdensome commitments, and argues that such “residual Jewishness” or “hollow Judaism” presents “a false image of Jewish vitality.” While he recognizes that a majority of ethnic Jews admit “no shame being a Jew,” he is quick to state “fewer American Jews seem to know what being a Jew means” (6). In other words, he views the pride expressed as “more symbolic than substantive,” often not translating into what he recognizes as profound Jewish activity. Heilman introduces the idea that controlled acculturation strategies may have gone too far as the accumulation of endless acts of compromise and accommodations to the mainstream has brought about a major shift in the core values of the group which threaten its distinctiveness. For instance, he describes a post-war phenomenon the “Jewish edifice complex” (28), the emblematic construction of infrequently attended synagogues that exist primarily as symbols of a sentimentalistic attachment to Jewish continuity rather than forums for intense involvement (e.g., the Sunday brotherhood breakfasts are now more popular than the daily minyan).

Not unlike Brym in the Canadian context, Heilman’s impassioned exploration of the health of American Jewry from the 50s to the 90s evidences an increasingly two-faced,\textsuperscript{59} polarized, and weakened community in a quantitative and qualitative sense. Heilman too argues that these are “the best of times and worst of times” for North American Jews. On the one hand, Jews have flourished in North America with Jewish studies courses, programs, schools, texts, and the like proliferating beyond anyone’s imagination. Jews have become highly professionalized and ‘secure’ entering neighborhoods and arenas previously barred to them. On the other hand, according to Heilman this ‘security’ has come at the expense of continually loosening Jewish ties and distinctiveness. In his portrait of American Jewry, he identifies two sub-groups\textsuperscript{60} based on their

\textsuperscript{59} See also Heilman’s (1989) previous effort together with Cohen wherein a dualistic, polarized picture of American Jewry as Cosmopolitans or Parochials was presented.

\textsuperscript{60} Heilman admittedly does not tell the story of a third group, namely those born-Jews that are non-identifiers be it because they have formally or informally adopted another ethnic, cultural or religious designation or chose to no longer live as Jews when they married non-Jews who did not convert (74).
approach to Jewish commitment, be it *active* or *passive*. By active Heilman means those Jews who exhibit an "active and open expression of a distinctive Jewish lifestyle and a celebration of its traditions, intensification in Jewish education, synagogue participation, organizational involvement and some significant philanthropic giving to a Jewish cause..." For Heilman, actively Jewish Jews however are far outnumbered by their passive minimalist Jewish 'heritage' focussed counterparts. Heilman's characterization of the passive Jewish identity consists of "a Passover seder of some sort, Hannukah candles on at least some night, maybe a stop to the synagogue a few times a year, or a bar/bat mitzvah might be enough, general reverence for intellect, commitment to social equality [and] most important...Sunday brunch of lox and bagels (65-66)." He argues that *passive* Jewish identities are and will continue to be the most numerous and dominant form of Jewish identification in North America. He criticizes the shallowness, insubstantiality and minimalist character of this type of connection, "a commitment without much content, making few practical demands upon those who embraced it and separating them only very subtly if at all from the America in which they found themselves from the 60s onward (66)." In his view, what he describes as passive is not substantive or prioritized enough to impede participation in wider structures, counter intermarriage and ensure the continuance of a separate and distinctive Jewish existence. Meanwhile, Heilman's *active* Jews criticize the tenuous, ambivalent, watered down and ephemeral Jewish ties of passive members and are intensively engaged in "creative Jewing," animating and reinvigorating Jewish commitments and institutional life (109).

Ritterband (1995) reinforces this case for a bimodal distribution of Jewish attachment arguing that as a majority of North American Jews does and becomes less and less 'Jewish,' producing

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61 Heilman's portrait lends credence to the Gansian hypothesis of symbolic ethnicity in later generations detailed earlier in the chapter.
fewer Jewish children, and in-marrying less, another notably smaller subgroup is doing more and more. Notwithstanding a few "survivalist bright spots" such as the increased production and consumption of materials on Jewish topics, incidence and attendance of Jewish day schools and Jewish resources, and an increasingly bold, confidant, separate Jewish Orthodoxy, Ritterband expresses pessimism about the future standing/vitality of North American Jewry overall (389). In relying upon traditional indices of Jewish identity like religious practice, endogamy, residential propinquity, and donation to Jewish causes, Ritterband maintains an oversimplified dichotomous portrait consisting of rule adherents and rule-breakers that is predicated on externally assigned claims of substantiality, or the lack thereof, in people's Jewish identity patterns. Instead of using the 'low' scorers' identity patterns as starting points for further interpretive analysis, or perhaps searching beneath the surface of comparatively 'higher' identifiers' expressions, Ritterband takes things at face value and hence derives a predictably pessimistic set of conclusions. For example, the 1990 NJPS finding that 31 percent of children of Jewish mixed marriages were reported as being reared with no religion needs to be considered in light of the importance of the reconstruction of informal Jewishness, the effects of parental reporting, the role of primordialist ideologies, and the lack of longitudinal data confirming the permanency of alleged losses. While Ritterband concedes that there are new distinctively Jewish identificational markers, suggesting that "if we find a group of individuals who are politically liberal, resolutely secular in values, well-educated and prosperous, patrons of the arts (members of museums, art auction attenders, concert goers), devotees of the various forms of psychotherapy, there is a better-than-chance probability that we have come upon a group of Jews" (390), he considers these forms fragile, tenuous, and insufficient to sustain Jewish social solidarity. As Silberman (1985: 26) notes, "The

62 Not only does Ritterband underscore the below replacement fertility scores of American Jewry with the exception of ultra Orthodox hareidim but he also suggests that fertility expectation figures may exaggerate the numbers of Jewishly raised children by not taking heed of for example "effectively Jewish fertility" (381). Ironically, endogamous pressures may be in part responsible for a shrinking North American Jewish group because in the face of anxiously holding out to meet an appropriate fellow Jew, unproductively restricting one's pool of eligible candidates can often translate into late age of marriage, if at all, and intermarriage.
change is fraught with uncertainty over the kind of 'one' we are becoming and with disagreement over the kind we should become."

Heilman maintains that the middle or moderately and inconsistently involved will all but disappear in North America as “[c]hoices in the future are likely to be less ambivalent, less ambiguous, and more decisive at one or other end of the continuum”(75). This proposition of binary opposites or extremes is very easy to fall into, and yet historically rarely if ever occurs. The idea that there will be a complete bifurcation of the Jewish community into two groups appears unlikely given the increasing diversification of Jewish modalities and the trend towards simultaneously maintaining multiple personally relevant identities. Heilman is not giving enough credence to the ongoing importance of middle ground positions wherein people continue to explore and negotiate a variety of elements into a comfortable and rewarding lifestyle. It is unrealistic to think that people will forever remain in extreme positions, disaffection and alienation will always surface and people are not likely to jump from one extreme to the other upon coming or going. In eliminating the middle, Heilman also ignores what Schiffman (1999: 11) describes as “a generation of fragmented Jews. We’re in a kind of limbo. We’re suspended between young adulthood and middle age, between Judaism and atheism, between a desire to believe in religion and a personal history of skepticism. Call us a bunch of searchers. Call us post-Holocaust Jews. Call us generation J. Wayfinders, each of us. You’ll see us everywhere: Jews in search of a perfect clarity.” Heilman’s lack of appreciation and respect for the moderately attached is due in part to his take on what counts as Jewish content.

While for some their Jewish identity may be lack-luster and skimp on Jewish substance, for others this presumption of contentlessness simply negates the alternate sources of meaning derived from partaking in select Jewish traditions, energies invested fashioning Jewish belonging, and the invention of new Jewish identity brands. It is unclear where Heilman would place young
North American Jewish, Phish concert-goers engaging in psychedelic drugs to enhance their realization of a Jewish mystical experience, as active or passive.\textsuperscript{63} There is no room in his restricted prognosis for Jewish attachments for shifting styles, vehicles and rationales for choosing and communicating Jewishness. Jews who synthesize and adapt other cultures’ ways and are co-constructors in the redefining and sometimes re-writing of Jewish identities do not fit neatly in Heilman’s schema. Sorin (1997) demonstrates that it has been because of Jews’ distinctive and artful adaptations to the wider societal influences that Jews have more than just survived. For instance, although Heilman suggests that individualization and secularization have fractured group belongingness, this obscures the pluralization of Jewish subcultures and heightened sense of emotional connectedness and longevitous commitments expressed by those choosing and charting their own path, “becom[ing] Jewish by choice as much as birth” (Schiffman 1999: 166). Rather than weakening a desire for group belonging, Warner (1988) indicates that “pluralization and multiplicity of choices available in the contemporary US can actually strengthen religious communities” (204). Doing so however depends on the ability to keep menu offerings current with the tastes of its consumers and support of other options emerging to fill unmet needs and wants.

Additionally, Heilman charges transformationists, namely those researchers who suggest that there has been a reconstitution of the bases of Jewish continuity not hollowing of Jewish ties over time, as “hopelessly naïve optimists” (162). In painting these new modes of Jewish attachment as dominated by a minimalist element he overlooks Jewish imprints outside of parochial interests, organizations, affiliations, and distinctive Jewish rituals, notably “creative Jewing” efforts carving out Jewish trends and spaces within the mainstream culture. For instance, interpreting non-Jewish charities experiencing an exponential growth from Jewish patrons as a sign of this

\textsuperscript{63} Phish is a male rock band with both Jewish and non-Jewish members that has a Jewish following.
minimalist connection is hasty before one investigates motives, interpretations and descriptions of their charitable giving.\textsuperscript{64} It is hard to say that Jews in professions popularly entered by co-ethnics who give donations to the educational sites where they were trained are not in some way making sure that the climate for co-ethnics remains favorable. A recent ethnic poll including a sample of 589 American Jews conducted by Zogby International together with the New Jersey Jewish News between December 14, 1999 and February 7, 2000 continues to underscore the distinctiveness, identifiable character of American Jews in spite of their infrequent synagogue participation rates (Goldberg 2000). Among other things, despite secure economic standing, American Jews continue to vote very much the way Blacks and Hispanics do (i.e., Liberal) and see themselves as a minority.\textsuperscript{65}

Cohen (1995) does not see American Jewry as polarized into actively Jewish Jews at one extreme and those Jews who subordinate their Jewishness at the other, but rather as divisible into three parts—the Involved, Moderately Affiliated and Peripheral Jews. Cohen makes the claim that the orientations of the Jewish Middle or Moderately Affiliated are key to putting into relief the ongoing debate about the vitality of North American Jewry. Using the data obtained from a nationwide survey of American Jews conducted in 1989 \((n=944)\) Cohen relies on the presence or absence of certain behavioral traits to create his framework. Involved Jews were considered to be those who attend synagogue twice a month or more, or have visited Israel at least twice, or maintain two sets of dishes at home for meat and dairy products (Jewish dietary law). Peripheral Jews included those who attend synagogue on the High Holidays (if then), do not fast on Yom Kippur, and have never been to Israel. The Moderately Affiliated are those who attend synagogue less often than twice a month, have never visited Israel or have visited it only once, do not maintain separate dishes, but generally fast on Yom Kippur. A third of the sample fit into

\textsuperscript{64} Dashefsky (1990) exemplifies the irreducible complexity of motivations for expressing Jewish identity in his exploration into perceived incentives and barriers to Jewish charitable giving.
the involved group, just under half fell in the middle, and a quarter met his conditions for peripheral Jewish status. Just under half (45 percent) of the Involved Jews were committed to both keeping at least some Jewish traditions and obeying Jewish law, compared with 16 percent in the Moderate group and hardly any among the Peripherals (6 percent). Stated differently, the typical Moderately Affiliated Jew expresses commitment to Jewish traditions but rejects commitment to Jewish law (40 percent) whereas the median Peripheral Jew expresses commitment neither to Jewish law nor to keeping Jewish traditions (75 percent).

Cohen's analysis demonstrates a tendency to disregard the centrality of Jewish law among the so-called moderately affiliated and peripherals is not so much indicative of minimalist Judaic content as a societal turn toward more personally relevant, choice and meaning focused modes of ethnic connection. Transformation in people's Jewish identities is illustrated in a marked trend across the sample toward a redefined prioritization of celebration over observance or regulation. In effect, 90 percent of the total sample, albeit less so for the Involved, agree that "a Jew can be religious even if she or he is not particularly observant," and only 20 percent, though more among the Involved, see Jewish law as "extremely important" to their sense of being Jewish (401). Among the Moderately Affiliated only a minority (20 percent) feel committed to obeying Jewish law while a noteworthy majority (76 percent) are committed to celebrating specific Jewish holidays. It would be a mistake to identify this shift as attenuation, or as some regard it contentless continuity, as it is largely related to researchers' reliance on, or reluctance to revise and update, the Jewish identity criteria. Moreover, we do not know the differential cognitive bases for practicing religious rituals that make for varied types of Jewish engagement. For example, in

According to Shapiro (1999: 124), it is enduring "memories of powerlessness" and victimization that account for the oft-perceived discrepancy between the "politics of Jews and their economic and social status."

25 percent of the sample feels to great extent a commitment to obeying Jewish law. The extensive body of Jewish law includes such proscriptions as not driving, working or handling money on the Sabbath and prescriptions like keeping separate dairy and meat dishes, Jewish study, prayer and synagogue participation.
Goldstein’s (1999) text ‘ReVisions’ she discusses redefinition and reclamation of the Mikvah\textsuperscript{68} ceremony (purification ritual) by non-Orthodox women including unmarieds, imbuing this traditional ritual with new intentions such as celebrating women’s menstruation and womanhood, as well as cleansing after a traumatic experience like rape.

Cohen suggests that while most American Jews acknowledge the importance of some amount of Jewish learning and Judaic exposure, their commitments are not tied to any specific stylistic or substantive base. While almost the entire sample (97 percent) agree with the statement ‘I am proud to be a Jew,’ Cohen points out differences among the three subgroups in commitment to Jewish continuity per se and/or the importance placed on meeting and conforming to specific Judaic content. Where he finds the Involved committed to familial and community wide continuity as well as the perpetuation of “well-defined” Judaic content, he observes the Moderately Affiliated as committed to the former and not the latter, and the Peripheral group not placing much weight on either. Cohen makes such continuity and content distinctions based on respondents’ image of a ‘good Jew’\textsuperscript{69} responses, notably that although most American Jews acknowledge that to be regarded as a ‘good Jew’ it is desirable, if not essential, to give one’s children a Jewish education (88 percent), “far fewer respondents endorse more specific, narrower, and more intensive statements of commitment to Jewish learning” (403). Importantly, Cohen deduces the latter (i.e., intensity and specificity) from respondents’ impression of the centrality of studying Jewish texts. 47 percent of the Involved group is highly committed to Jewish learning—sees both giving one’s children Jewish education and the study of Jewish texts as essential and/or desirable to being a good Jew—compared to 20 percent of the moderately

\textsuperscript{67} Liebman (1988) also uncovers this shift from obligatory to voluntaristic orientations to Jewishness. Silberman (1985: 161) reiterates this movement from fate and burden to choice—“the ancient covenant is [viewed as] voluntary.”

\textsuperscript{68} According to Jewish family purity laws, a husband and wife refrain from physical contact for 12 days covering the wife’s menstrual period and fulfills immersion in a mikvah, a ritual bath, to attain body and spiritual purification, ensuring her cleanliness and the holiness of the sexual relationship.

\textsuperscript{69} See next chapter (Methodology) for shortcomings in using Sklare’s ‘image of a good Jew’ scale.
affiliated and 7 percent of the peripheral group. He concludes that the moderately affiliated Jews are generally committed to their children's Jewish education but not necessarily to text study while peripheral Jews are not particularly committed to either. The utility of Cohen's research is constrained by his usage of respondents' abstract conceptions of a 'good Jew' as distinct from what subjects themselves were committed to. People's hesitancy toward being read as judgmental or exclusionary could also confound results. In addition, in the context of a wide diversity of Jewish educational forms from Sunday school to after school to day school to adult education classes, seminars and so on, the validity of using valuation of the study of Jewish texts alone to infer intense and substantive commitment is limited.

An inherent limitation in the assimilation/ transformation debate is its slow-to-change elitist standards (e.g., using Orthodox Jewish normative styles as a barometer for Jewish identity persistence or rediscovery), differential interpretation of new forms and what counts as Jewish identity content (see Cohen 1988, 1989; Goldscheider 1986; Phillips 1991; Silberman 1985). Kallen (1977) investigates the boundary maintaining practices spanning three generations of Jews in Toronto during 1970-1972, in particular, how they are differentially reproduced within the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform denominations. Kallen underscores the role of ethnic, in this case Jewish, socialization strategies across these three religious backgrounds in accounting for variation in the mode and strength of Jewish attachment. She finds that those socialized into Orthodox Jewry in her sample of third generation Toronto Jewish youth (n=180) demonstrated identity persistence, or more accurately adherence to "religiously defined boundaries" (108), while youth of second generation parents whose affiliation was Conservative (50 percent) and Reform (75 percent) viewed themselves as "non-religious"(109). Further, in the case of the Orthodox youth where interaction with 'outsiders' was encouraged to be kept to a minimum, negative attitudes to intermarriage (33 percent of Orthodox Jewish youth approve of intermarriage), and exclusive intimate interactions (96 percent of Orthodox Jewish youth suggest
restricting primary relationships within the group), prevailed. In contrast, when “primary interaction with outsiders” was promoted as is said to be the ethnic socialization experiences of particularly Reform Jewish youth Kallen observes a corresponding increased approval of intermarriage (75 percent) and the reported insignificance of ethnicity in friendship choices.

The meta-ethnic discourses (i.e., a virulent debate of who is a Jew) that prevail in the Jewish community are muted by treating the Jewish ethnic group as a homogenous entity. There are competing views on 'who are the ethnic Jews and where are they going' (Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld 1993; Greenberg 1999; Schoenfeld 1983; Shapiro 1997; Waxman 1990). If one limits their interpretation of assimilation to a perceived departure from an unhyphenated, non-compartmentalized Jewish identity and/or the standards of practicing Orthodox Jews, one can easily overlook salient new trends and emergent modalities of Jewish attachment. Instead of delving deeper into the new meanings and modes of being Jewish expressed by the Conservative and Reform Jewish youth, Kallen still reads lower scores as a demise in Jewish commitments rather than the negotiation of alternate Jewish identity standards. That said, she does illuminate some of these new forms, such as the offspring of parent(s) who report Reform membership citing more frequently experiences of anti-Semitism (63 percent) than were youth of parents who were Conservative synagogue members (44 percent) or Orthodox Jewish youth (46 percent). While Kallen does not offer an interpretation, I suggest that the higher incidence among Reform Jewish youth is due to their comparatively greater interethnic interactions, and discursively, in the absence of pronounced diacritical signs such as wearing a kippah, anti-Semitism is used as a means for legitimizing self-ascribed Jewish membership. In spite, then, of an imposing Jewish Orthodoxy which defines a Jew as "[a]ny person born to a Jewish mother or properly converted to Judaism" (Davis 1994: 211), and a good Jew determined by adherence to the

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70 See fourteen perspectives predicting a withering, thriving and/or transformed North American Jewry in 2100 found in the December issue of the Jewish magazine, Moment (1997).
mitzvot—prescriptions and proscriptions—which regulate the everyday lives of practicing Orthodox Jews and control interethnic relationships, commitment to new forms of Jewish identity are defined oft in terms of inter-group and intra-group encounters.

On one hand, assimilationists or those who Cohen (1989) labels traditionalists continue to assess the level and nature of Jewish identity in terms of traditional expressions of Judaism and Jewishness, and therefore attribute weakening Jewish identity maintenance to the erosion in ritual adherence and increased intermarriage. On the other hand, transformationists underscore the re-expressions in Jewish identity, at times employing the same data to validate the increased or renewed salience of celebrating Jewish holidays like Passover and Hanukah, as well as gains from intermarriage. Whether one sees the Jewish identity cup as Waxman (1990) ponders 'half empty or half full' is in part an interpretation question; that is, where assimilationists see trivialization (e.g., Heilman 1995; Ritterband 1995) transformationists see “seriousness” (Silberman 1985: 237), “meaning and purpose” (244). Conclusions are largely related to the measures researchers choose. Assumptions of inexorable decline with increased time spent in the host country, socioeconomic status, interethnic acceptance and intermarriage have misrepresented the selective, partial, multi-layered and multiplex adaptation processes, in particular forces of abandonment, substitution, addition, retention, invention, and synthesis working in tandem. Cohen (1989) queries the distortion that emerges by ignoring the complexity and variety in Jewishness of the masses and invoking instead the elitist conceptions of 'the good Jew' to comprehend the Jewish identity patterns of the former. Treating Jewish identity as a multidimensional, fluctuating, contextually influenced construct has helped cast doubt on the precepts of straight-line thinking and the either/or relationship between subtraction and survival.71

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71 See Silberman (1985: 175): “By focusing on a few measures of religiosity or ethnicity, such as the use of Yiddish or observance of the dietary laws, one can produce a picture of straight-line decline. But to look only at these and to
Claims of endangered, melting ethnic identities were popular because “many sociological researchers of ethnic identity have tried in the past to measure ethnic identity by one or a few variables” (Isajiw 1999: 189), missing consequently new symbols for identity assignment, redefinition of priorities, and the incompleteness of the incorporation process. Some ethnic identity facets are discarded, renegotiated, but not others. Integrationist and Survivalist processes are “not necessarily contradictory, but may be complementary” (ibid: 171).

A gloomy prognosis of vanishing ethnic Jewry coexists with evidence of flourishing North American Jewish communities. For instance, witness a vibrant Toronto ethnic Jewish scene wherein Jewish Arts are thriving including well attended art receptions, Klezmer and theatrical performances, Jewish story-telling festivals, film festivals, an annual Yiddish cultural festival _Ashkenaz_ and resurgent interest in Eastern European Jewish genealogy (Bernstein 1997; Gladstone 1996; Kirschner 1997; Levitch 1997). Stories of a disappearing, withering Canadian Jewish community coexist with “stories about the revival of Judaism among young professionals and aging baby boomers, and even an entire lost generation rediscovering their hidden or secret Jewish identities in Poland” (Levitch 1997: C2). For Novak, a revitalization in Yiddish cultural links for example runs deeper than mere sentimentalism or fleeting symbolic ties and is indeed “a valid means of connecting to the Jewish past, a cultural memory, remembering in order to re-enact” (Levitch: C2). Elton (March 17, 1997) reports that non-immigrant Jews are looking to ignore the increased observance of other rituals or the emergence of new ways by which [North] American Jews express their Jewishness is to provide a distorted picture of what is happening.  

72 While Klezmer music was more or less absent in the two decades post-Holocaust, it is encountering a dramatic rebirth and continuing growth that got its initial kick by the roots consciousness of the 1960s. In the late 1990s, professional Klezmer bands in the US numbered at least 400 in contrast with only four bands that existed in the late 1970s.

73 In Kirshner's April 24, 1997 CJN article he demonstrates the growing popularity of the Toronto Jewish Film Festival: in 1993 there were 7000 attendees and just two years later 15000 attendees were recorded making it the second largest of its kind in North America. The woman behind the festival is second generation Francine Zukerman, daughter of Polish immigrants settling in Montreal well before she was born. An intensely committed (i.e., active) self defined "cultural Jew" not a "synagogue Jew" Zukerman was raised in a home where social justice principles were primary (e.g., her father was a left wing leather cutter who was one of the organizers of Montreal's first handbag union).
Yiddish culture for different reasons: for some taking Yiddish classes is a way to learn who they are beyond food and humor, or without going to the synagogue replenish one's Jewish cultural repertoire, and/or enhance intergenerational communication. Others still reclaim Yiddish as a political act owing to its association with Leftist activist politics of the Yiddishist movement, its history as the everyday language of Eastern European Jewish women (re: impact of feminist studies on the re-emerging importance of Yiddish), and it being the language of Holocaust survivors.

Brodbar-Nemzer et al's (1993) analysis of nationwide Canadian survey data conducted by Goldfarb Consultants in 1990 (n=972) and local Toronto data comprising telephone interviews with one adult (18 plus) member from 1400 Jewish households in 1990 reveals both "vital" and "disquieting" signs for the nature of Jewish continuity (57). On one side, they find an enduring commitment to maintaining traditional Jewish ritual observances among the 34 and under age category and even greater adherence of the more stringent rules like handling no money on the Sabbath and observing the Fast of Esther for this grouping than their elder counterparts. For example, 15 percent of the 34 and under group observes the Fast of Esther compared with 12 percent of the 35-49 year olds, 8 percent of the 50-64, and 13 percent of the 65 and over group. On the other side, less of the younger Canadian Jews feels very close to Israel, often talks about Israel with friends and relatives, and considers oneself a Zionist. 56 percent feel 'very close' to Israel among the 65+ group in contrast to 33 percent in the under 34 category who do. While a smaller proportion of the young can converse in Yiddish (14 versus 64 percent), a greater proportion can converse in Hebrew (35 percent versus 20 percent). Whether a decline in Jewish organizational membership among Canadian Jews under 34 (43 percent) in contradistinction to 65 plus Jews (64 percent) is due to variation in participation rate and style across the life course or is a function of increased generation status or a broader individualistic ethos is inconclusive. As for Torontonian Jews specifically, the researchers assert that they are neither intensively or
minimally Jewishly involved. While most Toronto Jews attend synagogue sometime during the year (90 percent), few attend frequently. Even among Jewish respondents who do not attend synagogue one in five still fasts on Yom Kippur and one in three attends or hosts a Passover seder. They note a correlation between being fourth generation and reporting none or few close friends who are Jewish, but neglect to explore what the implications of this for the nature of Jewish identity are or what respondents understood by the term ‘close.’ Perhaps for some close means frequency of contact whilst for others this means comfort level, an ability to disclose, and/or quality of contact. In addition, intermarriage is increasingly common with each succeeding generation but less clear is the Jewish identity outcomes of these unions. They argue that although unions wherein the born non-Jewish spouse converts to Judaism are virtually indistinguishable in the religious dimension of Jewish identity they are more similar to their non-conversionary counterparts in terms of joining Jewish organizations, Jewish composition of friendship networks, and extent of ties to Israel. Without qualitative analysis however we are left in the dark as to mitigating variables, the evolving character, as well as quality (nature) not just quantity of respondents’ Jewish commitments. The researchers sum up:

These patterns certainly point to ongoing and anticipated change in the nature of Jewish commitment in Canada. But they do not point to any clear shift in one direction or the other. If these data do tell us something about the future directions of Jewish involvement in Canada, they suggest neither massive erosion of Jewish identity nor wholesale intensification (55).

The value of a multidimensional measure of ethnic identity is clearly supported in Driedger's (1975, 1977) work where using language\(^4\) and religion measures alone would have misrepresented Jewish students as low ethnic identifiers when in effect they were high identifiers on four of six ethnic identity measures utilized. According to Driedger's analysis of ethnic identity maintenance scores of University of Manitoba Undergraduate University students for

\(^4\) Isajiw’s (1990: 80) findings too demonstrate that if ethnic language use had been used as a barometer of intergenerational ethnic identity retention as it had been by Nahirny and Fishman (1965), then the Jewish group would have been inaccurately described comparable to their German counterparts as “low retainers.”
seven ethnic groups\textsuperscript{75} (n=1,560), Jewish students rank highest on their valuations of endogamy, in-group choice of friends, ethnic organizations, and parochial education. Isajiw's (1990) investigation of the ethnic identity patterns across three generations of Italians, Ukrainians, Germans, and Jews residing in the Toronto area in 1979 (n=2,338) provides another case demonstrating the mutual compatibility of societal incorporation and maintenance of different types of ethnic identities over time (cf. Weinfeld 1985). For instance, in differentiating between internal and external indicators of ethnic identity, Isajiw identifies that while Italians, Germans and Jews continue to celebrate cultural traditions (food and holidays), actual social interactions with coethnics across successive generations is on the wane with the exception of Toronto Jews. In fact, it is interesting to note that among the Jews in the study, there is a greater percentage of the third generation whose three (55 percent) or one to two closest friends (41 percent) are coethnics compared to the first generation (52 percent and 36 percent respectively). Isajiw (1999) suggests the possibility that there may be missing variables at play including financial resources and time allowances which distort figures detailing levels of participation in ethnic activities (e.g., ethnic recreation facilities use and ethnic function attendance). For example, there are financial costs associated with being highly Jewishly involved, be it sending one's kids to Jewish day school, summer camp, visits to Israel, paying synagogue dues, etc (e.g., Jaffe McLain 1995; Lungen 2000; Winter 1991). In spite of the expansion of ethnic identity criteria then, our measures remain insufficient to capture newly emergent ethnic alignment 'scripts', including multiplex definitions, priorities, expressions, and explanatory sources of ethnic affection and disaffection.

Not only do researchers differ in their descriptions of ethnic, in this case Jewish, identity patterns, but they also point to different factors to help account for observed 'gains' and 'losses.'

\textsuperscript{75} British, French, German, Jewish, Polish, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian students were randomly sampled from 76 classes at the University of Manitoba.
Researchers falling into the assimilationist camp frequently identify increasing interethnic tolerance (diminished anti-Semitism), increasing residential and social mobility, fertility decreases, and increases in generation status and intermarriage as explanatory agents (Brym 1993; Heilman 1995; Ritterband 1995). Importantly, it is often the case that where one researcher sees increased social mobility, for instance, as negatively influencing ethnic attachment, another sees ethnic attachment as an impediment to social mobility. Does moving ‘up’ in the world mean moving out of one’s parochial sphere, or does achieving high socioeconomic status garner one power and prestige within the ethnic community? Are there class-based modalities of being ethnic, or does ethnic identity maintenance limit or enhance socioeconomic ‘success’? What is the nature of the relationship between socioeconomic status (educational, occupational and income attainment) and ethnic identity? Does one or another cause the other or are we being overly simplistic to think so, that is, is it an interactive case of reciprocal causation? Our extant understanding of ethnic identity patterns remains inadequate in part because of this ‘chicken egg’ phenomenon (e.g., Are there culturally informed fertility patterns? Does an ethnic group’s socioeconomic profile indirectly affect fertility outcomes? Does numerical shrinkage—fertility decreases—in the group encourage group cohesiveness?). Assessing ethnic identity patterns is also complicated by variables such as residential dissimilarity, endogamy [intermarriage], and ethnic self-identification functioning at once as indicators (dependent variables) and determinants/correlates (independent variables). Ethnic identity (immigrant adaptation) research has to date remained thin on interpretation and measurement validity, as well as for the most part overlooked the “chains of dialectic processes” (Hurh 1980: 445), interrelatedness of factors and relevance of other mediator and conditioning variables.

Earlier I examined the competing perspectives associated with the claim that ethnic identity and generation status are inversely related (see straight-line theory revisited). Let us now turn to select extant research pertaining to a posited ethnic identity/intermarriage connection. Does
Jewish intermarriage, in this case the union between someone born Jewish and someone who was not, reduce, enhance, maintain, alter, or play no role in explaining variation in, the Jewish identity of family members? Sociologists have tended to view intermarriage as something to be explained, both an indicator of ethnic identity attenuation and a factor influencing the level and nature of ethnic identity, specifically posing problems for the maintenance of ethnic identity. Jewish scholars and community leaders alike, rightly or wrongly, view increasing Jewish intermarriage rates as crucial indicators and facilitators of Jewish identity decline and/or incorporation into the host culture (Beiser 1996; Brym 1993; Waxman 1990). While intermarriage has undoubtedly risen since the 1960s, the extent and pace, not to mention the implications of the increase remain a source of disagreement between assimilationists, survivalists, and transformationists (see Cohen 1988, 1989; Goldscheider 1986; Goldscheider and Zukerman 1984; Heilman 1995; Mayer 1995; Silberman 1985). For instance, reporting national intermarriage rates is misleading as such obscures wide regional variations (e.g., lower intermarriage rates exist in Toronto versus Vancouver).

Goldstein and Segall (1985) investigated the influence, positive or negative, of mixed and nonmixed parentage on ethnic identity in their 1983 Winnipeg study (n=524). The five ethnic identity indicators utilized included two dimensions of internal ethnic identity—ethnic self-identification, salience of ethnicity to the individual—and three dimensions of external ethnic identity—adherence to ethnic group's cultural traditions, ethnic organization membership, endogamous versus exogamous marriage. \(^76\) While they added support for the hypothesis that

\(^76\) In terms of ethnic self-identification, respondents were asked, "How would you describe your ethnic identity," and responses were categorized as simply ethnic (e.g., Jewish), ethnic Canadian (e.g., Jewish Canadian), simply Canadian, or other. For salience of ethnicity to the individual, respondents were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the statement "My ethnic identity is important to me." Adherence to ethnic customs was tapped by asking, "To what extent do you follow the customs and traditions of your ethnic group," and response categories available were never, rarely, sometimes, often, and always. Ethnic organization membership constituted the respondent's number—one, two, three, or more—of ethnic organization memberships, gauged by the question, "Do you belong to any clubs, groups, or organized activities of your ethnic group?" The third external indicator considered was whether respondents who were married had the same or different ethnic background to their spouse.
there is a statistically significant\textsuperscript{27} inverse correlation between mixed parentage and all five ethnic identity components using bivariate analyses, the picture became less clear when they statistically removed the linear effects of other predictor variables (i.e., age, income, occupation, education, generation status). An inherent weakness to using bivariate analysis is the possibility of omitting and hence not accounting properly for additional predictor variables correlated with the effect (independent variable) under study. In this case, mixed/nonmixed parentage could get excessive credit for influences more accurately attributable to omitted variable(s), resulting in a spurious relationship predicated on a biased and inefficient estimator. Further, their analyses are limited because they do not sufficiently account for differential effects intermarriage may play on ethnic identity across ethnic groups (e.g., acting as a subtractive agent in one group and an additive force in another), and within different contexts (see Brodbar et al 1993\textsuperscript{28}). Goldstein and Segall's negation of multicollinearity risks, interaction and non-linear effects, as well as their failure to posit reasons for the low coefficient of multiple determination (R squared) scores and unexplained variation, limit the utility of their stepwise multiple regression analyses in clarifying the intermarriage/ethnic identity relationship.

Multiple regression analysis is an effective statistical tool that assesses the relative impact and explanatory power of a set of predictor variables, in this case, parentage, generation status, household income, educational attainment, occupational status, sex, and age, on the dependent variable (Goldstein and Segall's five measures of ethnic identity). The effectiveness of multiple

\textsuperscript{27}Goldstein and Segall find inverse correlations between parentage and ethnic self-identification = \(-.113 \ (n=508, p<.01)\), parentage and ethnic identity important = \(-.116 \ (n=501, p<.01)\), parentage and adherence to cultural traditions = \(-.236 \ (n=301, p<.001)\), parentage and ethnic organization memberships = \(-.132 \ (n=308, p<.05)\), parentage and respondent's own marriage being ethnically homogamous or heterogamous = \(-.204 \ (n=369, p<.001)\), patterns with differential likelihood of being attributable to chance. Fox (1995: chapter 22, 21) emphasizes, "Statistical significance should not be confused with practical significance or importance" nor spuriousness overruled before considering the effects of other predictor variables.

\textsuperscript{28}Brodbar et al (1993) note that "Montreal seems to have been a favored location for Orthodoxy, while Winnipeg Jews attracted an unusual concentration of secularist-socialist-Yiddishists," a contextual variable that may help in part explain variation in modalities and priorities in Jewish identity.
regression analysis is conditional upon the satisfaction of specific assumptions (Jaccard et al. 1990: 16). The researchers recognized that “only a small proportion of the variation of any of the five components of ethnic identity could be explained by the independent variables included in the analysis” (Goldstein and Segall: 67). For example, only six percent of variation in ethnic self-identification could be accounted for by considering the independent effects of generation status, family income, education, parentage, and age. Moreover, four percent of variation in salience of ethnic identity could be explained by occupation, parentage, age and sex while almost ten percent of variation in adherence to ethnic customs could be accounted for by parentage, education, sex, family income and generation. It is interesting to note that although an inverse correlation between parentage and ethnic identity is strongest in the case of ethnic organization membership in the bivariate analysis, parentage did not even meet the criteria for inclusion in the multiple regression model for ethnic organization membership.

Notwithstanding the low R² scores the researchers assign importance to the continued inverse relationship of parentage to ethnic identity even when holding constant the effects of SES, age, sex, and ethnic generation. They argue that the negative partial regression or b coefficients provided “evidence that marriage across ethnic boundaries tends to diminish ethnic identity in the offspring of such marriages” (67). Parentage was the best relative predictor in the case of the extent of adherence to cultural traditions and respondent’s own marriage type. The former however does not take into account selective ethnic identity maintenance, relative intensification (e.g., a formerly disengaged traditional Jewish ritual observer introducing traditions since intermarrying), reinvigorated quality not necessarily increased level of ritual adherence (different measures of enhancement), and different conditions under which this relationship obtains or does not. The latter finding fails to consider the explanatory effects of internalizing primordial

79 The assumptions necessary to apply OLS include 1/ linearity, 2/ no multicollinearity, 3/ no heteroscedacity, 4/ no autocorrelation, 5/ the expected value of the residual term is zero, 6/ no relationship between the error term and the
ideologies and ethnic group discursive scripts (i.e., a cultural lag between ideas about intermarriage and the reality that it is happening) and an awareness of the additive as opposed to subtractive effects of intermarriage. Claiming that the presence of ethnically mixed parentage per se weakens both internal and external ethnic identity for the offspring is misleading. It is likely a product of our interpretation of what these results mean and whether in fact our measures capture the meanings we attribute to them.

Several reasons may account for the low explanatory power of Goldstein and Segall's model. Omission of relevant variables from the equation such as occupational and residential dissimilarity, urban/suburban/rural differences, regional variations, ethnic group size, conversionary parentage, and ethnic socialization practices, can reduce the predictive power of the model. Relevant variables that are excluded and yet are correlated with the predictor variables in the equation can be problematic, as the b coefficients in the equation are biased estimators of the population coefficients. Misspecification of variables can also occur due to the inclusion of irrelevant independent variables that are correlated with other included relevant variables in the regression equation, reducing the "precision of the estimated coefficients on the relevant variables" (Schroeder et al 1986: 68). Another possible reason could be the existence of a nonlinear relationship between the dependent and any of the independent variables (e.g., a curvilinear relationship between age and adherence to ethnic traditions and/or ethnic organization membership). Complex interrelationships between the independent variables (e.g., disentangling age and generation effects, the interaction between intermarriage and age, etc) may have suppressed or exaggerated the independent effect of included variables. Including interaction terms in the multiple regression equation may have provided insight into the role of parentage on the ethnic identity of offspring. For instance, whatever the difference in the level of

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independent variables, 8/ no specification bias, and 9/ usage of interval level variables.
ethnic identity expressed by those of mixed and nonmixed parentage, does this difference remain
the same in different age categories?

While Jewish assimilation theorists acknowledge the moderating influence that the non-Jewish
born spouse converting to Judaism plays on the nature of the mixed marriage-Jewish identity
relation, they emphasize the declining proportion of Jewish conversions, underestimation of
Jewish apostasy in population studies for Jewish communal organizations,\(^{80}\) and the privatized
nature of retention\(^{81}\) (Brym 1993; Heilman 1995; Sandberg 1986; and Ritterband 1995). Do
mixed marriages and conversionary marriages have different types of consequences? Brodbar-
Nemzer et al (1993: 61) find in a Toronto-based survey of 1400 Jewish households conducted in
1990,

Mixed married couples, where one partner is not identified as Jewish, tend to live in low
Jewish density areas, are more likely to be fourth generation, and are less likely to identify
with one of the major denominations or belong to a synagogue. The Jewish partner in
such couples is less likely to manifest a range of Jewish ritual practices, Jewish friendships
and organizational links, and ties to Israel than other respondents. Generally speaking,
the couples where the non-Jewishly raised partner is now identified as Jewish are more
similar to in-married couples than mixed couples in terms of religious practices but are
closer to mixed couples in their organizational and friendship links and ties to Israel.
Denominationally, these couples are also more likely to identify as Reform Jews\(^{82}\).
Interestingly, the Jewish educational background of those Jews who in-marry and those
Jews in mixed relationships is not dramatically different, though the Jewish educational
experiences and expectations of the children in these households are not equivalent.

Goldscheider notes based on his analysis of data obtained from Boston Jewish communal surveys
conducted in 1965 and 1975 that differences between Jewish intermarrieds and non-
intermarrieds are largest for formal synagogue membership, regular synagogue attendance,

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\(^{80}\) There is an underestimation of apostasy in Jewish communal studies because of the under-representation of ex-
Jewish men and women who live in non-Jewish neighborhoods and "pass" as non-Jewish.

\(^{81}\) While researchers find conversionary unions display comparable, if not higher, levels of Jewish ritual practice than
their Jewishly endogamous counterparts (see also Mayer 1985), they are apparently more like their non-
conversionary mixed married counterparts in terms of their level of associational Jewishness.

\(^{82}\) Reform Judaism is perhaps a more popular denomination in part because of its stronger stance on inclusiveness
and climate of acceptance, its resonance for not particularly religious non-Jews, and its less intimidating
conversionary process. Importantly, Reform Judaism has embarked on a major outreach initiative to encourage the
conversion of the non-Jewish born spouses, and has officially recognized Jewish patrilineality, a move to help keep
children of Jewish fathers within the group.
personal religious ritual, and measures of communal-ethnic activities (i.e., reading Jewish periodicals and visiting Israel). He suggests however that differences are much less pronounced in terms of the percentage who have mostly Jewish friends and neighbors, who identify with one of the three religious denominations, who express Jewish values, and who are involved in family-related religious ritual (26). He also adds that there is a noteworthy reduction of these differences among the young. That is, except for synagogue membership and personal ritual there is a consistent pattern of convergence with declining age in the expression of Jewishness between those in intermarried and non-intermarried households. For the 18-29 group, there were only minor differences in associational ties to other Jews (friends and neighbors) and no differences in family-related religious rituals. Without distinguishing between different types of Jewish intermarriages and considering the interplay of other variables, one is unable to ascertain whether, and if so why, a significant gap exists between intermarrieds’ and non-intermarrieds’ participation in organized religious institutions, specifically an observed discrepancy between religious denominational identification and synagogue membership.

On one hand, transformationists like Goldscheider (1986: 76) highlight the Jewish gains from intermarriage via conversion, pointing out “that the level of conversion to Judaism has increased and significant members of intermarried couples, usually over 50 percent, raise their children as Jews.” Goldscheider and Zukerman (1984: 82) write, “The Jewish community in [North] America has changed; indeed it has been transformed. But in that process, it has emerged as a dynamic source of networks and resources binding together family, friends, and neighbors, ethnically and religiously.” On the other hand, others like Sandberg question this assertion of an increasing level of conversionary unions given the increasing tolerance of interethnic unions and high incidence of intermarriage among the non-believers and secular. Such however does not take into account informal and post-marital conversions or the function of reasons for not converting on the nature of Jewish identity expressed. Moreover, the limitations of cross-
sectional studies are evident as one is not privy to the differential timing of conversion across mixed marriages (i.e., failing to appreciate that conversion can take place at different stages after the marriage). For some, switching occurs once exposure to the group's ways has been achieved and understood. For others, conversions are inspired by events such as the birth of a child or a death of a parent. Still others, it is being welcomed into a Jewish community. This claim of decline in Jewish conversionary unions could also be related to the later age of marriage among intermarrieds and the higher rate of intermarriage in remarriages. The existence of offspring from prior unions could also exert a mediating influence on the incidence of Jewish conversions. In addition, investigating the role of intermarriage on Jewish identity in the intermarrying spouse(s) and their offspring is misunderstood if vitality of Jewish identity (the dependent or criterion variable) is treated as a quantitative not qualitative, uni- not multi-dimensional phenomenon (cf. Cohen 1988). Further, “Good and bad, healthy and sick, strong and weak are all relative terms, and the social scientist uses different standards and bases of comparison to evaluate the condition of American Jewry” (Goldscheider 1986: 79). The nature of the intermarriage-Jewish identity relationship is also not clear when one ignores a crucial party or parties in the equation, namely the experiences and identity patterns of the non-Jewish born spouse, as well as the mediating influence of the non-Jewish kin. Jewish identity studies exhibit a marked absence of a consideration for the non-Jewish born spouse including what intermarriage means for him/her.

83 Paul and Rachel Cowan (1987: 24) in their important text 'Mixed Blessings: Overcoming the Stumbling Blocks in an Interfaith Marriage' review what they see as potential “time bombs,” significant events like a death of a family member that can raise religious and ethnic questions and tensions. Although the two married in the 60s with little thought to ethnoreligious differences, Rachel, a reared Unitarian, converted to Judaism in the 70s after finding Jewish prayer a comfort following the tragic deaths of Paul's parents. The receptive influence of a New York hasurah in which the Cowans actively participated, Paul's shifting journalistic interests in Orthodox Jewry, as well as the identity and family unit questions of their two young children also helped transform Rachel from being an unofficial “fellow traveler” to a formal Jew-by-choice.

84 Medding et al (1992) point out that the average age of Jewish women marrying endogamously is 23.2 years compared to the average age of 26 years of their female Jewish intermarrying counterparts.
Goldscheider argues that the increased legitimation and acceptance of intermarried unions among American Jews mitigates the effect of intermarriage on Jewish identity for younger generations. Intermarriage is no longer popularly viewed for example as a sign of exodus, abandonment, identity loss, deviance, having 'made it', a vehicle for earning status outside the group, and therefore the implications for Jewish identity have shifted across age cohorts. According to Goldscheider, Jewish conversion is chosen less now because there is less resistance to interethnic participation and one can participate in the traditions, obtain a connection to the Jewish people without converting. Intermarriage is clearly not an isolated variable, and the nature of its influence on Jewish identity hinges on the influence of other variables. Goldscheider aptly notes, “The extent to which intermarriage is indicative of the decline of the community is also related to the response of the community to intermarriage,” its [non]willingness to incorporate the non-Jewishly born within the Jewish community (77). The variable acceptance of the intermarried within the Jewish community disqualifies a simple association of intermarriage rates and community erosion. For instance, Fishman et al (1989) indicate that conversionary couples also express this sense of exclusion as impeding their ease at or desire for being communally involved (i.e., joining and being active in Jewish organizations, committed to and vocal in synagogue affairs). Silberman (1985: 317) cites a born non-Jewish woman who, not because of a lack of desire, finds it easier to feel Jewish in a religious than an ethnic sense: “there's a groupiness that makes you feel like an outsider [...] I'm completely comfortable in shul, but I don't think I could ever get involved with UJA or Hadassah.”

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85 The effect of intermarriage on Jewish identity could also be indirectly influenced by the incidence of intermarriages (i.e., more intermarriages could mean greater sensitization and acceptance which in turn could facilitate or enhance Jewish identity).

86 Silberman (1985: 301) argues that intermarriage has “lost its aura of deviance.”

87 Mayer (1995: 420), principal investigator in the infamous Jewish intermarriage study conducted in the late 70s, now asserts “intermarriage does not erode Jewish identity and family life in the simple, linear fashion that figured so prominently in the alarmist literature of earlier decades.”
Until recently, it was accepted as axiomatic that Jews who intermarry have rejected the Jewish community, and their intermarriage is their final step in leaving that community. The new Jewish sociology argues that this most frequently is not the case. Conditions have changed, they emphasize, and many, if not most, of those who intermarry do so for reasons unrelated to their feelings about being Jewish or the Jewish community (Goldscheider 1986: 77).

Goldscheider highlights the relevance that a shifting cohort historical perspective plays in removing the anticipated erosive effects of intermarriage, namely finding younger Jews in their late teens and early twenties who see little connection between intermarriage and total assimilation. For the younger cohorts, he infers that intermarriage is no longer interpreted as flight from Judaism as they exhibit an increased lack of concern about the implications of intermarriage. Among the 18-29 in his sample, he finds 43 percent report a low intensity of concern about the impact of intermarriage compared to 18 percent who feel the same among the 60 plus group. In contrast, 7 percent of the 18-29 age group report a high intensity of concern compared to 37 percent of the latter group who do so. Older persons view intermarriage as having deleterious effects on the family and community whereas younger persons in the 1975 Boston sample do not express much concern about the intermarriage threatening family or community continuity. Goldscheider asserts that among the young fewer see the connection between intermarriage and total assimilation, not seeing it as a termination or weakening of Jewish ties, expressing less alarmism and greater acceptance of the intermarried (84 percent of the 18-29 accepting intermarriage versus 48 percent of the 60 plus). Goldscheider notes the difficulties disentangling the effects of life cycle from those of generation (i.e., Will the younger generation have attitudes similar to those of the older generation as they age? Did the older generation have attitudes similar to those of the young 30-40 years ago?). For example, Cohen (1988: 104) discovers in his analysis of 1981 telephone administered and mailed survey data of respondents in the eight-county Greater New York area (n=4,505) that “controlling for family status largely vitiates the argument that younger adults are inherently less Jewishly motivated than their elders.”
An inability to put into relief the intermarriage–Jewish identity relationship is compounded by a frustrating tendency in the existing ethnic identity literature to consider endogamy/exogamy as a dichotomous nominal variable, specifically the presence or absence of the union of two ethnicities. In doing so, other similarities between the two intermarried spouses and merging families—e.g., education, social class, lifestyle, native language, and favored leisure activities—may be ignored (cf. Yinger 1994). Similarly, not differentiating between types of endogamous marriages overlooks the negotiation strategies and sources of strain/conflict in these unions that affect the nature and quality of Jewish attachment. For example, unions across Jewish denominational and affiliation levels can sometimes better be understood as intermarriages (pers. Comm. Jewish Interfaith counselor Eva Goldfinger). Recent efforts to de-homogenize Jewish intermarried families aside from distinguishing conversionary and mixed marriages where the non-Jewish spouse does not convert find varied Jewish identity orientations in intermarried contexts (Katz 1996; Klein 1996; Laserwitz 1995; Laserwitz et al. 1997; Jaffe McLain 1995; Phillips 1997; Rebhun 1999). For example, Rebhun (1999) uncovered differential effects based on whether one married a Protestant or a Catholic, having a greater reductive effect on Jewish identity in the latter. Laserwitz (1995) differentiated Jewish mixed marriages based on whether the Jewish born spouse was the husband or wife (see also Cohen 1988).

Jaffe McLain (1995) criticizes this proclivity in the extant literature to view Jewish intermarriages, not to mention converts,88 as “one undifferentiated category” (Rebhun 1999: 73). In conducting over 100 interviews with US-wide communal leaders, workers, professionals, academics, journalists, as well as Jews and non-Jews who shared with her their life experiences and perspectives, Jaffe McLain reveals missing valuable information that is obscured by relying solely on numerical reports. She indicates,
The debate on intermarriage is being run strictly according to the numbers; the sociologists acknowledge only what they can quantify. Everyone in Jewish institutional life uses the numbers to justify how they feel and what they do when faced with mixed couples. The only people who don’t seem to have much of a voice in the discussion are the people least concerned with the numbers and most concerned with their own families: the intermarried Jews who want a place in Jewish life but don’t know where to find it, or are being told that they don’t have one, or are given a place in the last row of the synagogue, or have a place and are tired of defending it (27).

She argues that presuming and consequently misrepresenting intermarried Jews as “uniformly uncaring and antireligious” (131), unanimously marking their assimilation, blinds researchers to the variety of intermarriages, including their differential motives for marrying a non-Jew. Researchers often neglect to differentiate between intentional and “reluctant exogamists” (cited in Jaffe McClain 1995: 26), namely those Jewish persons who do not set out purposively to marry a non-Jew. Jaffe McLain reiterates that intermarrying Jews are not always likely, happy or designed ‘rule-breakers’, “marrying not out of rebelliousness, not out of self-hatred, not even out of indifference to Judaism, but because the person across the table in the graduate seminar […] turned out to be a kindred spirit” (26).

Jaffe McLain challenges the utility of relying on overly broad and crude categories, and instead advances a new expanded taxonomy for better appreciating the varied types of intermarried households. She queries the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) finding that 28 percent of Jewish mixed couples reported raising their kids Jewish, 31 percent as doing so without religion, and 41 percent in a religion other than Judaism when the latter category included children being raised in syncretic Judaism. Given the ambiguity inherent in the

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90 Jewish communal, typically front-line, workers interviewed by Jaffe McLain suggested gender plays a role in conditioning the differential motives for intermarriage (see: 144-151).
92 Syncretic Judaism constitutes the combination of Judaism with other belief/cultural systems (e.g., Buddhism, Sikhism, etc).
'Jewish,' 'other' and 'none' categories in the nation-wide population survey, she forwards seven types of intermarried households (134): 92

I. *Jewish-only*. These families operate as if both partners were Jewish, observing only Jewish holidays and raising their children unambiguously as Jews.

II. *Jewish-dominant*. The partners agree that it is best to raise their children as Jews and work toward that end, although the non-Jewish partner may retain contact with his or her birth religion.

III. *True dual-identity*. Both partners have a sincere commitment to their faiths as religions and are willing to put in the time and effort to teach their children about both traditions.

IV. *Dual-minimal*. The watered-down version of true-dual. These families celebrate the major holidays of both religions but generally give their children little input on either.

V. *Christian-dominant*. The Jewish partner bows to the Christian partner's more intense religious commitment but maintains some cultural observances.

VI. *Systematic secular*. The partners choose to teach their children ethical values in a nondenominational or nonreligious context, possibly through a philosophical system such as Unitarianism.

VII. *Christian-only*. The Jewish partner does not distract the religious orientation of the household from Christianity with any Jewish observances.

Finally, while Jaffe McLain's typology is a vast improvement, 93 not only could there be competing readings on whether one thinks of oneself as part of for instance a Jewish-dominant or Christian-dominant intermarried household, but there may also be other intervening factors operable that condition these diverse adaptive strategies. In order to ascertain the role intermarriage plays as a harbinger of changes to Jewish identity in form and intensity, it is incumbent upon the researcher to consider both the interplay of other interrelated familial processes and transformed modes of expressing Jewish attachment. Further research is required to discover the extent to which patterns commonly associated with intermarriage such as later marriages, postponed child-rearing, reconstituted families, diversification of living arrangements, and

fluidity in family forms, residential mobility, exert greater direct and indirect effects on Jewish vitality as compared to intermarriage itself.\textsuperscript{94} In addition, researchers are still exceedingly slow to revise their Jewish identity measurement tools despite glaring evidence of transformations to the signification—rationales, priorities and sources of significance—of Jewish identity. We unfairly ignore the importance of cultural renewal, new forms of Jewish engagement, if we continue to constrict our Jewish identity criteria (but see Silberman 1985). Ross Goldstein, an expert on generational transitions, expresses this need for meaningful tools, resulting in this case in the unfair characterization of later generations as delayed adults:

It may be time to redefine the meaning of being 'grown up'. If we continue to apply the same standards used to identify the transition from childhood to adulthood among baby boomers, we may discover that Generation X will never grow up (Cited in Mogelonsky 1996).

Similarly, should there ever come a time when proper and due respect are granted to the increasing diversity of alternate and situationally constructed modalities of Jewish expression, the community may find that the assimilation crisis is not nearly so dire.

\textsuperscript{93} Both Jaffe McLain and Phillips' typologies suffer from a Christian-centric bias. 
Chapter Three
Methodology and the Research Experience

Paradoxically, the sociologist—who studies the complexities of society in its many facets, and who attempts to interpret, explain, predict, and understand human behavior—rarely comes into contact with that which [s/he] is trying to understand. ...We are gaining technical specialties with little thought as to their usefulness in terms of assaying the reality of the empirical social world (Filstead 1972: 1-2).

I. Why a Qualitative Study?

Qualitative research works to understand the social world through listening to people’s voices, words and narrative accounts, considering their frames of reference, and observing their actions. An inquiry into the nature of Jewish identity is well served by in-depth explorations into people’s hidden motivations and feelings. A qualitative study of Jewish identity is valuable for any number of the following reasons, all of which were important to the design of my study. First, to make sense of a multifaceted concept like Jewish identity, due attention must be paid to discovering and accommodating the individualized meaning structures of the subjects. Secondly, the existing markers used in previous research studies measuring Jewish identity are in need of revision; they need to become more reflective of the realities of contemporary North American Jewish life. Thirdly, first-hand experience with the subjects of a study minimizes misinterpretation of people’s attitudinal and behavioral acts and provides additional meaningful contextual data. Accordingly, for this study 100\(^1\) in-depth life-history oriented interviews were conducted with post-immigrant members of Toronto based Jewish endogamous and intermarried families, including participant observation experiences over a period of thirty months, yielding an enhanced understanding of the ways Toronto Jews are making sense of their Jewish involvement.

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\(^1\) While 100 interviews were formally set up and transcribed, this figure does not capture the many others I spoke to on most of these same issues during the years I spent in the field. I accumulated voluminous field notes on my conversations, observations and feelings attending, among other things, Jewish holiday celebrations, rites of passage ceremonies (including shivas), Jewish cultural events and organizations, and fortuitous interactions with taxi drivers, and visits to medical practitioner’s offices.
Depth interviewing and participant observation are ideal strategies to unearth the complex array of reasons and feelings people attach to what they do. However, qualitative research is often unfairly criticized, misunderstood, or undervalued. It can be an effective way to assess the measurement validity of our constructs and gain a better appreciation of people's phenomenological realities. Researchers who rely on highly involved, primarily inductive, humanistic data gathering styles are often treated as holders of less 'powerful' information than their quantitatively-oriented counterparts. Qualitative and quantitative research have unique strengths and weaknesses, and hence, they cannot be assessed using the same criteria. Quantitative research excels at isolating and measuring pre-defined concepts, while qualitative research succeeds in challenging our assumptions and facilitating new perspectives. Usage of closed-ended questionnaires, pre-determined hypotheses and variables, as is customary in statistical analyses, does not tell us, in this case, how 'real' people (not researchers) experience, account for and negotiate their version(s) of Jewish identity. In recent decades, interest in what is obscured by our numerical reports and skepticism with positivistic approaches has raised the demand for qualitative projects (Bryman and Burgess 1994; Creswell 1998). Qualitative analysis is no longer confined principally to description and exploration. Increasingly, qualitative analyses are being heralded for their ability to generate concepts and build new theoretical frameworks (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

II. Limitations of extant Sociology of North American Jewry Research²

Historically, measurements of Jewish identity over successive generations in North America have been dependent on large surveys and quantitative analyses. Many researchers agree that extant survey data tells us nothing about people's emotional investment in, and subjective interpretations of, 'old', or 'new', Jewish rituals/activities. Several have specifically called for in-

² For a more comprehensive overview of the Sociology of North American Jewry research, refer to the Literature Review chapter.

Assimilationists, sometimes called traditionalists, use traditional standards, like synagogue attendance and Sabbath participation, to assess the nature and strength of Jewish identity. Citing data to support their main argument that ethnic ties tend to erode over time as a minority group gains more acceptance and status within the majority culture, these researchers often overlook the significance of intra-generation diversity and inter-generation innovation and transformation in people's Jewish expressions. Researchers who do consider the changing bases of Jewish attachment and group cohesion are often called transformationists or survivalists and specifically focus on the variety of adaptations to Jewish identity present in a given community.

Philips (1991) differentiates further between those researchers who conduct change-oriented studies and those who examine the content of Jewish identity. Change-oriented research attempts to describe and explain changes in the level of Jewish identity using pre-determined indicators and has for the most part dominated the Jewish sociological landscape. The works of content-oriented theorists (e.g., Herman 1989), namely those that ponder the markers of Jewish identity, have not been satisfactorily integrated into investigating the vitality of Jewish identity. I contend that an over-reliance on Jewish identity surveys and Canadian Census data in this 'Quality of Jewish life' debate has produced distorted estimations of the vitality of North American Jewry. There is good reason to believe declines in Jewish identity maintenance, intergeneration erosion in ritual adherence and increased intermarriage, are largely related to the nature of the researchers' questions. Cohen (1988: 27) recognizes, "[o]ne issue in this debate is that the choice of measures of Jewish vitality is problematic; moreover the choice of measures partially determines our answers. I would go further: the choice of measures is ideologically
charged.” Measurement instruments are typically constrained by limited indicators, fixed response options and a presumed shared understanding and orientation to Jewish identity criteria—researcher-imposed measures may be insufficient to comprehend “new realities” (Goldscheider 1986, 1992).

One of my main priorities in the design of this project was to try and transcend the limitations associated with using predefined constructs and overly structured questions. In-depth interviewing was specifically used to discover what the participants themselves do, think and feel to be related to their ‘Jewishness’. In the process great diversity was unearthed in the realm of Jewish expression, specifically in this case within the sphere of traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO).

Consider the complications associated with trying to measure Jewish vitality using a question like ‘Do you have a special/Sabbath meal on Friday night?’ or ‘Do you keep kosher?’. In terms of the former, such a question obscures the many different definitions of, meanings assigned to, and ways of participating in the Friday night experience a study like this reveals. Consequently, individuals who imbue Friday nights with sacramental significance and religious content (e.g., prayers, singing, distinctive foods etc), are mixed together in the same category with those who approach Friday night dinners in a non-religious manner, often primarily about celebrating and promoting family cohesion. Asking about the occurrence of a special family meal specifically on Friday night also ignores a social pattern among some secularized Toronto Jewish families who set aside Sunday nights for multigenerational family gatherings over Chinese food, an important trend in modern Jewish socialization. Further, studies that only inquire about a Sabbath meal or candle lighting and fail to recognize the emergent trend towards a de-spiritualized ‘special Friday

1 For example, Phillips (1991) points out that how Jews are doing revolves around the standards researchers use.
night dinner', will exclude those individuals who do not see their family ritual as a Sabbath meal (i.e., a religious act, or 'old world' custom). Therefore, researchers may arrive at overly optimistic or pessimistic conclusions about the amount of people who continue to practice some form of Friday night celebration. If we use too narrow a definition of the Friday night experience, many people who might otherwise respond in the affirmative will fail to be counted. Conversely, if we cast our net too wide with overly general questions, we fail to learn anything about what people are actually doing.

Similarly, simply asking whether someone keeps kosher—Jewish dietary laws—overlooks the reality of the various interpretations and implementations of this TJRO. Assessing “the nature and quality of Jewish commitment and involvement among Canadian Jews today” is frustrated further by a lack of comparable measures across studies (Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993: 39). For example, in a 1991 national Canadian survey of 972 households with at least one Jewish person present, 409 of which were Toronto-based households, kosher ritual observance was measured by asking one resident if the residence had separate meat and milk dishes (see Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993). Other surveys like Sklare’s (1972) memorable study of suburban Lakeville Jewry asked respondents: “bacon or ham never served”, “kosher meat bought regularly” and “kosher the meat”, while others still simply inquire if respondents “kept kosher” (e.g., Cohen 1983).

There is great diversity in what people do to ‘keep kosher’, how they account for what they do and the nature and strength of their emotional attachment to doing so. In assessing Jewish dietary adherence based on one family member’s yes or no response, one overlooks intra- or

4 In a 1992 conference grappling with ethnic identity measurement concerns Goldscheider suggests that researchers ignore the emotional intensity participants attach to their ethnic commitments by relying on what he calls “questionnaire ethnicity.”

5 According to Jewish law, Jews are proscribed, among other things, from mixing milk/dairy and flesh/meat foods, obliged to keep two sets of dishes, refrain from eating pork, shelled seafood and any food that has not passed the standards of kosher inspection. All Jewish terms used in this project are italicized. See appendix A for glossary of Jewish terms.
inter-familial tensions and impression management strategies regarding conflicting definitions of family members' kosher ritual observance. For example, parents and children may think on the one hand that they both are doing the "right" thing in spite of both, or one party, maintaining the illusion to the other of conformity, and on the other hand encounter intrafamilial strain when dietary practice erects boundaries, inconvenience and ethnocentrism. Ambiguity in the term kosher, conflicting translations into practice, inconsistent rule adherence and personalized versions of kosher observance render answers to this vague question difficult to decipher and understand. For instance, a personalized "kosher style observance" might entail the use of separate meat and milk dishes without purchasing kosher approved produce. Or, perhaps eating in non-kosher restaurants, but not ordering pork-related or shellfish food dishes. Or, as many do, disregarding dietary laws outside of the home but 'keeping kosher' while at home, or rather perhaps eating "treif" (non-kosher) food in the home "on paper plates," possibly even, as one participant shared, having "a third set of treif dishes."

Clearly there is a need for more communication and a greater degree of collaboration between the change theorists and the content theorists. Change theorists tend to disregard the diversification of Jewish identity forms and mostly concern themselves with the significance of decreases in 'old ways' of doing and being Jewish (e.g., a de-institutionalization of Jewishness). On the other hand, content theorists often downplay the importance of legitimate losses, that is

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6 30-year-old G31/2 Mark Frank, a son of divorced endogamous parentage, and 40-year-old G3 Mitch Freedman of endogamous parentage, provide a picture of variable modalities of 'keeping kosher'. On one hand, Mark states, "I have my own variation on the kashrut that I keep personally. I don't eat pork or shellfish. I will however eat meat that wasn't killed in a kosher manner and since my travels in France and Italy have adopted the practice of mixing chicken with milk. Sometimes I question that but I think my kashrut is a personal reminder of who I am and where I come from. Because I'm not keeping strictly kosher, I made the conscious decision to maintain the symbolism for myself. I only do it for myself. I don't keep kosher because God tells me to but it is something in the religion I choose to observe and I observe it in such a way that is manageable for me. I have adapted it to my needs. I am the only person in my family to keep kosher. When I was young I chose to do this and no one else did, I wasn't raised this way. When we lived in Montreal for my first ten years before coming to Toronto I did have the experience of attending Hebrew school that was run by Lubavitchers who taught me a lot about ritual." On the other hand, Mitch proclaims, "We always have Friday night dinners but there is this thing with North American Jewry is that when it comes to kosher you have two sets of dishes but when you order in Italian or Chinese food you bring out the paper plates."
to say non-substituted declines in the activities and emotional attachment to 'traditional' or 'standard' modes of Jewish expression. A study like this is useful because in order to assess the present and future vitality of ethnic identities, in this case of the Toronto Jewish non-Orthodox group, it is necessary to have a more street-level understanding of how people feel and account for what they do. Increasingly, people are personalizing, customizing, and in effect picking and choosing a style of TJRO that fits into their 'comfort zone' (i.e., the creative process of identity negotiation). Whether they do 'less' or 'more' than previous generations is less important to the vitality of their Jewish commitment than the nature, be it active or passive, of their emotional attachment to their Jewish choices. In this project, I have tried to underscore the value of exploring the emotional and intentional aspects, as well as describing some of the varied forms, of people's Jewish identity.

III. Advantages and Disadvantages of Qualitative Techniques

This study consisted of the accumulation and analysis of in-depth/long interviews. Additionally, many hours were spent in the field acculturating to the particularities of the Toronto Jewish community. While there are advantages and disadvantages to intensive interviewing and participant observation methods, given my area of interest the pros heavily outweighed the cons. In the course of my depth interviewing and participant observation experiences the following issues were those with which and from which I struggled and gained the most.

A. Advantages (depth interviewing)

i. 'Truth telling': It takes a long time to build rapport, gain trust and minimize social desirability in responses (e.g., learning about ambivalence, alienation, and shifts in orientation to TJRO). People are more apt to tell the 'truth' when they feel safe and a lack of judgement.
ii. **Discourages normative reporting:** Depth interviews give people an opportunity to discuss their feelings/responses in order to discourage mere reporting of normatively manufactured responses.

iii. **Minimizes distortion:** Enables one to catch inconsistencies, contradictions, which makes it less likely to have inaccuracies owing to problems related to the self-knowledge, or lack thereof, of participants.

iv. **In to the depths:** Allows for a deeper understanding of people’s actions and promotes insight into their internal worlds.

v. **Disclosure and Catharsis:** The conversational and therapeutic candor of the long interview method gives people the time to share stories that best exemplify to them, in this case, how Jewishness has been and is manifest in their life trajectory, including the underlying meanings they ascribe to these events. This “unusual form of sociality” (McCracken 1988: 27), being at the center of another’s attention, can benefit both the researcher and interviewee. Such intensive focus on the participant’s life experiences, perspectives and feelings (i.e., being heard) can provide a cathartic release and an opportunity to engage in self-scrutiny.

vi. **Clarity and Confusion:** There is an opportunity for the researcher to clarify questions and/or answers.⁷

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B. **Disadvantages (depth interviewing)**

i. **Dramaturgical performance** (see Goffman 1959): The interviewee may see me as an audience to be satisfied, resulting in pleasing behavior and social desirability which may hinder revelations of characteristics they think, or feel, unwelcome. Because interviewees have the opportunity to meet with the interviewer and interact with them, there is a chance that some of their responses will be colored by a reading of the interviewer’s desires.

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⁷ McCracken (1988: 19) suggests that a favorable attribute of the long interview is that the researcher experiences “a bundle of possibilities, pointers and suggestions that can be used to plumb the remarks of a respondent.”
Leading: If the interviewer tries too hard to make all issues, experiences safe and accessible, they may unwittingly end up leading the interviewee to answers they may not have otherwise revealed.

Limited generalizability: Typically, researchers can not personally or economically afford to do in-depth interviews in 'large' enough numbers that are sufficient to make broad generalizations or claims to a wider population. Importantly, however, the goal of qualitative research is not so much about 'how many', but rather discovering the 'what'.

Data management and analysis: Longer, highly detailed and personal interviews are more difficult for the researcher to decode, decipher and catalogue. The "voluminous, unstructured and unwieldy" nature of qualitative data (Bryman and Burgess 1994: 216), and the personalized ordering of questions and topics, constrains the organization and codification of data.

Burnout: Particularly exhausting intellectual and emotional work for the researcher/interviewer.

C. Advantages (Participant Observation)

i. Cultural context: Provides valuable contextual information in which to situate participants' responses.

ii. Acculturation: Familiarizes one with the cultural nuances, markers and varied sources of interest within the group.

iii. Sample building: Provides opportunities to gain participants.

iv. Informative 'shmoozing': Yields additional information about Toronto Jewry’s actions, feelings and beliefs, in informal, de-pressurized, and 'natural' settings.
v. **Insider status:** Opportunities to talk to a wide net of people and be involved (e.g., attending performances on Jewish-related topics, Jewish women's groups, panel discussions, Jewish festivals, social functions, Jewish weddings, funerals, and other ritualized Jewish occasions, etc.).

vi. **Immersion and Sensitivity:** Interacting on a daily basis with Toronto Jews means that at all stages of the project, from its gestation to the write up, one is living and breathing the work.

D. **Disadvantages (Participant Observation)**

i. **Losing imagined 'outsider' objectivity:** By learning the cultural repertoire of the group there are dangers of over-identification with the subjects of the study.

ii. **Information overload:** New incoming information can add to instead of reduce the complexity of your descriptive and explanatory schemes.

iii. **Time constraints:** The time consuming nature of being 'in the field'. The permeable boundaries in my case between my everyday life and the worlds of my subjects meant that my sociological and ethnographic lenses were always on, continuously seducing me to make analytical observations.

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III. **The Research Experience**

This qualitative project exploring the constitution and reconstitution of Jewishness, as well as the mechanics of persistence and transformation, draws upon more than one tradition of inquiry. Various aspects of interpretive, grounded theory, biographical, and feminist traditions were useful in the design and workings of this "research adventure." Qualitative research has broad

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8 Disadvantages raised for depth interviewing, such as constraints to generalizability, data management and analysis, can also apply to participant observation. Please see above.

9 Glazer (1972) describes the qualitative research experience as an "adventure" as the researcher often travels into unanticipated terrain, confronts mystery and the unexpected, continually adapts to the exigencies of the field, and experiences both fears and thrills of this unpredictable journey.
guidelines, but "no definitive rules to be followed by rote and by which, for example, two researchers can ensure they reach identical conclusions about a set of data" (Jones 1985: 58). I often tried to reassure myself that this lack of rigidity and formality reflected the inevitable influence of extraneous forces inherent in face-to-face encounters and the complexity and contradictions of everyday life. Nevertheless, the fears about not discovering a 'significant' story and pressures associated with unexpected "dilemmatic" choices, drove me to seek more and more interviewees and continually road-test preliminary ideas on Toronto Jewish group members. The seemingly endless number of ways of mining, sorting, disentangling, and presenting the data lent itself to an ongoing process of revision that I sometimes feared would never end. I have had to make many authorial decisions about what to include [exclude]. While the strength of qualitative research is its tendency to allow for multiple interpretations, I have come to understand how this process is limited by what the reader has to work with. In what follows I take the reader through "a personal account of a personal process" (Jones 1985: 58), namely the strategies and decisions I adopted during the course of the study from its inception to the write up.

This project concerns itself with what happens to Jewish identity over the course of two generations of Canadian residence. It also considers the effects, if any, marital choice had on the style and substance of Jewish expression. Restricting my population of interest to the Toronto-based non-Orthodox Jewish group in its varied forms of affiliation and non-affiliation stemmed from Canadian Jewish identity analyses that showed the non-Orthodox Jewish community most vulnerable to Jewish identity erosion and diminishing representation (Brym 1993; Kallen 1977). My intention was to unearth the complexities and diversity in (re)constructions of Jewishness, delving further into the multidimensional and transformational perspectives of ethnicity. Too

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10 McGrath (1982) subscribes to a "dilemmatic' view of research" wherein there is no such thing as "flawless research", but the need to contend with "conflicting desiderata" or choices that somehow "minimize other
often ethnic identity is not treated as an "experienced thing" with a "cognitive feel" (Azoulay 1997: 6), differences and contradictions often being ignored. I have tried here to broaden our understanding/definitions of Jewishness and be inclusive of its multiple constituents. I was interested in uncovering any untapped processes silenced by fixed response categories, notably appreciating participants' meaning perspective and frame of reference.

A. Motivating Concerns

My interests in this research project are at once personal and professional. Concerns about identity and belonging have been a part of my life ever since I can remember. I was born in Ottawa, Canada to academic Israeli parents. As my parents completed their education and followed work opportunities, we were a family on the move. By age seven, I had already lived in Canada, England and New Zealand. After that, my family settled in Hong Kong where I spent the next ten years of my life. Over this time, I spent several summers travelling and/or spending time in Israel where most of my relatives live. Growing up Jewish in Hong Kong, I was immersed in a multiethnic, albeit anglicized, expatriate culture. This low Jewish density setting complicated the typical identity formation difficulties associated with adolescence. When I returned to Canada on my own for university schooling at age seventeen my hybrid English accent and particular socialization experiences furthered my identity confusion. Soon thereafter, my journey into what it means to be a Jew in North America, a Jewish Canadian or Canadian Jew in particular, began. I became increasingly interested in multiculturalism, social identities and inequalities. Sociology seemed to be an excellent discipline in which to examine such issues as immigrant adaptation, ethnicity, culture, etc.

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desideratum" (101). He rejects the notion of "right' choices" in favor of "a set of dilemmas to be lived with"(69). 
11 See Davidman's (1997) insightful account of the intersection between the personal and the sociological.
After obtaining my Honor's and Master's degrees, the former in Peterborough and the latter in Kingston, I stayed true to my 'wandering Jew' heritage and took up residence in several different, primarily low density Jewish parts of Toronto. For the first two years of my doctoral program I lived downtown with my at that time non-Jewish boyfriend. Meanwhile my parents had bought a condominium in North Toronto that was situated within walking distance to Jewish communal life, a move they hoped might ease my integration into the Toronto Jewish scene. My parents justified their choice of location as one that is at once "comfortably close to and yet far from" the "insulated, parochial" hub-bub of Jewish kosher shops, delis, bakeries, Judaica stores, old age homes, synagogues and the like. Such is a good example of the tension many Jews face in their attempt to balance societal integration with ethnic identity maintenance. Like many non-Orthodox Jews, my parents wrestle with their powerful emotive connection to their Jewishness, their affinity for cosmopolitanism and their discomfort with clannishness.

In 1996 I made the move "up North" where a variety of 'new' concerns of a Jewish nature presented themselves to me. Having grown up with a romanticized notion of Jewish solidarity, I became fascinated with North Toronto's substantial Jewish diversity and intra-group divisiveness. I realized then that understanding the nuances of change, persistence and cultural negotiation in the non-Orthodox Toronto Jewish community was where I would like to do my doctoral work and perhaps in the process make a positive contribution to the community. In particular, it seemed to me that our understanding/definitions of Jewishness were somewhat outmoded and in need of revision. I resolved to do a study involving in-depth life history interviews that I suspected might 'officially' reveal some of the oft hidden multiplicity of Jewish

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12 Moving "up North" signifies for many second generation Canadian Jews who spent part or all of their childhood in more or less cramped, survivalist conditions, an emblem of upward social mobility as they suburbanized in the direction of "bigger and better homes." Indeed, many do not understand the 'geographical return' made by successive generations to the original, albeit gentrified, "downtown" areas as they and/or their parents worked so hard to move onto 'greener pastures.'
modalities that I was informally observing in my interactions, thereby giving voice to excluded, alternate ways and means of being and doing Jewish.

Spending my formative years in low Jewish density environments meant that most, if not all, of my boyfriends were non-Jewish. The effects of a succession of long relationships with Anglo Canadian, irreligious, non-Jews left me questioning the alleged clear correlation between mixed unions and the erosion of one's ethnic ties. My consciousness and pride in my distinctive Jewish heritage came naturally in these unions as I could not just take for granted my Jewish connection but had to clarify its meaning to someone for whom it was foreign. Importantly, this process is not unlike that which occurs in endogamous unions of people from dissimilar denominational backgrounds. Since my parents had not questioned my interethnic dating practices during my teens, not placing much seriousness in these relationships, I was surprised to suddenly hear talk about endogamy and receive encouragement to date other Jews. It became clear to me that my parents' response to the inter-dating relationships I was having in Canada had a large impact on the orientation my significant other took toward Jewish issues. In reading the literature on the hypothesized effects and etiology of Jewish intermarriage, I was frustrated by the strong claims made tying a perceived Jewish identity loss to a so named intermarriage crisis. In my opinion, there was, and perhaps remains, an insufficient base of knowledge on which to make such pronouncements. The full experiences, perspectives and feelings encountered by members of mixed families have all too often not been included in the debates. Perhaps, I thought, there might be other more powerful variables mediating the relationship of intermarriage to Jewish vitality. In addition, instead of excluding the contribution of the non-Jewish spouse, as is typical of the prior research, I felt that eliciting intensive accounts from both spouses, and when possible their adult offspring, would enhance our focus, or at least provide food for thought. Specifically, I wondered why some persons exhibited active interest in their Jewishness while others demonstrated indifference or outsidersness.
My study of the Jewish identity patterns expressed by members of post-immigrant, non-Orthodox, intermarried and endogamous Jewish families emanated from a variety of broad questions. My initial move was to formulate an interview schedule\textsuperscript{13} that functioned more as a guide than something to be followed absolutely. Over time I refined and customized my interview style and questions, favoring those that were most conducive to getting people to talk openly and freely about their Jewish experience and history. The following questions initialized the project:

- How do respondents define Jewishness?
- How do people express their Jewishness in various spheres?
- What is the nature of non-Orthodox Jews' attachment to their Jewishness in general and traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO) in particular?
- What strategies and styles of Jewish identity maintenance, modification, substitution and addition do people use?
- Are extant researcher-imposed survey-based measures of Jewish identity capturing people's definitions, as well as the candor of their Jewish experience?
- How do people feel and think about the Jewish identity practices they choose, or are conditioned, to keep?
- Under what conditions does Jewish attachment attenuate, intensify, or diversify?
- What happens to Jewish identity over successive generations in Canada, increasing distance from the immigration experience?

\textsuperscript{13} See appendix B.
Is the incidence of Jewish intermarriage a useful barometer for explaining weakening attachment levels? How do, for instance, children of Jewish mixed marriages demonstrate, feel about, and make sense of a Jewish heritage?

What are some other mechanisms of change that may mitigate the relationship between generation status, intermarriage/endogamy, and vitality of ethno-religious involvement?

B. Choosing Toronto

In considering where to explore the questions of interest to this dissertation my residence in what has become the largest, most diversely populated Jewish city in Canada made the decision less complex. Upon surveying the literature on Jewish identity and immigrant adaptation in North America, the transformation and persistence of Jewish identity in the North American Diaspora, it became evident that American, primarily quantitative, research dominates and overshadows Canadian contributions in this area. Whether differences between the two countries are “illusory” (Breton and Reitz 1997), or real owing to differing immigration histories and founding ideologies (Lipset 1985; Tulchinsky 1993\(^{15}\)), I was keen to redress this scholarly imbalance, or at least stimulate other in-depth Canadian Jewish studies.

Since I was studying the style and substance of Jewish ‘choices,’ I wanted to carry out my project in Toronto, a city that offers its Jewish residents the greatest degree of lifestyle options, and opportunities to participate, or not, in its ethnic institutions and normative culture. The Toronto Jewish community is well established,\(^{16}\) enabling my criteria for interviewing two generations of

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\(^{14}\) Given the particular socio-political climate of Quebec, more favorable work opportunities in Toronto, and the resultant out-migration of young Jewish adults, Toronto has surpassed Montreal as the Canadian City with the greatest number of Jewish residents (see also Torczyner et al 1995).

\(^{15}\) Tulchinsky (1993) presents the differing historical contexts faced by Jews entering Canada and the United States as a possible explanation for Canadian Jews’ comparatively more conservative, ‘old world’, Jewish identity styles and retention patterns. According to Brodbar-Nazer et al (1993), US/Canada comparisons of religious, communal, and Israel, involvement of Jews based on 1990 national survey data reveal Jews in Canada as having higher attachments to Israel, reporting higher donations to Jewish causes, greater involvement in Jewish organizations, and somewhat greater Jewish ritual adherence.

\(^{16}\) The presence of Jewish families spanning at least two generations born in Toronto made it feasible finding family members who reported a foreign-born parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent.
Canadian Jewish adult family members to be realized. With respect to my interest in 'the intermarriage question,' I felt my study would stand the greatest chance of providing some meaningful insight if it were to be conducted in a large metropolis wherein one typically finds maximal variation in contextual and situational factors. In addition, I suspected Toronto's large multiethnic population and growing intermarriage rates, despite enduring in-group endogamous pressures, would minimize my difficulties in locating Jewish intermarried families. The presence of intra-group tensions along class, status, denominational, ideological, cultural, sexual orientation, and/or gender lines, suggested Toronto would be an ideal location to document and consider modern forms of non-Orthodox\textsuperscript{17} Jewish identity.

C. Pilot Study

This project began like many with a pilot study to ensure the feasibility of the proposed method and solidify the area(s) of exploration. This phase of my research commenced Winter 1996 and lasted approximately eight months. At this same time, I separated from my husband, a needless-to-say tumultuous experience that both aided and abetted this project. I initially dealt with the personal trauma associated with the end of my marriage quite constructively pouring myself into my doctoral work with even greater passion. It was only later that the emotional toll of this negative experience began to assert itself and intermittently lessened my productivity. While this was frustrating at times, on the positive side these unavoidable delays extended the period of time in which I was immersed in the community.

\textsuperscript{17} While a 1991 survey of 1000 Toronto Jewish households found greatest representation from those reporting Conservative Jewish affiliation, Reform, Reconstructionist, Alternatively affiliated, and Unaffiliated Jews, also have a definite presence in Toronto, and like the renewed appeal of Orthodoxy have cut into some of the popularity of the middle.
The pilot study consisted of twenty-one\(^{18}\) in-depth interviews with second and third generation members of Jewish endogamous and intermarried families, concerning, among other things, their experiences, conceptions, and interpretations of Jewishness. Seven of the lengthy personalized interviews were with persons who grew up in, or currently resided in, an intermarried family structure. I met one childless professionally employed intermarried couple in their late 20s opportunistically at a New Year's Eve party context (Jewish husband, Anglo-Canadian wife), and another comparable intermarried couple through a colleague (Jewish husband, Lutheran late generation\(^{19}\) Canadian wife). I found three young adult offspring of Jewish mixed unions (in all cases the father is Jewish, mothers are Italian-Canadian, Anglo-Canadian, and Hispanic respectively), two through university contacts and one from informative shmoozing at the Bathurst Jewish Community Center. Other interview subjects spanned the Jewish spectrum from affiliated to unaffiliated, established to marginalized, wealthy to struggling, conventional to unconventional, and attached to unattached. I wanted to have a relatively even distribution of male and female participants, but found it easier to attract men to my study. Later I learned and developed new ways to get proportionate representation, principally by introducing my study to prospective participants as a family-focused study. De-emphasizing the individual under-a-microscope approach seemed to encourage people to volunteer other members of their family.

The pilot study functioned well as a means by which I could perfect my methods and procedures in preparation for the main study. Lessons gleaned during this process helped me in the

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\(^{18}\) Three of the twenty-one interviews conducted were not included in the official count and descriptive profile of interviewees for this study. I had the opportunity to interview a "Jew by Choice" who had chosen to convert to Judaism, but not being married to a Jewish woman he did not fall within the parameters of this study. I did so to deepen my understanding of identity change, factors influencing social adjustment and other people's reception to one becoming Jewish, varied motives for and experiences with conversion. The other cases I did not consider as part of my interview sample, but instead included in my repository of participant observation experiences, was a G3 woman in her late 20s and a 20-year-old son of a divorced Catholic Columbian mother and Spanish Moroccan Jewish father. I could not finish the interview with the former, an active secular traditional Jew whose father died when she was 12 years old and who values the comfort level of Jewish social relations, the social, not religious, significance of Jewish rituals, because she relocated outside of Canada.

\(^{19}\) Late generation participants are nonimmigrant members who trace their ancestors across at least four generations of Canadian residence.
continual process of fine tuning my method. Although I always covered all arenas of Jewish identity customary to other studies, during the course of the interviews I learned that letting the interviews evolve in a fluid and flexible, conversational manner tended to make people more comfortable and likely to share their thoughts, feelings, and ‘authentic’ actions. I began using the measuring instruments of prior studies, like Sklare’s image of ‘a good Jew’ scale, but later stopped doing so because the majority of my participants found these traits outmoded and inappropriate, less about Jewishness and more about humanness in general. However, these measures did serve an important purpose in my interviews as useful springboards for discussion. I attained greater success letting the interviewees introduce their own notions of Jewish identity markers (colloquially referred to by some as “Jew Radar”). The style and substance of people’s Jewish identity was also more readily accessible and interpretable by incorporating a life history approach to the interviews. Having my questions feed off their responses rather than follow a structured format also helped me achieve greater disclosure and a holistic portrait of the interviewee.

I began my study using a questionnaire to supplement the in-depth oral interviews. Over time, I came to understand that this added little to this project. If I administered the questionnaire before the interview, which I only managed to do a few times, the information, gathered was superficial, vague, and/or redundant after I conducted their long oral interviews. Similarly, if I administered the questionnaire after the intensive interview session which often felt awkward after taking up so much of my participants’ time already, I found there was little left to add, everything having been covered in the oral interview. The nature of this research, the questions being asked, clearly lent themselves to a more personable, conversational context. People seemed much more at ease discussing at length their life stories, recounting their behaviors, attitudes and feelings towards these experiences, than writing about them.
During the pilot phase I also experimented with interviewing husbands and wives together, but decided against this practice. On the one hand, doing so introduced me to the couple's marital dynamics, spousal reactions, areas of (dis)agreement, and offered extra stories that might not have been told if one spouse had not jogged the other's memory. On the other hand, it was difficult as an interviewer to balance attention between both spouses, nurture simultaneously both participants, explore freely "his and her marriage," "his and her" understanding, personal histories, and experiences of Jewishness, and get beyond social scripts.\footnote{For example, such his and her differences are apparent for endogamous interviewee, 33-year-old G3 Faye Stern, who states, "For me Judaism is a mix of three things—community, religion and tradition. And for me it's a different mix of those three than it would be for my husband. More of it for me is in the tradition and community then the religion itself, though I consider myself a Conservative-Reform. I know there's Conservadox, but I don't know what you consider. I have two sets which would mean I'm Conservative, but I do eat pork when I go to Chinese Food Restaurants, so that's the Reform side of me. So, I'd say most of it for me is rooted in the tradition and in the community is the work I'm involved in is continuity, and the religion is a lesser third for me. It's almost the umbrella of the other two."} I found that interviewing spouses together limited my opportunity to access differential readings and meanings of actions—nuances in Jewish identity that were the primary focus of this study.

D. Interview Sample

i. Finding participants\footnote{In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, the names of all participants have been changed.}

There have been many ethnographies where the researchers have participated and/or observed the socio-cultural patterns in Jewish institutional contexts (e.g., Shoem 1989; Shokeid 1990; and Davidman 1991). However, the questions motivating this study required that I access a wider sampling context, specifically one not linked to any particular institutional body or structure. My interest lay in hearing from individuals demonstrating differing levels of Jewish ethno-religious involvement and attachment. Importantly, I wanted to get beyond the scripted 'party lines' (normative reporting) that are sometimes associated with using synagogue membership lists and the like. Ultimately, after much consideration and preliminary experimentation I felt the best approach to finding persons fitting my specific criteria of interest for this project, namely 18 plus
members of post-immigrant, non-Orthodox, intermarried and endogamous Jewish families would be to utilize a combination of purposeful, maximal variance, sampling strategies. Specifically, I employed randomized snowballing and opportunistic networking, branching off from varied sites within the Toronto Jewish landscape. The trials, tribulations, successes and failures of my approach and its variations are described in what follows.

The principle behind snowball or chain sampling is that you rely on referrals and leads from past interviewees or helpful informants befriended in the field to gain access to more subjects that fit the criteria of interest to the study. Maximum variation in the sample was achieved both unintentionally, owing to the different motivations and attractions prospective interviewees had to the same sampling site, and strategically, due to my purposeful use of multiple access points. Participants were found in and via such sites as Toronto's Jewish Community Centers, Jewish cultural events (e.g., Ashkenaz), Jewish single functions, Jewish ceremonies, university settings, house parties, trendy Jewish social venues, opportunistic encounters in practitioner's offices, and the Canadian Jewish News.

It is not possible here to discuss the intricacies of my experiences in all of my points of entry. However, some access points were particularly fruitful, led to large pockets, or were helpful in unexpected ways, yielding, in some cases, reluctant, often inaccessible subjects. It turned out that finding individuals to talk about cultural identities in an autobiographical/life history style was not so much the struggle as ensuring that their parents, or spouse, or offspring would be willing, or available, to do so as well. For instance, finding complete families of intermarried parents and their adult offspring proved to be a particularly difficult journey, however especially rewarding and enlightening when I finally did make contact. In light of the dearth of actual information that exists on the thoughts, feelings and activities of those embedded in Jewish intermarried family structures, I was keen to consider how all family members, including the 'non-Jewish'
spouse/parent, negotiated Jewish content in their lives. However, finding non-immigrant Jews, their non-Jewish, or Jew by choice' spouses and 18 plus offspring was no easy task to achieve even after making non-traditional Jewish contacts. Meeting all three criteria—presence of both Canadian socialized parent(s) and 18 plus offspring, Jewish/non-Jewish union, and non-Orthodox Jewish status—had to be relaxed at times for the purpose of gaining insight into the experiences and conceptions of Jewish identity expressed by members of intermarried family structures. Indeed, as a newcomer to the 'ins' and 'outs' of a pluralistic Toronto Jewish community not only did I need to develop patience for the time it takes to find appropriate participants and for my own acculturation process, but I had to become more resourceful in my sampling strategies.

In the case of intermarried families, I somewhat naively thought members might be eager to have a chance to finally tell their stories and discuss their 'take' on the Jewish experience. While this was true in some cases, in others, the emotionally charged issues surrounding intermarriage were still too close to the surface to be revealed. Differential family responses to an intermarriage and hesitation about re-opening a "Pandora's box" of debate often create a climate of defensiveness and protection against potential judgement by 'outsiders.' For instance, 29-year-old G2 Harold Roberts and his wife Stacey, a late generation Lutheran Canadian in her late 20s, requested that I not interview Harold's parents because from their vantage point it was best not to rekindle Jewish identity concerns and family "sore points." It was only recently that Harold's parents, who had not attended the wedding, accepted Stacey and began treating her as "part of the family." Living in close proximity to his parents while his siblings lived far away in America may have helped hasten the parents' recognition that intermarriage and Jewish identity incorporation do not need to be incompatible. While I did not get the chance to interview the parents in this

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22 Senior G2 Toronto Jews Nancy and Murray Silverstein were also hesitant to "stir things up again" given that they only recently started the healing process with their estranged daughter who had converted to Catholicism when she
case, I logged detailed second-hand accounts of their lives in general, and specifically, their relation to their Jewishness.

Notwithstanding early successes finding adult children of intermarriage, and young, as yet childless, intermarried couples, later difficulties tracking down Canadian born Jewish individuals and their non-Jewish spouse, not to mention their grown up children, almost forced me to reconsider including the intermarriage component in my study. Surprisingly perhaps, an article on the project which appeared in the Toronto Jewish community’s main publication, the ‘Canadian Jewish News’ (CJN) April 9, 1998, restored my faith in the workability of including Jewish interfaith families. I could write an entire paper on my sampling experiences, motivations, and the advantages and disadvantages of networking from various access points, but I trust that the following examples will suffice to demonstrate some of the sampling diversity I achieved.

The persons who responded to the CJN article did so for varied motives, came to the article by different means, and often did so independent of their families consent to be involved. Importantly, this mainstream access point yielded a wide representation of intermarried contexts comprised of people with varying modes and degrees of Jewish commitment. For example, unmarried 35-year-old G3 Nora with “serious” thoughts of intermarriage obtained my number through her mother, a ritualistic CJN reader. Nora’s mother had seen the article and suggested

married her Italian husband (a director of a play she acted in). Their daughter who has seven children lives on the outskirts of the city close to her husband’s family.

23 See appendix C for journalistic coverage of my study-in-process that helped generate more intermarried families accessible to participate. In terms of this access point, I had people initiating phone contact with me instead of the other way around.

24 For instance, 49-year-old single Jewish parent, Elaine Bargman, living with her 23-year-old son, Ron, in a low income downtown coop, migrated to Toronto from Australia as a young woman, responded to my appeal for interfaith families on account of her 28-year-old intermarrying daughter, Samantha. Elaine responded to my CJN appeal to intermarried families to tell their stories not because of her own experiences raised by Holocaust survivors on an isolated farm in Australia, marrying a Scottish non-Jew, or due to the impact of the divorce on her Jewish identification. Instead, she called to put me in contact with her daughter who is in a common-law union with a non-Jewish Canadian man and lives with him and their one-year-old daughter in a “non-Jewish area” just outside of Toronto. Elaine perceived her daughter as cut off from anything Jewish, an outsider to her Jewishness, and choosing a culturally impoverished setting in which to raise her child.
she phone me perhaps in the hope of my reaffirming Jewish ethnic ideologies to Nora that abound about the inherent limitations of out-marriage and the perceived threats to Jewish solidarity. Another searching and unsure G3 woman, 23-year-old Cindy Roth, presently testing out the Orthodox Jewish waters, contacted me because her relationship with a non-Jewish man facilitated an awakening in her Jewish consciousness. Cindy, who feeling the increased emotional connection to a Hispanic, non-practising Catholic she had befriendend in a Spanish dancing venue, had left for Israel to thwart her burgeoning love interest and revitalize her Jewish identity/attachment (i.e., in her words: “to give Judaism one more chance”). Realising “how easy it was to fall in love with a non-Jewish man” had led her on a spiritual search to infuse Jewish symbolism and meaning into her life. She reports, “I felt that I was slipping away from my Jewishness, I felt I was losing something of myself really important and I needed a spiritual rebirth.”

Some CJN respondents were not regular readers, subscribers, or even CJN fans. Widowed intermarrier, Elisabeth Goldstein, for instance, formerly a Presbyterian Canadian, contacted me because of the “unwelcoming” treatment she faced in her interactions with Jews, reporting feelings of alienation and complaining of being misunderstood. Elisabeth receives the CJN at her apartment in a high Jewish density building but considers the publication "a racist paper": “it makes me angry every time I read it, I resent the intermarriage debates and their implications, it’s like don’t bring in those horrible nasty people.” She had to post political campaign advertisements in the paper when she was involved with municipal and provincial political campaigns but is nonetheless "bothered" by the paper:

I am annoyed that these Holocaust survivors that I know they think that [the CJN] is gospel truth and they believe everything that they read in it. They have a slant towards certain governments. They have also written many slanted articles about intermarriages. Fine, write it, but write the other side too. The headline of the story does not always

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25 Having grown up in a secular household with a peripheral relationship to Jewish communal life, Cindy sought on her own to introduce Jewish religious practices and beliefs to her life, attending Shabbat dinners, services, classes, a Moshav experience in Israel, and partaking in other Jewish ritual experiences.
reflect the story. These women [her husband's friends' wives] are influenced by what they read and I think it's such a shame.

As in the example above it was not always the intermarrying Jewish spouse who contacted me to offer their story. Bob Johnson, a 72-year-old late generation Canadian widow who was reared in an Acadian Catholic household of seven siblings, married a fellow member of the Canadian Communist movement, a G3 Jewish woman, and chose on his own to respond to the article. Bob gained access to the article because the CJN continues to be delivered to the Johnson residence at no cost in recognition of his now deceased wife’s administrative work with Toronto Jewish Family and Child Service. Bob chose a quick conciliatory conversion to Judaism in order to pre-empt his wife’s parents from “sitting shiva” for their daughter on account of their intermarriage.

Another particularly important and/or helpful access point for me was the Bathurst Jewish Community Center (BJC) from which I gained copious amounts of field notes, learned about where I could attend Jewish functions and hip social venues, and networked extensively. The BJC club membership is anything but homogenous, people opt to participate in a Jewish community fitness center for various reasons. For some, it was mere convenience to home or work, better fitness classes, or a longstanding habit, while others spoke of simply being “more comfortable” in this predominantly mono-ethnic environment, others still are clearly there primarily to socialize, network, or attempt to fulfil their romantic aspirations. I was somewhat surprised to find people here who were largely disenchanted and disinterested in religious activities and ethnic obligations. For many of these people, going to the BJC is their primary mode of Jewish expression. For example, secular 60-year-old G2 Michael Federman sees his daily runs and time spent listening to the stories of Holocaust survivors, including stock talk and

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The Johnsons’ two G3 unmarried daughters in their 40s were not accessible for interviewing due to illness in the case of the eldest, and limited leisure time and interest for the younger of the two.
joke cracking with rabbis in the health club sauna, as the chief way he manifests and feels strongly about being Jewish. Importantly, however, the BJC also served as an excellent access point for me to meet interviewees who would be typically classified as high identifying Jews.

Seeking holistic remedies to rid myself of the mono virus, I befriended Hilda, a G3 Jewish alternative health care practitioner in her late 40s. Hilda turned out to be a generous snowballing contact and good friend, inviting me for Friday night dinners and assisting me when I had a nasty bicycle accident. Not only did I get to interview Hilda, her G2 Montreal born Jewish husband, their 19-year-old G3 son, her 78-year-old G2 mother, and 50-year-old G3 sister, but through Hilda I received three contact numbers for persons who were either intermarried or had intermarried offspring. Her son also referred me to his friend’s family where a family member had recently been appointed a Cantor for an out-of-town Conservative congregation.

Such methodological concerns as how to and where to find your participants are frustrated by other general problems associated with doing multigenerational research. Indeed, I discovered why many Ethnicity researchers often do not carry out such research: [1] emotional and time investment; [2] constraints gaining the participation of both parents (preferably G2) and their children (ideally G3); [3] time lag between family members’ interviews due to conflicting schedules and independent living circumstances. In addition, the ordering of family interviews could not be pre-determined or rigidly followed, for example not being able to choose whether I interviewed second generation Canadian Jewish parents first and then their third generation offspring, or vice versa, as it depended on with whom I had initially made contact.

Families in practice unfortunately do not always operate as singular cohesive units and locating one subject does not automatically enable access to the person’s family. While I was hoping that obtaining the permission of one or two family members would eliminate the ‘fear of being
rejected' aspect of phoning or concerns about not obtaining entry, my angst around saying the unbeknownst 'wrong' thing and taking up people's time did not abate during the project. I had to continually negotiate entry, seek permission, sometimes without forewarning, for interviews from missing family members. Further, parents and adult children being for the most part separate units meant that if much time had elapsed between family interviews I needed to re-read transcripts and analytical notes to conduct more effective interviews. This time lag however proved to be more of an advantage than a disadvantage because it gave me opportunities to revisit unanswered questions, check inconsistencies, gain up-dates, re-connect with the family, and sensitize myself to the participant(s), without over-staying my welcome. Reviewing my decoding of transcriptions kept me abreast of concept generation, attentive to interesting variables to explore further, attuned to ideas and lessons gleaned from previous interviews. Having missing family members however was sometimes an unavoidable, insurmountable, situation, including absences due to people getting sick, being in poor condition, departures out of town, personal problems, having work come up, family conflicts, or being out of the picture as a result of death, divorce, or remarriage.

ii. Descriptive profile (Vital Statistics)
Between 1996 and 1999, I conducted tape-recorded, in-depth interviews (52 women, 48 men) with one hundred post-immigrant generation members of Toronto-based Jewish endogamous and intermarried family structures. Participants were diverse in age, socioeconomic status, gender, marital status, ritual involvement, family situation, immigrant stories, and residential location. These lengthy life history oriented interviews mostly took place in people's place of residence. While this had me traveling all over the city, it served the interests of this study well in that respondents seemed much more comfortable 'on their own turf' and I had an opportunity
to make observations in their natural environment. I entered differing sized and styled houses, apartments, condos and town-homes in low to high income, low to high Jewish density,\textsuperscript{28} downtown to suburban, areas, including Thornhill, Richmond Hill, Bathurst Manor, 'Bathurst Jewish Corridor', Downsview, Downtown, Forrest Hill, Rosedale, Leaside, Midtown, North York, Riverdale, West end, Bayview/York Mills, etc.\textsuperscript{29}

Let's now look at 'who' my interviewees are and how I define my descriptive criteria.\textsuperscript{30} The generation composition of my Jewish born\textsuperscript{31} sample (N=87) broke down as follows:

**Table 1. Generation Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation status</th>
<th>Percent (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first-second</td>
<td>6.9% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>27.6% (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second-third</td>
<td>17.2% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>29.9% (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third-fourth</td>
<td>14.9% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourth and over</td>
<td>3.4% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total % (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{27} In the cases when additional interviews had to be held, we often met at cozy coffee shops. Occasionally lengthy interviews had to be conducted on the telephone when geographical distance and scheduling conflicts got in the way.

\textsuperscript{28} The density designations were based on common perceptions of the proportion of Jews residing in a given neighborhood. In my sample, 21 live in low Jewish density areas, 17 in medium, and 62 in high.

\textsuperscript{29} I learned quickly about "Jewish geography" both by mingling within these various worlds and through the lenses of my participants. For instance, 23-year-old G3/2, recently appointed Cantor, Aaron Gold gives me his take of a class and religiously divided landscape: "In Thornhill you have your newly wealthy Jews who bought these big homes up in Richmond Hill. On Bathurst, from Steeles to Wilson you have the middle of the road type people and south of that you have the ultra-Orthodox, and South of Eglinton you have old money Jews from the Forrest Hill area and then downtown you have all the beatniks. Everybody is looking down on everybody. So, you have who is a Jew and what is a Jew in every area." 33-year-old endogamous G3 Tabitha Shwartz emphasizes an in-group practice of "playing the Jewish geography game". According to Tabitha, "Jewish Geography" serves as a means co-ethnics invoke to establish social links to one another, forming a sense of familiarity and closeness, as well as for some affirming social status location (inferred from which schools and summer camps you went to, etc).

\textsuperscript{30} See also appendix D, the socio-demographic profile of the study participants, for a more detailed account of 'who' my interviewees are.

\textsuperscript{31} The children of Jewish intermarriage are included in this category. See chapter four for the problems of measuring generation status in light of differential starting points (e.g., generation heterogeneous unions).
Given problems with the current methods of conceptualizing and operationalizing generation status, I developed a new manner of treating this variable. There is a tendency to oversimplify generation status. Typical operational definitions utilized to measure changes in ethnic identity patterns between immigrant group members and their descendents infer generation status based on birthplace reports and the relationship of the respondent to the first family member to settle in the new country.\textsuperscript{32} Often, generation status is determined on the basis of one parent's distance to the immigrant experience. The problem with ignoring the other parent's, or sometimes stepparent's, socializing/inculturating influence is that we are potentially ignoring the consequences of growing up in a family of mixed generation positioning (i.e., one parent G1 and the other G3).\textsuperscript{33} To try and account for this I have here used an averaging technique that gives equal weighting to a given individual’s mixed generation inheritance.\textsuperscript{34} While it is an oversimplification itself and imperfect, I felt that this was an improvement.\textsuperscript{35}

Given the explanatory power attributed to generation status in accounting for changes in the strength and nature of ethnic identities, it is important to consider other variables that may be obscured by simply using the broad generation category. Put another way, contrary to the assumptions of assimilation theory, immigrants do not begin the societal adaptation race on equal footing and these initial beginnings will reverberate in effect for the successive generations

\textsuperscript{32} Brodbar et al (1993) consider like most ethnic identity scholars the foreign born members as the first generation, those native born respondents with at least one foreign born parent second generation, and those native born participants with at least one foreign born grandparent as third generation. Others like Portes and Zhou (1993) broaden the second generation to include foreign-born persons who settled in North America before age twelve and have been exposed to the native schooling system, or consider them part of the one and half generation. It is also important to note here that while researchers often classify the first generation as the foreign-born ethnic group members, many subjects think of the first generation as being the first family members to grow up in Canada potentially skewing survey results that rely on self-reporting. Please note also Phillips' (1998) improved version wherein he includes transitional generations (e.g., G2-3 is a nonimmigrant person with one foreign born parent and one native born parent).

\textsuperscript{33} G is short for generation.

\textsuperscript{34} For example the respondent of a G1 and G3 parent is no longer classified as G2 or G4, but is treated here as G3.

\textsuperscript{35} My measurement method does not capture that in reality one or the other of one's parents' generation status may be more significant or influential. It also does not take into account adequately complex changes in family structure, reconstituted families and the like. Future multigenerational work will also have to devise a schema for factoring in the origins of the intermarrying entrant, in this case the non-Jewish born spouse (i.e., deciding how to weigh prior
(i.e., *differential starting points*). The first generation do not arrive for the same reasons, or with the same sets of expectations, aspirations, perceptions, orientation to their ethnic baggage and their host culture, motives for migration, reception by host members, chain migratory patterns, and ethnic linkages. It is essential then to explore the interactive effects of period of immigration (broad socio-historical forces), age at immigration (length of time in host country), country of origin, migratory experience, area of destination, pre-migration attitude toward host country, and mode of ethno-religious identification imported by immigrant member.

While all study participants reported an Ashkenasic Jewish background, it is necessary to appreciate their diverse immigrant origins as experiencing a parent or grandparent from England might not be comparable for instance to being socialized by Polish Jewish parents/grandparents. While the majority in the sample reported Eastern European Jewish roots, notably Poland and Russia, a noteworthy group reported Western European origins (in particular England and Germany), followed by America, Australia, South Africa and Israel respectively. Assessing generation status is especially complicated by the fact that many of the ‘Western’ countries named were intermediary stopovers of mixed duration and effect. What happens to generation status in the face of multiple migrations? Consider the complex immigrant story of 82-year-old G2 Harry Fine’s foreign-born father, born into a wealthy (grist mill owners) Jewish family of 14 in Poland. His father hitchhiked as a boy initially to Portugal to avoid military conscription, next got on a cattle boat for three months and ended up in Rio de Janeiro where he lived for almost twelve years, becoming wealthy in the gold racket after eight years residence. He brought three

---

36 For example, some of the ancestors of my respondents settled in Canada to escape political persecution (anti-Semitism in general, pogroms and the Holocaust in particular), to join up with family, and/or to realize economic opportunities (push/pull factors).
37 Ashkenazim are commonly recognized as Jews of European descent.
38 Political turmoil and war have redefined the borders in many of the interviewees’ ancestors’ areas of birth, thereby complicating their place of origin reports. Other East European countries for which people reported only maternal ancestries included Galicia, Czech, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Ukraine.
39 Other West European origins included Vienna (Austria) and Paris (France).
brothers over from Poland and introduced a huge department store to the area but returned to Poland solo after a pregnant Jewish woman was shot. He married a Polish Jewish woman, Harry’s mother, and together they settled in Toronto.\(^40\) Further, given findings of variations in Jewish identity patterns across Canadian cities,\(^41\) it is necessary to document the Canadian contexts in which my Jewish-born sample grew up. 68 participants or 78 percent of them grew up in Toronto,\(^42\) eleven (12.6 percent) were reared in Montreal, five (5.7 percent) in other Ontario cities, and two (2.3 percent) were born in other Canadian cities.\(^43\) In terms of the thirteen non-Jewish born spouses with whom I officially conducted in-depth life history oriented interviews\(^44\), the majority grew up in small to mid-sized Ontario cities (5/13), two are Toronto born, one is Montreal born, another from Saskatchewan and four are foreign born.

Any assessment of how representative my 100 participants are of the Toronto non-Orthodox Jewish community requires a consideration of the diversity, or lack thereof, of the sample. Let us consider then the: age, educational and occupational composition of the Jewish born sample:

\(^{40}\) See the socio-demographic profile of participants in appendix D for more details about when, where, what side, and who were the closest immigrants to settle in Canada.

\(^{41}\) Brodbar et al (1993) find that Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver exhibit differences in Jewish identity patterns.

\(^{42}\) Six of the seven G1-2 participants grew up or settled in Toronto. Two were born in England, one in Australia, another in South Africa and an Israeli born participant came to Toronto when he was six years old. A Paris born Jewish participant settled with his parents in Montreal in his teens.

\(^{43}\) Other Canadian cities comprise Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatchewan.

\(^{44}\) Three non-Jewish born spouses were inaccessible due to death and divorce. In terms of the former, twice widowed 88-year-old G2 Toronto Jew retired textiles entrepreneur and post-graduate degree holder Ricky Tannenbaum is remarried to a late generation Anglo-Canadian protestant 20 years his junior. I only informally gathered data from his new wife. In terms of the latter, I could not interview New Age, self-employed 47-year-old Eric Levine’s long time divorced First Nation/Native Indian B’hai wife due to absence and distance. Nor could I interview 50-year-old Australian born Jew Eileen Bargman’s Celtic Protestant raised husband for the same reasons, specifically the spouses being divorced for 19 years and the non-Jewish born ex-partner residing outside of Toronto. Two widowed intermarried non-Jewish born individuals also contacted me to share their family’s stories.
Table 2. Age Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percent (Number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 and under</td>
<td>5.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-29</td>
<td>23% (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>15% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>11.5% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>19.5% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>8.1% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and over</td>
<td>17.2% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Educational Composition\(^{45}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highest Level of Schooling</th>
<th>Percent (Number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did not complete high school</td>
<td>4.6% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>12.6% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial schooling</td>
<td>5.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College diploma</td>
<td>14.9% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some university schooling</td>
<td>11.5% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate University Degree</td>
<td>20.7% (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-graduate education (MA, Ph.D.)</td>
<td>13.8% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree (LLB, Dentistry, etc)</td>
<td>16.1% (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is evident from table 3, the majority (62.1 percent) of the Jewish-born sample is university educated with 16.1 percent earning professional degrees and 13.8 percent earning post-graduate education. Jewish born participants who did not finish high school were generally older and were

\(^{45}\) One interviewee was still in high school whilst a recent high school graduate also recorded in the high school category had taken a year off for an Overseas volunteer work experience in Guyana before enrolling in university. There are a few interviewees in the some university schooling category currently participating in undergraduate university programs. Professional degree holders aside from law and dentistry include medicine, engineering, pharmacy, occupational therapy, teaching and commerce.
in many cases forced to drop out due to economic and/or family pressures, perhaps indicating that educational achievements are more a function of social origins than culture.  

Table 4. Occupational Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percent (Number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>10.3% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>24.1% (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (e.g., lawyer, doctor, dentist)</td>
<td>12.6% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Social Services (teacher, librarian, therapist, spiritual leader)</td>
<td>9.2% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications (e.g., market research, advertising)</td>
<td>3.4% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>8.04% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1.1% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>5.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired[^48]</td>
<td>19.5% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>5.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between ethnicity and occupational choice, not to mention the effects of following ethnic based occupational scripts on ethnic identity, present an interesting arena for investigation. Like the Toronto Jewish population in general, the sample in this study indicates a high incidence of self-employment and working in the professions (lawyer, dentist, etc).[^49]

Almost a quarter of the sample is engaged in self-employment including, for example,

[^46]: Steinberg (1989a) illustrates that Jews' educational success has less to do with a culturally rooted emphasis on education, suggesting that the religious orientation to schooling is antithetical, if not diametrically opposed, to secular goals, but more to do with a group's social position, access to opportunities and upward social mobility.

[^47]: The occupational distribution is based on interviewees' current occupations. See detailed socio-demographic profile of participants in appendix D for more comprehensive descriptions of individuals' socio-economic status.

[^48]: It is useful to detail some of the occupations that currently retired participants indicated represented their work history. These constituted: pharmacist, engineer, teacher, manufacturer and distributor of goods (textiles, educational films), Canadian Air force officer, LCBO worker (one time second hand storeowner), scrap yard owner, clerical, sales and psychiatric nurse.

[^49]: Brym (1993) demonstrates that in 1981 Jewish men in Canada were 4.5 times more likely than all men in Canada to be in a medical profession; 4.1 times more likely to be in a social science job; and 2.3 times more likely to occupy a managerial or an administrative position. Steinberg (1989b) considers the social origins of the Jewish professional while Goldscheider (1986) views such occupational concentration as a new form of Jewish social cohesiveness. Reitz (1990:192) concurs that for Toronto Jews upward social mobility "has meant not abandonment of ethnic occupations, but finding new ones."
manufacturers and distributors of goods (three husband/wife owned businesses), computer business, bike storeowner, holistic practice, home-based ESL tutoring business, independent sales agent etc. Among the younger cohort, new forms of self-employment like graphic designer, writer, artist, personal trainer and aerobics instructor are gaining popularity.

Strictly speaking, 56 members of endogamous and 44 members of intermarried family structures were interviewed formally for this study. Assessing endogamous/intermarried parentage in the case of remarriage depended on subjective definitions of family and extent of socialization. For example, 28-year-old G4 Suzy Segal was considered as a child of endogamy because her mother remarried exogamously later in Suzy's life, whereas G3 Erez Freedman who was raised by his late generation Anglo-Canadian (Anglican raised) stepfather since age three was treated as a child of intermarriage.

At the time of the interviews 35 percent of the sample were in endogamous marriages, 30 percent in Jewish intermarriages (ten percent Jewish conversionary marriages), five percent separated/divorced, three percent widowed and 32 percent unmarried. Four intermarriages were second order marriages for the Jewish spouse wherein their first spouse and children were from an endogamous union. Three of the intermarriages were voluntarily childless. In total, I collected

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50 Figures such as these do not account for the influential web of familial relations in which a given individual is embedded. For instance, the offspring of endogamous/intermarried (including conversionary) family structures may be married in an alternative (be it endogamous/intermarried) fashion to their parentage. For example, endogamous G2 parents (80s), the Fines, have two endogamous daughters and one intermarried son, 88-year-old G2 Max Klein has an intermarried grandchild, endogamous G2 Silversteins (80s) have an endogamous son and an intermarried daughter, etc. Conversely, 44-year-old G3 daughter of intermarriage, Tammy Fischer and her sister married endogamously, Olivia Fiorio, daughter of an Irish-Jewish American intermarriage, is married to a fellow Jewish offspring of intermarriage, and four of separated intermarried G2 Miriam Feldberg (60s)'s seven offspring are in endogamous unions. Experiences of exogamy/endogamy, direct or indirect alike were respected and considered worthy of note in this project.

51 Based on updates with interviewees I have learned that three of the unmarried had married endogamously. It is also worth pointing out that two out of three widowers were inmarried and three of the five separated/divorced members had dissolved endogamous marriages. Remarrieds are included in the relevant marital categories. Note I included in the intermarried category 30-year-old G3 Joseph Lebowitz, father of a three-year-old boy with his American born WASP common law wife and who lives in a low Jewish density neighborhood with his partner, son and two adolescent stepdaughters.
the life histories of fifteen non-immigrant offspring of intermarriage and 34 offspring of endogamous parentage.\textsuperscript{52} Notwithstanding recent efforts to acknowledge differences among Jewish intermarried families (Klein 1996; Laserwitz 1995; Levine 1993; Jaffe McLain 1995; Rebhun 1999), we have much to learn by considering the varied characteristics and trajectories of the out-group intermarrying spouse, in this case the non-Jewish born family members.\textsuperscript{53} Perhaps it matters if the non-Jewish born spouse is, as Laserwitz suggests, a man or a woman, or as Rebhun demonstrates, from a Catholic or Protestant background:

Table 5. Characteristics of Non-Jewish Born Spouse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52.2% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47.8% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Religion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>17.4% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>39.1% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant (e.g., Presbyterian)\textsuperscript{54}</td>
<td>34.8% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Hindu, B'Hai)</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1 Anglo-American\textsuperscript{55}</td>
<td>26.1% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G1 Mexican</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G2 Indian-Canadian</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian-Canadian\textsuperscript{56}</td>
<td>17.4% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nation/Native Indian</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Generation Anglo-Canadian</td>
<td>30.4% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Generation French-Canadian</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{52} Informally, there were in fact 72 participants of endogamous parentage if one were to include the nature of the family structure for every participant, counting those who were considered parents of offspring in this study.

\textsuperscript{53} I formally interviewed 13 non-Jewish born intermarried spouses. The other 10 intermarried spouses included here are immediate family relations of interviewees about whom I gathered extensive information in spite of their lack of direct participation (death, divorce, relocation, etc). They are included here in order to facilitate a better picture of the intermarried contexts of my participants.

\textsuperscript{54} Included in this category is a Lutheran Canadian doctoral student who has been married to her accountant North American Jewish husband for two years at the time of the interview.

\textsuperscript{55} This category includes five British and one American born spouse.

\textsuperscript{56} There were at least two more endogamous parents in the sample that had daughters who lived on the outskirts of the greater Toronto area and were married to G2 Italian-Canadian Catholic men with large cohesive kin networks.
Table 5. Characteristics of Non-Jewish Born Spouse Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 and under</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>26.1% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>30.4% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and over</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ed and Social Services (government etc)</td>
<td>21.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (lawyer)</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications (journalism, etc)</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and Clerical</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>8.7% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed (construction, etc)</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>13.04% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student (Ph.D.)</td>
<td>4.35% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired (singer, real estate, factory work)</td>
<td>17.4% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100% (23)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The changing climate of interethnic relations in general, and Jewish intermarriage in particular (i.e., normalization and destigmatization), has an impact on the intermarriage-Jewish identity relationship. Consequently, the period in which a couple intermarried is an important factor that needs to be considered.

Table 6. Intermarriage Cohort

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Intermarriage</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950s</td>
<td>13% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
<td>26.1% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>26.1% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>13% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990s</td>
<td>21.7% (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent (N)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100% (23)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The descriptive profile offered here is a necessary snapshot of the participant at the time of interview, but is limited in that it does not capture the numerous transformations and changes that take place over a person's life course. Given the life history slant of my interviews, I was made privy to fluctuations and movements in Jewish ritual involvement, work and family histories. While it is not possible to list all these shifts, nuances and details of interviewees' commitments, the following offers a broad idea of the religious backgrounds and current ritual practices (external/behavioral Jewish identity) of the interviewees. This will serve as an essential contextual backdrop for the next chapter's focus on the nature of participants' Jewish ritual commitment.

Table 7. Jewish Ritual Celebrations (N=100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TJRO</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hanukah celebration</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attends Passover Seder</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasts on Yom Kippur</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosh Hashana meal</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrates other Jewish Holidays</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shomer Shabbos</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly, Special Friday night/Shabat dinner</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualized Sunday dinner</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular Friday Dinner</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note the complexities in family patterns detailed earlier.

It is important to interpret these statistics with caution as marital status (proportion unmarried), age, and presence of younger children reported also influence variation in ritual involvement. For example, Hanukah festivities may temporarily wane or disappear across the life cycle, notably when one is single and living on one's own, or in a non-family household, or married without children. Alternately, festivities may be (re)activated when children enter the picture in some way.

Throughout the dissertation, I have abbreviated traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO).
It is important to distinguish voluntary from involuntary participants, a point explored further in the data analysis chapter. For instance, G3 Mitch Freedman and G3 Eitan Rosenberg, both unmarried in their 40s, indicate that their external involvement is more a function of their single status than a lack of desire to participate. It is also worth stressing that the ritual involvement charts presented here do not differentiate between longtime, onetime or recent participants. That is, G3 Cindy Roth (20s), a new Shabat dinner and synagogue-going adherent, is considered in the same category as G2 Max Klein (80s) who has been doing so more or less regularly since childhood. Nor can we accurately judge currently non-practicing G3 Randal Buber’s (20s) ritual involvement based solely at the time of the interview as this ignores his prior extensive Jewish ritual exposure. Additionally, while at least 60 interviewees ritualistically get together on Friday night for a special family meal and nine additional participants irregularly do so, two intermarried families do not fit into any conventional categories, defining daily family dinners as “special”.

Table 8. Participants by Synagogue Attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synagogue Attendance</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular attendee (at least weekly)</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional attendee (more than 2x a year)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Holiday synagogue-goers</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-attendee</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The processes of deinstitutionalization and retraditionalization are operating simultaneously within the sample. A majority of participants attended synagogue at least annually and almost 25 percent did so on a more frequent, weekly, in one case daily basis. While 42.1 percent of the
sample are cited as non-attendees,\textsuperscript{60} importantly all do attend synagogues for Jewish weddings, baby naming ceremonies, bar/bat mitzvahs, and the like.

Table 9. Participants by synagogue membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Synagogue Membership</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-member</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a disjuncture between synagogue attendance and membership because sometimes persons sustain their membership out of habit or as a sign of their ethnic loyalty and/or commitment. Others attend services without becoming members because they are still shopping around for a “compatible” congregation while others still prefer to “drop in” because they cannot afford the membership dues or do not see it as cost-effective. Status closure bars others from membership privileges. Membership numbers can sometimes be overestimated in comparison to attendance because offspring may be considered members via their family membership status or underestimated because synagogue member parents may purchase High Holiday tickets for their offspring.

\textsuperscript{60} I explore the motivations for (non)attendance in the next chapter. For example, some people feel that they do not “fit in” with the synagogue “club mentality”, alienated from its exclusivity, while others self-exclude for fear of such communal rejection, and others still have no interest in institutionalized religion all together. Consider son of intermarriage, 23-year-old G3 Erez Freedman who recently stopped attending synagogue with his mother and maternal grandmother on High Holidays because he was “not interested in pretending I believe in that stuff, I find it boring.”
Table 10. Participants by denominational background

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional/Orthodox</td>
<td>21.8% (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>41.4% (36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>12.6% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6.9% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>17.2% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recording the denominational background to which sample members were exposed growing up was difficult in cases where there had been denominational shifts. For instance, the G3 Snow offspring (20s) experienced a shift from Reform to Conservative growing up while G3 Erica Rosenthal (late 20s) experienced a family movement from Conservative to Reform. Irrespective of their approach to tradition, most of the sixty and over participants reported Orthodox/Traditional backgrounds. Notwithstanding the denominational limitations of the day, diverse Jewish beginnings were evident for Toronto born senior Jews. Intermarried 88-year-old G2 Toronto Jew Ricky Tannenbaum grew up in the progressive heyday of the Reform temple, Holy Blossom. Some like endogamous 82-year-old G2 Toronto born Winona Federman were founders, if not movers and shakers, in the postwar building of non-Orthodox congregations. Others like the G2 Silversteins (80s), G2 Miriam Feldberg (60s) grew up in the Jewish Labor

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61 Given that non-Jewish born members of the sample did not typically grow up affiliated with Jewish denominations, they are considered strictly in figure 3-11, participants' current Jewish denominational orientation.
62 It is important to recognize that the usage of the terms Orthodox and traditional have altered over time. For example, G2 Lori Fine (80s) underscores her parents' nominal Orthodox status: “They were not practicing Jews. They were Jews in name only. They'd go to shul for High Holidays, but that's about it.” Additionally, G2 Paul Fischer (late 70s) illuminates survivalist priorities that set limits on ritual involvement—“My dad's grocery store was open 7 days a week, 17 hours a day, in order to earn a living.”
63 Nine participants grew up in Conservadox contexts.
64 The Other Jewish denomination category includes a fourth denomination, Reconstructionism, as well as a fifth denomination, Secular Humanism, which has its roots in the earlier Jewish Labor (Bund) and Yiddishist movements. I have also incorporated what have been variously called spiritual seekers, Shul hoppers, Floating or Freelance Jews, in this Other category.
movement (e.g., attending a Jewish Labor League school and singing in the Jewish People's Order choir).

Table 11. Current Denominational Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern Orthodox</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There has been movement out of Orthodox and Conservative affiliations and movement into the Conservadox, Reform, Other and Unaffiliated categories. The number of unaffiliated in the group increased dramatically in part because of the inclusion in this table of non-Jewish born spouses, as well as defection from, or a reprioritization by, members of endogamous families.

Table 12. Bar/Bat Mitzvah Patterns (by age and gender)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Yes Bar/Bat Mitzvah</th>
<th>No Bar/Bat Mitzvah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 and under</td>
<td>4% (2 males)</td>
<td>8.1% (3 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>30% (7 males, 8 females)</td>
<td>13.5% (1 male, 4 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>20% (8 males, 2 females)</td>
<td>10.8% (1 male, 3 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>12% (5 males, 1 female)</td>
<td>8.1% (1 male, 2 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>16% (7 males,1 female)</td>
<td>27% (10 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>6% (3 males)</td>
<td>8.1% (3 females)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 and over</td>
<td>12% (6 males)</td>
<td>24.3% (8 females, 1 male)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (50)</td>
<td>100% (37)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Although I primarily restricted my sample to those persons who are currently non-Orthodox Jews, I made an exception and chose to include the conversionary union of Betty and Abe Warner and their two offspring because
Notwithstanding non-traditional modes of marking the significance of Jewish girls’ thirteenth birthday, bat mitzvahs, a Jewish rite of passage wherein Jewish girls are initiated formally into the religious community, have only become a popular practice for recent generations of non-Orthodox Jews (Schoenfeld 1992). Indeed, with the exception of one male in his late 70s who started the bar mitzvah process but dropped out, all of the Jewish born participants who did not receive their bat/bar mitzvah over age 49 were female. As many in this age group explained, this was “typical for the times.” The popularization of bat mitzvahs happened and progressed faster in the Reform and Reconstructionist movements particularly because of an ideological commitment to equalizing access to religious participation. In my study, adult bat mitzvahs, an increasingly popular ritual transformation, were completed by one female participant (for her 40th birthday), in process for another, and in contemplation by yet another. It is worth specifying already in this chapter that interpretation of, in this case, bar/bat mitzvah patterns is further complicated when you consider people’s motivations for and styles of (non)engagement. For instance, 20-year-old G3 Fiona Zukerman, daughter of intermarriage, did not have a bat mitzvah because she was “too shy and embarrassed” of standing up in front of a wide audience.

Table 13. Jewish Education Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jewish Schooling</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Jewish Schooling</td>
<td>15% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received Some Form of Jewish Education (after school programs, Sunday school, etc)</td>
<td>64.4% (56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended Jewish day school</td>
<td>20.7% (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (87)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anglo-Canadian Betty Warner was initially converted into the Reform and then later the Conservative movements prior to her present status as a converted Orthodox Jew.

66 Examples of non-traditional modes of celebration include 20-year-old daughter of intermarriage Maya Rand and 78-year-old endogamous G2 Karla Weisman being taken for the first time by their fathers to New York and endogamous 54-year-old G3 Sheila Gold escorted to her first ballet performance. I myself am part of this non-traditional category as my bat mitzvah was a bingo party with principally non-Jews in attendance at the Hong Kong Jewish Community Center (note: at the time there was only an Orthodox synagogue offered on site).
The majority (85.1 percent) of the Jewish born sample received at least some form of Jewish schooling. Such numbers however tell you next to nothing about the duration, amount and nature of Jewish schooling received. For instance, the following cases illustrate some of the diversity of styles in supplementary Jewish schooling experienced by the participants recorded in the 'some form of Jewish education' category. Endogamous 78-year-old G21/2 Karla Weisman who grew up in a low Jewish density area had a brief stint of Sunday school because her father “found it quite a chore to give up his Sunday mornings.” Divorced intermarried 32-year-old G31/2 Nora Neinstein went for a couple of years to Hebrew school “for the chocolate chip cookies” while her 57-year-old G3 mother attended Hebrew school until she was 14 five times a week after attending public school. The three G3 Shwartz offspring attended afternoon Hebrew school three times a week in addition to Sunday school ritualistically until they were all bar/bat mitzvahed. 62-year-old G11/2 Abe Warner did not last very long in the cheder that his mother enrolled him in because it was such “a strange environment” to him, “an outdated teaching model that harked back to Galicia.” His mother took instead a young Rabbinic student who tutored him privately for his bar mitzvah. 28-year-old G21/4 daughter of intermarriage, Wendy Valdez, received a supplementary Hebrew Heritage program. Four participants who experienced no Jewish schooling growing up over the last couple of years had been attending adult Jewish education courses. In addition, day school attendees were also a varied group, participants reporting varying lengths of day school attendance, as well as day schools varying in terms of their religious affiliation, balance and valuation of Jewish and secular schooling.

67 The first North American bat mitzvah took place in 1922 when Rabbi Mordechai Kaplan called his eldest daughter, Judith, to the Torah (Schoenfeld 1992: 350).
68 Jewish day schools are full alternative educational institutions offering secular and Jewish studies.
Table 14. Participants' Kosher Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kosher Practice</th>
<th>Percent (# of Cases)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintains a form of keeping kosher</td>
<td>45% (45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not purposefully keep kosher</td>
<td>55% (55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent (N)</td>
<td>100% (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the 45 percent who maintain a form of kosher in the sample, it is necessary to point out that this figure does not tell us what proportion are indeed secret rule breakers, stylized, situational, lax and slackened expressors in the group. For instance, 49-year-old endogamously remarried (third order) Greg Rand passively gives the impression of rule-compliance to please, and in the presence of, his wife, but breaks the ‘rules’ outside the home. 82-year-old G2 endogamous Winona Federman suggests that although her adult offspring probably have the impression that she still ‘keeps kosher,’ since she has been wintering in Florida for many years now she has become lax in her observance. 90-year-old South African born Esther Levin “took it for granted” that her parents kept a kosher household, but admits that she no longer keeps kosher as she did as a child (N.B., She reveals however “somehow even the name pork has always made me feel sick”).

Of the 55 percent in the sample who do not purposefully keep some form of kosher 13 unintentionally do so on health and sociopolitical not religious grounds. Vegetarians and holistically minded participants like G21/2 Eitan Rosenberg (40s), England born 78-year-old divorced Anne Baker and intermarried G11/2 Valerie Valdez (50s) are unintentional, unwitting kosher style adherents. For example, Anne indicates that while she enjoys Jewish deli foods, she never paid attention to kosher dietary laws. As of late, she ate everything, but now mainly lives on fruit and vegetables, eating very little meat for “strictly heath reasons.”
E. Fieldwork (Participant Observation)

The formal ‘data’ of analysis of this project comes from the 100 tape-recorded in-depth interviews I conducted, however, the numerous unrecorded candid, informal conversations I had in various ‘Jewish’ contexts, whilst working to acculturate into the Toronto Jewish socio-cultural fabric, were also extremely important sources of information. Attending diverse functions, sites, and “trendy” Jewish spaces not only sensitized me to particular nuances, diverse signifiers in the group, and new questions, but it also provided many additional life stories and views of non-Orthodox Toronto Jews, “honorary Jews” and non-Jewish significant others. In these verbal exchanges, we broached expressions and negotiations of Jewishness, perspectives and, if relevant, experiences of dating within the faith, inter-dating, endogamy, intermarriage and relationships in general, gender relations and interpretations of in-group fractures. Over the course of thirty months immersed in the various facets of Toronto Jewish life, I found my friendship circle that had once been primarily non-Jewish had unintentionally shifted to predominantly Jewish networks. It was an intense period of critical reflection, enjoyment, as well as exhaustion.69

Living and breathing my project meant that my researcher persona was continuously ‘on call.’ I never felt like I had any ‘time off’, as even leisure activities like working out, or going on holiday to Florida,70 put me into situations where I could make cultural observations, recruit additional participants, and compile more data. For instance, I met 36-year-old G3 Max Levine, the youngest of four siblings, on an adjacent recumbent bike at an “uptown” fitness club whilst reading Howard Jacobson’s (1993) text Roots Shmoots, a book that documents the author's

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69 See earlier in the chapter for the advantages and disadvantages of participating and observing within the group I was studying.
70 Staying in a condo with my significant other and his family for ten days with my parents visiting for six of those days in a local hotel proved to be another venue for experiencing Toronto non-Orthodox Jewish life. Instead of relaxing on the beach, I tasted ways of being a Toronto Jewish snowbird, someone who spends approximately six months of the year South in Florida and avoids Canada’s winter season. This included, among other things, attending a multigenerational dinner at a Jewish golf club, a primarily all-Jewish flea market extravaganza on Christmas day, dining out with snowbirds, visiting the Florida Jewish museum, and going to places like the Cheesecake factory and shopping sites recommended by Toronto Jews.
perceptions and experiences penetrating varied Jewish subcultures from the Catskills\textsuperscript{71} to Black hats.\textsuperscript{72} Max runs a tutoring service out of his North York home that he shares with his Jewish wife of eight years, a psychiatrist six years his senior. Rapport with Max was quick and comfortable. After learning about my academic interest in Torontonian forms of Jewishness, he enthusiastically passed on his own stories and insights.\textsuperscript{73} Max is a prototypical meaning seeker. As a “floating Jew,” not officially attached to any religious institution preferring spiritual experimentation, he is interested in participating in ‘new’ ways to enliven ‘old’ Jewish rituals, typically outside conventional structures. Like many who descend from Eastern European roots, he told me stories of tough beginnings, sacrifices of the first generation, entrepreneurial activities like chicken slaughtering and bagel making, and tales of residential migrations “north” out of Toronto’s downtown Jewish residential enclave (moving “uptown” became a status symbol, not really an assimilation marker). He drew attention to “a time when the subway line went only as far as Eglinton station and all that existed was fields,” and “having bigger homes, the right address, specific cars” were signs of having “made it,” tools for “one-upmanship.”

Soon into the study I began to feel that what often gets interpreted as ethnic identity losses are perhaps better understood as creative efforts to ethnicize mainstream culture; striving to differentiate and discover a unique identity, each generation actively, albeit somewhat inadvertently, constructs its own consumerist indicators. My fieldwork also shattered some illusions I had romantically hung onto about my own group. I learnt that the myth of the close, warm Jewish family (immediate and extended), can strain under the expectations of achievement, in-group competitiveness, inherited “pekel—baggage,” and face-saving styles of maintaining the idyllic family front. Assumptions of group cohesiveness were challenged by findings of intra-

\textsuperscript{71} The Catskills is a Jewish resort in upstate New York.
\textsuperscript{72} The term Black hat is used by some Jews to differentiate themselves from ultra Orthodox members who are visually identified by their black attire.
\textsuperscript{73} Introductions in the field as to what I was doing and other questions about me often acted as catalysts for story sharing, animated discussion, and gaining interview subjects.
group tension, namely feeling sized up, judged and judging. Although I have heard the catch phrase of ‘money as a new God,’ it was interesting to note how people’s expenditure patterns in fact work as a viable means for signifying group membership.74

My participatory and observatory experiences in the field sensitized me to the cultural nuances, markers, and varied sources of interest within the group, providing important contextual information in which to obtain richer material and locate participants’ responses. Ample time spent informative shmoozing in multiple settings produced an off-the-cuff, open tenor, and opportunities to see how group boundaries get drawn, constructed, and instantiated via social discourse on an everyday basis. For instance, during this project I attended my first Jewish funeral and participated in the _Shaeva_ ritual which brought together Jews with differing modes of Jewish attachment, and demonstrated through talk and action (e.g., seating preferences) how an ‘us and them’ attitude gets reproduced within the far from unified community. Here I was able to observe first hand how religious and lifestyle orientation differences wedge a divide between family members and friends even in the wake of a tragedy. Clear tensions were immediately noticeable between the torah focused Jews who judge those who do not fit their image of ‘a good Jew’ and worldly or secular-traditional Jews who judge the former as out of touch with the times.

Immersing myself in several Jewish orbits, I became privy to some non-Orthodox, Jewish ethnic identity discourses, the private ‘languages’ that group members create and sustain to maintain

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74 The phrase ‘you are what you consume’ seems appropriate here, techniques of consumption acting as ethnic identity tools, distinctive consumer trends, shopping patterns and habits that are socially produced and sustained. What gets bought, what is displayed, where to shop, where to travel, where to go for entertainment, dining, buying retail or wholesale often displaces TJRO as a primary means of expressing and marking one’s Jewishness, and asserting one’s Jewish attachment. A different relationship with materialism, it seems, can separate Jews with money from majority non-Jews with money. An orientation to flaunting (e.g., look at this toy) and keeping up with the Bronfmans, contrasts with the stereotypical view held of non-Jews as being more concerned with the quality of the product (e.g., buy the BMW because of its reputed good quality). For Jews, it seems more about status, getting the best deal, being smarter than those buying retail, knowing where to get the best deals, buying wholesale, and is a function of in-group competition.
ethnic group distinctiveness. This revealed the all-important realm of lived ethnic relations and situational ethnic selves. Various in-group terms like goy, shikse, sheymit, etc., are carry-overs from previous Yiddish-speaking generations. Other expressions like yog, JAP, etc, are more recent terms, typically not expressed in the company of 'non-members,' and function as in-group tools to build group esteem, a sense of being "better than" and "different from." For instance, I noted that being socialized into perceptions of the Jewish group as "the Chosen," "the Anointed," or "superior," worked as a socially segregating device, or at least made people feel "different," and created a socially constructed divide preventing them from getting close to non-Jews. 30-year-old G3 Joseph Lebowitz enlightened me to this Jewish type of self-fulfilling prophecy: "you are told repeatedly that you are different from the gentiles, or worse still, the goys that you actually feel different and are hyper-sensitive, self-conscious, and reluctant to get close." The teenaged members of my G3 sample, however, do not seem to be as receptive to this type of

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75 Aside from language, participant observation furthered my understanding of 'Jew Radar' and in particular my understanding of 'the Jewish look.' Socially defined physical traits do indeed get factored into people's "Jew radar". I found during the course of my study that there are "many Jewish looks" that function for fellow Jews as in-group identifiers. People build up their own repository of familiar faces. These sets of packaged attributes may not always be the same images shared by everyone, but are more grounded in the orbits one travels. While many when thinking of ethnic distinctions often draw upon, albeit hesitantly, the visible traits and cultural stereotypes and impressions to differentiate ethnic groups, ethnic members themselves also subscribe to a Jewish look check list that is based on their social interactions. Co-ethnics will identify someone as Jewish if they remind them of other Jews they have been exposed to, be it a kin member, a high school buddy, a summer camp counselor, a person they saw at the synagogue, or a work acquaintance.

76 Circumstantial or situationalist perspectives of ethnic identity preclude definitive claims about strength and nature of ethnic identity. For instance, in cases where Jews are religiously, socially, culturally and/or communally disenfranchised circumstances may reawaken their dormant Jewish identity. For example, 30-year-old G3 Heather Feldberg's Jewish identity exists as a largely unspoken, matter of fact, feeling of merely "being Jewish". However, certain contexts heighten her awareness of herself as a Jew: [1] having pennies thrown at her as a child; [2] being called a "dirty Jew"; [3] confrontation with stereotypical assumptions of Jewish wealth and privilege; [4] being identified by other Jews as a Jew; and [5] being in Israel.

77 Most third and fourth generations do not speak Yiddish (Jewish). However, various Yiddish turns of phrase like shlep, oy vey, kvetch, ish kabible, keyn eyn-ore, shvitz, etc, often show up in their speech. More and more Yiddish expressions like schmuck and chutzpah, thanks to television shows like Seinfeld, are co-opted into the mainstream every year.

78 The term goy promotes the image of a non-Jew as low class, less than, and simple, shikse suggests a low worth, promiscuous gentile female, and shegits similarly carries an unsavory image, that of a guzzling beer drinker and shady gentile male. Transformation in in-group discursive styles is exemplified by succeeding generations replacing the term goy with the label 'yog,' goy spelt backwards, because the wider population eventually knew what a goy meant. Similarly, the terms frummie or frum are disparaging signifiers employed by unaffiliated and non-Orthodox Jews to distinguish themselves from ultra-observant, by-the-book religious Jews. According to fourth generation and Canadian born adolescents, the term JAP has become "dejewed," that is refers generally to materialistic image-obsessed female adolescents of any ethnic group, be it Chinese or Italian, not specifically Jewish. Perhaps this sign of de-traditionalization/de-ethnicization bespeaks of youths questioning boundaries erected on the basis of ethnicity, religion or race.
ethnic socialization strategy. Nonetheless, it persists to be an enduring in-group, 'for Jewish ears only' identity transmission discursive instrument, as well as an ideology which is disseminated to account for Jewish group success, survival, scapegoating, and to rationalize Jewish insularity.

Being in a position where my family lives abroad provided an opportunity for me to be a participant-observer at numerous other families' Jewish holiday meals to which I was invited. These experiences were invaluable lessons in Jewish diversity, each family, not to mention member, approaching these events in their own way for their own reasons. In some families, differences were treated with respect and tolerance while other contexts demonstrated how bitter and divisive these issues can become. For example, tensions run high between family member(s) who mock the religious significance of the Passover seder and those who see these priorities as central. Meeting my boyfriend of three years, Len Kagan, one night at a trendy Jewish nightclub has proved to be extremely rewarding both personally and professionally. Len is fourth generation Toronto Jewish on his mother's side and third generation Toronto Jewish on his father's side, and being actively involved with his family greatly enhanced my understanding of Toronto Jewry in its multiple incarnations. Accepted, as part of the family, obtaining honest, critical insights about Toronto Jewish life was readily accessible. Multigenerational family celebrations were instructive opportunities, as in all other informal functions attended where the majority in attendance were Jews, to observe how associational Jewishness transmutes occasions not perceived typically as Jewish functions or activities like watching the playoffs or forming a book club into modes of Jewish inculturation.79

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79 In the face of modernization and secularization, ethnic groups preserve boundaries by adapting to, yet not disappearing into, the majority group's culture, forging ethnic-specific styles of approaching the mainstream culture.
F. In-depth Interview Procedures

The first step in the interview process was to secure a meeting time and place with each participant. Typically, this involved an introductory telephone conversation in which I briefly went over their responsibilities and described to them the essence of the project. I purchased a small unobtrusive tape recorder to record the interviews in order to avoid disturbing the naturalism of the interview conversations struggling to take notes. I also did not want to miss important details, misquote, undercut rapport building techniques like making eye contact, or fail to observe other non-verbal expressions that could give one greater understanding of the interviewee. While at the beginning of the study I referred very so often to the flexible interview schedule I had constructed, I quickly committed to memory the issues and useful questions, ultimately using the schedule more as a mechanism for reassurance and a cue for topic switching. My decision to allow the interviewee freedom to tell their story in their own way, albeit influenced by my gentle guidance towards my areas of interest, was based on my belief in the utility of an interviewee-centered personable interview process.

The process of conducting my interviews was founded upon certain key principles and traditions. In particular, the interpretive traditions of inquiry including phenomenology, hermeneutics and Weber's (1962) concept of *verstehen* (understanding) were highly influential in the design of this project. The decision to carry out customized, semi-structured, life history informed in-depth interviews stemmed from a desire to understand empirical matters from the perspective of those

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80 Although securing participation in the study (read: "getting in") was formalized on the telephone, creating a climate of spiritual generosity was an ongoing process and gaining entry never taken for granted.
81 I told people that I was interested in discovering what, if any, transformations to their Jewish identity had occurred over multiple generations and the effects of differing types of family structures.
82 Fortunately, nobody objected to the use of the tape recorder and I worked hard to ensure that its presence did not influence people’s disclosure.
83 As I did not want to privilege any particular type of material prematurely, I tried to take in as much of the interview context data as I could (i.e., furnishing style, Judaica collection, etc).
84 As Rabinow and Sullivan (1979: 4) write, "the interpretive turn [in the Social Sciences] refocuses attention on the concrete varieties of cultural meaning in their particularity and complex texture [...]" Subscribing also to Husserl's idea of intentionality, namely that people have reasons and meanings that shape and explain their actions, I gathered people’s detailed descriptions of what they did, affective orientation and sense making processes.
being studied. According to interpretive thinkers, one needs to enter subjects' field of perception in order to see life as these individuals see it, "ideally to take the human being as [s/he] exists, a living, acting, feeling, thinking phenomenon, at this moment in an organic relationship to us" (cited in Creswell 1998: 276). Put differently, considering the meanings, feelings and thoughts people ascribe to what they do or tell us they do, validating their subjective experiences and using this to help determine my interviewing style, content, and data analysis. Hoping to avoid the pitfalls of oversimplified decontextualized reports of ethnic behaviors and attitudes, I embraced phenomenological principles of *epoche*—bracketing prior biases—in an effort to expose the multiple realities/interpretations of respondents' (i.e., not the researcher's) meaning systems. Taking seriously the statement that "no man can know another simply as he knows objects," I strove in every interview to create a climate of "openness, participation, and empathy (Creswell 1998: 274)."

Weber's concept *verstehen* assumes that we are all knowledgeable agents who engage in meaningful conduct. The depth interviewing style and orientation to the data I adopted is based on the idea that people are "knowledgeable agents who make their own history, and who also play an active role in the construction, destruction and reconstruction of ethnic attachments and identities" (Kivisto 1989: 16). In so doing, I ventured into the depths, tailoring each interview to best understand the participant's frame of reference, definitions of reality, and nature of their experiences. I took conventional indicators used to measure Jewish identity in other studies like 'how do you see yourself, as a Canadian Jew, Jewish Canadian, Jew, Canadian, or what?' or 'do you celebrate Passover?' further by actually inquiring into how participants defined these terms or experiences. Working to achieve an ambience of *truth telling*, mutual respect and understanding, I did not adhere to a structured format in the interviews. I employed probes based on the participant's answers to open-ended questions and their narrative accounts as natural
springboards/segues for covering all issues while pursuing them in ways that gain subjects' cooperation and give them the impression of leading the interview on their terms. Sometimes this strategy left interviewees concerned that they were going off on 'irrelevant' tangents, and/or periodically urging me to 'officially' start the interview. Meanwhile, we were building rapport. By the end of the interview, most participants found themselves amazed at how much they had disclosed.

Using my parents as guinea pigs to road test questions, interviewing techniques and approaches to elicit rich material from interviewees, I discovered the inseparability of family history and the subject of identity. Most interviews started with an open-ended question about ancestral roots. From there I explored familial, Canadian, starting points including who were the first family members to migrate to Canada and what did interviewees know of their journeys. Finishing up their immigrant adaptation experiences/stories, we moved forward on to the various stages in the interviewee's life. As someone appreciative of life historical changes, immigrant beginnings and sociocultural transformations, I welcomed family history data, including the unintended consequences of split family migration patterns, losses from pogroms and the Holocaust, descriptions of a changed Toronto, and postwar idealization and creation of the close, warm Jewish family. While I relished hearing narrative accounts of intergenerational dramas, it demanded that I remain on my toes at all times confirming interpretations, posing perceptive questions, and sufficiently exploring connections to people's mode of Jewishness.

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85 See earlier in the chapter for other advantages, as well as disadvantages, of conducting in-depth interviews.
86 While in abstract it may seem that gaining full disclosure from your parents would be easy, this is not necessarily the case as you have to transcend role expectations, family drama, and voyage into the realm of 'family secrets.' Interviewing children of Holocaust survivor parents, who like other Jewish members of the 'silent generation' did not generally talk about the atrocities, upset and unpleasantness of the past with us, was a complicated and sensitive matter given their survivalist future oriented coping mentality. Though my parents were ineligible for this study, the process of interviewing them taught me much about the importance of getting a feel for your subjects, reading their sensitivities, and adapting one's interviewing style to their character.
Uncovering my own parent's non-linear journey of Jewish consciousness drove home to me how complex, situational and contingent matters of identity can be. It became clear to me how important it was to the furthering of one's understanding of ethnic attachment that one dives into the many variances occurring in a person's life. In adopting a life history orientation to the interviews, I was able to take note of inter- and intra-generation changes, turning points and epiphanies in people's mode and intensity of Jewish expression. Being attentive to fluxes in, and the multifaceted character of, ethnic attachment, including recognizing the "fluid, situational, volitional and dynamic character of ethnic identification" (Nagel 1994: 152), I proceeded to gather stories of childhood, adolescence, living in a particular neighborhood, seeking formal education, work, coupling and family forming stages. While Angrosino (1989: 4) argues life history accounts are "documents of interactions, specifically the interactions between the individuals reliving and reinterpreting life experience and the individuals whose active responses to the telling become an integral part of its process of creation," I attempted to be as neutral as I could. Importantly, notwithstanding paying attention to permutations, change agents, and as my boyfriend likes to joke "the minutia" of people's life experiences, one cannot possibly cover a person's life in its entirety and what does get told is always limited by what the interviewee/researcher chooses to present or can remember.

G. Social Relations of Fieldwork and Reflexivity

In traditional research models, the researcher is advised not to talk back, remain detached, and it is considered inappropriate that they be a 'source' of information themselves. Increasingly however, sociologists are addressing the need to consciously look at their own positions, where

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87 See Simchah Jabovicci’s documentary ‘Hollywoodism’ which depicts the tough life that many of the Jewish media moguls left behind fueling them to create a new, barrier free world (i.e., America) where the ideal of family being a ‘haven in a heartless world’ was realized.

88 A life history approach considers the account of one person’s life, including recollections of events, antecedent variables and the impact of these experiences.
they are coming from, and its impact on the research process.\textsuperscript{90} The feminist approach to Sociology, in particular, has brought many ‘new’ important issues to the table, including power, voice and reflexivity. My research approach and methods in this project were greatly influenced by the groundbreaking work of several key feminist fieldworkers, some of whom will be mentioned in what follows.\textsuperscript{91}

According to author of ‘The Researcher Talks Back’, Christine Griffin (1991: 104), “[t]here is no such animal as the totally detached and value-free observer.” Fieldwork continually reaffirmed to me the advantages of rejecting a traditional impersonal question/answer model. My emphasis on establishing an egalitarian, dialogic, mutually rewarding interview experience was grounded in feminist goals, namely “to establish collaborative and non-exploitative relationships, to place the researcher within the study so as to avoid objectification, and to conduct research that is transformative” (Creswell 1998: 83).\textsuperscript{92} Giving as well as receiving information, socializing and listening to others, were key in developing a relationship with my participants. Interviews were built on the principles of reciprocity, symmetry, openness, mutual trust and respect (Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Smaling 1998).

Successfully conducting a ‘quality’ in-depth, semi-structured interview is extremely challenging. There are innumerable points along the way wherein one is continually negotiating and struggling to maintain their position as invited guest/interviewer. Shaffir (1991) has written about the need to be perceived as a \textit{mensch}—decent human being—given that the process of

\textsuperscript{90} Aside from a focus on recording stories and experiences of life course stages, Denzin (1989) suggests the researcher pay attention to the wider societal contexts associated with one’s attempt to interpret the literal and symbolic meanings of these life excerpts.

\textsuperscript{91} According to Oakley (1981:48), the researcher is “more than just an instrument of data collection” (see also Mishler 1986; Holstein and Gubrium 1995)


\textsuperscript{92} Oakley (1981) aptly describes the interview as a guided conversation in which both the interviewer and the person being interviewed share information and contribute to the research process.
gaining entry is so related to the prospective subject's judgements made about the researcher. Today's researcher requires appropriate personal attributes and sensitized self-presentation skills above and beyond their academic credentials. Long gone are the days when the public's awe and respect for science and the research process were enough in of themselves to gain access. The need to be friendly, sincere, polite, engaging, honest and sharing is crucial for "gaining a fuller measure of rapport and acceptance" (Shaffir: 77).93

According to Kirby and Mckenna (1989: 67), quality interviewing requires "a sense of equality between the person gathering the information and the person whose knowledge is sought."94 Typically, researchers are expected to become impartial observers, depersonalized beings, presenting no clear identity or viewpoint to their subjects (see Kleinman and Copp 1993: 10). However, having adopted a feminist orientation to this work I experimented with giving personal information that often functioned as a vehicle of enhanced disclosure and rapport building. In fact, I found it extremely useful to use my personal background not only as a means of establishing a more relaxed, natural and conversational interview climate, but also as an instigation for people to more fully define, or reconstruct, issues and events.

My status as a Jew who did not grow up anywhere near here, at once an insider and outsider to the Toronto Jewish group, put me in an ideal position to explore areas and assumptions of things that are often left unsaid, or only partially explained. As the project progressed and my knowledge of Toronto Jewry increased, I occasionally found myself playing off my foreigner status in order to try to recreate the effectiveness of my initial state of innocence and intense curiosity. In so doing, participants clarified to me ideas in their own terms, explained things that they might have taken for granted and/or expected that I know had I grown up in Toronto.

93 Glazer (1972: 11) advises adopting an interviewing style "to vitiate suspicion, neutralize hostility and garner support."
Moreover, being a Jew myself, not fully a “stranger”/outsider to the community, with the privilege of “remoteness and closeness” (Simmel 1950), afforded me a unique blend of sensitivity and objectivity with which I was quite successful probing the various nooks and crannies of the Toronto Jewish experience.

To create a context in which participants could express non-mainstream and majoritarian modes of Jewish identity and avoid pleasing behavior, ‘socially desirable’ responses tailored to me based on their perception of my level and/or orientation to ritual involvement, I purposefully shared details of my own variegated multiplex Jewish background. The fact that my Israeli born mother was raised by traditional Orthodox Jews while my father, who had immigrated to Israel from Poland at age eleven, grew up in a socialist, intellectual, non-religious Jewish environment, seemed to put interviewees at ease disclosing their own orientation/style of Jewishness. Perhaps my in-bred sensitization to, and appreciation of, what might be called the two principal polar Jewish approaches, namely the spiritual and the secular, minimized people’s natural tendency to defensively present a ‘white-washed’ picture of their particular attitudinal and behavioral position. Similarly, my multinational roots and intercultural experience decreased my intermarried participants’ concerns of being judged or ridiculed. Consequently, people seemed more natural and willing to disclose what they really felt about what they were actually doing, including, for instance, their reasons for seeming discrepancies between behaviors and attitudes. If, or when, a participant seemed to be feeding me a response based on what they thought they ought to be doing, the open ended character of our interview context provided an opportunity for me to encourage them to explore the roots of what they really felt.

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94 Glazer (1972: 101) predates this idea, suggesting that “[s]ince informants are expected to open up completely, to bare their souls, as it were, there has to be some exchange in terms of what interviewees say about themselves.”
One of the social-psychological dimensions of the interview experience rarely discussed by qualitative researchers is the need to readjust your interviewing style to suit the personality type of your subject. Different people demanded different things of me and required that I interact with them in different ways. A gregarious person who has no trouble talking about themselves and produces lengthy soliloquies, does not, for instance, require the same kind of reassurance and encouragement as does an interviewee who fears authority, dislikes regulation, and/or is characteristically shy or reserved. The process of coming to 'know' your interview subject and figuring out how to work with them takes time. The quasi-therapeutic nature of the in-depth, long interview that I adopted aided in this discovery process. Over the course of an interview as the researcher gets a feel for their participants' particularities there is a constant need to adapt and refine one's language and style so as to facilitate, or not disrupt, the open flow of the conversation. For instance, 53-year-old G2 Marianne Rosenthal immediately came across to me as one who demonstrates a lack of confidence and a somewhat disabling "fear of making mistakes." I found this a somewhat common problem, namely people feeling unsure if they could participate 'correctly' or offer the 'right' answers, usually adding that they felt irregular or atypical. For people like this I worked hard to convince them that there was in fact no 'right' answers and that I was simply interested in knowing 'who they were'. For some people who were intermarried non-Jews or perhaps marginalized Jews conditioned to feel "not Jewish enough" to participate, I emphasised the life history aspect of this project, letting them organically bring in the role and effect Jewishness has played in their life. Giving them more control, and more

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95 Compiling memos of the feelings you held of the interview and the participants (i.e., being self-reflexive) puts one in a better position to disentangle yourself from those you are seeking to understand and/or study (see Kleinman and Copp 1993).

96 As Shaffir (1991: 73) points out, the "uniqueness of each setting, as well as the researcher's personal circumstances, shape the specific negotiating tactics that come to be employed."

97 Marianne elaborates, "My mother passed on to me fear, she was afraid we'd make a mistake and get hurt. Her children are her family, her world." In terms of people asking her about TJRO, Marianne responds, "I hate being put on the spot because I don't feel that knowledgeable or I might make a mistake." She confesses being "nervous" when approached to do the interview, perplexed "because how do I answer your questions, will I know how to give you an honest answer that you will understand, or do I understand where you're coming from or what you're looking for."
Importantly validating the significance of their 'non-Jewish' lives, seemed to make these people more open to discussing their 'Jewish' experiences. For example, G2 intermarried Janet in her 40s warned me prior to my interview with her husband Paul that he did not easily open up and talk about his feelings, having an inherited British reserve. Settling comfortably on their deck looking out onto their backyard, we began to talk about his growing up experiences, including his status as a minority non-Jew, or "honorary Jew", in a high Jewish density area. His initial defensiveness and shyness soon melted away.98

During the course of an interview and in regards to any particular issue, a researcher must decide how to approach the general tenor of their responses to the participant's answers: one can be sympathetic, neutral, or challenging. Different people and different issues require different responsive strategies to maximize disclosure. While for the most part I used sympathetic displays, I sometimes either chose, or occasionally unintentionally, played devil's advocate and solicited response to an opposing view. Challenging participants with alternate views can work for you or against you depending on when, how, and with whom, this strategy is employed. My own experience of this approach was more positive than negative, finding that it, more often than not, simply led participants to further expound their positions.99 In addition, it is important to be wary of the effects of transference and counter-transference in the interview setting. Subjects can subconsciously remind the researcher of some pivotal relation in their life, causing them to respond as if they were that person or vice versa. Once again, sometimes this increases the

98 68-year-old England born, lapsed Christian Brad Smith who is amicably separated from his G2 Toronto Jewish wife of 20 years also admits being cautious as well of interviewers, specifically those who stand behind formal institutions. This defensiveness stems from negative experiences with intrusive social workers "telling us how we should run our family" when one of his wife's seven offspring from her first marriage started acting out and having social adjustment problems. "They change the rules in front of your kid and don't ask you, leaving you with a major problem on your hands". I managed nonetheless to gain his trust and he opened up to me about his life experiences.
99 With respect to the issue of expressing disagreement in interviews, some researchers find that "[c]ollisions with the other's horizons make us aware of deep-seated assumptions that would otherwise have gone unnoticed"(qtd in Kleinman and Copp 1993: 43).
quality\textsuperscript{100} of an interview and sometimes it does not. For instance, 30-year-old G3 Joseph Lebowitz seemed particularly at ease and open with me, telling me later that I greatly reminded him of his sister with whom he has a very close connection. Conversely, I occasionally ran into women from similar mother-daughter relational contexts to my own, wherein I would sometimes catch myself excessively ‘relating’ to my participant, potentially overly influencing answers or exaggerating the importance of issues.

While this study was not officially sequential or longitudinal, some interviews were conducted over several sessions and other participants became part of my social network. Establishing a personable, friendly rapport with one’s participants increases the chances of remaining in contact and provides the opportunity to keep the channels of communication open for re-visitation. The benefits of having more than one interaction (in person and/or by telephone) with the respondent is that the more you get to know a person, the more likely you are to meet their backstage character (see Goffman 1959). Re-visitation also allows one to recheck facts, or missing information, gain feedback on preliminary observations and findings, and get even more of a sense of their lived life, including in this case a more informal understanding of their mode and level of Jewish identity. For example, since my interview with 26-year-old G3 Reena Fiorio she has significantly increased her Jewish involvement. In particular, she now actively participates in High Holiday observances, and has initiated a Rosh Hashana meal and Yom Kippur Break Fast dinner in her family. She has also suggested that her family put up a Sukkah for the first time, ritualise a new Sunday bagel brunch, and has recently chosen to make aliyah to Israel. Reena indicated to me by telephone that she is almost "obsessive" now in her extensive

\textsuperscript{100} By a quality interview, I mean one in which the interviewee freely expresses themselves in as much depth they are willing or capable.
readership of texts and literature concerning Jewish themes like Israel, Jewish traditions and Jewish lifestyle.\textsuperscript{101}

**H. Data Management**

My raw interview data was recorded onto cassettes that I made a habit of labeling before each interview. As each interview was approximately three hours in length, I typically used two 90-minute cassettes. It quickly became apparent that I would need a good way to organize and store what would ultimately become over 200 tapes. Cassette storage racks from Radio Shack proved to be an adequate and economical solution.

For my pilot study, I did all of my own transcription. There are many advantages to doing this, so I discovered, but also several disadvantages. The advantage of doing one's own transcription is that one can make preliminary observations and analyses in a fluid, on-the-fly manner, sometimes saving the time it takes to re-read and re-familiarize oneself with a particular participant. Having conducted the interview oneself, a self-transcriber is less likely to make interpretive errors or omissions.\textsuperscript{102} In addition, it is possible to personally revisit the stylistic tenor and subtleties associated with any particular interview, and perhaps make note of any additional observations or information not noticed or recorded immediately after the interview. Unfortunately, given the size of the data set for this project, it was not feasible for me to continue doing all of the transcription. I began doing so, but came to feel that the limitations it was putting on my time to conceptualize and pursue other aspects of the project overshadowed its

\textsuperscript{101} She is currently reading a book entitled 'Leading a Jewish Life' written from an American liberal Jewish perspective which likens adopting a Jewish life to "taking up a new lifestyle," modifying habits and adding new elements gradually. The text also presents diverse ways of celebrating rituals and avoids implying a hierarchy of styles.

\textsuperscript{102} It was not easy to find a high quality transcriber. I had to go through a few before finding one that took the time to do a good job. In order to help my transcribers I created a list of frequently mentioned, hard to decipher, Jewish terminology. Ultimately, finding a Jewish transcriber minimized errors stemming from ethnic-specific language usage.
advantages. However, I feel I did enough of my own transcription for this project to enjoy the fruits of my having done so.

After each interview, I made sure that I quickly jotted down first impressions, summaries, ideas, and concerns so as not to risk forgetting some important detail. Later, I would print out the completed transcription of each interview and spend more time examining each in-depth, making notes in the margins and highlighting key quotes in some cases, and in separate documents in others. Marshall and Rossman (1989) suggest, among other things, taking two sets of notes, one observational and the other analytical. While I did not always find it possible to keep observations and analyses completely separate, I did find it helpful to do so to the extent that I did. The realities of fieldwork make it difficult to be as organized as one might like.

Soon into the project my folder of miscellaneous notes, thoughts, and observations, had grown beyond its capacity. I sometimes found it hard to keep up with myself, and though it was my intention to eventually transfer to computer these notes written in coffee shops, on napkins in restaurants, subway transfers, innumerable pads of various sizes and colors, etc, there never did seem time to complete the task. Instead, I found the craft-like character of doing it the old-fashioned way using file folders to catalogue and separate writings into thematic categories more than sufficient.

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103 I stored the printed transcriptions in multicolored folders corresponding to generation status and intermarriage.
104 In the tradition of Schatzman and Strauss (1973), I also kept some methodological notes separate, including my assessment of the interview experience and differing types of interviewing strategies.
105 The qualitative researcher is often regarded as a strategist, namely one who is constantly refining, retooling, and readjusting his/her approach throughout the research experience (e.g., Glazer and Strauss 1967). The design evolves as the project proceeds rather than being predetermined.
I. Data Analysis

The analysis stage of this qualitative project was less a stage than an ongoing process of refinement, continuously and recursively refashioned in light of new data. As numerous researchers have noted, qualitative research can be analyzed in many different ways. It is my experience that each project tends to take on a life of its own and carries with itself the seeds of its own analysis. This project did not restrict itself to the concept generation proscriptions of any particular tradition, but was rather open to exploring the usefulness of many. Over time, the sorting and conceptualizing of this project began to lean towards a combination of grounded theory and interpretive (phenomenological) theory. In addition, I relied heavily on Bogdan and Biklen’s (1992) sensible general approach to data analysis strategies. For instance, I followed their suggestions to jot down ideas in the margins of texts, write memos and observational comments, play with analogies and concepts, develop coding categories, construct and display matrices, continua, tables, graphs, and test themes on subjects.

Like many, the influence of grounded theory on my work was more in the manner of approach and general disposition than a rigid set of guidelines to be followed. For instance, I did not engage in theoretical sampling or extensive comparative analysis in the discovery and construction of my conceptual framework. However, grounded theory did inform my manner of ‘coding’ and decision to arrive at my conceptual framework after several rounds of inductive-deductive theory testing. I continuously moved back and forth between extracting concepts, piecing ideas together, identifying patterns, making sense of these constructs, and rethinking, reconfiguring these evolving coding frameworks. I also approached the demanding tasks of

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106 Bryman and Burgess (1994: 217) underscore this idea that unlike quantitative research, data analysis in qualitative works does not constitute a distinct phase. Creswell (1998) refers to this process as spiral-like (142–3).

107 As Creswell (1998: 140) aptly notes, “no consensus exists for the analysis of the forms of qualitative data.” Jones (1985: 59) also points out that “[d]ifferent persons with different perspectives and different curiosities about the area of investigation will inevitably find different categories from which to structure and make sense of the data.”

108 Glaser and Strauss (1967) coined the term grounded theory to describe a method that seeks to minimize the extent to which the analyst imposes a priori concepts upon the data.
segmenting and structuring my data in a grounded theoretical fashion, namely open coding, in vivo coding, axial coding, and selective coding (see Strauss and Corbin 1990). After intensively combing through each interview transcript I began to open code,\(^{109}\) reducing the data down to initially identified salient properties to form thematic categories that stemmed, in this instance, from the subject's experiences and understanding of Jewish identity. The model building limitations of in vivo coding—generating codes through the analyses of subjects' use of language—needed to be balanced by my desire to stay true to my subjects' experiences. While I tried to use the language of my respondents as much as I could, it was not always sensible or helpful to do so.\(^{110}\) Searching the data for patterns of association, indirect (intervening) and direct change agents, the explanatory variables behind attenuated, intensified, rejuvenated, and sustained Jewish identities, I began to axial code. This interpretive schema for understanding the transforming and enduring qualities of Jewish identity evolved as new conditions were considered. After alternating between moments of clarity and confusion, and several coding frameworks later, I entered the selective coding phase where final associations were drawn; including newly identified patterns, and plausible explanatory stories.

In terms of the influence of interpretive/phenomenological thought in the data analysis arena, I engaged in what is referred to as horizontalization of the data (Moustakas 1994). This entailed underlining and extracting statements from interviews about how individuals were experiencing and defining Jewishness, putting participants' meaning structures under the microscope, and clustering statements into meaning units. Valuing the importance of the individual experiences

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\(^{109}\) First, I read the transcripts completely, recording an overall impression of outstanding points and general themes, and establishing familiarity with the stories in the interview. Then I re-read the interviews line by line, recording in the margins ideas, concepts and interpretations. Later, I created files for the various dimensions and properties of Jewish vitality I had found, cutting and pasting quotes that fit into these categories extracted from all interviews. Finally, I revised the evolving conceptual schema in light of anomalous or contradictory information.

\(^{110}\) I strove for a balance between "indigenous typologies" (Patton 1980: 306) and "analyst constructed typologies" (ibid: 309), finding ways to dimensionalize, and organize as a continuum, the attributes of the phenomenon under investigation. Van den Hoonard (1997) captures the "challenging" nature of "developing suitable sensitizing concepts" that "come as close as possible to the subject's world" and at the same time "draw theoretical linkages about social practices."
of people as conscious human beings, I highlighted their symbolically shaped cognitive and socio-emotional processes.

One of the first stages in my data analysis after the initial sorting out process and preliminary movement of data into abstract categories was to construct a format by which I could group and summarize family-specific data.\(^ {111} \) Despite a nagging unease with the necessity to, as Wolcott (1994) suggests, discard data and set it aside perhaps for another project, I managed to gradually reduce the scope of my data analysis and sharpen the focus of my investigation. While I covered numerous arenas of Jewish expression in the depth interviews, due to time and cost constraints, as well as for purposes of clarity, I ultimately restricted my focus to the themes, trends, associations and interpretations pertaining to the sphere of Jewish ritual involvement.\(^ {112} \)

In keeping with the false promise of the industrial machine age of leisure time aplenty, the introduction of computer-aided qualitative analysis programs does not necessarily cut down on tedious clerical work, or make easier the onerous tasks of data analysis proper (Fisher 1997).\(^ {113} \) A computer cannot think for you, though it often seems to have a mind of its own, and the process of using a computer as we know them today is rather less intuitive and amenable, at least to me, to creative theorizing.\(^ {114} \) The expectation to use computers, whether they simplify or minimize

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\(^{112}\) Other areas explored in depth: social (friendship networks, relations with Jews and non-Jews), cultural (i.e., consumption patterns), familial (family relations, role and meaning of family), Jewish self-concept (how Jews perceive, judge and feel about themselves), geography (Jewish identity expressed through where one lives).

\(^{113}\) Fisher (1997: 128) insists that the "researcher should not expect to save time by using computer assisted methods and indeed may well find that the learning overhead is substantial." Agar (1991) underscores the extensive idea gestation process that is still best approached in a free flowing, self guided manner.

\(^{114}\) Richards and Richards (1994) agree: "the task of theory discovery remains for the human researcher; the questions are theirs, the combinations of categories specified by them. They see the links and draw the threads
the time associated with a given task or not, can undercut the distinctive artistry of qualitative research. As such, I relied on my faithful Macintosh only to the extent that it seemed truly beneficial.

Given the size of my data set, my decision to forgo the use of software analysis tools was not one that I arrived at easily. It was only after first hand experience working with Nu*Dist that I came to understand its limitations. For instance, the division of texts into segments/chunks that occurs can be a blessing or a curse. Pieces of data inevitably seem to become divorced from the contexts that give them meaning. While one can specify the size of chunk to create, it is unrealistic to be able to predict or program a one size fits all solution. This inability to effectively scroll up and down as one wishes to locate antecedent factors and consequences can be very detrimental to the research process. Notwithstanding a fast CPU, I consistently found it quicker and easier to locate data using hard copies or customized original computer files. Using Nu*Dist I found myself, not unlike others so I understand, less likely to return to the context of a retrieved segment. A project like this relies on sensitive interpretation and rigorous reflexive analysis. The auto-coding and sorting of software aids did not seem likely to be effective in uncovering the rich ingredients of Jewish vitality.

Another issue I found to be a concern when using on screen coding is the limitations it puts on one's ability to remain immersed in, and intimately engaged with, one's data (see Fielding and Lee 1991; Weitzman and Miles 1995). It was very important to me that I not 'lose touch' with the data as I entered the concept generation process. I wanted to retain control and be open to

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115 The introduction of computer-aided qualitative research software was initially conceived in an effort to silence common criticisms and concerns about the intuitive, serendipitous, pseudo-scientific nature of qualitative research. In many ways, software use is more about enhancing the 'legitimacy' of a study than maximizing the researcher's ability to effectively interact with the data. The richness and subtleties of a qualitative study can be lost in the pressure to establish and enumerate a rigid indexing structure.
the influence of repeated readings of transcripts, observation notes and analytical memos. Remaining in contact with these materials helped lessen the chance that some important insight be lost in the rush to ‘clean up’ the data. Also, as people frequently used different terms to talk about the same phenomenon and my order of interview questions was never exactly the same from one interview to the next, I found that doing my own interview-specific searches was a more effective, holistic strategy.

Software research tools can pressure one into creating an indexing structure too soon into the project, or at least make it far more difficult, and hence unlikely, that one make revisions later on. The nature of my study was such that I went through various stages of theory testing and re-testing, continually reworking categories and revisiting earlier transcripts. My approach facilitated my ability to review the data and remain open to new ideas, patterns or categories that constituted a ‘better fit.’ Not having spent a lot of time constructing formalized, computer assisted indexes, I found it easier, emotionally, to let go of models that were not making sense of all the data.

Another way I attempted to enhance the “trustworthiness” of my analyses was to engage in frequent debriefing sessions with some of my participants. This included bouncing ideas off of them and soliciting their comments on my preliminary findings. I found Marshall and Rossman’s (1989) list of procedures to help increase the confirmability of one’s research a useful

116 The reformulation and refinement of my model went through several versions. For instance, at first I came up with a category called secular ethnicity that I felt captured the worldly approach to Jewish ritual expression. Later, I came to understand that a new evolving body of customs associated with the personal, familial and social significance of such behaviors was itself an as yet unrecognized species of ‘traditionalism’; hence, its final title ‘secular-traditionalism.’

117 With respect to debriefing, I focused more on my participants than my academic peers, hoping to remain as grounded as possible.

118 On one occasion, for instance, I presented some of my ‘work-in-progress’ findings to an organized group of young Jewish professional women.
check. In particular, their suggestion to enlist the help of a person to play ‘devil’s advocate,’ critically challenging the ongoing research process, was of great assistance.\(^{159}\)

**Final Note**

A project of this kind does not presume to be able to make any particularly broad generalizations (i.e., external validity). Something like Jewish attachment is not easily tied up with a ‘nice little bow.’ However, it is important to note that such was never the main intention of this work. Rather, I wished to contribute to the ongoing debate about the measurement validity of our current crop of theoretical constructs and perhaps encourage further research to pay better heed to the actuality of people’s meaning systems and lived lives. As the old saying goes, there are many ways to skin a cat. The myriad choices I have made over the course of doing this project may not be those chosen by another researcher. For instance, it was impossible to include all of the stories that I was made privy to, another reader may have chose differently. Nonetheless, not unlike the fluid, evolving nature of Jewish attachment itself, I suggest that my approach to this project has been rather true to the subject at hand. It is, of course, imperfect, as any and all studies are, in fact, and such should not detract from it’s potential utility.

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\(^{159}\) Thanks go to Len Kagan for all his help in this regard.
Chapter Four

Affect, Cognition and Change:
Assessing Jewish Vitality in the Ritual Sphere

Fears concerning the extent to which detraditionalization\(^1\) and assimilation are effectively undermining Jewish ethnic identity retention are overstated. This project challenges the presumed 'inferiority' of non-Orthodox, post-immigrant and intermarried expressions of Jewish ritual involvement which are often viewed as diluted, weakened and inauthentic. The qualitative nature of this study of non-Orthodox 'ethnic' Jews has facilitated a rich picture of the affective and cognitive dimensions of people's ritual lives, finding evidence of as much hidden strength as weakness.

In this chapter, I consider the patterns of ritual involvement manifest by 100 Toronto members of non-Orthodox Jewish endogamous and intermarried families.\(^2\) The desire to simultaneously participate in Canadian majority culture and institutions and preserve Jewish attachment has produced a hybridized Toronto Jewish identity, "secularized Judaism interpenetrated with a religionized Jewishness" (Rosenberg 1985: 73). In practice, contemporary Toronto Jewish ritual involvement consists of an ongoing dialogue between tradition and the forces of modernity. Non-Orthodox Toronto Jewry as represented in my sample exhibits variance between a 'secular' traditionalism and a 'spiritual' traditionalism. *Secular-traditionalism* is used here to describe an approach to ritual involvement that prioritizes the personal, familial, and social significance of traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO). *Spiritual-traditionalism* in contrast refers to an approach that focuses on the congregational-communal, ancestral-historical and universal-

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\(^1\) Detraditionalization implies the dismantling of traditional authoritative structures, "the decline of the belief in the pre-given or natural order of things" and "a shift of authority from 'without' to 'within'" (Heelas 1996: 2).

\(^2\) Participants cited that were not identified otherwise were Toronto born members of endogamous contexts.
mystical significance of TJRO.

The continuum of Secular-traditionalism-Spiritual-traditionalism ranges from a theoretical zero level of Jewish mysticism (spiritualism) in regards to TJRO to 'maximal' non-Orthodox, universe/God and/or Torah (Old Testament) focused TJRO spiritualism. There is no clear line to be drawn between Modern Orthodox Jews and highly observant 'non-Orthodox' Jews. For the purposes of this study however, non-Orthodox is used to mean Jews who see the Torah's prescriptive and proscriptive regulations as more or less flexible and legitimately amenable to individual customization. For instance, non-Orthodox Jews are more or less willing to make an exception to the 'no driving to the synagogue on Sabbath' rule while Orthodox Jews consider such acts serious moral violations of Jewish law. Furthermore, certain TJRO are almost exclusively observed by Orthodox Jews, public kippah (skullcap), tzitzit (fringes) wearing and the like, and were not treated as external indicators of ritual involvement in this study. The principal TJRO that were analyzed in this project include:

* Hanukah festivities (gift giving, latke/potato pancake eating, menorah lighting)

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3 One study participant, 25-year-old G21/2 Albert Warner, a son of a Jewish conversionary union who was raised Modern Orthodox offers his perspective, "A modern Orthodox Jew is someone who accepts modernity but nevertheless lives according to Orthodox ideas, in some cases making compromises between the two. Conservative Judaism takes it another step. I'm by no means an expert of Conservative Jews, but my understanding and sort of experience has been that there is something that they want to achieve and they find a way to redefine the law to suit their secular goals, like the ideal of equality between the genders. They change the law to suit this." In terms of denominational divisiveness, Albert witnesses more tension between Orthodox and ultra Orthodox Jews because he is more in contact with these forms than with any other type of Jew. His parents' synagogue has a large modern Orthodox and ultra Orthodox contingent to the congregation.

4 Interviewee Albert Warner relayed his experiences wearing a kippah at work and in university: "People are gonna ask you questions. I wore it also at work in the beginning but what I found was that a lot of people were going overboard to try and accommodate things like kashrut. And I'd rather just not have to deal with somebody saying when they invited us all to lunch we've got you some fish, vegetarian thing, or something like that. They're trying but they don't know exactly what are the rules. So, I actually stopped wearing it at work. It was a strange thing for somebody who has worn a kippah all his life. Even if I would bring my own food into a non-kosher restaurant for work related lunches I felt other Jews who really don't know so much might see me with my kippah and think it was okay to eat in this restaurant because a religious Jew had eaten there. As long as you are not acting like a fool or an idiot then you're not bringing any shame upon the Jewish people, or anything like that. Because when you do walk around with the kippah you're recognized a certain bit as a representative of the Jewish community. It is kind of like desecrating God's name. Anything a Jewish person does and it's bad what they're doing, then the entire world now looks at Jews as a whole badly. Because of our history we are very conscious of what we're doing and what we look like to other people."
Rosh Hashana/Jewish New Year (dinner, Synagogue attendance)
* Passover (Seder, no chametz)*
* Yom Kippur (fasting, Synagogue attendance)
* Weekly ‘special’ Friday night dinner/Shabbos/Shabbes/Shabbat/Sabbath observance
* Bar/Bat mitzvah (age of religious majority rite of passage)
* Jewish Education (Sunday school, afternoon school, cheder; day school, adult lectures and courses)
* Other Jewish Holidays (e.g., Sukkoth/Fall harvest festival, Purim/late Winter festival)
* Regular (non-High Holiday) Synagogue attendance
* Dietary Rules (e.g., Kosher at home, Kosher outside the home)

Participation in TJRO is wrought with pressures from within and without, the past and the present. The exigencies of contemporary realities, including the pull of personal and familial obligations conflict with the need for a rich, meaningful connection to one’s ancestral-historical roots and spiritual tradition; a lifestyle incorporating ‘old’ and ‘new’ yearnings and interests alike.

For each of us, Jewish or not, there exist stereotypical notions of what distinguishes ‘a modern Jew’ from a ‘traditional Jew’; certain feelings, attitudes and behaviors become associated with the past and others come to represent the present. These perceptions can vary greatly depending on who one is, where they were born, where they are currently living, which “optical community” they belong etc.

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5 See previous chapter for the proportions of participants engaging in these practices.
6 See appendix A for glossary of Jewish terms. Yiddish-specific and Hebrew-specific terms are distinguished therein.
7 It is important to note that discursively a weekly ‘special’ Friday night family dinner may be differentiated from its religionized Shabbos/Shabbes/Shabat/Sabbath counterpart where the axis is placed on the religious ambience and symbolism of the occasion (e.g., citing prayers over candles, challah [egg bread] and wine).
8 Notably the Jewish-born members over 50 in this sample use the Jewish term cheder to refer to religious instruction experienced during one’s youth.
9 Zerubavel (1997: 33) defines “optical community” as a particular thought community where its members “tend to perceive things somewhat similarly, since they basically ‘see’ the world through the same mental lenses.” What is construed as rebellion by one person is seen as conformity by another. For example, 50-year-old G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Lionel Pinsker attended a Hassidic day school where he was reprimanded for not practicing the degree of Orthodoxy required (i.e., he would be seen on the streets not wearing his yarmulke and “would be called to task for it”). For others, such actions are not perceived as deviant. Lionel suggests that Orthodox children are not necessarily so well behaved but have different notions of norm violations (e.g., handling money or going out on Shabat, eating non-kosher, etc).
Figure 1. Variations in Ritual Involvement (TJRO) Framework

- **Active**
- **Revitalization**

- **Secular**
- **Spiritual**

- **Traditionalism**
- **Traditionalism**

- **Rationales for TJRO Axis (Cognitive Bases)**
  - Personal
  - Familial
  - Social
  - Communal
  - Congregational
  - Ancestral
  - Historical
  - Universal
  - Mystical

- **Outsiderism**

- **Passive**
An analytical framework has been devised in which variations in people's vitality of their Jewish ritual involvement can be examined (see figure 1). The framework intersects people's rationales for their TJRO, who or what is prioritized (x-axis), with the nature of their emotional attachment to them, active or passive (y-axis). From this, certain patterns emerge clarifying the complex of tensions non-Orthodox Jews confront in the sphere of ritual involvement.

Interesting configurations exist between internal (affective and cognitive) and external (behavior) indicators of ritual involvement. Most Jews pick and choose, and are pushed and pulled into a more or less 'comfortable placement' within the Majority culture of traditional Jewish ritual observers. The framework differentiates first and foremost between Majority and Alternative patterns of ritual involvement. Majority patterns are those held to be predominant and 'normal' for and by the group in question, while Alternative patterns, in this context, represents those modes of expression that deviate, seeking either to redefine, reinvent or perhaps repudiate, Majority patterns. Within the Majority, the framework considers two basic approaches Secular-traditionalism and Spiritual-traditionalism. Alternative, potentially trend-setting patterns of Jewish ritual expression appear on the periphery of the ritual involvement framework as Revitalization and Outsiderism.

The multidimensionality and multiplexity of people's Jewish ritual expression, including inconsistencies in people's Jewish 'walk, talk and heart,' limits the extent to which one can make tidy measurements and rigid, absolute categories. Notwithstanding these limitations, it is possible to at least appreciate the various types of pressures under which people's Jewish self develops and expresses itself in the sphere of ritual involvement. In so doing the following four areas of noteworthy trend development can be identified:
Secular-Traditionalism refers to a down-to-earth, pragmatic approach to TJRO that emphasizes the Personal, Familial and Social sources of significance around which people build cognitive rationales for their ritual involvement. Active Secular-traditionalists are positively emotionally invested in their TJRO and demonstrate a tenacious and vital attachment to their expressions. Conversely, Passive Secular-traditionalists are those who 'go along' with and participate in the secular-traditionalist approach to TJRO, but are negatively emotionally attached and minimally personally committed. Continuing their ritual involvement primarily out of fear, guilt, duty and a sense of obligation, these people exhibit a contingent and uncertain attachment to their expressions.

Spiritual-Traditionalism refers to an abstract, transcendent approach to TJRO that emphasizes the Congregational-Communal, Ancestral-Historical and Universal-Mystical sources of significance around which people build cognitive rationales for their ritual involvement. Active Spiritual-traditionalists are positively emotionally invested in their TJRO and demonstrate a tenacious and vital attachment to their expressions. Conversely, Passive Spiritual-traditionalists are those who 'go along' with and participate in the spiritual-traditionalist approach to TJRO, but are negatively emotionally attached and minimally personally committed. Continuing their ritual involvement primarily out of fear, guilt, duty and a sense of obligation, these people exhibit a contingent and uncertain attachment to their expressions.

Revitalization refers to the process whereby people work to create, or recreate, a positive emotional experience for themselves and/or others within TJRO. These people are highly personally invested in their particular mode of ritual involvement and expression and strive to 'make it work'. Some achieve this goal via the incorporation of 'other' systems' values, ways and means into a modified expression of TJRO. Others aim to intensify, and/or seek the restoration
of, the transcendent quality and/or quantity of TJRO.

[4] Outsiderism refers to the process whereby people become increasingly estranged from the normative expectations of their familial Jewish secular or spiritual-traditionalist context. Whether they are the ones doing the rejecting, or are excluded themselves from ritual involvement, these individuals demonstrate little to no participation in any form of TJRO, typically expressing a mocking or disparaging orientation, reporting disdain and disinterest.

In considering the meanings and feelings people ascribe to their ritual adherence it becomes apparent that 'new' options, priorities and commitments for Jews are in some cases working more to transform or revitalize, not erase, Jewishness and Jewish expression in the sphere of ritual involvement.\(^{10}\) Importantly, this type of analysis unearths hidden forms of passive ritual retention, revealing at times a tenuous relationship to the continuation of TJRO. High levels of TJRO are not necessarily indicative of a strong level of personal attachment and commitment to the ritual sphere of one's Jewish identity. In addition, many people registering low on the ritual observance scale, having redistributed energies to other spheres of Jewish expression, are very personally attached and committed to the ritual observances they have chosen to maintain. Consequently, simplistic presumptions regarding the vitality, or lack thereof, of Toronto non-Orthodox Jews' ritual involvement need to be reassessed.

This dissertation takes off where Jewish sociologist Cohen (1988) ends his seminal work on Jewish continuity wherein he queries the absence of research probing what he calls "Jewish

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\(^{10}\) Interviewee, endogamous 30-year-old G31/2, Mark Frank emphasized the importance of paying heed to people's internal orientations to being and doing Jewish. For Mark, "being Jewish is being Mark. It's who I am. It's a strong belief in family, some kind of affinity for the religion, thinking of yourself as Jewish, and letting it be known to others that you think of yourself as such. Secondarily, it is some kind of attachment to the religion although I don't think it as vital as there are Jews that are a lot more secular. For most people, it is a subjective matter."
consciousness," people's feelings and thoughts about 'doing Jewish.' Relying primarily on external behaviors and publicly vocalized attitudes to measure ethnic identity retention, focusing on how much people are doing and the 'socially desirable' fronts they may present to that effect, fails to consider the complex interrelationship of thoughts, feelings and actions. This project strengthens the case for bringing people's underlying thoughts and feelings to the fore arguing that an accurate and meaningful account of the vitality present in this area must include due consideration of the cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions of people's involvement.

A number of factors influencing the character and vitality of people's ritual involvement are analyzed in this chapter. For instance, the effects that generation status, broad societal forces, and stage of life have upon one's connection to TJRO will be explored. Further, although some sociologists have been quick to consider intermarriage as a yardstick of assimilation and abandonment of ethnic attachment, none have yet considered other mitigating variables that could account for, offset or temper this relationship. Additionally, my study of endogamous relationships sheds light on differential spousal orientations and their effects on Jewish identity changes. Spousal selection may indeed be an important variable affecting the modalities of Jewish expression. However, it is not always in the ways that are commonly assumed. Other important experiences like Jewish schooling and exposure to Jewish diversity are examined.

Three generations later (in some cases four) the religious facet of Jewish ethnicity in this Toronto sample exhibits great variety. The observance of Jewish rituals can be sentimentalized, revitalized, reconstructed and customized in many different ways. For some, ritual observance is done passively and mechanistically, based more on fear, guilt, obligation, and respect than active conviction and commitment. Others still, have fallen to the wayside and do not even participate at all in traditional Jewish ritual affairs. Nevertheless, the image of a "denuded Jewish home" cast by Sklare and Greenblum (1978) featuring minimal ritual practice in a postwar suburban
American community fails to recognize modern innovation and intensification in traditional behaviors.11 "Straight-line" models which claim progressive, intergenerational loss in Jewish attachment and diminished participation in shared activities do so because they neglect to consider the existence, much less the significance of, ethnic identity transformation. Consequently, important markers of Jewishness are ignored in traditional Jewish identity measurement instruments, leading to an incomplete, distorted and all too frequently dire estimation of the state of Toronto Jewry.

Much intra-ethnic discord exists as to 'who is a Jew,' 'who is a good Jew,' etc. In the face of external opposition such debate often fosters and preserves Jewish cohesion, albeit in a largely factionalized and splintered fashion. However, overly narrow definitions of Jewishness also produce alienation, marginalization and disaffection. Greater respect for Jewish plurality and a democratization of legitimate claims to Jewish authenticity would function to encourage and improve the quality of social interaction within the Jewish ethnic group.

I. Majority Patterns of Ritual Involvement

A. Active and Passive, Secular-Traditionalism

A down-to-earth, pragmatic approach to the observance of Jewish rituals and customs continues to grow, wherein the personal, familial, and social significance of 'traditional' Jewish ritual observances (TJRO) are prioritized over the mystical spiritual and transcendental. For some, this means treating home-based Jewish traditions as "a family thing." Others see TJRO as a way to convey personal "uniqueness," while others treat TJRO as a vehicle to express their "enjoy things and have fun" orientation. Others still, accord social value to synagogue attendance and bar/bat

11 See Silberman (1985) for a study that does appreciate the significance of ethnic innovations.
mitzvah ceremonies, wherein it becomes a vehicle for them to express their "ethclass"12 distinctiveness. This increasingly common modality of Jewish expression is identified in this study as Secular-traditionalism.13

The term secular has become synonymous with loss but this needs to be re-examined. Secular people are often treated as wholly disconnected from sacramental activities. However, many of these people continue to be involved in tradition in a reconstructed, modernized fashion; “the decline of traditional authority and traditional grounding of action does not spell the demise of tradition but rather signals a shift in its nature and role” (Thompson 1996: 94). Many Jews are looking for ways to remain proudly affiliated with their Jewish roots and are finding new ways to do so, blending and refashioning cultural scripts and codes. ‘Tradition’, both imagined and real ways of doing and being that are “transmitted or handed down from the past” (cited in Thompson 1996: 91), is socially constructed and negotiated in the present. Often, ‘less’ ritual acts are pursued by this group, still the practices that are defined as important become ‘new’ de facto normative customs, demonstrating powerful affect laden “rootsie” symbolism and a high degree of personal commitment (emotional attachment).

A noteworthy pattern in this sample is the tendency to de-emphasize the religious import attached to Jewish rituals and accentuate instead the cultural value of such acts. Those here referred to as active secular-traditionalists emphasize a reconstructed Jewishness which regards

12 Gordon (1964) coined the concept 'ethclass ' which acknowledges that social class may cut across identification and interaction with coethnics. For example, upper middle class Jews may continue to express their Jewishness, but often do so together with and in a similar fashion to fellow Jews with a similar socioeconomic background.

13 Secular-traditionalism is sister to a popular Americanized modality of Jewish identity termed 'bagel Judaism', namely "the affection many Jews have for a particular ethnic way of life, even when stripped entirely of its religious or sacredotal content" (Cowan and Cowan 1989: 247). It is also similar to Gans's (1994) notion of 'symbolic religiosity'. That is, the adaptation of religious symbols to secular interests, including the popularity of home-based holiday celebrations wherein families "skip, or abbreviate, the religious rituals free from the objections of the rabbi or communal social control, or to have a non-religious family dinner surrounded by the appropriate religious symbols"(586).
TJRO as a means to revel in and promote [1] personal distinctiveness; [2] shared Jewish cultural experiences; [3] family cohesiveness; and [4] the maintenance of social ties and expression of Jewish subgroup solidarity. Conversely, passive secular-traditionalists are those immersed and more or less involuntarily participating in contexts advocating a secular-traditionalist vision of ritual involvement. Such persons report feelings of passivity, "indifference," "apathy," "boredom" and "alienation" toward the personal, familial, and/or social, secular-traditionalist approach of their TJRO milieu. Circumstantial loyalty, respect to others, guilt and obligation keep one present in body but not necessarily in mind, a divided state of being which often functions to undermine the longevity of one's ritual involvement.

Many Jews who define themselves as liberal, freethinking, humanistic, atheistic, agnostic, or irreligious continue to celebrate major Jewish holidays. Self-described "progressive freethinker," 78-year-old G2 Nancy Silverstein who grew up in a Jewish Yiddishist,14 "anti-religious," left-leaning family is a good example of a Jew you would not otherwise expect to be strongly committed to religious activities. That is, if one relies upon her religious self-image or the number of TJRO she reports as a yardstick for measuring the vitality of her Jewish ritual involvement, one might mistakenly conclude that Nancy is weak in the sphere of ritual involvement. However, Nancy has a proud Jewish self-image from her Jewish ethnic socialization growing up as a child of East European Jews affiliated with the United Jewish People's Order, a Jewish socialist organization. She attended the organization's school ("the shule"), participated in the Jewish laborer organization's youth mandolin orchestra and later, in her young adult years, she engaged in Jewish communal activism.15 Further, it is Nancy's emotional attachment to what she sees as "the good things of being Jewish, its culture, the good music" which keep her deeply

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14 A Yiddishist is someone who immerses him/herself in the Yiddish culture and language.
15 Irrespective of whether we concur or not with Hertzberg and Hirt-Manheimer (1998) that dissent (i.e., challenging the status quo, contravening dominant dogmas and fighting for social justice) is an "essential" attribute of Jews, it is important to explore the social roots of Canadian-based Jewish activism.
committed to her style of TJRO. For example, Nancy is drawn annually by the beautiful sounds of the shofar blowing at Yom Kippur’s synagogue service in spite of a lack of interest in “the repentance to God message.” TJRO has survived for Nancy because she finds the culture attractive even if she could do without all the “religious rhetoric.” She enjoys Jewish family meals “freed of religious stuff” on Rosh Hashana, Passover and regularly on Fridays.

Several of the persons interviewed underscore a lack of religious intention in their adherence to religious traditions. Many people carry on TJRO in a de-spiritualized manner, finding other ways to rationalize, and other things to prioritize in their ritual involvement. 67-year-old Vivien Marky (G2½ self-defined “agnostic” Jew) illustrates this trend well. She remains involved but has found alternate rationales for her actions. Her continued involvement is somewhat surprising given her feelings about “old school, out-dated” TJRO as revealed in her account of the role religious rituals played in her childhood home:

Sometimes I would see my grandfather davening [praying]. I would call it babbling. I had no understanding of what he was doing and I thought it was very quaint. And I'd actually have a negative feeling towards it because I thought he should leave all that stuff behind sort of thing, and my grandmother, I think she only used kosher food but I don’t remember having two sets of dishes. So they weren't very religious but certainly, they practiced a lot of the Jewish customs, and they spoke Yiddish.

For Vivien, acculturation to Canada meant favoring English over Yiddish usage and abandoning what she saw, and continues to see, as “unsophisticated blind faith.” She regards the customs, lifestyle and attitudes of her G1 Russian-born Jewish maternal grandparents as “parochial” and

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16 Aside from describing herself as a “freethinker,” she also identifies herself as a “long hair” which she tells me marks her as “a fan of deep, intense musical performances.”

17 Vivien grew up in a class segmented and conscious Winnipeg Jewish community (geographically divided on these lines). She attended twice weekly a supplementary Jewish socialist school. Notwithstanding her emphatic differentiation from the Jewish orientation of her mother and maternal grandparents, she simply takes an alternate, no less passionate, approach: “I think Judaism is a big part of my life. A lot of it filters down and maybe even if I don’t label it that way, like I describe myself as a secular Jew and also I’m an agnostic. That’s two elements that make me different than a lot of other Jews.”
based on "religious mumbo-jumbo." Still, now that the Markys' three adult offspring are married and leading independent lives, Marky household celebrations of Hanukah, Rosh Hashana and Passover receive renewed personal sentiment, cultural vigor and familial importance. Importantly, the Marky elders find meaning in their role as "Jewish cultural educators" for their two grandchildren who would otherwise only experience large festive gatherings of extended kin with their son-in-law's East Indian relations.

i. Personal Focus

It is apparent in my sample that "choosing," or at least giving the impression of choosing, is becoming more fashionable than being "chosen" (see also Greenberg 1999; Shapiro 1997: 16); people are viewing TJRO as less of a given and are emphasizing self-fulfillment over community-focused, other-oriented Jewishness (see Cohen and Eisen 1998). Personal gratification is fuelling people's commitments. In this section, I discuss two sets of cognitive rationales that are common to this emphasis on personal gain and interest. First, there are those who express their ethnic roots as a means of conveying personal uniqueness, distinctiveness and cosmopolitan appreciation. Second, some Jews engage in TJRO with an emphasis on finding "fun" in these occasions. Retrofitting and personalizing TJRO to prioritize the "fun stuff" is often overlooked as a means by which one might develop a lasting taste for TJRO and a positive Jewish self-concept.

Clearly, 'serious' Jews who prioritize doing TJRO for the congregation and/or wider Jewish community do not hold an exclusive claim to Jewish vitality.

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18 For Vivien, her maternal grandparents "seemed very much still steeped in the past because when they came to Canada they must have been middle-aged or even a little older so their Judaism was sort of part of everyday existence. They were never consciously or unconsciously telling us that we were Jews, We just accepted our Jewish background as being normal and natural because we grew up where there were other Jewish people and all my friends were Jewish."
a. "Uniqueness"

In a broad societal context where the forces of 'McDonaldization'—the homogenization and blenderizing of cultural styles and options—and that of cultural pluralism work in tandem, a 'politics of difference' discourse and multiculturalist ideology become important tools for asserting cultural "uniqueness." In a time of rapid change, cultural flux and rampant potential for anomie, the quest for individual self-expression, belonging, meaning and a proliferation of subcultures are associated with many emergent trends. For instance, when I asked 55-year-old G3 intermarried Jew Eva Fitzgerald who is "not really big on practicing the religion except for certain things" about her feelings around her maintenance of Jewish rituals like fasting on Yom Kippur she responded, "I value them for their uniqueness." Eva also identifies Kirk Douglas as a 'famous Jewish person' she most admires "because he finally admitted he's Jewish."

When 30-year-old G3 Heather Feldberg\(^{19}\) announced to her mother that she was engaged to be married to 33-year-old G2 Sangeet Singh of East Indian Sikh descent\(^{20}\) her self-described atheist mother "got really upset and said [her] children would be hamburgers and fries, not steak." Heather asked her mother what she meant by this statement that her kids would be "cheaper," but Miriam defensively retorted that "she meant by this that the kids would be chopped up and mixed." In my interview with Miriam, she used the phrase "hamburgers and fries" to communicate a loss of ethnic distinctiveness. She favors cultural pluralism over what she sees as the disappearance of people's unique ethnic flavors. Nonetheless, in distinguishing hamburgers and fries from steak the message being transmitted is that the former is a lower form, a substandard, cheap, insubstantial alternative to the latter which is old world high class real pure stuff.

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\(^{19}\) Heather was nursing her eight weeks old baby during the course of the interview. She also continued telling me her story over a stroll with her baby in the park.

\(^{20}\) 33-year-old Sangeet was born in Kenya, but came over to Canada when he was eight.
For me it means belonging to an ethnic group with deep roots and a wonderful tradition. I don’t identify with it in a religious sense. I’m not religious…It’s kind of the feeling of being different than (endogamous 50-year-old G2³⁄₂ Lionel Pinsker).

In the face of urban anonymity and time-crunch ed daily routines,²¹ scientifically minded Lionel Pinsker, disinterested in following religious rules and upholding Jewish “chosenness” or belief in the supernatural, is joining ‘individuated’ others absorbing Toronto’s multicultural ethos and identifying with a growing feeling of valuing “difference,” “uniqueness” and “distinctiveness.” “Proud to be different,” 27-year-old G2³⁄₂ Wendy Valdez, a daughter of an “atheist” Mexican-Canadian father and South African descending Jewish mother, is now in her late 20s less concerned with the teen angst of “not fitting in” and appreciates the “uniqueness” of her background. Like teenager G4 Susan Rose in the sample, daughter of intermarriage, Wendy felt proud exhibiting her Jewish heritage when she found herself one of only a few Jews attending a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Canadian school.²² Both relished being “cultural educators/ambassadors,” distinctive but yet the same as the rest of the school populace, reporting feeling ‘less’ special in schooling contexts where the proportion of Jews perceived to be ‘more Jewish’ than them were the majority. 28-year-old G2³⁄₂ Dorothy Warner, daughter of a Jewish conversionary marriage, explains, “I feel more Jewish when there are no other Jews. I usually feel different because it always ends up coming up in conversations. In my line of work [dance theatre], I have never met another Jew that’s grown up Orthodox. I don’t find many people have gone the route I’ve gone. I have a lot of consciousness about my being Jewish. I definitely

²¹ Interviewee, New Age oriented divorced intermarried father 47-year-old G2 Eric Levine finds Toronto increasingly impersonal and cold wherein “the closest you get to someone is honking at somebody in the car.” He is looking forward to getting away to Israel for one year with his youngest daughter of his marriage to a First Nation B’hai woman whilst she participates in a grade 11 exchange program. Eric bemoans that today’s “rat race” society has become “way too selfish, self-focused and self-centered and self-obsessed, all these self things.”

²² 25-year-old, G2, daughter of a second generation American Jewish mother and Irish American father, Olivia Fiorio, also suggests, “I’ve always seen myself as Jewish as opposed to not religious or anything else, and I think that was really solidified because when we lived in Montreal we had to go to a Catholic school in order to go to school in English. So, my brother and I were the only two Jews in the school. It was a strange experience. It made me cling to my Jewishness although I’m not sure what exactly that meant aside from the various holidays. I don’t even really know what I think God means, but I guess I see myself as a cultural Jew.”
continue to express and seek out things associated with Judaism in terms of the text or people or subjects or ways of living. Like my mom jokes that being vegetarian I'm sort of kosher in a sense. I still have very stringent dietary laws that I keep for myself and somewhere inside me there's a feeling of like I'm still keeping kosher, like somewhere in there I know it's there. It's allowed me not to have to deal with that guilt. On Yom Kipper, I fasted, and it was important to me.”

As Wendy Valdez has gotten older, her twenties specifically, she has "become much more interested" in the richness of her cultural heritages and wants to acquaint herself more fully with both her Mexican and Jewish background. Rather than religious piety or ethnocentrism, the G3 Valdez offspring were "brought up to take an interest in all different cultures and different religions." Mexican-Canadian father, John Valdez, who started a family business operation manufacturing and distributing lighting converted in order to marry his wife but did not alter his atheistic orientation. In reacting to ritual involvement as a forced imposition, being “always told that this is what you do and you don't question it” pushed John “away from the religion aspect of it." Skeptical growing up about religion, Wendy however is engaged in a self-seeking period of what has been referred to as "ethnic rediscovery" (Isajiw 1999). About to be engaged to a G3 secular-traditional Toronto Jew, she is currently appreciating her heritage more and is curious about the origins and meanings behind the Jewish traditions. In effect, at the time of the interview she was signed up for a liberal Judaism course to help her on this journey.

23-year-old G3 photography student, passionately “free-spirited,” Erez Freedman, raised in

23 Erez emits a ‘generation Y’ vibe: free-spiritedness, individualistic, questioning of authority, environmentally savvy, socially conscious. He has opted for a socially “free” orientation to life where he is unaffected by social pressures to conform.
24 Erez’s birth father, a Moroccan Sephardic Jewish man from Israel, left when Erez was two years old. His Anglican-born, Anglo-Canadian step-dad since age three raised him. Erez kept his mother’s first marital name because his mother feared Erez might encounter differential treatment at parochial school and she did not want him to stand out.
an intermarried familial context, who although dismisses the relevance of religion in his day-to-day life, preferring the life of the mountains, skiing, snowboarding, photography and playing his guitar, is well aware of his "distinctive" roots. He takes pride in his maternal grandparents' tenacity to survive the Holocaust by hiding out in barns.\textsuperscript{25} Erez also finds personal pleasure sharing the cultural peculiarities of traditional Jewish rituals with non-Jews or Jews unfamiliar with the traditions. Not taking too fondly to institutionalized Jewish involvement like his brief stint attending a Zionist Jewish day school, negative Hebrew schooling experiences and his recently terminated practice of attending a Conservative synagogue on High Holidays with his mother and grandmother, Erez nonetheless still celebrates his being "different." In light of 'a cult of the individual' and romanticized multiculturalism, Passover appears to hold cross-cultural appreciation.

I love the Passover story. I told it to all my friends at photography. They asked me what matzah [unleavened bread] was and we're all standing in the studio and I had a big audience and I said, you know they weren't expecting anything like this and they said what's matzah, so I said well, 4000 years ago...

28-year-old G2 Stan Spielberg, born to New York Jewish parents, feels similarly about Passover.

I like Passover because it's a story. So, again it is a tradition. I'll eat matzah\textsuperscript{2} at dinner, but I don't keep Passover for seven days anymore. In the house, I will respect when my grandmother is over. I will respect within the confines of the house, but I have stopped with the religious stuff like going to synagogue because I found I wasn't respecting myself. I was doing it out of guilt and I didn't feel true to myself. It is everybody who goes to church or synagogue once or twice a year and are critical of someone who doesn't go. I think that's the wrong reason to go...I have gone reluctantly on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur basically because my arm is twisted because when I don't go I get the huggest guilt trip laid on me. That's the wrong reason to go though. I'll tell you right off the back: I'm not a religious person. I don't find religion helpful. I find it dated and it has no application to my life. I find it hypocritical for people to tell me how to live my life and then for them to live their lives in that way and to criticize me for not living my life in that way. I don't find going to synagogue enjoyable, useful or helpful. I think a lot of my anger toward religion has to do with my mother's death. There are certain things about Judaism though that I do enjoy. Like when I think of Judaism, I think of family and tradition and regardless if I ever go to synagogue again, the two things I will keep are

\textsuperscript{25} While the term Holocaust survivor is used to refer to Jews who lived through and survived the Holocaust, it is informative to appreciate the "different circumstances" of survival. 33-year-old G3 Faye Stern points out to me the "different circumstances" of her "Holocaust survivor" grandparents on her mother's and father's sides: "My mother's parents were in Siberia and moved from camp to camp, town to town. They don't talk about it too much while my father's father was a Resistance fighter and his wife was in a camp and managed to escape."
family and tradition. As for Passover, I really enjoy the tradition. My [non-Jewish] girlfriend and my half-Jewish roommate came this year. We always do it in English and explain the symbolism and the two of them loved it. They want to get invited every year. When I do get married and even if it is with someone who is not Jewish I will always celebrate Passover and all of my friends will be invited because it is not a time of being Jewish or not Jewish but a time for family and friends. I enjoy the story and you just never get tired of telling the story or listening to the story.

The case of Stan illustrates that emotional attachment is undercut when TJRO is done “out of guilt” and apathy, but can be resurrected if one finds different reasons to define and inform one’s approach to TJRO which help make these rituals as well as Jewish self-definition endure. Stan is doing less TJRO now since he has given up going to synagogue on the High Holidays and no longer keeps certain dietary rituals, but he feels more personally invested in what he does do because he finds personal enrichment in relaying the symbolism of the Passover story.

b. “Fun stuff”

A movement emphasizing celebration and prioritizing the "fun aspects and good things about Judaism" (30-year-old intermarried G3 Heather Feldberg) appears to have a growing following. There are enjoyable aspects to Jewish cultural expression as embodied in Jewish customs and many people see this as both the primary attraction and foundation for their mode of ritual involvement. For instance, intermarried, lapsed Anglican, Anglo-Canadian Paul Williamson, nominated an “honorary Jew” by his predominantly Jewish childhood friends and neighbors “enjoy[s]” the cultural elements of a Jewish “way of life.” For Paul, “shabbos” was a customary “part of the culture,” being a regular invite at his friends’ ritualistic Friday night family occasions,

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26 Despite Heather’s outsider relationship to Jewish involvement generally and TJRO specifically, Heather wants to pass on to her daughter “the fun things in Judaism” like Hanukah candle lighting. She confesses, “It’s funny because there’s somewhere in me that I do feel a really big tie to Judaism, but it’s not because of the way I was raised. There’s something there.”

27 For Paul, His “near-Jewishness” is “very important” to him, “feels close to but not really a part of the Jewish community,” and “being Jewish” means “to identify yourself as Jewish and to be so identified by others.” The fact that he is not always recognized as such makes it hard for him to really feel included (e.g., not counted as the tenth man needed to make a minyan at his wife’s father’s shiva). Growing up as one of few Jews in a high Jewish density neighborhood and school Paul relates, “I felt awkward not being Jewish.” Due to Paul’s Jewish cultural immersion he earned “honorary Jew” status.
he later encouraged his G2 Jewish wife Janet to raise their son in “a Jewish home.” Deriving pleasure and a sense of familiarity from eating Jewish foods, singing the songs on “the big Jewish holidays,” and being well-versed in Jewish terminology inform Paul’s experience and impression that “being Jewish isn’t a series of religious precepts, it is a cultural thing.” For Paul, “Being Jewish can be a cultural identity with no religious significance.” Paul’s low level of TJRO “is not a spiritual experience” for him. Keeping certain home-based Jewish rituals is done without religious pressure or “pious pretensions.” Nevertheless, Paul expresses a strong emotive, cultural connection regarding his celebration of “big” Jewish customs within the home.

This thematic trend toward being open and proud about one’s Jewish heritage, particularly vocalizing the “fun aspects” of selective TJRO can be noted among those who did not experience a ritualized Jewish environment and religious instruction in their upbringing. Unlike 32-year-old G3 Tabitha Shwartz who associates Judaism with tedious, restriction and control, her friend G3 Julie Berkowitz grew up idealizing and romanticizing the Jewish rituals and cohesiveness that were missing in her childhood. Julie’s desire for her child to experience the “fun aspects of being Jewish like the traditions and getting together with family” is spawned by the unstable and de-religionized home life she experienced growing up. Her “fun” focus is also reinforced by her reading of Dershowitz’s 1997 text *The Vanishing Jew* which heralds seeking and promoting ‘what’s good about being Jewish’ to thwart perceived threats to Jewish continuity. G3 Mickey Feldberg (40s) who also was “brought up with no Jewish background” is grateful to his wife for exposing him to home-based TJRO like special Friday night dinners. Stuart states, “I want the

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28 As a child, Paul grew up in a high Jewish density area and was exposed to traditional Jewish rituals (e.g., Shabbat, Passover Seders, Sukkoth, Hanukah etc). Paul’s public school closed on major Jewish holidays like Yom Kippur because the majority of the school was Jewish. Being part of the Jewish in-group as a child was important to him, “Everyone around me was Jewish. That was the cultural norm I wasn’t quite a part of.” Growing up, Paul felt that “not really being Jewish” was an “uncomfortable” strain that was difficult to erase. It is interesting to observe that Paul was so accustomed to Jewish foods —“cholent, kugel, tsimmes, mandlbroyt, brisket, flanken, kishke, lox, etc”—that when his family moved briefly in his teens to a rural, non-Jewish area he took for granted that the shopkeepers would carry, let alone know of, mandlbroyt.
people who don’t practice at all like what I was to realize what they’re missing because it is fun.” It is important however to note that what people rate as the “fun” and “good” aspects of TJRO differ according to the norms and values of one’s Jewish reference group, as well as one’s Jewish socialization experiences.

Some secular-traditionalists who were immersed in a didactic ‘chosen’ Jewish environment in their formative years now also find enjoyment in the emerging neo-traditional secular ways Jews confer Jewish rituals with importance. 30-year-old G3 intermarried Joseph Lebowitz used to feel “trapped” and “resentful” of the “God-fearing” milieu in which he was raised, but now looks forward to “family celebrations even if they’re of a religious nature.” Joseph’s common-law union with an irreligious, non-Jewish Anglo-Canadian gave him the vehicle to redefine his TJRO. Joseph indicates that it is his intermarried context that produces greater personal commitment to his holiday-centered Jewish rituals. Rejecting the “guilt” mind set and “superstitious” strictures of Orthodoxy which permeated his Conservative-affiliated Jewish childhood home, Joseph wants to transfer to his two-year-old son an appreciation of the Jewish traditions, the foods and an intimate not suffocating family life which respects the right to choose. It is also important to him that his wife and two step-daughters feel included in the Lebowitz Jewish family customs like congregating every Friday at Joseph’s parents North York home for “Friday night dinner.” A contemporary, 32-year-old G3 Gordon Balinsky, indicates that his currently deflated orientation toward TJRO could be restored if his parents no longer privileged rule adherence to the detriment of the “fun” he sees is possible at certain Jewish friends’ homes.  

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29 The axis on doing or being observed doing in Judaism with minimal attention to variation in intentions and affect is reflected in the language Jewish people use to describe TJRO. When people define themselves as religious, their observance of at least a portion of the 613 Jewish regulations marks them to other Jews as a practicing Jew, or someone who practices the Jewish religion. Practice is used then in a religious sense to indicate a religious lifestyle.

30 Gordon complains that his Conservadox parents’ maintenance of the no driving on Jewish holidays proscription hampers his family’s ability to celebrate festive occasions with their extended kin.
52-year-old G3 remarried Bonnie Weisman who first married as she "was supposed to" a Jewish doctor, lived, traveled and sent her three kids to the "right" places, suggests being "never terribly religious at any point" and going "to synagogue because I had to, not because I liked to." Not until Bonnie started participating in the workforce did she realize that "there's a whole other world out there outside the ghetto" in which she could find meaning. Breaking from "the fold" by marrying out of the group did not however rupture Bonnie's friendship network nor did celebration of major Jewish holidays and High Holiday synagogue attendance cease. Instead, marrying Bill facilitated the transformation in Bonnie's internal symbolism and feelings about ritual practice, namely a release from doing things out of guilt and obligation to accentuating the festivity, fun, and food aspects of inherited cultural traditions. Bill is "great with the Jewish holidays, he'll make gefilte fish and chicken soup."

50-year-old, G3 Hilda Weinrib is another example of this trend toward emphasizing the personal significance of TJRO. Hilda expresses her ritual involvement largely through her enthusiastic desire to preserve traditional Jewish culinary practices, "are you kidding? I would never buy any of that prepackaged gefilte fish in a jar stuff, its horrible, besides I guess now that I don't go to synagogue cooking Jewish foods on the holidays has become really important to me. Makes me think of the past, good things about the past, food was important in my family. Sure they're not the healthiest foods in the world, lots of fat in there you know, but for a few times a year I think its what its all about, means a lot to me it really does." When I mention the tendency by some to cast her ‘food, song and dance' approach to ritual involvement as superficial, Hilda defends her position,

Yes I've heard that expression used, meantime its these same people that purchase their $1000 high holiday tickets have all their holiday meals catered and haven't put themselves out one bit. So I don't go to synagogue anymore, how do they know how I feel about the

31 New Age Jewish vegetarian 40-year-old G2½ unmarried Eitan Rosenberg views most of his Jewish contemporaries as "gustatory Jews" or alternatively as "bagel and lox Jews."
holidays. Truth is I care a lot. If you ask me I think I care more, its not so easy making homemade kishka or kreplach you know.

Interracial Jewish accountants in their late 20s, Harold Roberts and Sam Berkowitz, both descendents of at least two generations of American Jews, spoke fondly of an enduring family _matzah brie_ (matzah French toast) ritual. Harold remarks, "My father makes really good _matzah brie_. My dad likes to make it. I am not much of a breakfast person but it is a nice thing to share with my father, fond memories of family." 78-year-old intermarried G2 Paul Fischer finds personal comfort in the distinctive smells and tastes of Jewish cooking that emanate the household during meal-based Jewish rituals. He explains, "growing up you could smell _shabes_ before you got into the house, the place was spotlessly clean and the chicken soup was on the stove, the candles were always lit Friday night, we knew when _shabes_ was, and all the holidays and festivals." Like the North American Jews Joselit's (1994: 171) describes, these participants view Jewish food consumption as "an increasingly important way to recapture and revivify a sense of connection." Despite the nostalgic symbolism and multiculturalist appeal of the "eating way too much food" focus at Jewish ritualistic meals, there are those for whom the festive 'food, song and dance' priority is something they care little about and endure out of passive compliance. 33-year-old G2 Dave Segal sees Passover as "a week of that awful _matzah_," 31-year-old G3 Todd Plaut "detest[s] the taste and texture of _gefilte fish_," and health-oriented 28-year-old G2 Lana Katz "dread[s] holiday gatherings because there is always way too much of that fatty Jewish food."

Further, there are those persons who feel emotionally disconnected from this fun-oriented approach to particular TJRO not finding the home-based Jewish holiday rituals fun, seeing them as both a chore and bore and are anxious to merely "get through them" (31-year-old musician G3 Lorne Brown). From 27-year-old G3 Erica Rosenthal's perspective, "Shabat" meals at the Rosenthal suburban home have become an ordeal, typically eating as late as 9:30pm by the time
her father, Kurt has closed up shop, Erica has taught her last aerobics class and other material responsibilities are met. While externally the Rosenthal Friday night tradition appears ‘functionally’ observant with “candles, kiddush, motsi, challah and usually someone has made soup, roast of some sort, potatoes and vegetables,” these occasions are strained by intra-family tensions. Erica “always hated Shabat dinners” during her childhood because of intrafamily bickering, specifically habitual fighting with her sister. She remembers her mother trying so hard to make these times “so special” especially during the Rosenthal family’s job-related move to an Ontario community with only 35 Jewish families. However, for Erica Friday nights at her parental home were “far from fun, everyone ended up just yelling and screaming at each other by the end of the night that it just wasn’t enjoyable, wasn’t special.”

G3\(^{1/2}\) Alan Newman criticizes the somber character typifying his experience of Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year, “What amazes me is in most cultures New Years is a time to celebrate, they go out and have a good time. The Christian New Year they party, but we eat apples and honey, oh boy. The Chinese New Year they have parades. What do we do we sit around and get solemn and pray. Jews don’t know how to party. Actually Purim is supposed to be a party time but who actually celebrates Purim.” Alan reveals a jaded indifferent attitude toward his Jewish ritual adherence, placing greater value on fitting in materially within the secular Jewish social scene.\(^{32}\)

ii. Family Focus

Secular-traditionalists for whom the expression of TJRO functions little as a religious mechanism of this variety participate in TJRO for its capacity to promote Jewish family bonding.

\(^{32}\) Alan keeps up-to-date on the Jewish social scene, preferring Lifestyles magazine to the Canadian Jewish News. He likes to see if anyone he knows got married (advertisements for Jaguars, Tifffanys, etc), and check out the pictures of all the socialites in the Jewish community (“They usually out somebody nobody knew was Jewish”).
Irrespective of the realities of emotionally distant or conflictual family relations, the socially invented and perpetuated "gilded image" of the traditional Jewish family "as a warm, loving refuge from hostile external forces" (Davidman and Tenenbaum 1994: 158) endures. Internalization of this image may make family-oriented traditional Jewish rituals stressful, painful and/or emotionally stirring and enjoyable. Contrary to the presumed ease of a non-observant life (Booker 1991), the absence of clarity from explicitly circumscribed roles means the individual has to struggle to find their own "comfort zone" of Jewish expression that may or may not be subject to derision. In this era, it seems that promoting Jewish family cohesiveness using tactics of guilt, coercion and psychological inducements are less effective or destructive to the continuation of TJRO than building a family foundation which supports a balance between heritage and individuality. While some pessimists may challenge a so-called "abbreviated," "abridged," or "kitchen Judaism," the popularity of deriving family significance from partaking in select Jewish rituals can not be underestimated.

Actively secular-traditional, the following research participants favor prioritizing family in their approach to TJRO:

I have never really based my identity on religion, it has really been more on tradition, the sense of family, closeness and support and that's how I identify being Jewish (31-year-old G3\(^{1/2}\) Nora Neinstein).

Holidays are just an excuse to get together with family (19-year-old G3\(^{1/2}\) Gerry Pinsker).

I’m not religious really at all. I did not go to the Synagogue for the High Holidays, I did not fast on Yom Kippur. I did however host a breaking of the fast dinner in my home for my family. To me religion is, or my Jewish identity is, the tradition and the family togetherness of the holidays and that’s what’s important to me (28-year-old G4 Suzy Weisman).

At least half of the sample routinely gather on Fridays with their families, plus or minus extended kin and significant others, but differ in their styles and motives for celebrating this traditional Jewish ritual. For some, the Sabbath prayers are a mere routinized formality. For others, the religious features signify a cultural rather than religious practice like a matter of
“sitting at the dining room table as opposed to the kitchen table” and eating traditional Jewish food-fare like brisket, krepach and chicken soup on “the good china” (G3½ Nora Neinstein, single mother). Others still disregard entirely religious or traditional Jewish food content finding meaning primarily in the family gathering and/or ethnic socialization function of the ritual. Among the secular-traditionalists who continue to enjoy special Friday night meals preserving the religious trimmings of the meal is described, even emphatically so, as unimportant or of low concern. Indeed, the shift in priority away from inscribing a mystical religious spirit to the Sabbath to satisfying pragmatic goals and personal interests is manifested in a transformation in the how and why. For example, “going out as a family for dinner to give my mother a break from cooking” is the way 20-year-old G3, child of intermarriage, Fiona Zukerman's family marks Friday as distinct from the rest of the week. Fiona is no less emotionally attached to this family tradition as those Jews who are personally invested in foregoing physical activity and commercial exchanges from sundown on Friday to nightfall on Saturday.

Many secular-traditionalists that are actively attached to “Friday night dinners” specifically downplay the religious basis of these gatherings. For instance, non-religious 28-year-old G3 Simon Shwartz, goes every Friday night to his parents' home in the North end of the city but assured me that it serves no religious function whatsoever. Although Simon refuses to label this family tradition as "shabat dinner" or the Sabbath meal, perceiving any religious obligation in a pejorative light, he does place emphasis on the kin-keeping role gathering together on Fridays serves. Simon clarifies passionately my inquiry of his TJRO.

That's not Shabat dinner for any of us. That just happens to be the night that we see each other. We don't even have wine anymore. There's not a prayer said at our table. It is sit down eat talk leave. There is absolutely no religious presence in our meals in any shape or form. Even our Passover dinners and Rosh Hashana dinners have minimal religious content. There is a lack of religious meaning. They've become familial gatherings, storytelling occasions and a day we happen to hang out. I don't go for religious reasons. I go because my family is important to me. If they changed it to Sunday nights, that would be fine. I'd be there every Sunday night. It just has been that way forever.
Simon is forthright about his animosity for organized religion and the irrelevance God-centered thinking and religious observance play in his life. Yet, he is very much aware of his Jewish ethnic preference and the shared “pride” and peki (socio-emotional baggage) of growing up in a Toronto Jewish family.

I have an aversion to the idea of religion in every way shape or form, so that’s a big part of my detachment from Judaism, but as a culture, yes it’s important to me. Religion and culture are totally separate entities, entirely opposite ends of the world as far as I am concerned. [...] As I grew older and was able to intellectualize what exactly religion meant to me and how I saw it in reference to my life and how I wanted to live it, I became less and less interested to the point where I have absolutely no religious beliefs whatsoever. And I think that has deteriorated. It’s just an intellectual choice. Not something I care to value in any way shape or form in my day-to-day. Between the 4 of us [siblings] there is very little hope and it is somewhat sad I guess of carrying on any kind of high level of Jewish identity. Religious identity is almost a done deal. There is still a chance that some of the cultural identity will be passed forth.33

Despite Simon’s disparaging view of institutionalized Judaism wrought he suggests from negative religious socialization experiences, he retains select Jewish holiday celebrations and intends when he has kids to pass on to them only “the fun stuff.” After all, these are times, regardless of if his parents choose to ascribe religious content to the meals, about seeing family, keeping meaningful rituals, eating food and bantering. He adds that if his children show their own independent interest in their religious heritage he will support their choices.

Tabitha Shwartz, Simon’s 32-year-old “proclaimed atheist” endogamously married sister, mother34 of a two-year-old daughter, also reacted in opposition to involuntary ritual participation.

Just like I do not expect my daughter to only do what I do, I will not change for her. I saw my parents kosherize their kitchen when my sister dated an Orthodox Jewish boy and flirted with an Orthodox lifestyle and it got to the point when she wouldn’t eat my mother’s non-Kosher bought meat and her boyfriend did not come round for meals. My daughter can freely choose, if she so desires, an Orthodox way of life, but she also must respect my right to choose not to.

33 Unfortunately, there are many Jews, particularly those who were embedded in a religious communal-oriented household during their formative years, who feel ritual outsiders because they have internalized the monolithic definition of “who is an authentic Jew,” specifically based on the extent of religious rules performed.
34 Tabitha disassociates herself fervently from the cultural notion of “a Jewish mother who is overprotective...I do have friends that are like that though.”
This importance of independent-thinking and spiritual flexibility is a departure from the G2 Shwartz parents' Jewish socialization strategies and child-rearing philosophies. Tabitha wants her daughter to be aware of her Jewish identity but then be free to choose its expression.

My mother-in-law wanted her granddaughter to wear a *chai* and we refused because we are atheists and when she is old enough to make that decision for herself she is more than welcome to wear what she wants to wear.

The familial and personal foci assigned to TJRO by secular-traditionalists however can also be indifferently, passively and reluctantly expressed. 30-year-old G3\(^{1/2}\) Todd Plaut left his secular parental Jewish suburban home for downtown living and confesses to being turned off by the “dreaded” familial obligations of wearing a social face to extended Jewish family gatherings those select times a year. Todd comments on the superficiality and pretense of cohesiveness and traditionalism on these occasions: “there are things you can and can’t say, there is a lot of social dishonesty, people bragging about their children’s achievements and remaining silent about their pains and grievances.” While he admits feeling “no connection to the rituals or [his] cousins,” he nonetheless sees the Jewish New Year and Passover rituals as “the only times of the year when I actually do get to see my extended family.”\(^{35}\) Remarried (endogamous) 56-year-old G3 Rona Wise reported conflicted feelings when it came to Jewish communal involvement because:

> My father was very active in the Jewish community and was respected and thought of, but he was a lousy father. He gave everything he had to the community. There was nothing left for his children.

### iii. Social Focus

Some secular-traditionalists prioritize socializing with coethnics in their TJRO, de-emphasizing the spiritual intensity and in many cases even the literal significance of the ritual activities performed. To be sure, social ‘chit chat’ can be excessive and inappropriately placed, for instance

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\(^{35}\) Aspiring entertainment lawyer 20-year-old unmarried daughter of intermarriage Fiona Zukerman also spoke candidly about the extended family impression management strategies that detract from her Jewish holiday engagement, notably strained by her father's first marriage circumstances (4 boys from a previous union) and additionally burdened by her parents separation. Fiona introduces a family dynamic, "Everywhere there is this family thing, don't talk to this person and that person."
during silent prayers and such, however it is important not to wholly discount the community-building value of this ‘ritual social networking.’ Additionally, while many feel alienated from the materialistic orientation that often accompanies twice a year High Holiday synagogue attendance, in particular what is often referred to as its “see and be seen” mentality, there are those who readily accept and enjoy the reality of the “fashion parade,” “dressing up” appropriately and happily “going to see friends.”

a. 'Ritual social networking'

28-year-old intermarried G2 Harold Roberts comes from a long line of active Reform templegoers. He professes belonging to the same temple “since [he] was a little kid” and identifies himself as “one of those people who attend High Holidays.” Harold takes part in what he sees primarily as an “event to see all the old friends that you haven’t seen in a while.” 53-year-old artist G21/2 Bugsy Plaut, regular Conservative synagogue attendee relays that it is not religious faith which keeps him going to synagogue weekly but “it is the whole atmosphere of kibbitzing (socializing) and shmoozing” that stimulates his ritual involvement and gives him a strong sense of connection to the Jewish people. Primary school teacher, 30-year-old unmarried G3 Marsha Fein insists that her central interest in “attending synagogue at all” is to improve her in-group dating, if not marital, odds. 78-year-old retired Canadian Airforce officer G2 Paul Fischer and his wife Patricia who initially converted to Judaism for the sake of “family unity” find personal satisfaction in their social titles as “the bubbie and zeydi” (grandmother and grandpa) of their

36 The Reform denomination calls its sites of worship ‘temple’.
37 Harold explained further, “I consider myself a Jew. Therefore, I am a Jew. That’s my identity. So, it is very internal, the same way when you get into the religious side of it. I consider the religious also internal as well, so I look on it more as for myself. And to show my identity I do not have to go out of my way to actually physically show people or tell people it’s a lot of internal. So, as long as I am OK with it, that’s all that really matters and I enjoy what I do and I enjoy it, that’s my identity. So, it’s a private way. So, even something like praying you don’t have to go to synagogue to do this. This is different from my grandpa used to go to temple every week. My grandmother never went and she wasn’t much into high holidays. With my parents, again it seems to be more on the male side; my dad goes to temple a lot for High Holidays. When my dad’s parents passed away, he went regularly for a while whereas my mum if she had it her way she wouldn’t go as much as possible.”
predominantly young families intimate Reform congregation. For Paul, his intensified TJRO (e.g., attending synagogue currently weekly) has not erased his feeling that “the purpose of religion should not be to divide and exclude nor should it be dictated by the sages of the Middle Ages, it has to adapt and modify with the times.” Finding a kin-like connection to, social standing and recognition in his congregation has instead strengthened his feeling of social importance and passion in doing certain TJRO.

The idea that the synagogue can rightly serve as a place to network socially, and enjoy oneself in general, is not widely accepted. The prevailing view remains that it is first and foremost a site of religious devotion, prayer and congregational service. In practice, many non-Orthodox people who usually only attend synagogue on the High Holidays and do not approach their TJRO in a devotional manner, feel unsure and self-conscious about their indifference and disregard for the religious meaning of the services and their substitutional interest in developing and maintaining social ties. Discouraged from defining synagogue participation as a social activity, many merely go to synagogue out of “guilt,” becoming resigned disenchanted involuntary attendees. Others seek viable forms of social Jewishness elsewhere in Jewish book clubs, card nights, golf clubs, discussion groups and the like.

78-year-old G2 Karla Weisman, retired from the family business, who moves in a moneyed Jewish golf and country club-going social circle relinquished her synagogue participation entirely in her middle years because the social expectations to do so were no longer so compelling. Put off

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38 French Canadian “Jew by Choice” (formerly strict Catholic) Patricia Fischer passes easily as a Jew among their Jewish peers, “I feel now that I never had another religious life. I’m all for intermarriage because the Jews are gaining a person who becomes even more Jewish than a person who is born Jewish, and I think they’re a great asset. Jewish people just accept me, they’re always surprised that I converted.” Her G2 husband adds, “No one suspected my wife was anything other than Jewish. I mean all our friends and many acquaintances were and are Jewish.”

39 Paul who admits he has “an ego that is satisfied by recognition” has a home office that boasts an extensive display of plaques, trophies, awards, all marking his achievements in several areas (entrepreneurial, leadership, fundraising, oratorical, airforce, and bowling).
by the religious strictness and moral hypocrisy of her traditional Orthodox East European mother Karla and her G2 husband became visible in a communal and philanthropic capacity at their large Conservative synagogue because “this was the thing to do socially.” Serving on synagogue committees and being active in fundraising initiatives did not translate for Karla as religious commitment but did fulfill for her a sense of cultural and social commonality with her Jewish sorority peers. Karla does not recognize “the point” to synagogue attendance in the absence of religious dedication, as well as the time and intrinsic gain of unpaid socially expected volunteering synagogue roles. Having internalized the unwritten sanction against synagogue going for openly socializing purposes, Karla expresses her Jewishness primarily through her exclusive association with Jewish golf club members.

I used to fast on Yom Kippur up until not that long ago. I used to go to synagogue on the High Holidays all the time, even on some of the other days. I was very active, but once we got involved, once I got involved in the business, I didn’t go to the others but I still went on occasion to the High Holiday services. The last time we went to synagogue was, I guess my daughter was still married to Isaac, so they went on a holiday and we had the kids with us...it was over Rosh Hashanah and we took them to X [a large wealthy mid-town synagogue]. And we ended up because we had the kids with us and we didn’t get there as early as usual, and we ended up in the dining room portion where everybody was standing around gossiping, and you were not in the synagogue. You couldn’t see the Rabbi. You could hear him over the loud speaker but what was the point. We never went back. That was so ridiculous. I think we went back once after that and it was equally as bad and we would never go again.

20-year-old university student Fiona Zukerman, converted as a baby to Judaism because of the non-recognition of Jewish patrilineality in the Conservative movement in which her 71-year-old G2 father remains affiliated feels antipathy about joining her father for high priced not highly valued High Holiday synagogue attendance. Fiona tells me, “I go to synagogue on the High Holidays but even then I am like Dad do I really have to go. But for him it is so important. He never yells at me that you have to go. But I know that it is important to him that I observe the holidays.” Admittedly having “no clue” about “what each specific holiday is and...often confused about the order,” Fiona goes to synagogue “out of guilt” and “not because I associate some kind
of a meaning to it.” Currently, she is “going through the motions” at synagogue and bemoans the lack of support for what does appeal to her, namely the social significance of such gatherings.

It’s not social anymore because when we were younger all us girls would run out and meet each other. We were never seen in the _shul_ (Yiddish for synagogue) but lately my father wants me to sit there and so I sit there. The Rabbis there give their speeches and it goes in one ear and out the other. I am always on the verge of sleeping there and so what ever they say is out.\(^4^0\)

32-year-old G\(^3\)\(^1/2\) Alan Newman who describes himself as “not a very religious person, border line atheist” explains to me why “for the first time in my whole life this past year I didn’t go to _shul_ either for Rosh Hashana or Yom Kippur.” Although Alan likes to keep up with the social scene and is affected by the pressures to appear materially successful and be seen doing the “right” thing, he responds:

> I didn’t want to pay the 300 bucks for the ticket to go and my parents said screw it you don’t really believe it anyway why bother, but I did stay home from school and I fasted actually. I did my own thing but I didn’t pray. I fasted just to show myself I could do it. I guess in the back of my mind there is a little bit of guilt. I’ll do this one thing and I’ll feel better the rest of the year.

Alan’s account for his recent change in TJRO reveals at once remnant superstition, the costs of being demonstratively ‘Jewish’ and the masked tensions and fragility in attachment when partaking in behaviors involuntarily in this case out of guilt. His statement also implies that he is not personally invested or getting something out of attending High Holiday synagogue services sufficient to sustain this mode of Jewish identity retention. He is not emotionally attached enough to make him find a more affordable high holiday ticket or make the effort to seek an

\(^{40}\) G\(^1/2\) Valerie Valdez (mid 50s) who came from South Africa to Toronto as a young teen relates to Fiona’s experience of Jewish religious institutional life: “When we were younger we went to Orthodox synagogue on high holidays and I’d sit with my girlfriends. We’d say we have to go for a drink of water. We’d talk our way through the service because we didn’t understand a single word even though we all went to Hebrew school, I didn’t learn it.” Vivien holds an antipathy for the institutionalized religious rationales for engaging in TJRO, finding a personalized secular style orientation with her Catholic born Mexican-Canadian husband preferable, “We don’t go in the religious circles. That doesn’t appeal to us and not by a long shot do I want to be told you know the rules. I don’t understand them and I don’t believe in them. We don’t keep kosher and I don’t pretend to whereas some people put up a pretense. They don’t do it, they keep a kosher home, but they eat the stuff out. We don’t have a _mezuzah_; that’s too much of a religious thing. But we feel culturally Jewish.”
alternative setting where he might be able to find personal meaning in his approach to TJRO.

When I asked Alan 'was it strange for you not going to the synagogue for the first time on the High Holidays?' he responded,

No, not really. I don’t see it as a tradition thing. I felt a little bit of guilt but I felt if I fast here, what the heck it’s no different really, I don’t pray when I’m in shul there anyway. I just sit there and act bored. To me it’s just a total fashion show. On the High Holidays, you’re not supposed to do anything except pray. You’re supposed to be in shul the entire time; that’s what the really Orthodox do.\(^{41}\)

Such reveals that there really is only an illusory divide between those who are ‘doing’ passively and those who do not ‘do’ for those same reasons and feelings. The distinction also between passive secular-traditionalism and outsiderism is a matter of emotional intensity. That is, for outsiders the expressed feelings of alienation, disengagement, dislike, aloofness and involuntary acting are vociferously and strongly pronounced. They tend to openly mock and belittle the relevance of TJRO they are compelled to maintain. As the needs and wants of the silent colluding contingents of the Jewish mainstream and the marginal members are ignored, improving the quality not just the quantity of Jewish commitment will be impeded.

b. ‘Ethclass’ distinctions

Another socially oriented focus shaping some people’s TJRO is their ‘ethclass’ loyalties and goals.

For example, 31-year-old G3 Todd Plaut talks frankly about his experience of TJRO as serving more as a social status signifier than an act of religious conviction.\(^{42}\)

Showing how materially successful you are seems to be all-important in the whole bar mitzvah ceremony. The well-to-do, or those who want to prove their material

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\(^{41}\) 56-year-old G2 Kurt Rosenthal shares with me his interpretation of the synagogue landscape, “I do not like the Orthodox and Conservative style of long, drawn out, monotonous, repetitious services, it’s not me. I like this Reform shul we now go to on High Holidays because there is no boring repetition, the liturgy is more straightforward. I prefer it to the Conservadox experience I had for 25 years. If it weren’t such a young congregation, I’d feel even more home. It is more comfortable than the fashion parade shuls [...] There it was all one upmanship. If the women didn’t wear their mink coats, there’s something wrong here.” At the Reform temple he attends now in the suburbs there is a reaction against this pressure to dress up.

\(^{42}\) Socialist-inspired interviewee 78-year-old G1\(^{12}\) Anne Baker gets animated about ethclass divisions, “I think unfortunately they judge people by the dollars they have in their pockets and I object to that strongly. Mostly the average Jewish Canadian person that I have met they will only mix with people that have an equal financial standing, which I think, is terrible. It’s wrong because they give their children the wrong value.”
achievements, do so by having an upscale grandiose dinner event. This sets them apart from those people who have just a luncheon following the service. There is this constant pressure among Jews it appears to up-stand one another, to show each other that their family is doing well. Bar and bat mitzvahs are becoming increasingly similar to the materialist displays at weddings. It is not so much about the kid reading the Torah portion which is the center of concern but whether they do the 'right' thing, that the kid doesn’t embarrass the parents and performs well, that there is copious food and there is a big show.

Thrice married, Greg Rand, part of a Jewish peer group that “goes to Las Vegas a lot,” relates to class-based ethnic attachments. For Greg, his social circles, affinity for gambling, business ventures and schemes, in-group competitiveness, shape his style of TJRO. His photo albums boast pictures of his extravagant bar mitzvah in the early 60s, an era of postwar prosperity, at the Royal York hotel “when they did the huge bar mitzvahs with hundreds of people.” 20-year-old daughter of a mixed marriage, Maya Rand, who is well attuned to in-group saving face strategies, informs, “My dad and his brother have this competition of who would have the best this, who would have the kids first and who would do this first, you know one-upmanship.” Relentless, intermarried 78-year-old G2 Canadian Jewish Veteran Paul Fischer relates well to this particular in-group style. “Sometimes you become an overachiever in the sense that you want to prove yourself to your contemporaries.”

While ethnicity is not a mere epiphenomenon of materialist standing, socioeconomic status attainment does seem to have an interactional relationship with Jewishness. It seems that money and social status influences not only the nature of one’s Jewish social “orbit” but also informs the type and range of Jewish resources one can access. Money can purchase entry into expensive parochial schooling, shape philanthropic activity and volunteering contributions, affect one’s

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43 Greg is currently in an endogamous union with a woman who was adopted by Jewish parents. His first marriage was with a Jewish woman, a relationship that lasted a year. His second marriage was with a non-Jew and lasted seven years. An intergenerational pattern among the Rand men is serial monogamy (his father married four times and his twin brother also four times).
44 Maya’s mother is late generation French Catholic Canadian; her ancestors stem to the original French settlers in New Brunswick.
friendship network and lifestyle choices. As 55-year-old England born Jew Jack Gold who is painfully attuned to within group class distinctions shares, “If people perceive that you are in a lower economic stratum they will be exclusionary as they feel they have more in common with people in their own economic stratum.” Moreover, in 32-year-old G3 Gordon Balinsky’s exposition of an ethclass linguistic referent, “shooters,” used to describe “persons who consider themselves big shots,” he illuminates also the unintended side-effects of cheque-book Judaism, as well as the class based character of ritual expression. Further still, 30-year-old G3\(^{12}\) Martin Feld is quick to demystify his external ritual signs like regular multigenerational Friday night ritual adherence, major Jewish Holiday maintenance, erratic to nonexistent synagogue appearances, religious instruction and bar mitzvah rite of passage by illuminating his social and materialist style of observance. In terms of Martin’s bar mitzvah experience he clarifies,

I mean its kind of hypocritical for me to have my bar mitzvah and not be religious. I guess hypocritical is not really the word, but even when I was having my bar mitzvah, I didn’t really believe in it. I knew I was going to get a lot of goodies. So, I guess that was what was important, stereo and money.

B. Active and Passive, Spiritual-traditionalism

While the modes of ritual involvement ethnic Jews are choosing to express their Jewishness are becoming increasingly multifarious, polarization between those who understand their TJRO from an abstract,\(^45\) transcendent perspective and those who interpret it with down-to-earth, temporal, non-mystical if not anti-religious glasses is also evident. I have already exposed the ‘hidden’ strengths and weaknesses in the quality of ritual involvement experienced by the latter namely those I call secular-traditionalists. In this section, I consider the tensions, contradictions, pushes and pulls, sources of active and passive emotional attachment expressed by the former. 

*Spiritual-Traditionalists* are those who imbue their TJRO with Congregational-Communal,

\(^{45}\) Abstract is used in this dissertation to describe bases for TJRO that are divorced from the Self. In this case, Spiritual-traditionalists are categorized by their motivation by progressively abstract agents to engage in TJRO. Persons are classified as such based upon doing TJRO “for the good of the group” (e.g., congregation), the Jewish people both past and present that they may never have met, and the most transcendent or ephemeral being God.
Ancestral-Historical and Universal-Mystical significance, painting their ritual involvement as paramount and primary to their self-definition as a Jew and representative of their identification with a religious community. Said differently, spiritual-traditionists see TJRO as a means to revere communal worship, express congregational loyalty, communicate their perceived connection to global Jewry, sustain a link to a romanticized past, pay homage to a “shared history” of persecution and survival of “a Jewish way of life”, the universe and God.

i. Congregational-communal focus
The cases discussed here examine the approach to doing TJRO primarily as a means by which one affirms their commitment to the continuation of one’s congregation or wider community. Additionally, sources of passivity emergent in such synagogue/communal-directed orientations to ritual involvement are considered. For some persons, belonging formally to a Jewish community through synagogue membership and commitment to the happenings of a particular congregation is the *sine qua non* of their approach to TJRO. Participating in synagogue youth groups and recipients of religious schooling, these persons were typically raised as regular synagogue attendees whose parents were often instrumental in the construction of their synagogue community.

87-year-old widowed G2 Max Klein is a Toronto Jew who applies a congregational-communal focus to his TJRO. Max is content in his attachment to the Jewish belief system and synagogue--

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46 It is important to note at this juncture that participation or lack thereof in the organizational facets of being Jewish is in part informed by whether individuals see themselves or are seen by others as “joiner” or “loner” types. While 53-year-old G2 Marianne Rosenthal ties her minimal synagogue involvement partially to her being “never really big on membership in organizations,” G3 intermarried (divorced) Greg Wise (50s) is the family “joiner.” Greg is committed to the Reform synagogue he belongs to in a mid-sized Ontario city where Jewish intermarriages make up most of its members and he blows the *shofar* annually on the High Holidays. 55-year-old G1 2 London (UK) born Jack Gold elaborates, “Sheila and I are not joiners and so that is why we could not really push the kids to join Jewish youth groups. I’m not the most sociable person. You can’t fit a square penny in a round hole. I wouldn’t make a good soldier. Just because someone gives you an order doesn’t mean to say that it’s necessarily right. So I wouldn’t necessarily do it.”
centered "way of life" in which he was raised. He is dedicated to attending daily early morning services at a popular large Conservative synagogue in a well-established mid-town Jewish area where he lives, places importance on keeping Jewish dietary regulations and feels strongly about the intergenerational continuity of Jewish customs and beliefs. Max's father was "instrumental to the development" of the Beverley Street shul and in his formative years Max and his father lived nearby and attended regularly, an idea and practice that is still highly valued and firmly entrenched.

Max conveyed to me his reverence of certain mitzvot (deeds or biblical rules) like the normative expectation of "keeping kashrut [kosher]" which is likewise upheld by many of his fellow "Old World" congregants. Not only does Max derive spiritual satisfaction from his daily prayers and communion with his 'minyan' buddies and "nachas (personal pride)" from his two sons' active synagogue involvement, he also sees his continuation of TJRO as a "natural" responsibility inherent in being a loyal member of a Jewish community. Accordingly, he demonstrates a personal interest in the running of his synagogue and as a dedicated attendee not only needs to relate to, but also feels entitled to provide input about the internal organization of the institution:

We in the Conservative synagogue are introducing more lengthy services and for the first time in many years, although we had it on one occasion, maybe 10 or 15 years ago where we had boocherman... Our new rabbi, who has been with us only about three years started the idea and got the board to agree with it. And for the first time this past Pesach [Passover] on Saturday and Sunday we had boocherman where the priests come up and in the Musaf service, the additional service for holidays, they pronounce the words that the almighty sends though them to bless the congregation. There are about 30 people who came up in front of our bima [platform], altar, and they said the blessings that the almighty wants to bless the children through them, through these priests. So, I thought that was a wonderful occasion. I was very happy to see that we were having that. But, there are certain parts of the service which are a little short, like...Well, we say out loud the first three or four blessings and then we say another part quietly, we say it alone. But I would like to see it repeated by the chazzan, the person who leads the congregation in prayer and song, and the whole thing only takes about five minutes longer, and there's no one who will object to another five minutes being in the synagogue. And I have great hopes that we will see that.
It is not only ethnic Jews in their 80s who are keeping synagogues afloat or spirited, but as I will uncover later in this chapter, revitalization or the innovative creation of new congregations is increasingly inspired by young Jewish families in their 30s and 40s seeking spiritual “meaning.”

Taking on such roles as singing in the choir, leading services, serving on committees, organizing fundraising initiatives, often informs a Congregational–communal focus in carrying out TJRO. Conversionary married Betty Warner (50s) expresses this collectivistic orientation: “I’m comfortable in the Jewish community. I was always comfortable moving into a new ethnic, racial or religious community. I was always comfortable with the idea of a small close-knit community. Maybe from my mother’s family background which is Irish, it’s tribal and it’s a sense of belonging to a people with a culture and a background and the history.” What motivated her to Orthodoxify her Jewish commitment was finding “a havurah”\(^{48}\) [kin-like Jewish support network] of young Jewish families who started initially holding services in somebody’s basement, then a trailer.\(^{49}\) Expecting their first child, the Warners “saw a notice saying people wanted to start a new synagogue in that area and we called and we met people who have been our friends ever since, over 25 years.” Betty attributes great importance to having found a supportive havurah that facilitated her Jewish identity and sense of being part of the community. Although Betty is communally focussed, she is against denying differences between someone who is born Jewish and someone who converts. For her, “erasing differences makes it more difficult for the convert to be treated as if their life had started the day they converted, that they didn’t have a life before,

\(^{47}\) A minyan is a quorum of ten adult Jews needed for the conduct of public religious worship.

\(^{48}\) Contemporary havurot have their roots in the counter-cultural late 1960s where young Jews, dissatisfied with what they viewed as the sterility of the Conservative and Reform congregations in which they were raised, created their own participatory and intimate spiritual support groups. See Weissler (1986) for a rich exploration of the meanings and functions of one such self-governing group. She focuses in particular on the role of the havurah in the enculturation of the next generation, as well as the relationship between these kin-like agents and ‘real kin’ in this process.

\(^{49}\) The Warners 28-year-old G2/2 daughter, Dorothy, found it exciting as a kid to have a big yellow trailer on their lot where the havurah of pioneering families gathered to daven (pray) with no official cantor, everyone taking turns leading the service (“Everybody knew everyone”).
that it's not continuity and that we grew up in a different world among people we still love.” She further illustrated her point with reference to different questions her offspring posed growing up: “Why did you change mummy? Grandma, do you mind not being Jewish? Why do grandma and grandpa have Christmas? What's Christmas?” In effect, she feels that to deny the difference confronted by converts is to deny reality:

The Christmas problem is a very real one, and it was exacerbated for me because my mother died just before Christmas and Christmas for me is still difficult. Over the years I've learned to live with it, but at that time of the year I don’t do well, I never will, it’s just part of my experience. It was hard because I wanted to be with my father more than anything. It was hard for my husband too because he’s got a whole set of cultural norms, you don’t stick presents under a Christmas tree. So, to say that there is no difference and that the non-Jewish grandparents are not going to stick out like sore thumbs at the bris, you are denying the reality of the situation. And I think Jewish identity for the children in conversionary marriage develops with different constraints and parameters than for children of all Jewish by birth marriage no matter how involved that parent may be willing to see their child raised as Jews. Bob Rae as a classic example.

23-year-old G3 1/2 Aaron Gold, recently appointed Cantor for a Conservative synagogue is to quote his mother, 54-year-old G3 Sheila Gold, “in his element in the Jewish community” and is attracted to his new role promoting the maintenance of TJRO. Interestingly, Aaron who “always loved synagogue life from the time he was small” is more at home with religious Jewishness than he is with cultural Jewishness, having experienced social alienation due to material and status differences among his Jewish peers. From an early age Aaron was a keen volunteer in leading Friday night services, specifically showing interest in being a Cantor, as his father had done, at his Conservative-affiliated parochial school which he attended as long as his parents could scrape by the costs to send him. Although he grew up exposed to atheist irreligious maternal grandparents and Orthodox Jewish paternal grandparents, Aaron expresses spiritual satisfaction with the “Conservadox” negotiated identity of his parents. More importantly, attracted to “the

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50 The Warners’ daughter reveals that unlike her Jewish peers at parochial school she also got to share in a despiritualized Christmas with her maternal non-Jewish grandparents: “It was really about a time when family could come together. When my grandfather died of course we no longer did the Christmas thing.”

51 Those who identify as Conservadox do so to emphasize that although their affinities lie with the Conservative movement they uphold certain religious rulings like those surrounding the Sabbath and dietary customs that put them closer to the lifestyle advocated by Orthodox Judaism.
atmosphere of the synagogue” and singing in “a religious liturgical sense” Aaron happily revolves his orientation to TJRO around synagogue life and is attentive to synagogue politics.⁵²

While Aaron is communally-oriented in terms of his ritual involvement, “loves synagogue with a passion,” his 19-year-old brother, Josh Gold currently enrolled in a Journalism program at Ryerson has been known to say conversely “I hate synagogue with a passion.” In his youth Josh invented creative disappearing acts, beside his mother one minute, then gone the next, “had crawled under everybody's feet to get out, always hated it.” Josh attends synagogue reluctantly, at best to appease his parents, yet still offers bar mitzvah tutoring sessions. Present in body, but not sentiment he finds religious life in its current form unappealing to young persons and feels that his presently apathetic (i.e., passive) approach to TJRO could be revitalized if synagogues paid more attention to what matters to their youth.

Internal synagogue politics seem to be a potentially inevitable downside to prioritizing Congregational-communal aspects in TJRO, engendering for some a passive, if not Outsider orientation. For instance, Sheila Gold shares the negative aspects of being a Cantor's wife from this perspective. Although she realizes that her G1¹⁄₂ British Jewish husband Jack Gold was sad to let go of his Cantor aspirations, she was also relieved to resume being “a regular congregant.” She explains,

It's stressful. It's like living in a goldfish bowl. There is constant communal supervision. You're under pressure by the community. You always have their eyes on you. You never feel relaxed, you go to synagogue which I enjoyed doing with Jack when he was just a regular congregant. Going as a cantor's wife, you think oh no they are going to criticize him. You know it's a shame because you want to go for the services and to be worshipful and be spiritual but you can't because you are worrying about such mundane things as what are they saying about me and my husband behind our backs.

⁵² Aaron informed, “There's a lot of politics in Judaism in particular within the synagogue system where there are politics about who is making the money, who is getting fired, hired and who is not.”
G2 Kate Lebowitz, the daughter of an Orthodox Cantor, in her late 50s reiterates Sheila's sentiments about the constraints and hurtful side-effects of “synagogue politics.” Kate retains the guilt-based orientation to certain TJRO that she was steeped in at her parental home. Following a “shomer shabbos” lifestyle, obeying the Jewish Sabbath regulations, during her formative years out of fear and respect has left Kate to this date with the urge to “go out and play” every Saturday even since rejecting the inconvenient aspects of the Sabbath tradition. Kate does insist however of holding ritualistically a Friday night meal to which the three G3 Lebowitz offspring and their significant others attend. Although her now 'self-transforming' G2 husband jokes about scalping his High Holiday tickets at their Conservative-affiliated synagogue door, Kate upholds the value of synagogue attendance during the Jewish Festivals despite her antipathy for exclusionary synagogue activities.

Kate and Sheila are not alone in their synagogue attendance and affiliation being adversely affected by their experiences with internal synagogue politics. Almost a third of my study have had negative interactions within a synagogue setting which have altered their quality and/or quantity of TJRO, let alone their synagogue attachment in some shape or form. The G2 Shwartz parents used to be active in Congregation life when their four children were pre-bar/bat mitzvah, going to synagogue every Friday and Saturday, participating in synagogue affairs, serving on boards, and singing in the choir. "Tired of the whole political aspects of synagogue life and they are very prevalent in synagogue politics" the Shwartzes cut back on their institutional expression of ritual involvement to strictly making annual appearances at their Conservative synagogue on High Holidays. The Shwartz parents are nonetheless reluctant to relinquish this practice because of the shared ideology that rates Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur the holiest days in the calendar.

G2 Norman Neinstein, a retired engineer in his 60s is not as keen to be an emotionally active member at his downtown, previously warm and intimate, “hamisch [homelike] shul,” since “the
invasion" of members leaving large, impersonal uptown synagogues in search of more personal and meaningful pastures. His wife, 57-year-old G3 Marilyn Neinstein, reiterates her "upset" about the changes: "Our shul has become a magnet for people who are unhappy with mainstream shuls. They find it too big and so they are looking for something smaller and in our shul they are turning it into something bigger. We do not like it; we're very upset. We are now considered dinosaurs. From my perspective, the gorgeous ambience is being compromised. The physical ambience is very important in prayer. We love the building because it reminds us of our old shuls in Montreal especially my zeydi's shul." Irregular or ceased synagogue attendance, be it temporarily or permanently, is not always to do with diminished Jewish identification but may result from disagreements with synagogue policies, practices, congregation attitudes, the rabbi, synagogue board, staff etc.

ii. Ancestral-Historical focus

Another primary basis for engaging in one's particular form of TJRO is a 'politicalized' identification with the shared Jewish history of suffering, persecution, loss, resistance and survival. 40-year-old G3 Mickey Feldberg, a self-employed Jewish Textile Factory owner who grew up without exposure to Jewish rituals beyond obligatory attendance of "synagogue social dances because my mother wanted me to meet a nice Jewish girl" finds new ancestral-historical meaning and inspiration from his Holocaust-survivor in-laws. Mickey sentimentalizes his current TJRO level celebrating primarily the High Holidays, Passover Seder, Hanukah and weekly traditional Friday night dinner as signs of his appreciation of Jewish triumphs over

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53 Note, people who underscore the magical, superstitious and divine in their TJRO may also do so in part as "a political statement" (25-year-old G3 child of intermarriage, Reena Fiorio), this is not however their principal motivation. Israel's Chief rabbi, a Holocaust survivor, recently visited the Hong Kong Jewish community where my parents live as an honorary guest. Having married my parents years earlier, he remarked to my mother that he exacted his revenge on Hitler by having five kids and becoming a rabbi. Still, in his speech the Rabbi identified his relationship to God as chief motivation for his TJRO.
oppression. Mickey however continues to be disinterested in and ambivalent about participating in formal religious structures in their current form. Mickey attributes attrition in institutionalized religious expressions to its lack of salability, specifically "because it doesn't appeal to everyone and it's got to be appealing. It's like anything that has to be sold." He suggests that his enthusiasm for participating in synagogue life could be ignited if synagogues validated people's secular interests (i.e., legitimized and entertained options for Revitalization). In discussing the regularity in synagogue participation outside of the High Holidays Mickey responds,

Nothing Nobody. That's why if they had like on Tubishvat—I don't even know what it is, but I know it's a holiday—if they had a bike ride or something and they all met back at the Synagogue, I bet you, I'd go because to me it includes everything. To me going to the Synagogue sitting in there praying for, I think it's the Sukkah, is that Tubishvat or something else. No, no that's another. Anyway, well that's the whole point there it is, nothing, no knowledge or interest. You know if they offered a golf tournament, let's say, that would make going to synagogue and praying an attractive option.

Hegemonic notions about how to define and measure the survival of the Jewish people may undermine the makings of a positive Jewish self-concept. Expressing an active emotional attachment to historical symbols like the Holocaust as reason for TJRO continuity does not need to preclude undergoing 'a face lift' to the character of TJRO. Indeed, interpretations of 'survival' have already received various flourishing incarnations and can hence be refurbished in still other ways without losing the distinctive voices of the Jewish people. Mickey's story of a rekindled connection to his sense of Jewishness, making Outsiders into Insiders relies upon incorporating the critiques, needs and wants of Outsiders into the Jewish majority.

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54 For Mickey's G2 Toronto Jewish mother Miriam, being Jewish is very important to her self-concept. She feels emotionally tied to the history of Jews, the persecution they have faced. Having lost family notably on her father's side due to anti-Semitic forces, she is emotionally mobilized by the historical linkage.

55 Mickey acknowledges, "When I heard what you were doing. I wouldn't spend this much time with anyone who was just doing a thesis, but it's important what you're talking about. I think that Judaism has lost a lot of Jews because it doesn't appeal to everyone."
History buff, 55-year-old “Jewish doctor,”\textsuperscript{56} Isaac Federman clings tenaciously to certain religious rituals like spending the entire day fasting, remembering and atoning on Yom Kippur at his family's original Conservative 	extit{shul}. He does so in the face of “mocking” from his kin who have two hours earlier already shared a 	extit{break fast} meal, the ritualistic meal eaten to end the fast on the day of atonement, Yom Kippur. For Isaac, keeping the ‘major’ holidays, normatively retained by the non-Orthodox, are important because they affirm his roots and instill emotional awareness and connection with the Jewish people in general and his ancestors in particular. In his words,

> I have the feeling. I'm very historical. I feel emotionally connected to the history of Judaism and the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{57} I somehow feel whoever my forefathers are, that somehow I survived to be Jewish. After everything, this is the least I have to do is to hand it onto another generation. I hate to think that I broke the chain. I'm the keeper of the history of the family. (55-year-old, G3 Isaac Federman).\textsuperscript{58}

While Isaac is actively emotionally attached to the preservation of his brand of TJRO, he feels pessimistic about the intergenerational survival of Jewishness for succeeding generations of the Federman family. He suggests, “It's a wipe out. It will be something unforeseen that will keep my grandchildren or grandnephews Jewish.” The atrocities committed against the Jews do not have to stir Jews to identify religiously but can inspire forms of social activism or simply a “stand up and be counted” Jewish self-concept. For example, Isaac's 60-year-old brother, G3 Michael detests what he views as the “restrictive and boring” contexts of ritual involvement, opting for the shortcut version in the Passover family ritual wherein “nobody comes back after the meal to

\textsuperscript{56} 28-year-old unmarried G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Stan Spielberg rejects self-identifying with his professional status: “One thing I wouldn’t described myself is a lawyer. I've always maintained that being a lawyer is what I will do, it's not who I am, again a different perspective from many people.”

\textsuperscript{57} Intermarried 47-year-old G2 Toronto Jew, daughter of Holocaust survivors, Janet Williamson echoes this ancestral-historical orientation to Jewishness, “I feel that it is an identity that has been imposed. It is more than that, but just the fact that it has been imposed, that people have been killed because their grandfathers were Jewish, but they themselves never even considered themselves to be Jewish.” For Janet, her Jewish identity “is the history, the culture and the tradition. It is something that is inside me. I feel it. It is not something that I do as I don't do something Jewish that much.”

\textsuperscript{58} For others, the Holocaust features strongly in the way they cognize other modes of Jewish identity like their social and Israel involvement, A contemporary to Isaac, G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Lionel Pinsker feels that “it is difficult to separate the experience of the Holocaust and the significance for the existence of a Jewish homeland.” Lionel takes an active interest in what happens in and to Israel. In fact, at two points in his life he considered 	extit{making aliya}. Still, he argues, “There is unqualified support for Israel but not unqualified support for a given set of policies by a given government.”
finish off the *Haggadah*” much to Isaac's chagrin.\(^{59}\) Alternatively, Michael expresses his vital Jewishness primarily through daily interactions with Holocaust survivors, telling Jewish jokes to rabbis frequenting the male sauna while working out at the north end Jewish community center. 57-year-old G3 Marilyn Neinstein illuminates the historical impetus driving her personalized maintenance of traditional Jewish dietary regulations that define her ritual observance in other than religious terms.\(^{60}\)

The interesting thing that you tie keeping kosher into the ritual aspects of being Jewish but keeping kosher has a major impact on the cultural aspects of being Jewish, one of the biggest. You see it and you express it many times in the course of the day and I have never thought of keeping kosher as part of the ritual aspect. I did not keep kosher originally. Like most young people we were Jewish and we knew we were Jewish but we weren't ritual in any way. *I chose to keep kosher not for religious reasons but for historical ones and that's cultural.* Because Jews, our ancestors, died because they insisted on keeping kosher and so I think of Hannah and her seven sons being killed in front of her because they wouldn't bow down and they wouldn't eat pork. It's to their memory and in their honor that I kept kosher and not for religious, halakhic reasons like God said or the rabbi said, but because of the memories to honour those of our ancestors who basically died because they refused to not keep kosher (emphasis added).

Intergenerationally transmitted stories expressing the history of anti-Semitism (i.e., typifying what Bellah et al (1985) refer to as “a community of memory”), the passing on of accounts of Jewish persecution manifest internationally, nationally and locally, has become a discursive agent in its own right for sustaining commitment to TJRO. For Toronto ethnic Jews like Marilyn who are several generations away from religious persecution, the discursive survival of the history of Jewish oppression facilitates an emotional tie to the global Jewish community at large and a basis for perpetuating some form of TJRO.

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\(^{59}\) The increased proclivity for abbreviated and accelerated readings of the *haggadah* is a clear trend underway. For one interviewee, 20-year-old G3\(^{1/2}\) daughter of intermarriage Maya Rand, her family's Passovers are characterized by a *haggadah* “speed reading” ritual especially when the occasion coincides with hockey play-offs: “Everyone was reading one word to get it to go faster, it was the funniest thing ever.”

\(^{60}\) Webber (1990) discusses the complexities of contemporaneous Diasporic Jewish identities wherein “new styles of expressing Jewish identity coexist with traditional styles.” For example, the traditional ruling of keeping kosher that forbids eating shelled seafood, pork products, unkosher meats, mixing meat and dairy dishes, has received various modern incarnations (e.g., “I just don’t eat pork” to “I only eat kosher outside the home,” or “I’ll eat unkosher Chinese foods on paper plates”).
26-year-old G2 Reena Fiorio, a graduate student and the daughter of intermarriage, has only in her 20s begun to validate and take pride in her Jewish heritage.\(^1\) For Reena, "being Jewish or following the traditions is a political statement rather than a religious statement." This contrasts with her mother, 66-year-old G2 Lara Fiorio's definition of being Jewish as a religion, not an ethnicity.\(^2\) Lara holds the perspective that immigrant groups should adapt to the majority culture of their country of destination. She identifies herself as "a Canadian Jewess" with emphasis placed on her Canadian identification. On the other hand, notwithstanding Reena's Canadian birth status she prefers to identify herself as an "Italian Jew."\(^3\) Reena believes that it is the cross-national practice of and identification with Jewishness as having a shared history of being excluded, discriminated against that produces a feeling of group attachment.

Well, I mean just historically you know I see Judaism as a Nation. You know, if the Jews had never left Israel, then there wouldn't be a question of Jewish identity. You know, there would be a nation to enable people to identify and people wouldn't say you know, 'what religion are you, what does that mean'. It's very easy when I say I'm Italian, people understand clearly what that means and I feel that my Jewishness should be the same way or feels the same to me. Because people were dispersed all around the world, but still there's something that was tying it together, and by my representing or doing similar things that people in other parts of the world, you know, Jews in Iran and in Poland are doing at the same time. Jews are bound together by a shared history. As far as the language, well, I don't know Hebrew, it would be much more clear cut to express culturally an identity if it was in one place. But because it's not then we have to do it in the religious sense, you know, with the prayers and the traditions. Perhaps it's not even religious ideals that we share in common, but I think of it more as a cultural thing that binds us. We're all poised like a society; we're outside of the mainstream culture. We have

\(^1\) Reena explains, "I've just recently come to Judaism actually. Until I was about 20 or 22, before I went to Israel and I really didn't have much of a connection before then. I was interested in exploring other areas of life, other cultures, especially my Italian identity and it never really affected me. My dad is very Italian. His accent is quite strong. A lot of people don't understand him. Everything about him and that he does is Italian, so I think it is easier for me to identify with that. The first 10 years of my life I don't think I realized that we were Jewish, just when I wanted a Christmas tree and my mum said no, that's not what we do. But there wasn't much Jewishness in our home, I don't think. My mother never really practiced it, talked much, or did anything. She tried. Well, she sent us to a Zionist camp in our teens and sent us to Jewish youth groups that I really hated. So, it's just been these past few years that it's becoming stronger, and stronger the more I get into it."

\(^2\) Another source of intergenerational departure in terms of approaching Jewishness for G3 Reena and G2 Lara are denominational fit, "Personally, I [Reena] think Reform makes more sense to me. My philosophy is slightly different than my mother's. So, I think that the Orthodox way of life is too strenuous, and if you can't keep up all the rules then you're not doing enough for it. But if you don't do anything at all, then the Reform at least gives you a way to live a modern life, participate and feel like you are keeping up with some of the traditions. I see it more in a political sense than a religious sense. I see Judaism as a Nation." In contrast, Lara who grew up with traditional "haimisch [homely]" Jewish exposure feels uncomfortable with what she sees as the "preachiness," sterility and Christian-imitative character of Reform Jewish services.

\(^3\) Reena adds, "It depends where I am and how I'm feeling. I like to travel and I'm not really that attached to Canada. I don't feel at home here. Like when I travel to Italy or Israel I really feel much more at ease."
a common history that we're conscious of the other Jews throughout the rest of the world and Israel as a focal point.

Reena’s ‘new’ emotional intensity toward exploring and exhibiting her Jewishness is rooted in the meaning she assigns to identifying as a Jew, namely being part of a Jewish nation, and maintaining a sentimentalized connection to an abstract idealized global and historical Jewish collectivity. Seeing being Jewish as “outside of the mainstream culture” Reena now feels at ease reclaiming her Jewish roots in general and TJRO in particular. The reality of greater distance from the immigrant generation's experience and comparatively less, or at least more covert exposure to anti-Semitism, makes it hard for some young, later generation Jews to personally relate to historical events of Jewish oppression like the Jewish Holocaust as the basis for their TJRO. For example, multiculturalist 19-year-old G3\(^1/2\) Jerry Pinsker is proud about his Jewish heritage, but is reticent to name Jewish persecution by non-Jews the primary reason for his TJRO. He himself has not felt the brunt of anti-Semitism and feels too distant from the lived realities of his ancestors to identify with what they experienced or how they felt.

iii. Universal-Mystical focus

God- and Torah-centered rationales for performing TJRO approach the realm of Orthodox Judaism wherein individuals see God as “the Ruler” of the universe and view themselves as religious carriers and executors of God’s words. For these people, going to synagogue and

\(^{64}\) Importantly, plenty of overt anti-Semitic incidents still exist, including hate crimes like the beating of two elderly Orthodox Jewish men coming out of synagogue morning prayers in Toronto (1999) and the Los Angeles Jewish Community Center day care shooting (July, 1999). Some view these incidents as isolated occurrences, the work of marginal mad persons, rather than symptomatic of the majority disposition.

\(^{65}\) Child of a Holocaust survivor, 47-year-old G2 Eric Levine, insists, “generations after mine haven’t been exposed to the Holocaust and can’t understand the ramifications of the Holocaust in the same way that people who were exposed to it. For them, it’s possible that it will happen again.” According to critics of a veritable “Holocaust industry” or the Americanization of the Holocaust and the social construction of vicarious victimhood (Cantor 1995: 398; Selengut 1999), both Levine’s and Pinsker’s experiences are understandable. Selengut (1999: 3-4) suggests that “[for a time, beginning in the sixties and continuing to the present, it was felt that Holocaust commemorations, religious school curricula emphasizing Holocaust history and student pilgrimages to Holocaust sites would provide motivation for young people to identify and commit themselves to Judaism. However, as the events of the Holocaust recede from personal memory to the realm of history it becomes problematic.”
praying is primarily done in order to sustain one's relationship with the almighty "Hashem." Not surprisingly this study of non-Orthodox Jews and their families did not yield much evidence of persons other than ba'ali teshuvah ( "born again Jews") or "Jews by Choice" who included comments about Divinity and God, and/or used biblical reasoning in their discourse around TJRO. However, this may be due in part to my use of exploratory data gathering techniques that depended largely upon the cues, directives and life stories of the participants, and like much of the prior literature on Jewish identity a tendency to avoid questions concerning beliefs about God and the supernatural.

Rather, of particular relevance here is that there are non-Orthodox people in my sample who 'do Jewish' for superstitious, biblical, mystical (i.e., otherworldly) reasons. For example, 24 and 26-year-old G3 Doris and Gail Snow describe their father G2 Harvey Snow, a "Jewish dentist" in his mid-50s, as "very God-fearing; he believes the wheel turns and all men get what they deserve" and as "religious [because] he goes to shul every Saturday." In fact, for three years now every Saturday Harvey and his wife Rachel have been attending bible study classes in the morning. 66 Harvey feels the answer to obtaining "a more spiritual experience" lies in learning how to daven (pray); "you need to learn the tools well so that you can then begin to have the experience." For Harvey, being Jewish is "being God-like, being the best person that you can be" and suggests that "it takes tremendous work to be a good person and most of us never attain this, but the important thing is to try to admit when you fall short." He argues that "most of the world needs organized religion in order to amount to anything good." Nonetheless, while Harvey is personally invested in his intensified TJRO and being an ethical human being based on

66 Harvey has chosen this particular mode of expression in the past few years, before which he "sort of waffled back and forth between conservative, reform, right wing, left wing." A secularized, English born, Jewish mother, aunt, maternal grandmother and an Ashkenasic Russian Jewish father raised Harvey. Given his alienation from Jewish religious and social life growing up, he suggests it felt "awkward" practicing TJRO when the Snows started introducing religious observance as a consequence of sending their kids for the early years to Jewish day school.
superstitious convictions and the perceived power of the Almighty, he doesn't want people, his four children specifically to carry out passively, involuntarily TJRO: "I want people to do it with their heart. If they don't want to do it, I'd rather they just go their own way." Remarried (endogamous), 58-year-old (G3) Ottawa born, Lou Wise grew up with visiting rabbis often staying in his childhood home and shares Harvey's mystical focus on TJRO:

Going to synagogue is my way of saying that I'm still a Jew in a non-Jewish world. I think that Judaism brings freedom, peace and understanding into our lives...There is something larger than ourselves. There is this higher being that we embrace. Judaism gives us a place in the world where we can be better people.

For some, superstitious thinking can lead to a fearful rather than joyful approach toward their TJRO. G2 Kate Lebowitz for instance can not entirely repudiate the Orthodox religious approach to TJRO introduced in her childhood home due to the persistence of “God-fearing” thoughts. As her 30-year-old son Joseph Lebowitz remarks, “my mother the martyr hangs on to part of the religion because giving it up would mean giving up quite a lot of beliefs she's formed about herself and her family and things like that.” Consequently, she "always keeps part of it in the house.” Viewing fears and insecurities as interrelated, Joseph and his siblings do less TJRO than their mother, and in particular resist doing so out of “fear of a wrathful God.”

Biblical sources offer another means by which people use to account for their ritual involvement. Take 40-year-old G3 Mitch Freedman a self-described “Jewish dentist” who “no longer go[es] through the motions” on the key Jewish holidays and uses Universal-Mystical (biblical) reasons to account for his brand of TJRO.

There's an idea in Judaism that when it comes to laws between you and other people God

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67 Harvey perceives his eldest son as “intensely Jewish,” suggests his two daughters “want to be Jewish but are just struggling to find their way” and finds his youngest son “critical, questioning, struggling too much with life to really worry too much about whether he's Jewish or not.”

68 The prime influence on Lou's attitude toward TJRO came from a very young rabbi when he was growing up who had been a chaplain in the 1948 war of Israel's independence: “He was like the pied piper and all these kids used to gather around him. We had a small synagogue and my parents were the founding members of the synagogue.” Further, Lou's father had a tradition of always inviting strangers who didn't have a place to spend the Sabbath to the Wise household every Friday, a tradition that Lou carries on (N.B. I have spent Shabbat with the family).
doesn’t really care where your emotions are, you better treat others decently. But when it comes to laws that have to do with your relationship with God, he wants your emotions to be there. There is a story in Midrash about the making of the temple. When it comes to basic tzedakah [charity giving] you are supposed to give ten percent to charity, but when it came to donating money for the construction of the temple people were only expected to give as much as they wanted to. Because they didn’t want people giving more than their belief prompted them to give. So, for me it is like with these holidays I am getting more and more out of them because I am increasingly understanding and connecting to the symbolism of these holidays. For example, I used to eat matzah at the TV if Passover clashed with the Hockey play-offs, but now I am taking an active part, adding interesting commentaries to the Seder. Let’s say we have a reading from Anne Frank or another example is from the Hertz commentary of the bible about the ten plagues. I want to provide more meaning for people. I hated Hebrew school because of the way it was taught and you say to yourself you’re ten years old and you’ve been in public school all day you dreaded going for more school two more hours of school, it’s just awful. I didn’t get anything out of it. Now I readily take Jewish courses all the time. Ten years ago Aish Hatorah invited Dennis Praeger to make ‘the intellectual case’ for Judaism and now he has become my guru. As a child, if somebody asked me what does it mean to be a Jew I would say I don’t know. Now if someone asks, I’d say how much time do you have. It’s a way of life for me now. If I am not living in it I am aware that I’m not living in it. I find prayer to be the most difficult part of the religion because it has only been in the past few years that I have learnt what prayer is supposed to be. The Hebrew word for prayer lehitpallel which means to self-examine and so when you see a lot of people going to synagogue expecting a show well the important part of the show is looking at yourself and using the experience of being in a synagogue as a vehicle for self-improvement.

Gaining knowledge of the religious texts in this case can work to revitalize emotional attachment to TJRO. For instance, novel access to Jewish mysticism, Kabbalah and Jewish meditation can help revitalize commitment to TJRO or, said differently, facilitate as some like to call it “Jewish Renewal” (Kamenetz 1994: 285-6). In contrast, many Outsiders like Sheila Gold’s G2 self-defined atheist father “feel insecure” about their Jewish identity (“I’m absolutely terrified to walk into a synagogue because people will know that I don’t know how to pray that I don’t know Hebrew and I don’t understand the texts”). Inaccessibility or lack of knowledge of the esoteric facet of Judaism can both alienate or push one to seek spiritual answers outside of TJRO (e.g., Kamenetz 1994).

II. Alternative Approaches to Ritual Involvement

A. Outsiderism

There is a long Jewish history of questioning, dissent and critical thinking within Judaism,
arguably “essential” attributes of Jewish culture (Hertzberg and Hirt-Manheimer 1998). Silent or silenced ethnic Jews, here referred to as Outsiders, are people who feel alienated and disenfranchised from secular-traditional and/or spiritual-traditional styles of ritual involvement. In this section I consider non-conformists who largely reject adherence to the TJRO level and normative expectations of their familial Jewish context, demonstrating little to no participation in any form of TJRO, or if so in a mocking or disparaging manner reporting disdain and disinterest all the while. Common to this potentially trend-setting group is the expression of internal opposition to one’s inherited ritual milieu, but differences exist in the degree to which ‘rebellious’ emotions are privatized. Some Outsiders vocalize their disenchantment and apathetic or antagonistic connection to their TJRO directly while others are more ‘invisible’ in their discontent. This extremely passive personal commitment is indicative of communal disaffection and marginality. However, Outsiders who voice intense criticisms can push the establishment to clarify and solidify its group boundary criteria, performing an invaluable function of keeping the community vital and reflexive. In what follows I explore some of the ways and means by which TJRO contexts fail to adequately meet people’s expectations and/or needs. In so doing, I hope to enhance our understanding of reasons and motivations for people’s passive maintenance, rejection and/or exclusion from secular or spiritual-traditional circles. Importantly, realistic claims about ethnic vitality require no less than a thorough examination of the oft hidden (unexpressed) discordant social-psychological states of what would otherwise appear to be healthy, ‘functional’ and observant ethnic members.

All too frequently, there is a discrepancy between the ideal of a warm, supportive and cohesive Jewish family and people’s actual strained familial relations. Additionally, since family is an increasingly common source of motivation and significance for engaging in TJRO, this disjuncture and its concomitant unrealistic expectations work to undermine Jewish identity more than we might think. 32-year-old (G4) fitness entrepreneur Randall Buber’s tense family
dynamics support his detached orientation to TJRO. While he grew up in a “traditional” Toronto Jewish family where on Friday nights they lit the candles, said blessings over the wine and _challah_ (egg bread), Randall felt like he was just “going through the motions.” After his sisters got married and he moved out of his parental home, Friday night dinners “fell by the wayside.” Randall explains his ‘rebellion’ “[m]y mother is very dominant. She has a lot of rules, can’t do this, can’t do that. My father is very passive and in order to avoid confrontations just does what my mum says. It’s better that I don’t see my parents that much because I don’t have a close understanding relationship with them.” Randall rejects currently having any form of TJRO.

I don’t celebrate anything. I think you celebrate holidays because of the people you have around you and that you want to share things with and if you are not close to your family. I love my family and I care about them and I’d be there for them if they needed me, but somehow in my upbringing we were never really brought up to be really close with our family. We had family gatherings when there was Rosh Hashana we’d get together and the Seders we would have every year at my aunt’s house, bar mitzvahs, weddings and so forth, but in terms of really nurturing an intimate relationship with family and sharing things was never really encouraged.

Randall’s status as a “black sheep” in the family is compounded by the lack of commonalties, and “very different lifestyles” he and his sisters lead. One in particular lives a “frum Orthodox, _shomer shabes_” way of life which he suggests “doesn’t fit into my lifestyle or my schedule, I either work Friday nights or prefer to go out with my friends.” Randall’s alienating family situation has been detrimental to his ritual involvement, but his experience prompted him to volunteer his time as a “Big Brother” for a fatherless Jewish boy. Randall is critical about doing things with a lack of personal commitment and justifies his inactivity based on a need to understand the ‘what’ and ‘why’ of his ‘doing’. Randall accounts for his resistance to partaking in the High Holiday synagogue-going ritual or synagogue life in general.

I don’t go to synagogue. I’ve got friends who go to synagogue on the High Holidays and they go ‘It’s a High Holiday. How come you are not going to synagogue?’ And I go what did you do in synagogue? ‘Oh I went in...’ Did you understand the prayers? No. Did you understand the translation of the Hebrew words into English? No. Is there some sort of spiritual connection with what you did there? No. So then why are you going? Bogus it doesn’t mean shit. They are making answers off the top of their head. Unless you’re going to make a real commitment you either do it properly or don’t do it at all, or maybe for me I’m just making excuses, I don’t know. It’s like going to the gym and they don’t want any pain and so they avoid pain and so they go to the gym
once a week. Well, going to the gym once a week, that's not going to do anything for you, or they are lifting light weights because they don't want it to hurt, they don't want it to be sore the next day, it doesn't mean shit. If you are going to go to the gym, you work hard, you sweat, you make it hurt, otherwise you don't do it at all, you are wasting your time and it's the same thing with synagogue. People are creating alibis in their own mind like I go to synagogue because it's Yom Kippur and I prayed to God for redemption and forgiveness for all my sins and so on and so forth. What did you really do, you sat there and you're like what time is this going to be over and when can I stop fasting? That is not what you are there for. You're there to get into it and to somehow have some connection to Gd. And yet you are thinking what am I going to do tomorrow, I want to buy those new shoes and this is boring, I've got to stand up again and to sit down, I don't know what page we are on. This is bogus.

Randall indicates that without personal “connection” and “meaning” in TJRO his interest in maintaining Jewish holiday rituals has dwindled. He concludes, “there was never any true connection or understanding of the true meaning of the holidays. And that is what inspires you to continue celebrating the holidays is to understand its significance, to understand its meaning and have a real connection to the holidays and how it relates to you.”

Twice divorced (to coethnics) 34-year-old G3\frac{1}{2} Pauline Plaut who has recently returned from a four-year period that she spent living in a small Southern US town feels alienated (culturally and socially) within the sphere of ritual involvement. She reiterates Randall’s impression of artifice, performance and tension in extended family Jewish holiday settings. Pauline dislikes the axis on visible religious signs and symbols, coercive religious regulations and restrictive definitions of sacred acts: “Can't we get past these symbols, rituals? I don’t like the rituals. I hate being told what to do.” Rabbis’ sermons also resonate for Pauline more as “political rallies; they have an agenda and a point to hammer home.” While Pauline attends obligingly family Passover Seders, Rosh Hashana meals and Hanukah parties, she admits merely enduring these events, finding no salvation in the ‘food, song and dance’ and socializing aspects of these occasions. Pauline purposefully resists eating the ritualistic food items at the Passover Seder.

I refused to eat those bitter herbs for as long as I can remember. I don’t like them. I always rebelled against Jewish food. I hate the way it smells. I hate the way it tastes. It makes me wretch. And from my earliest memories, Jews always smell like ripe herring to me. There’s nothing more nauseating to me than walking into one of those Delis or one of those Bar Mitzvahs with the chopped egg and the salmon. I just want to run.
As for the social aspects of synagogue, Pauline's experiences in Conservative and Reform congregations have proved neither welcoming, inclusive, supportive, culturally inspiring or spiritually uplifting.

D: What about the melodies and from a musical standpoint, do they do anything for you?
P: Not really. They're familiar, I guess. Like I hear Ha'ava Nagila, it's familiar. Does it do anything to me? Maybe it would if I was in some strange place and I had no sense of community and if I heard Ha'ava Nagila playing maybe I would think, oh, maybe I can go there. But I've never experienced Jews as being a particularly welcoming people, so I don't feel any confidence. I think the reason that to me it means nothing is I don't think I could walk up to a bunch of Jewish people and say, 'hey I'm a Jew, like open your arms'. I don't think they care. I didn't find that they cared in X when I joined the synagogue. They didn't care. I eventually ended up befriending on a one-on-one basis a few of the members of the synagogue, but the synagogue, as a whole was not at all welcoming, interested, or friendly.

Experiencing synagogue milieus as not hamisch [homelike, friendly], but rather exclusive, judgemental and uninviting demystifies the idea of a cohesive, protective Jewish group. Pauline's experience of social exclusion at a time when it may have served her greatly undermines the likelihood of her later discovering emotionally satisfying reasons to engage in TJRO.

A non-welcoming or exclusionary reception from in-laws and other Jews can promote Outsiderism in intermarrying non-Jewish born spouses or converts to Judaism. 65-year-old widowed Elisabeth Goldstein, born into a long expansive line of Canadian Presbyterians, reared on church grounds because her father was a minister, experienced differential treatment and negative reaction from her Holocaust surviving Jewish husband's North American relatives, friendship circle of fellow survivors, schoolteachers, religious leaders etc... Not surprisingly, Elisabeth never developed a strong vital emotional attachment to TJRO.

69 The 1st immigrants on her dad's side who came to Canada from England in 1853 initially fled France due to religious prosecution as Protestants. Her paternal grandma was the child of Irish parents. She traced her maternalancestral roots back as far as 1643, coming originally from Belgium, migrating from Ireland to Canada in 1798.
Elisabeth's now deceased husband, Ben Goldstein, came to Toronto in 1948. Having barely escaped internment in a concentration camp in Poland he worked for the Jewish Underground in Italy, finally seeking refuge in Toronto after two of the men he had been working with in the Underground were shot. World War II and the "foreboding syndrome" of anti-Semitism produced a particularly uneasy climate and cold stance toward Jewish intermarriage for quite some time. When Elisabeth and Ben married in the 1950s there was very little information about intermarriage and conversion for the intermarrying spouses and it was difficult to penetrate the religious, cultural traditionalists and holocaust survivor circles. Ben attempted to avoid being ostracized from his otherwise acculturated North American Jewish relatives by not letting his relatives know that he had gotten hitched at City Hall. When he did inform them of his marriage, this provoked one of Ben's female cousins to repeatedly "harass" Elisabeth, phoning her up and cursing at her.

Having "fallen in love quickly" at the time of marriage Elisabeth and Ben had not given much thought to deciding in what religion the children would be raised. Pregnant with her first child, Elisabeth received a call from one of Ben's aunts suggesting that he had been "disowned from the family." They "guilted" her into feeling that she was robbing him of his familial ties and the survival of his heritage: "they made me feel bad that I had destroyed this man's life." She decided, "if I could give him anything, I'd give him a son who would take up his name." While Ben insisted that she not convert to Judaism for him "right up till the last minute," she recalls doing it for the sake of family unity, not because of a shift in religious conviction. She reinforced the point to me that she was "not the rebellious type that was running away to upset my family." Up until Elisabeth's decision to convert, she went to church twice on Sundays, sang in the choir and attended religious meetings every Wednesday.
It cost the Goldsteins 250 dollars (the equivalent of several weeks’ pay) for an Orthodox rabbi to perform the conversion ceremony. She read the thin book that the rabbi assigned her but "didn’t understand anything.” Uninformed about the details of the conversion process, she got her hair done, bought herself a hat with a veil, a pair of new shoes, got her nails done, "got all fixed up" and wore her powder blue maternity dress. At the time, she was still referring to the synagogue as a church. Unprepared and uneducated about the mikvah, the ritual bath and dunking portion of the conversion ceremony, she battled with the woman assigned to assist her with the compulsory bathing. Nail polish removed, nails clipped, make up scrubbed off, her bouffant hairstyle in disarray, Elisabeth was frightened and disturbed by the female assistant’s cleaning responsibilities, pulling the woman in with her. "Shivering, shaking and crying, drenched wet" she dressed and then signed the ketubah (Jewish marriage certificate). Ben was unaware that his wife would be going to the mikvah until he heard her scream. Although compliant to converting, she always resisted, rebelled and answered back to anyone who tried "to push [her] around.” There was no wedding reception to follow: the ladies went off shopping, their husbands left, the rabbi asked for his 250 dollars cash and then Ben took her for spare ribs— "that is how I was converted.”

More “hurtful” to Elisabeth was never being invited for Friday night dinners. Only after a year of being married did Elisabeth finally some of Ben’s Jewish female relations as one of his aunts had come into visit from New York. Even after she had converted and had her first child she "was still never invited" in contrast to the full acceptance Ben received from Elisabeth’s wide network of kin. The first and last time she met with Ben’s relations was at her eldest son’s bris. The Toronto aunt “made no efforts” to bring Elisabeth into the Jewish family network.

There were times when only Ben was invited to weddings. He went alone to one of them only because it was his favorite cousin’s wedding. I was also excluded from Jewish holidays occasions. They would invite only Ben and not even the children were included. I only picked up the custom of having Passover and Rosh Hashana meals by learning together with a Jewish neighbor I befriended how to cook for these holidays. I also learned together with the kids because we sent them to [Jewish day school] because I had to
know how to read the Hebrew alphabet so that I would be able to help them with their homework.

Although Elisabeth gave up her Presbyterian practices, Christian holiday celebrations and religious emblems when she converted to Judaism, she privatized her internal distress, ambivalence and reluctance to let go of her inherited belief system. For instance, Elisabeth kept up the long-held family tradition of passing down lockets of hair of family members and has in her possession four generations of family lockets, including locks of hair from her children and grandchildren. Her marital home also exhibits a collection of family heirlooms; furniture pieces passed down over several generations. This retention of heritage items not only gives the spacious apartment where she now lives on her own a vintage character, but also reveals a continued sentimentality and tie to her roots. Ben’s abandonment of ritual practices prior to migrating to Toronto meant that Elisabeth struggled for the most part alone through embarrassment and humiliation produced by innocent norm violations, such as ordering non-kosher meat out in a restaurant at the first meeting solo with Ben’s two aunts. When the Goldsteins married Elisabeth “did not have a clue” about any ethno-religious practices. She recalls being perplexed and angry with Ben’s aunt who would make seemingly offensive statements, such as "don’t touch that glass, don’t touch that" and "does your mother keep a clean house?" Unaware of the Jewish dietary regulations, and that keeping a clean house simply implies _kashrut/_kosher observance, following the Jewish dietary laws, Elisabeth assumed that she was being "put down."

While Elisabeth felt particularly happy that Ben’s family name had been preserved and the memory of his early struggles as a Jew and his family losses respected through providing Jewish education and cultural opportunities for their offspring, she shared with me her loneliness and alienation from her “personal identity.” She chose to protect her family from her inner “pain,” not wanting her children to suffer like herself or be treated as “half-breeds” and avoided attending any parent-teacher evenings. Bitter about her non-acceptance or partial acceptance
Elisabeth illuminates,

E: My children are Jewish through and through. I am not Jewish in my head. I understand the Jewish religion but I don't believe in the Jewish religion. I took more discomfort purposely for the children because I thought it was important for the children to be raised in the faith of their father. To carry on a line which would disappear and I am happy now that he has gone there is a wonderful family to carry on his name. If you ask my children if their mother was Jewish and she thinks Jewish. I let them think that.

D: Why would you let them think that?

E: I just want them to have clarity. You can't be one or the other. I am one; I am not the other. I guess it's because I know so much about my religion, I can't be both and parents have to pick a religion for the children. And I chose to raise them in the Jewish religion to the best I could. I think they have to feel that way about their mother. They don't know that I don't believe in that religion. They don't know that I cry all day at Christmas. I didn't celebrate it after I got married. My parents would send over gifts, but we never had a tree and that was the most important day in my life and that was the hardest part. I remember one year we went to Florida and there were no Christmas trees and no lights and I was heart broken and Ben found me crying in the bathroom and I said that I had the flu. To this day Ben also does not know about it. What was the point, he'd feel bad for me then.

Teenager G4 Susan Rose, daughter of intermarriage, is a good example of the limitations of making conclusions about Jewish commitment based on what one does. While the Rose household features ritualistic Friday night dinners and Susan attends Passover, Rosh Hashana multifamily holiday meals, weddings, bar/bat mitzvahs etc of distant relatives “out of obligation,” Susan emphasizes the lack of import these rituals hold for her. Susan's sharp critical thinking proclivity has made her a secular- and spiritual-traditional outsider. A self-proclaimed “atheist,” disbeliever in “the afterlife” and one who suggests scientific research has challenged the possibility of miraculous events like the flood, Susan rejects the “choice” of professing a religion.

A lot of people describe Judaism as a culture. But, to me, I think that Israeli or Polish or whatever it is, is the culture. I think that Judaism is a religion and I think you can choose your own religion. You are not born into one. You take on your religion.

Susan no longer feels a “special” pull to identify as Jewish as she had done proudly in primary school when she “was the only Jewish person of 650.”

Part of her resistance to making something out of her TJRO or identifying herself as Jewish comes from her high school

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70 Susan’s G3 Toronto Jewish dad, Noam, admits that he sees his daughter's current Jewish identity, if not teen, rebellion in some way as “a rejection of himself.”
experiences of materialistic "fashion obsessed JAP, [Jewish American Princess] types" with whom she has little in common. Susan's avid interest in the sciences and "how things work" give her a basis upon which to argue her anti-religious stance. She refused to have a bat mitzvah, preferring not to do "something I don't believe in." As for the cultural, social and familial priorities stressed in the secular-traditional approach to TJRO, Susan provides the following Outsider responses to her TJRO:

D: Have you never been interested in the religious rituals?
S: To be honest, I'd rather just sit there and watch TV!
D: Does your family do anything in the home?
S: Yeah, we even do the Sabbath every Friday. It's just because my dad is pretty far away from Judaism so he needs to keep the Jewish tradition going. Even like my very religious acquaintances will not do the Sabbath. They will not even go to the Synagogue. But their religion is with them every day in their household, like they pray and everything like that, so it's like the rituals aren't even necessary. So since we have a lack of the psychological Judaism, we actually do the traditions.
D: What about the holidays, like do you celebrate the High Holidays?
S: Oh, yeah, we go through the motions. It's nothing else. I think I've been to a Synagogue once in my life.
D: What about Hanukah?
S: It doesn't mean anything to me. We do the gift thing but that's just commercial stuff. And if the holidays do have any religious meaning, my parents don't let me know.
D: What about the food?
S: Food is not a big issue in our house. Both our parents grew up with such abundance of food in the family that they are sick of it. They don't want anything to do with food. They just eat it for the sake of living.

In the absence of "psychological Judaism," an emotional attachment to Jewish ritual acts and beliefs, it seems that TJRO loses its vitality and we are left with unemotional (passive) "motions." Disillusionment with both the exoteric and esoteric approaches to TJRO, stripping Jewish holidays of meaning and conviction, is evident in Outsider 27-year-old G3 Louise Shwartz, a self-described "weird one, black sheep" of the family. Louise's hollow connection to TJRO is manifest both in her social alienation from mainstream Toronto Jewish circles and her belief that it fails to provide her with spiritual tools to make sense of everyday life.

If I had to say which High Holiday I like I would have to say it is Rosh Hashanah, the whole marking of time. The reason however that I immediately hate it is because of shul. I hate going to shul, any shul. That's why I have a negative association with those holidays. It is a fashion parade. It's a feeling like I'm nobody. It reminds me of the same feeling when I was at Hebrew school, that I'm useless. So I wear the same thing every year and I haven't bought a new pair of shoes in 7 years. Like being looked at and judged.
I'm just bored because I had a shitty Jewish education. It's not like I really know Hebrew properly. It's not that I understand anything and its just hours of sitting there. The reality is I'm just sitting on my ass and I can't connect to the community. I just found it tedious getting up in the morning, and I just found the tedium of *shul* completely nauseating.

Louise's quest for healing and self-actualization has led her away from finding spiritual significance in the Jewish spiritual landscape toward Shamanism (an ancient indigenous earth and body centered type of spirituality). She finds a "real connection," "personal meaning" and therapeutic relief from her current active involvement—attending sessions twice a week and partaking in periodic sweat lodge, drumming and Native ritualized retreats—in the Shamanic movement. Louise prefers to selectively reclaim and redefine her Jewishness in these contexts, if at all, as opposed to incorporating Shamanic principles into a transformed and revitalized TJRO in a Jewish setting into a potentially actively expressed and personally meaningful practice.

**B. Revitalization**

*Revitalization* refers to the process whereby people work to create, or recreate, a positive emotional experience for themselves and/or others within TJRO. These people are highly personally invested in their particular mode of ritual involvement and expression and strive to 'make it work'. Some achieve this goal via the incorporation of 'other' systems' values, ways and means into a modified expression of TJRO (i.e., innovation). Others aim to intensify, and/or seek the restoration of, the transcendent quality and/or quantity of TJRO (i.e., retraditionalization). Revitalization is sometimes thought to be a primarily G3 ethnic response. However, in this study numerous participants appeared to evidence intensification to the quality and/or quantity of their TJRO irrespective of their generation positioning.

In an era of 'choices', refashioning ethnic expressions to satisfy personal interests and needs has become popular as a way to enhance ethnic options, activating and strengthening people's commitment to their interpretation of TJRO. Appreciation of the "exotic," Toronto's
multiculturalism ethos, denominationalism, proliferation of ethnic options, congregation choices, popularizing of ethnic personas, mannerisms, the commercialization of ethnic tastes and lifestyles provide a fertile context for TJRO Revitalization. In this sample there is a noteworthy group of ethnic Toronto Jews that are personalizing and customizing their TJRO, at times "picking and choosing the best of other traditions and belief systems" (24-year-old G2¼ son of intermarriage Ron Bargman) to realize a revitalized approach to their TJRO. For these people a passionate Jewish commitment is not achieved using conventional means like praying in synagogue or keeping kosher but rather by reconstructing traditional rituals to meet their needs. This trend toward finding new ways to express Jewishness that are in many cases outside the Jewish institutional structures reveals possible novel sources of Jewish ethnic cohesion. New Age thinking, Channeling, Rastafarianism, Holistic healing, Buddhism, Exotic cultural influences, Vegetarianism, Feminism, Lesbian and Gay culture are just some of the 'other' systems' principles people are incorporating into their mode of TJRO. Nevertheless, even in the United States it is only recently that these non-traditional indicators have become part of the research agenda.

24-year-old G2¼ Ron Bargman, raised primarily by his divorced Australian-Canadian Jewish mother, his non-Jewish father having left the picture early on in his life, no longer downplays his Jewish identity. Ron has regenerated his approach to TJRO with the help of his Rastafarian “brother,”71 a neighbor in their downtown low income Cooperative residence. Ron’s exposure to Rastafarian ideas with its emphasis on standing up for one’s rights has greatly influenced his own 'stand up and be counted' approach and aggressive identity politics stance to his assertion of his Jewish status.

I am who I am, I am Hebrew, I am Jewish, not just say that, but be able to defend it, with

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71 The kin term brother is used by Ron to express a close kin-like relationship that he does not see as restricted to blood relations.
ideas, either physically or mentally. For me, that pacifist [non-confrontational, nonviolent] Hebrew is long finished, you know. I am the first one to start an argument if anyone has any confrontation with me. I am quick with my fists and words. There is no crap like that anymore. When I was younger and going to Jewish day school, I was not necessarily ashamed of being Jewish, but I got teased a lot. You get on a bus and somebody calls you a 'Jew beggar' and throws pennies at you. In school it's pounded into you to not fight back. A lot of kids I went to school with don't have the same heart and soul that their grandparents and parents did and they just go about their religion half ass. They smoke and eat pork. They'd never tell their parents that though. My sister is also very wishy washy with it, as opposed to myself who, well a lot of people will look at me and go well you don't look Jewish, you don't act Jewish, and I say well I am. Just because I don't have payess, or wear a big tefilin or black coat or worship in synagogue, doesn't necessarily make me less of a Hebrew than the man that sits there. I probably know more about it than the average man that sits there in synagogue. The way I see it they sit there and they read. They mutter all these Hebrew, wonderful phrases and have no idea what the hell they're saying. What is the point sitting there and davening [praying] and your heart is not in it, your mind is not into it, you don't know what you are saying. So, that to me is hypocrisy, stand there and say oh you should be in synagogue and I say, well for what, so I can also be hypocritical, spout out the jargons and slogans, but not have any heart about it. I can't do that. I'd rather know what I'm reading and understand what I'm reading than just sit there and stare at a book blankly and pretend as many congregants do. They sit there for a couple of hours and they're like my good deed is done for the day. 'Honey, where's the dinner? We're leaving'. Most of the time, synagogue is a social aspect for people, and for the rare people who go there because they understand it, that is so rare, they'd be 80-year-old Yiddish people that can identify every word and not have a problem with it. For me, I can read it and somewhat understand. A lot of it is written in different texts than what I learned in Jewish day school and Hebrew school. A lot of the statements one is reading doesn't really apply to youth today, doesn't do anything for the problems youth are facing. It's wonderful for Jewish leaders to list how you are supposed to live, 'oh you can't do that, you have got to respect everyone, you've got to respect your elders.' But the youth are coming into a time where the elders aren't showing respect to them and they're being brought up in this 'why am I going to show respect back, if they're not doing anything to earn it, why should I do anything?' So, there is this huge confrontational conflict for young people.

Ron sees synagogue attendance as a mere social club with a pretense of religious piety and moral superiority. He prefers to actively participate in home-based traditional Jewish rituals. Accordingly, there is no dry formalistic non-participatory reading of the Passover haggadah (book of the Passover liturgy) or dispassionate abbreviated Jewishness in the Bargman household. A typical Passover Seder experience is described as "warm, comfortable, a learning experience, lots of debates, questions and reminiscences." Revitalization in Ron's form of TJRO is evident in his Friday night ritual. After habitually partaking with his Polish born non-Jewish girlfriend at his mother's Friday night Sabbath meal Ron gathers with his two "brothers," a Sikh and a Rastafarian, to hold open animated spiritual and ideological discussions at the local non-sectarian
We have a group that we have together every Friday night. We have it up at the X community center. We have flyers out around the street. Rasta Jew and a Sikh. It's called JAHH, Join Acquiring Higher Heights. Every night we get there at 7:30, light the Sabbath candles and say a prayer over the candles, open up the book of the old testament and read a couple of psalms. And then we discuss the meaning of the psalms to us, how we interpreted that as youth coming up in society. Not the way the rabbis might interpret it, not the way the priest might interpret it or the way your grandmother might have interpreted it, but the way you interpret it. What people don't understand is that if you don't like your religion, then change it, there is no rule anywhere that says you can't flip-flop. For the longest time women weren't allowed on the bima, certain synagogues are revamping, changing that. You don't have to abide by all the rules to be a good Jew. You can create your own way of worshipping.

Ron's “renewed” emotional attachment to expressing a personalized version of TJRO has come about as a consequence of his spiritual experimentation, consideration and synthesis of Rastafarian and Sikh principles. Ron and his ‘brothers’ are attempting to create an approach to their ritual observances that validates and incorporates their needs. People like Ron and others might not frequent synagogue weekly, if at all, but have become avid participants in alternative spiritual camps, retreats, centers, friendship and internet discussion groups where they congregate with like-minded others to celebrate and revitalize their ethnic expressions.

Although the “JUBU” movement, the synthesizing of Buddhist principles/practices with TJRO is less of a socially organized phenomenon in Toronto as is the case in large American cities, this trend has made its way to Canada as well where it is revitalizing many individuals’ personal

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72 Kamenetz (1994) provides a compelling narrative of the relationship between Jews, in particular American Jews, and Buddhism. According to Kamenetz, 30 percent of Westerners who are practicing Buddhism are Jews, many of whom serve in role model positions as teachers, leaders, activists and organizers. The JUBUs, Jewish Buddhists or Buddhist Jews that Kamenetz speaks with in a 1990 Tibetan Buddhist-Jewish dialogue in India and in America upon his return include broadly two types. Among JUBUs there are [1] ethnic Jews spiritually “hungry” who have dismissed the “exoteric” approach to Judaism in which they were reared and have found satiation in the esoteric mystical practice of Buddhism; and [2] ethnic Jews who through Buddhism discovered Jewish renewal, spiritual answers offered by sages in Judaism. This search for some way of leading “a spiritual life” (134), a search initially perceived unfulfilled in Judaism never having been taught about Jewish mysticism, by virtue of their involvement in Buddhism has brought them full circle to creating an “alive” form of TJRO (141).
commitment to their TJRO. For example, 29-year-old G3 Len Snow has incorporated a Buddhist influence into his spiritual–traditional approach to TJRO by introducing personal meditations into his ritualistic family Sabbath meal. Buddhism has helped Len revitalize his emotional attachment to the mystical dimension of his TJRO. His incorporation of Buddhist principles and practices into his revitalized TJRO has rubbed off on his 27-year-old sister, Gail Snow, who is now keen to revamp her own “lukewarm” secular–traditional approach. Gail, a self-proclaimed meaning seeker, likes to approach ‘old’ traditions in ‘novel’ ways and is determined not to engage in behavior for behavior’s sake: “If I can find the meaning in the things that I do, I enjoy doing it. Things that I don’t understand or it’s just sort of repetition I don’t enjoy that.”

The high value placed on personal reflection and introspection in Buddhism has led some individuals to break entirely with collective prayer in a formal setting, preferring instead to engage in private prayer at home on the High Holidays. Boorstein (1997), author of ‘That’s funny, You Don’t Look Buddhist’ represents ethnic Jews who are intensifying both their practice and personal commitment to TJRO after discovering the Buddhist lens (see also Cheater Nov/Dec 1998: 15). Buddhism has helped such Jewish Revitalizers to understand better formerly hidden, inaccessible, otherwise dormant parts of their birth religion. Studying and practicing Buddhism does not as some JUBUs argue diminish or contradict their Jewishness. In fact, some claim being “much more Jewish than I was before” (Kamenetz 1994) and draw similarities between the philosophy of Maimonides and Buddhist philosophy. Those spiritually curious Jews who “have Jewish roots and Buddhist wings” and reared in a climate shunning “anything that smacks of excessive concern for God or piety...[and] any overt religious display” have soared

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73 Canadian-based Brodey (1997) explores the sources of attraction to Buddhism, disaffection from one’s Jewish background, and the integration/reconciliation of the two, in the identity journeys of nine North American Jewish women.
74 Gail, a naturopathic student, attributes going through a “more religious” phase wherein she was “shomer shabbos” for eight months, like everything” to the fact that she “was grasping at something to hold on to because I was becoming very depressed, very lonely and had broken up with a boyfriend.” Currently, she has found a way to engage in TJRO that integrates her New Age sensibilities: “Spirituality is important, you sing Shabbat songs and it is very joyous. How can you not be happy, the songs, the clapping and all that, it’s beautiful.”
spiritual heights they never thought possible through Buddhism (12).

Buddhism is not the only ‘other’ system whose ways are functioning to revitalize some people’s approach to TJRO. 60-year-old G2 Richard Lebowitz finds previously unexpressed joy in the personal and familial foci of Jewish holiday rituals since his discovery of Channeling. Channeling is a New Age type of belief system which argues that you can “create your own reality” by changing your mind-set, diffusing fears and realizing new destinies. He explains,

I started to change the software that I had kind of inherited from my environment and from my culture and from my heritage. And one of the things that really intrigued me, what kind of caught my attention right from the start was that we create our own reality. Now for a technical person it’s a very powerful idea. It has nothing to do with anything outside of you. It has nothing to do with some super being up there who is either favoring you or not favoring you. It’s something that you can unravel and you have the ability, the power, and the insight to do this. You might be able to relate to this with some of the older television sets. Remember when you used to change channels, you had to adjust the fine-tuning and the picture came clear. So the Channeling material used that analogy that we are receivers and the energy is pure, but if we’re mistuned the energy comes through fuzzy and unclear. And the components that we’re working with here are your belief systems, your ideas, your attitudes, your perception and all of that could be reshaped.

Richard’s dedication to Channeling, travelling to conferences, receiving Channeling newsletters and avidly reading all Channeling material, has facilitated a “re-wiring” in his approach to TJRO. Formerly an unhappy spiritual-traditionalist Outsider, Richard has used the precepts of Channeling to take control over his own enjoyment of the full range of home-based Jewish holiday rituals the Lebowitz family celebrates. “Reshaping, fine tuning” his TJRO prompted Richard to give up being an extremely passive “twice a year synagogue-goer” and instead concentrate on the personal and familialistic significance of the Jewish Holiday festivities.

I am having fun now. I reject all the religious ideas and attitudes and can now just value these Jewish family functions for its value on a social scale. So I don’t go to shul on the High Holidays and of course, that’s very difficult for the rest of my family to accept. They’re extremely skeptical, they think it is hocus-pocus and some are somewhat even offended by it, but that’s their problem now.

While extant Jewish identity surveys would interpret the decrease in Richard’s TJRO, the abandonment of High Holiday attendance, as weakening Jewish ethnic attachment, they would
be in the dark about the strength and vitality of his new sources of affinity for his select TJRO. His current active personal commitment to certain TJRO has also been absorbed by his three offspring, improving the chances for intergenerational continuation of some form of TJRO. Indeed the three Lebowitz offspring congregate with their significant others plus grandchildren every Friday night for dinner at the parental household. After family members are satiated from a rich serving of traditional Jewish fare like brisket and kugel those who are interested typically partake in intellectual exchanges about Channeling and other ideas.

Transformation in the Jewish food aspect of TJRO is enlivening more than people's taste buds and is yet another avenue people are using to personalize and assign significance to their brand of TJRO, making it more palatable and attractive in the process. The discovery of 'other' exotic ethnic cuisines—notably the enduring Jewish love affair with Chinese food, the younger generations interest in Italian and the “diet conscious” Jews' preference for Japanese—has found its way into people's innovation of their TJRO. For instance, G3 Faye and Saul Stern, Young Urban Jewish Individuals (YUJIES) in their thirties join Saul's parents every Friday night for their version of a Sabbath family meal at a popular Chinese restaurant in the Forrest Hill area. Gabaccia (1998) in her text *We are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* describes Jews as enthusiastic “cross-over” consumers of Chinese food to the effect that Chinese restaurateurs are sensitive to the kosher eating tastes and cultural practices of their Jewish consumers. Further, she notes how the popular incorporation of Chinese dishes into the rituals of ethnic Jews makes some even ponder whether kosher Chow Mein could be considered an “authentically Jewish dish.” According to Gabaccia, “cross-over buying and selling transformed regional creoles into twentieth century forms” (100). She describes the emergence of “new creoles” (202), the hybrid ethnic dishes that come about due to interethnic interaction, multi-ethnic eating and the corporate marketing of ethnic tastes. The twentieth century has witnessed for instance the transformation of such distinctive ethnic food icons like bagels into a
metropolitan fast food. While for some bagels no longer confer Jewish distinctiveness or act as a means to express their Jewishness, others develop particularistic attachments to certain brands of bagels to communicate their Jewish loyalty and affinity. G3 Fiona Zukerman suggests that “where you buy your bagels is a big deal; most Jews I know do not go to Canadian Bagels because they do not see the chocolate chip and blueberry bagel versions as the real thing and have a bias for bagels, specifically Gryfe’s bagels.” For Fiona, a distinguishing trait of a non-Jewish approach to bagels is to add such items as blueberries and chocolate as is done for muffins. Instead, “Jews are used to having a bagel with cream cheese and that is it, you know keep it plain.” For some secular-traditional Jewish families, the “inconvenience” of getting kin together on Friday nights and an attraction to Chinese food has inspired multigenerational family occasions every Sunday evening for take out/ordered-in-Chinese food “with [or without] paper plates” depending on creative efforts to maintain some semblance of Jewish dietary observance. G1½ Valerie Valdez (mid 50s) who came as a young teen to Toronto from South Africa with her family and is intermarried with Mexican born John Valdez sums up the Chinese-North American Jewish relationship,

Everything was so different; the North American culture was totally different to the South African culture. The teenagers dressed very different. People introduced me to Chinese food, which to this day I love. This was part of the North American Jewish culture, you go out once a week, in those days it was Cantonese, Chinese food.

Upward social mobility and the realities of consumerism have created a competitive Jewish holiday food industry. The increased variety of matzahs (unleavened bread eaten during Passover) available to the consumer such as diet matzah and chocolate matzah reflect new expectations about enjoying one’s holiday experience, not just enduring it. For those not relying on Jewish catering services to ‘authenticate’ a distinctive Jewish holiday meal, adding one’s own spices or preparing foods in a different way are personal tools invoked to enhance one’s TIPRO. 48-year-old holistic practitioner G3 Linda Weinrib hosts a completely different Passover Seder experience than her sister Hilda who has retained the “fatty” Jewish holiday menu from their
parental home. 'Walking her holistic talk' the fat is cut out and tofu adapted to the holiday eating regimen.

Others revitalizing their ritual involvement are seeking ways to be loyal to their Jewishness as well as their other social identities such as being a feminist, lesbian, gay and/or environmentalist. In order to try and overcome the alienation from one's Self present in 'mainstream' Jewish and Lesbian communal settings some women are creating special "safe" spaces in which new friendships are formed, aiding the expression of their Jewish and lesbian identities (Mushkat 1999). 26-year-old G3 Ellen Weinfeld, daughter of a Jewish conversionary union, believes that there are less female attendees who belong to the gay and lesbian congregation in Toronto because they are finding alternate non-traditional spaces to satisfy their communal needs.\textsuperscript{75} One such group of Toronto lesbian feminist Jews enacts TJRO in a non-sectarian community center where a transformed approach has been adopted incorporating the women's other belief systems and styles of 'doing.'

The transformative effects of feminism on TJRO are yet another dissertation in their own right (Alpert 1997; Cantor 1995; Goldstein 1999). The pathways forged by feminist Revitalizers are now seeing the fruits of their labor in the non-Orthodox religious denominations. Signs of innovation include mixed gender seating, female rabbis and cantors, women wearing kippahs (skullcaps) and tallisim (prayer shawls), women being present on the bima (platform) and leading services, popularized legitimacy of the bat mitzvah and religious instruction for females. 28-year-old G3 Suzanna Horowitz has intensified her personal commitment to Passover since she started going to a feminist communal Seder. The Neinstein household draws upon a variety of \textit{haggadahs}

\textsuperscript{75} These alternative forums can make TJRO more personally meaningful and inclusive by specifically catering to a particular lifestyle such as a lesbian feminist orientation (see Alpert 1997).
including a feminist writing of the Passover story, and have experimented with adding feminist role-playing exercises to enrich this TJRO and instill consciousness about liberation from gender oppression. 50-year-old widowed G3 Hilda Weinrib, a pioneering feminist in her 20s, derives personal satisfaction from the usage of a self-created feminist-oriented 

haggadah at Passover Seders (see also Broner 1997). Jewish Feminists’ struggle for religious equality of access is helping to transform ritual involvement. For example, writing new rituals for life-cycle events like pregnancy or mourning miscarriages utilizes a reinterpretation of Jewish history from a feminist lens that includes a feminization of the liturgy and image of God (Alpert 1997; Brodey 1997; Brin and Sharkey 1992; Cantor 1995).76

The origins of the Reform movement in Judaism were ‘innovative’ to say the least (Brown 1972). Such innovations included adopting practices informed by the Christian Majority culture such as holding Sunday services instead of Saturday Sabbath services, leading services primarily in English, banning the kippah wearing requirement for males, and introducing choir and musical instrumentation to services.77 However, there has been a move towards re-traditionalizing the ritual approach of Reform congregations, including “a return” to Saturday services, the addition of more Hebrew, revisited kippah and tallis wearing, re-emphasis on the bar/bat mitzvah rite, keeping kosher and the Sabbath rituals. Nonetheless, there are those who continue to resist efforts to bring back what many had previously regarded as outmoded and obsolete traditions. 44-year-old G3 Tammy Fischer, daughter of a conversionary marriage, who is highly involved in

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76 Reconstructing Jewish tradition is also evidenced by growing numbers of non-Orthodox Jewish women who are inventing “spiritual therapy,” reclaiming and recasting the mikvah ritual in new ways (Brodey 1997; Goldstein 1999).

77 Fulford (1998) identifies ‘contra-accluration’ trends visible in Holy Blossom, Toronto’s oldest Reform synagogue. For instance, in the temple’s bar mitzvah ceremonies Fulford reveals that it is not uncommon seeing the following intergenerational dynamics: “The grandfather, an old timer remembers feeling the urgent need to separate himself from Orthodoxy and take his place in the secular world—by, among other things, worshipping bareheaded. To him, not wearing a yarmulke has been a matter of principle. The boy’s father grew up within that tradition but at some point he found that wearing a yarmulke on religious occasion is a comfortable expression of his identity, a way to show solidarity with Jews everywhere. And the thirteen year old, growing up in a still more comfortable time for Jews, has decided he can best express his Judaism by wearing both yarmulke and shawl (88).”
a progressive Reform congregation sees a growing division between the advocates of classical
Reform, the "church-like" proponents, and those like herself "on the traditional side" who want
the synagogue experience "to feel more Jewish." Tammy attributes this shift to integrating
traditional elements back into Reform Judaism to "living now in a free society where you can do
all this without feeling threatened. It is not as dangerous as it was." Importantly, there has not
simply been wholesale re-introduction of former traditional approaches, but rather "new
interpretations of tradition" (e.g., women too can now wear a kippah and tallis).

The trend toward revitalizing TJRO has two main branches; those who seek meaning and make
choices outside conventional Jewish institutional structures and those who attempt to do so
within the system. There are many ways those who thirst for a higher level of belonging and
meaning can go about intensifying and/or striving to restore the transcendent quality and/or
quantity of their TJRO, including joining or starting up a new congregation or perhaps a self-
governing group like a havurah (Diamant and Cooper 1991: 122-123). This quest for a "spiritual
home" is manifest in the social phenomena, "shul shopping," denominational switching and the
proliferation of self-constituted groups. Evident in my sample is an observable pattern of
intensification in emotional attachment to the spiritual-traditional foci of TJRO through
spiritual experimentation and exploration/discovery of new sites offering greater personal and
spiritual satisfaction. A prototypical member of this subgroup is 40-year-old unmarried baby
boomer Mitch Freedman who is not aligned with any particular Jewish institution or
denomination. He takes courses offered by Reform and Orthodox affiliations alike and refers to
himself as "a freelance Jew."

28-year-old, G2½, daughter of a Jewish conversionary union, Dorothy Warner attaches
importance to the lessons of 'choosing Jewishness' she observed in her parents.

   My parents are both very active and both very conscious Jews and I think the fact that
they've chosen how to be Jewish has made that any choice is always discussed and explored very articulately. My mother is very articulate on the subject of Judaism. She explained to me the ideas of Judaism, spirituality, the presence of God in people, and what constitutes a good action, and she has a very strong sense of social justice, which was something I definitely was guided towards. My parents taught me the need to make a choice about what religion means to you and not just to simply follow and I think that's what's made me feel different than a lot of the kids in Jewish day school. I was very aware of the consciousness of the choice. I saw a lot of girls who were just following the path and I couldn't relate because I felt that you were supposed to choose or else you were being lazy in your faith.

In my interview with her 25-year-old G2\(1/2\) brother Albert told me that because his mother chose to be Jewish: "it probably gives us a stronger Jewish identity, to feel that it was important to be Jewish." He expanded on the pivotal role his mother's conversion to Judaism had on his Jewish identity.

My mother lead by example, and we all knew, I mean there was never anything strange that she'd converted and that her side of the family wasn't Jewish. And just the fact that she chose that way of life and made that decision. At a young age we didn't really fully understand how that would work, or what you would go through when you did something like that, but we still knew that she'd made a choice right. And just the fact that she'd made that choice we knew that there was something there. Also, just being exposed unlike most Jewish families, the people I grew up with, being exposed to another religion, another group, and it wasn't strange or anything. Like when we'd go to our grandparents for Christmas or something happened to fall around the same time as Christmas the menorah was always in the window. And I think you know the way that it all sort of worked together whenever we were involved with them. That was really my mom's doing. I think she really made sure of that. What she really gave us then was an appreciation for who we were in our own religion, our culture and our own identity, but at the same time an appreciation for another culture, another identity, another religion, diversity.

44-year-old G3 Tammy Fischer, daughter of a Jewish conversionary union, is also a noteworthy spiritual seeker. Tammy had never really felt a strong religious component to her Jewishness until she had children, where after she independently began to "shul shop" for a family shul in spite of her husband’s disinterest in organizational participation.\(^7\) Instead of being "a passing phase" as

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\(^7\) Tammy remarks, "I've never been involved in Judaism like I am now. You know this is relatively new for me and growing up my mother would light candles every Friday and we would always celebrate Hanukkah and we would always be at a Seder somewhere. That was pretty much it. And as a teenager, I very rarely went to services and in my 20's and 30's, I maybe went to High Holiday services two or three times, maybe over the course of 15 years. And on one hand, it wasn't important to me. On the other hand, it was always kind of something in the back of my mind that one day I have to return to this or discover this, and I guess for so many people having kids it's the catalyst. I finally announced to my husband that we're going shul shopping." In tune with new ethnic identities, Tammy argues that her brand of Jewishness is additive not subtractive—"I didn't reject anything of my parents, I added to it."
Tammy's husband had hoped, Tammy found a niche within what began as a group of 60 predominantly young Jewish families seeking to create a spiritual site that differed from the "impersonal, non-participatory and formal" choices of their parents. Tammy feels "at home" in this intimate progressive Reform congregation which due to the popularity of yearnings for an egalitarian, "intimate," "inviting" and "accessible" setting has blossomed into 120 families. Instead of Tammy's emotional attachment to her involvement in congregation life dissipating as it had as a passive attendee of a Conservative synagogue, her congregational-communal focus has been unrelenting ("I just didn't know it could be like this"). Indeed, not only has Tammy been a member for nine years, she also attends "temple" every Friday, Saturday and now celebrates all Jewish festivals, takes part in religious study, sings in the choir and just finished serving a two year appointment as president of the "temple." Tammy also introduced her parents to the congregation and the two have become active synagogue participants, a novel experience for both—"I've had a real thirst for learning more about Judaism and my parents have come along for the ride." Her mother, 74-year-old Jew by Choice (formerly Catholic) Patricia Fischer provides her perspective on the large Conservative synagogue to which the Fischer family initially belonged upon settling in Toronto.

There are so many families. You could never feel as if you were a part of it, just another person going. People just didn't seem to go out of their way to make you feel comfortable. They all seemed to have their own little cliques and so with [this Reform congregation] it's totally different, you feel like a big family.

Since joining her warm Reform congregation Patricia has revitalized her approach to TJRO—loves singing in the synagogue choir, participating in Torah classes, serves on the Congregation's ritual committee, and has learnt all the brachot [prayers]—to the extent that she now unequivocally states "I feel Jewish. I really feel I belong." Ever since they got married Patricia's 78-year-old, Calgary born, G2 Jewish husband Paul wanted to switch to Reform but they initially affiliated with a Conservative synagogue because Patricia "wanted to be more traditional."
Religious rituals never meant anything to me until I became a Reform Jew. First of all I understood what was going on because 50 percent is in English and the length of services are much more humane. I never studied Torah in my life until recent years (Paul).

Although Jewish issues have been a source of conflict between the Fischers’ daughter Tammy and her husband Mark, he is nonetheless receptive to joining Tammy on occasion at their Reform congregation in a northern suburb. Initially resistant to the introduction of organized Jewish participation in their life Mark did not want to have anything to do with synagogue and ritual practice beyond minimal family-based holiday celebrations. At the time of Tammy’s “shul shopping” experience their congregation’s female rabbi was particularly helpful to Tammy’s evolving Jewish spiritual journey. Tammy’s personal commitment to her Congregation continues to thrive. After performing a motivational Jewish visualization exercise at a shul-organized retreat she was sufficiently inspired about expanding her Jewish knowledge to go on and study Jewish studies part-time at York University and earn her bat mitzvah for her fortieth birthday.

Revitalization is very apparent in this trend to have adult bat/bar mitzvahs, a practice more often engaged in by women (Berck 1996; Kahn 1995; Schoenfeld 1992). 48-year-old G3 Linda Weinrib is an example of yet another Jewish woman interested in marking her birthday (fiftieth) with a bat mitzvah now that she has found acceptance and belonging in a revitalized Toronto congregation (Toronto’s Reconstructionist synagogue). For Linda, an adult bat mitzvah symbolizes her spiritual homecoming and her invigorated emotional attachment to TJRO as a welcomed member in a religious community. Similarly, Berck (1996: 47), raised in a religiously minimalist, left leaning Jewish household where “worldly’ interests not Jewish ones” were promoted, experienced her adult bat mitzvah as a vehicle for coming out publicly as a Jew. Almost two years married to a fellow child of Jewish intermarriage 25-year-old American-Canadian Jew Olivia Fiorio is in the process of revitalizing her orientation to TJRO, “struggling to understand what meaning I want these practices to play.” Unlike her younger sister, Olivia
never had a bat mitzvah and thought that perhaps having one as an adult might "explain to [her] what it is all about." This is not unlike some of the women in Schoenfeld's (1992: 354) qualitative study of a group of Toronto adult bat mitzvah participants who "felt ignorant in a lot of things and wanted to learn more" or "didn't know enough to follow properly."

The search for meaning, purpose and belonging has not only had an impact upon the emergence of new Toronto non-Orthodox congregations, but revitalization is also evident in the Orthodox camp. Specifically, there are increasing numbers of "Jewish returnees" or "ba'alei teshuvah", namely those moving in the direction of intensifying, kosherizing and orthodoxifying their ritual involvement. For instance, Tammy Fischer's younger sister (daughter of intermarriage) and her formerly non-practicing South African Jewish husband are examples of young Jewish couples who have been "turned on" to Orthodox Judaism by Aish Hatorah, a Jewish Outreach organization. Spiritually curious, "Jew by Choice" Betty Warner and her G1 1/2 formerly non-practicing, non-believing Parisian-born Jewish husband Abe started out with a havurah of Jewish families trying to recreate a Jewish spiritual haven in a trailer parked outside their Toronto home. Their havurah's efforts ultimately led to the building of a large Modern Orthodox Thornhill-based synagogue.

We ended up with a small community. It started off with about ten couples all of whom were interested in Orthodox observance, Orthodox davening. Part of it because of ties to tradition, wanting the sense of religious structure and community but not wanting it in a big institution. In X it wasn't financially sustainable, couldn't get land, too expensive to get land, build and keep the rabbi. So gradually we moved and our kids were going to Jewish day school and the commute was terrible for them. I was in three car pools and eventually we all moved in the general direction of Thornhill and we're all there now, and this group has been together 25 years we're all still friends.

Many revitalizing Jews who explore the Jewish spiritual landscape place emphasis on finding a "hamisch" and personable religious setting that approximates their conception of Old World Judaism deemed to be more 'authentic'. For example, 66-year-old intermarried G2 Lara Fiorio is currently in a spiritual exploration period, shul shopping, attending lectures, courses, and
engaging in TJRO renewal wherein she is keen to find “a smaller congregation” which harks back to an Orthodox style of shul Lara remembers from her youth. She wants to find a warm “natural” spirited site of Jewish religious expression because she feels uncomfortable with what she sees as “the preachiness, sterility and church-like candor” of Reform Jewish services. She specifically dislikes the English transliteration of Hebrew prayers. She confesses, “I don’t really think too much of Reform. I think it’s a very watered down form of religion, which doesn’t appeal. It’s too nebulous. I like something a little more structured, a little deeper. I don’t know about Conservative either. I like a more traditional festive ceremony. There’s something a bit too formal, not enough spirit in these other styles.” Lara’s return to TJRO, intensification in the quantity and quality of her Jewish ritual practice stems from her attraction to what she deems as a Jewish axis placed on "self-development, the idea that you are never a finished product, always a 'man' in the making." For Lara, “being a Jew really means continuous education, being a thinker, questioning, seeking and repairing.” Internalizing this value of critical thinking has helped guard Lara against passivity, indifference and apathy in her expression of Jewishness.

49-year-old single mother (formerly intermarried) G1\textsuperscript{1/2} “Jewish Australian-Canadian” Eileen Bargman is another Jew who has opted for an examined Jewish life. Actively emotionally attached to participating in her downtown egalitarian “haimisch shul,” partaking in all the Jewish holidays and attending Jewish courses fits well into Eileen’s Jewish worldview that values “intellectual development, self-growth, debating and critical questioning.” According to Eileen, it is not intermarriage per se that is threatening the future of Toronto Jewry, but indifference, or as she suggests, the stoicism of the "sheep generation." She is passionate in her discourse about the downtown-uptown/suburban Jewish divides and denominational rifts. She equates downtown Jewry and its shuls, specifically the traditional egalitarian congregation where she both daven and volunteers her time, with progressiveness, compassion, inclusiveness and awareness. In contrast, she associates uptown Jewry and its large moneyed shuls with rigidity, exclusiveness
and sterility.

Eileen rejected her parents' Outsider approach to Jewishness—Holocaust survivors settling on a farm in Australia encouraging their two daughters to integrate and associate primarily with non-Jews—in favor of a revitalized passionate orientation toward TJRO. Eileen developed positive feelings about TJRO after discovering the "hamisch" egalitarian services at a shul within walking distance from her Downtown Coop townhouse. She "really loved them," finding the congregation the "most inclusive and welcoming community, I think probably in Canada, and maybe even in the US." Turned on to the congregational-communal focus of TJRO Eileen now passionately maintains all Jewish holidays, kosher regulations, attends synagogue regularly and hosts a weekly Shabat dinner. She sent her two offspring to a parochial Jewish day school until she could no longer afford to do so, struggling to raise her offspring with a single parent minimal income.

G2 Harvey Snow in his 50s, son of an England-born Jewish mother and Russian Jewish father, grew up feeling "peripheral, outside...inferior" as a Jew both because of his father's job instability, living on the perimeter of the Jewish Annex and a low passive emphasis placed on TJRO. While Harvey was always "conscious of being a Jew because the area [he] grew up in was basically a non-Jewish area and [he] was constantly being bullied and beaten or beating up," he indicates that his Jewish identity was "empty and meaningless." That is, until his wife turned him on to a spiritual-traditional approach to TJRO. While Harvey's second generation status is typically considered rebellious towards an 'Old World' Judaism, in his case spousal selection, adult religious education and a favorable external environment mitigated against such effects and promoted a high degree of personal investment in TJRO. Harvey's inter- and intra-generational intensification in the quantity and quality of his TJRO raises interesting questions about the conditions under which emotional attachment to ritual involvement thrives (i.e., is vital) or
rather falls by the wayside (i.e., atrophies and stagnates).

III. Change Agents

In this section, I examine some of the change agents that are influencing people's expression of Jewishness in the ritual sphere. While the qualitative nature of this project and sample size of 100 limit decisive conclusions about the degree to which certain factors may account for variation in the vitality of Toronto Jewishness, it is possible, nevertheless, to make preliminary remarks regarding the conditions under which Jewishness might flourish, falter or endure.

A. Generation Status and Jewish Vitality: A Complex Relationship

According to assimilation theorists generation status (or duration of time in the 'new' country) is key to understanding the strength and modalities of ethnic ties. Proponents of assimilation theory forward evidence substantiating the position that progressive erosion of ethnic affinity and expression occurs with each passing generation. From this perspective, the passage of time brings with it increasing acculturation to the majority group's patterns and declining interest in ethnic-specific participation. However, there is good reason to question the assumptions inferred from decreasing ethnic identity scores due to a tendency to over rely upon limited, often outmoded indicators of ethnic identity. Savvy researchers are increasingly recognizing the multidimensional nature of ethnic identity and demonstrating that there are differential rates and qualities of change for each facet that are masked by overly simplified portraits of 'losses' or 'gains' to ethnic identities (e.g., Driedger 1977; Isajiw 1990, 1999).

Considering the role of generation status—distinguishing between the ethnic identities of immigrants (first generation), their children (second generation), grandchildren (third generation) and great-grandchildren (fourth generation)—has led some cultural pluralist thinkers
to challenge assimilation assumptions of straight-line decline. Our ability to simply draw a straight line of diminishing ethnic attachment across successive generations is frustrated and enabled by a variety of intervening factors, *differing starting points* and the transformation in the definition of ethnic attachment across time and space. Countering this expectation of ethnic identity decline is the notion of generation “return” or “ethnic rediscovery” that is typically located in the third generation—"what the son wants to forget the grandson wants to remember" (Hansen 1990[1938]; Isajiw 1975, 1999; Reitz 1980). Importantly, such restoration is often selective and informed by contemporaneous pressures so as to make it qualitatively and quantitatively different. In fact, some of these ‘returnees’ or ‘rediscoverers’ come from secular backgrounds and have little in the way of personal memories, experiences or family stories about ritual involvement. These people are radically redefining their approach and attachment to their ethno-religious roots, finding varied ways to express this intensified personal commitment to their heritage.

Before exploring the import played by the passing of ‘generations’ in making sense of variation in Jewish identity, in this case Jewish ritual involvement, one needs to adopt a valid means of conceptualizing and measuring generation status. The qualitative nature of this study revealed hidden complexities that could undermine our understanding of these issues. In the context of increasing immigrant heterogeneity—changes in the nature and sources of immigrants—glossing over ‘differences’ as in for instance relying on the nativity status of at least one parent and/or set of grandparents to infer generation status, can be misrepresentative, insufficient, or at best, an oversimplification. In seeking second generation parents and when possible their third generation offspring, or vice versa depending upon access opportunities, I became intimately acquainted with the obscurity, limitations and frustrations inherent in the manner in which generation is typically conceived and measured in immigrant adaptation research (see also Kertzer 1983). Not only are the presumptions of a progressive loss in ethnic affinity, cultural and
social distinctiveness across successive generations a source of contention, but as Kertzer effectively demonstrates "this usage of the generation concept is much more problematic than most scholars have acknowledged" (141). In an everyday and academic climate of "polysemous" usage of the generation concept, how does one accurately differentiate a sample according to distance from the immigrant experience?

The common definition and operationalization of generation status in the North American ethnic identity and immigrant adaptation literature focuses on genealogical distance from socialization experiences in another country or alternatively stated extent of exposure to the new country's ways and means. The first generation (G1) is often considered non-native/foreign-born persons whose "basic process of socialization took place before immigration" (Isajiw 1999: 193), but analysts now acknowledge the differential cultural imprint of foreign birth on those over or under twelve at the time of immigration as an important ingredient. Some researchers consider this under twelve grouping as members of the second generation whereas others label those who fall in this category generation one and a half (G1 ½). The second generation (G2) typically refers to those persons who share the experience of being native-born and having at least one parent who is foreign born, the third generation indicates having grandparent(s) in this non-native category, and so on for consecutive generations.

Problems abound in terms of clarifying both what we mean by generation status, the passing of generations, and its possible effects on the nature of (Jewish) ethnic identity, beyond merely considering those twelve and under upon arrival as more open and close to the socializing influences of the new context. Not only is it crucial to sort out the effects of age at immigration

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79 In Kertzer's (1983: 128) critical examination he problematizes extant "polysemous" usage of the generation concept, highlighting the "many different, analytically incompatible senses" in which generational status is treated and that function to render its definition and effects unclear (133).
in refining our understanding of generation location, there are still other potentially confounding ‘time’ oriented variables that challenge the extant utility of the generation concept. For example, some of the later generation (G3 plus) respondents in the sample prioritized a “fun” focussed orientation to their brand of Jewish ritual involvement and others still expressed an axis on understanding, questioning and choosing their ritual engagement. Is this a function of their generation status, assuming we could even come to some clear understanding of what that is, or rather is it perhaps more accurately attributable to the interplay of other competing factors such as the “spirit of the time,” one’s age, and/or life course effects?

Contrary to the assumptions of assimilation theory, immigrants do not begin the societal adaptation race on equal footing, that is, they arrive in different periods, on their own, prior, after or together with family members, and are of varying ages, hailing from a variety of sources and circumstances, etc. The first generation do not arrive for the same reasons or with the same sets of expectations, aspirations, perceptions and orientations to their ethnic socialization and host culture, much less do they share motives for migration, types of reception by host members, chain migratory patterns or ethnic linkages. Age at and period of immigration, country of origin, pre-migration expression of Jewishness, motives for and attitudes toward immigration affect people’s reactions to immigrant adaptation—what to preserve and how to integrate. For example, 80-year-old G2 Lori Fine’s Russian Jewish father stopped over in New York where immigrant officials anglicized his Jewish surname, something that Lori believes together with her “non-stereotypical Jewish looks” greatly impacted her Jewish consciousness. Generation status, as it is currently construed, tends to overlook or subsume differential starting points, perpetuating erroneous assumptions about the clarity of generation descent. Is it accurate to ignore or fail to incorporate into our notion of generation status the effects of migrating at the turn of the 20th

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80 See Karl Mannheim's 1952 text, “The Problem of Generations.”
century, as distinct from doing so in the 1930s, or say just after World War II? For instance, I treated Janet Williamson, a study participant, who was born in Paris to two Holocaust survivors and raised in Toronto since age one as G2, but wondered if being the child of Holocaust survivors might not place her in a generation category closer to the immigrant context. People sharing the same alleged generation location can have experienced different ‘slices of history’, even if they share a common country of origin, not to mention the effects of inculculturating into different historical conditions upon arrival.

Other difficulties that related to differential starting points emerged in this project when I tried to locate Canadian-reared offspring of Jewish immigrant parents and their offspring. For example, what happens to the generation status of the younger migrant in the not-so-uncommon circumstances of split family migration when s/he has already resided for some time in the new country and is joined by his/her parents? Does the younger migrant shift from being G1 to G2 or are both parents and children members of the same generation? In this study, I also had to confront a few cases in which a husband/father settled alone in a Canadian city, only several years later sending for his wife and offspring when he was established. While I had no problem classifying Richard Lebowitz, the Toronto-born outcome of the reunion of his Poland-born Jewish parents, G2, I would have had much more trouble trying to understand the generation effects for his first-to-arrive father, his later arriving mother and brother at 13 years of age. Aside from complicating split-family migration patterns, measuring generation status in the typical fashion is unclear and misleading when a migrant comes in one’s teen years together with both parents. What is the generation status for instance of retired 68-year-old, Winnipeg born, Vivien Marky whose mother came to Canada from Russia at age 13 with her parents? What about 62-year-old Paris-born Abe Warner, a 5-year-old “hidden child” during the Holocaust, whose

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81 Lori’s public school teacher questioned her absence from school on Yom Kippur not believing her to be Jewish.
parents were born in a small town in Galicia\textsuperscript{82} where significant Jewish transformation\textsuperscript{83} had begun long before they left\textsuperscript{84} for Paris, eventually settling as a family in Montreal\textsuperscript{85} in his teens? What of the generation status of Valerie Valdez\textsuperscript{86} who arrived as a late teen from South Africa with her parents and younger brother and descends from a second generation South African Jewish mother\textsuperscript{87} and first generation South African Jewish father\textsuperscript{88} who spent his formative years in Western Europe?

In addition, relying upon foreign birthplace to infer generation status whilst ignoring migrants' differential countries of origin mutes the effects potentially associated with variation in the extent of cultural discontinuity/dissimilarity with, in this case, Canadian cities' ways and means.

\textsuperscript{82} At the time of Abe's parents' birth Abe reports the East European town where they lived until 1935 was still part of the Austria-Hungarian empire: "between the two World Wars it was part of Poland and now it is considered part of the Ukraine.

\textsuperscript{83} "And in terms of the Jewish aspect, my parents were not what you'd call, they were not observant, although their parents were quite observant. So you see that break did not take place in the Western Europe okay. It took place already in the Eastern Europe. Like when I see pictures of my father and his friends they all were shaved; they used to shave with razors. You know, straight blades. All their fathers used to have beards and keep their heads covered all the time. So there was already like this new, call it emancipation, or whatever, really took place already even though that was a small town where things tend to be a little stricter. So, okay they were not observant, but certainly they belonged to a synagogue."

\textsuperscript{84} Abe's parents were both part of a young Labor Zionist organization in their hometown. While a number of members were preparing to make aliyah, his father was more interested in staying in business. Husband came first to Paris to establish himself and then wife arrived not long after. They left Eastern Europe in 1935 and left France after reuniting with Abe who had been hidden by an anti-clerical non-Jewish French family with ties to the Resistance.

\textsuperscript{85} "The majority of Jews in Montreal had come straight from Eastern Europe to North America. They hadn't gone through this Western acculturation period, so they were more Jewish. There were also definitely differences between older Jewish families who had immigrated like before the war, a long time ago, already like first or second generation Canadian born. We had little to do with them. Those freshly arrived were called Greenies and then there were the yellows. It usually also had something to do with wealth" (Abe).

\textsuperscript{86} "I wanted to become Canadianized right away, become Canadian, make friends and feel more at home, I felt it would be easier. I wanted to Canadianize rather than being different cause in those days there were no other South Africans, you know I was an oddity. I wanted to belong. I felt like a country bumpkin next to the Canadian Jewish girls" (intermarried Valerie Valdez in her 50s).

\textsuperscript{87} Valerie Valdez's mother, 90-year-old Esther Levin, was the outcome of the reunion of her Eastern European Jewish parents, involuntarily separated for six years due to push factors. Her father, "a religious man who was a medical student and left there on account of the pogroms at the turn of the Century, and had to leave his wife and four children behind in order to come and earn a living in South Africa. He didn't know anything about business." It took him six years trying to establish a furniture business before he could send for his wife and four children. Not only did a large age gap between Esther and her oldest sibling exist, but she was also the only one born in a westernized cultural context.

\textsuperscript{88} Valerie's father, who died almost 30 years ago, two years after Valerie married, was a German Jew ten years older than his wife. He "left Germany in good time, in 1933 he went to Paris." He grew up among Catholics in a small town. Kosher meat was brought to them from Freiburg. He was sent there for his Jewish education and his bar mitzvah. He came solo to South Africa in his 30s.
According to Torczyner et al.’s (1995) analysis of the 1991 Canadian Census, South African and American Jewish immigrants fare better in terms of SES than their Israeli and Russian Jewish counterparts, demonstrating perhaps the immigrant adaptation advantage of coming from a culturally and linguistically comparable country. For example, having Israeli, as distinct from Polish Jewish roots, may mediate the nature of change to TJRO. 47-year-old, formerly intermarried, G1\(^{1/2}\) Israeli-born Eric Levine (Toronto arrival at age six with parents\(^a\)) underscores the significance of being “Israeli Jewish” as opposed to “Canadian Jewish.” He elaborates, “Whether both or one parent comes from Israel, it is like I never had to prove my Jewishness whereas if you are born here you can only identify by going to synagogue. The way we grew up was not synagogue going, very secular, doing all the traditional things on all the holidays, big connection to Israel, going there often.” Although the majority of non-immigrant Jews in the sample claimed Eastern European Jewish roots, measuring generation status was complicated in several cases by multiple migrations, in particular intermediary stopovers of mixed duration and effect from Anglophone, ‘Western’ sources with similar institutional structures. How do you classify the generation status of a participant who descends from at least one generation spent in the United States? For instance, what is the generation status of Toronto-born 78-year-old Karla Weisman raised by a Polish “old-world”\(^b\) Jewish mother and a New York-born Jewish father who settled in Toronto with three little babies?\(^c\) What about 28-year-old Harold Roberts who descends from a long line of American Jewish Reform adherents?

\(^a\) See socio-demographic profile of 90-year-old second generation South African born endogamous Jew Esther Levin. Esther reveals this South African versus Eastern European Jewish difference. “I wasn’t comfortable with the foreign Jews as I was with the Canadian Jews. Don’t forget I’m not from a foreign background. I didn’t come from Europe so I didn’t have the same interests as they did. I had a different crowd.” Her self defined “cosmopolitan” G1\(^{1/2}\) intermarried daughter Valerie Valdez (mid 50s) reiterates this contrast, “She’s very South African, although Canadian, but I mean her background, she’s not from Europe, so you’re getting a different feel there.”

\(^b\) Eric’s parents are European Jews. His father is a Holocaust survivor who went to Israel after the war.

\(^c\) Karla attributes her secular-traditional, if not anti-religious, conception of Jewish identity to feeling oppressed, restricted and suppressed by her mother’s “old-world thinking” and type of religiosity.

\(^d\) Karla’s father lost his wife in a flu epidemic after WWI. Left alone to care for three babies in Toronto he wrote to his wife’s parents who had seven other children. They sent over another daughter who he married and together they produced Karla. Karla, who was at least fourteen years younger than her oldest sibling, did not discover until much later the family kept secret that her mother was not the biological mother of her three other siblings.
Harold's maternal grandparents came over from Germany before the war, settling in Boston where his mother was born. In terms of his paternal ancestry, Harold has to go back three generations to locate his Eastern European Jewish roots. What about generation(s) spent in such countries as England, South Africa, Australia, or the extent of similarity existing between the size of the community of origin and that of the community of destination?

As we move beyond the first generation, Kertzer (1983: 141) astutely notes that all these "initial problems [defining generation status] are magnified because marriages are not necessarily generation homogenous or ethnically endogamous." These problems are often bypassed by measuring generation status using only one side of the family tree. The problem with ignoring the other parent's, or sometimes stepparent's, socializing or inculturating influence is we fail to concede the consequences of growing up in a family of mixed generation positioning (e.g., one parent or grandparent G1 and the other G3). To try and account for this uncovered generation heterogeneity and complexity I introduced an averaging technique that gave equal weighting to a given individual's mixed generation inheritance. For example, the respondent of a G1 and G3 parent was no longer classified as G2 or G4, but was treated here as G3. According equal weight to both sides is itself limited in that one parent's generation status may be more salient or influential. Consider 56-year-old G2 1/2 Stacey Plaut, daughter of Toronto-born (G2) mother and Polish-born (G1) father, who followed her mother's style of disassociating from "foreign roots." Even when only one side is explicitly validated, or favored, active rebellion against some 'thing' or someone else, is often very influential in self-concept formation. Consequently, this averaging technique captures at least some of the doubleness, and 'invisible' factors that occur

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93 "My father's side going back about three generations or so they lived on the border between Russia and Poland, so no one really knows if they were Polish or Russian, depends on what day of the week it was, small little town depends on who was winning the war (Harold)." On dad's side, they settled in Syracuse. His parents met at university and then got a job transfer to Toronto. My most recent update on Harold finds him now relocated with his non-Jewish born wife to a mid-America city and them joining a Reform Jewish congregation.
within families. In sum, this multigenerational Jewish identity exploration found a clear need for future research to revise the generation concept, either by disentangling the possible intervening effects of other ‘time’ variables, or rather perhaps by incorporating these conceivably interacting factors into a new multifaceted, improved generation concept.94

Are the observable changes present in this study, notably the diversification of Jewish identity outcomes, including the trend toward personalized and meaning-centered Jewishness, attributable to the passing of generations in a new context? Or, is it the changing spirit of the times with its emphasis on individualism, choice, self-actualization, pluralism and symbolic materialism, coupled with a diminished scope of religious authority that challenges straight-line predictions and accounts for the multiplicity and fluidity in Jewish identity pathways?95 Does the high representation of young unmarrieds or ‘nonfamily’ living arrangements in the later generations give a false impression of ‘generation decline’, modes of Jewish identity that perhaps alter in nature across the life course? This study revealed that we could not draw hasty conclusions about the explanatory weight of generation status especially when the interweaving functions of different dimensions of time,96 namely, age, cohort, period, life cycle and intras familial processes, have not been sufficiently disentangled.

A climate of identity politics, entitlement, ‘never again’ politicization, and the improved social standing of Toronto Jewry may be stimulating new modes of unembarrassed and non-passing Jewish consciousness, independent of one’s generation status. Growing up in a social climate that

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94 Perhaps in so doing some of the differences that distinguish immigrant parents from their Canadian children may turn out to be spurious relationships and actually attributable to immigrant acclimatization processes themselves and/or experiences with intra- and inter-group contact.

95 Appreciating the intersection between biography and the broader societal forces, that is adopting a “sociological imagination” (C. Wright Mills 1959), necessitates that we recognize the historically changing nature of relations between generations.

96 See Clausen’s (1986) push for researchers to deal with the multidimensionality of time, distinguishing specifically between biological (chronological age), social and historical time dimensions.
discouraged external or overt displays of ethnic identity—cohort, period or generation effects—helped in part facilitate G212 Vivien Marky's cultural approach to Jewishness. She chose her style in contrast to the religious lens of her maternal grandparents that she felt were old ways7. Vivien's mother's sullied attitude towards synagogue attendance, perceiving the attendees as "hypocritical and mean," is better understood in the context of the social effects of falling out of step with the normative pressures of one's cohort, in this case divorcing in a context when "most families were two parent families."Progressive retradiatinalization in some Toronto based Reform congregations across time is another arena of Jewish ritual involvement that exemplifies this generation confusion. Is it a new cohort of Reform adherents trying to do things differently than its predecessors or rather representative of the broader multicultural milieus of tolerance?

Myths and misinterpretations plague the assimilation/cultural pluralism debate. The distinctions between cohort membership and generation status [genealogical location] remain fuzzy as the effects of being part of a birth cohort, namely "a group that moves along together and thus experiences historical events at the same age" (Clausen 1986: 8), remain peripheral, if not overlooked entirely. Generations are not homogenous groups; cohort and period effects complicate, or more aptly help illuminate the picture. Taking into account whether one grew up in a period of prosperity, recession, Depression, social unrest, wartime, or is labeled a baby

7 Vivien describes her maternal grandparents as "Russian immigrants who seemed very much still steeped in their past because when they came to Canada they would have been middle-aged or even a little older, so their Judaism was sort of part of their everyday existence. They were never consciously or unconsciously telling us that we were Jews, we just accepted our Jewish background as being normal and natural because we grew up where there were other Jewish people and all my friends were Jewish."

8 Vivien explains, "I grew up feeling different because in those days most families were two parent families and I felt somehow it was a stigma that my mother and father were separated. In fact, I'd have these fantasies of my father dying and then I could say to everybody he was dead and everybody could give me sympathy, instead of that he had abandoned us". 78-year-old London (UK) born Anne Baker, also reared in a climate where divorce was stigmatized and double sexual standards were typical, reinforces this cohort-historical perspective. "It was typical for those times to turn a blind eye and not ask questions even if you knew your husband was being unfaithful." Ultimately the Bakers were separated and the much younger woman (the second woman) reaped the profits that finally came to a business Anne had helped create with her husband.
boomer, generation X or Y member, is instructive to our comprehension of changing definitions of, options, and priorities in ethnic commitment.

In my sample G2 participants of a 1930s birth cohort grew up with a strong societal value placed on Anglo-conformity—that immigrant groups are expected to adopt the norms and practices of the majority group—and hence tend to emphasize their Canadian identity and express embarrassment toward overt displays of Jewishness. Thrice married 88-year-old G2 Toronto Jew Ricky Tannenbaum internalized the assimilationist rhetoric of the time, agreeing that "Jewish immigrants should try as much as possible to blend into Canadian society and not stick to themselves, abandon their ethnic allegiances and customs and identify as Canadians." At the same time, Ricky feels that anti-Semitism, albeit not presently a problem in Toronto never really disappears and always lies latent beneath the surface. He is very conscious of the in-group divides that splinter the Jewish community, namely tensions between rich and poor and across religious denominations. He describes emphatically where he is coming from.

I'm a Jew, I've always been a Jew, but I'm a secular Jew I would describe myself. I served for a time on the board of the temple. I was treasurer of the board at one time, but to me as I said to rabbi X at the golf club last week, it's debatable whether organized religion hasn't done the world more harm than good. I'm very ambivalent about, horrified by the things that have been perpetrated by religion. The rabbi's answer to that was that it was debatable...[Being Jewish for Ricky is more tribal], the fact that all my ancestors I have sympathy with the history they went through and how they managed to exist with all the hardships that they had to see through centuries and I have a great deal of admiration for what they did. On the other hand, when I see the Yeshiva folks walking up Bathurst Street with their hats and payes, I get sick to my stomach. I think Orthodox Jews are as bad as Orthodox Arabs; there's no difference. I can't stand intolerant people and they are intolerant of everyone that doesn't believe the BS that they believe.

Remarried 82-year-old G2 Toronto-born Winona Federman's Jewish identity is not simply

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99 Members of the same generation (descent meaning) may have lived through different historical periods.
100 Ricky is currently married for two and a half years to a late generation Anglo-Canadian Christian woman about 20 years his junior (they moved in the same social circles). Ricky got married for the first time at 29—"wasn't in a hurry, I wanted to know all the girls"—to an Irish Catholic woman he met while stationed abroad. Rejected from her family for marrying a Jew, she converted to Reform Judaism before they returned to live in Toronto. They had four children together. After she died, he married a Jewish New Yorker who already had a very young girl whom he adopted. She also died before him.
attributable to being doubly socialized by Polish Jewish kin\textsuperscript{101} and Toronto agents, but was also influenced by her having grown up in “a time” when: “Jewish girls... couldn’t get a job at Eaton’s or Simpsons. You could not get a job as a sales lady, but Woolworths was a step below and did hire Jewish employees.” Another Toronto-born Jew, 82-year-old G2 Harold Fine’s conception of Jewishness as “a way of life” needs to be considered in light of his experience as a 14-year-old of his father’s participation in Toronto’s infamous anti-Semitic Christie Pitt riots.\textsuperscript{102}

In contrast, G2 participants in their 40s and 50s grew up with conditions of post-war economic prosperity and the beginnings of improved social status for Jews.\textsuperscript{103} The adaptation of a secular-traditional approach to TJRO together with an ethnocentric social Jewishness derived from Israeli Jews’ military successes in the ‘Six Day War ‘of 1967 is common to this cohort. For instance, Canadian-born baby boomer Jews in this sample, typically in their forties, spoke of a strong social expectation to send their kids to parochial school irrespective of one’s religiosity. Despite increased ethnic assertiveness among later generations of Canadian Jews, ethnic embarrassment remains quite close to the surface and can easily reappear when even just one Jewish individual is named as participating in fraudulent practices.\textsuperscript{104}

60-year-old G2 Norman Neinstein hails from what has been referred to as the ‘Shah generation’,

\textsuperscript{101} Winona’s parents came from Poland to Toronto at the turn of the 20th century with their parents when they were in their early 20s. Her parents met and married in Toronto. Her mother died when she was 11. Her late husband was born in New York while his parents were also from Poland. His parents, as Winona reports, “never really got along, but they never divorced in those days even though they should have.”

\textsuperscript{102} For rich details of this symbolic event, see Levitt and Shaffir (1993).

\textsuperscript{103} Importantly, this acceptance was situational. 56-year-old G3 Rona Wise spent her childhood years (mid 50s) in a “WASPy, nouveau riche area” and did not experience this Jewish identity confidence until grade 8. She explained, “I went to a very WASPy school for grades 5, 6 and 7 in North Toronto and I was called names, beaten up, picked on, both by the teachers and the kids. In those days I felt very hard done by the fact that I was Jewish but then we moved to a predominantly Jewish area and it was not a problem ever again. I feel quite proud of my heritage now. For the first time in my life, I felt like I belonged. I fit right in immediately.”

\textsuperscript{104} 28-year-old G4 Suzy Segal shares, I’ve always felt proud to be Jewish. I can’t really think of a time when I’ve really been embarrassed except to be embarrassed about the behavior of other Jews and how it reflects negatively on the group of us. But I’ve never been embarrassed about being Jewish, I’m still proud of it.
“In our generation, we felt the burden of what the rest of the world would think about Jews in our behavior, Jews don’t eat pork, don’t smoke cigarettes, you don’t get pregnant, you don’t become a farmer and you don’t rob cars.” Similarly, 53-year-old G2 Marianne Rosenthal grew up in a climate where the word “should” figured prominently: “You should do this, this is the right thing, or what will people say. My mother always has cared so much about what other people think. It hurt her badly and it hurt us, but she doesn’t see that. It had to be an image and she wanted everyone to think her kids were wonderful. I mean, the greatest gift you could give me is that my kids will be happy even if it means with a non-Jewish person, I’d be very sad about that. My mother, it would kill her. I am not scared that much because many of the intermarriages if they become Jewish they are the most Orthodox and keep it up.” Even though 28-year-old Harold Roberts is also G2 he has experienced a very different ‘slice of history’: “It is not like in the past where you tried to hide your identity to protect yourself. Jews need to know their history but it is also important to realize that being Jewish today is not what it has been like in the past.”

Additionally, within any particular generation the ‘spirit of the times’ can vary greatly. Our current axis on questioning, experimentation and individuation stands in contrast to previous eras of respect for authority, conformity and collectivism.

Whoever questioned anything in those days? You just accepted everything. It's different today. Everybody wants to know why. Then we didn’t want to anything, we just went along with it. In my time there were less choices, everybody went to Orthodox shul, there was no Conservative Jews anywhere, and then Reform came in and I considered that very different and wasn’t interested. In Toronto, we affiliated with Conservative cause at least we could sit together as a family instead of being separated. The women upstairs looking down, no nonsense like that. I liked the idea of sitting together and I didn't like Reform, it seemed too goyish to me. But today I’ve changed my mind altogether. I think there's quite a lot to be said for Reform because it's not so repetitive. It's shorter. The services are more appealing to everybody (90-year-old G2 South African Jew Esther Levin).

A subjective awareness of how one measured up alongside, or the extent of feeling as though one fitted in with, one’s peers (i.e., reference group or cohort) often entered into people’s Jewish identity discourse. 49-year-old G3 Montreal born Linda Pinsker felt on the periphery of the
Jewish community until her forties because among her Jewish cohort academic interest and material achievement were prioritized: "being nonacademic, being more physical, being good at sports, made me feel not accepted. You won't see a Jew camping, taking a field trip [...] I was never really accepted into the Jewish community because we were poor. I was always made to feel like I didn't really belong. I have dated mostly Blacks, West Indians." Self-regulation is also a powerful force in reproducing hegemonic definitions of Jewish identity in that people self-exclude, not only are excluded by others, based on their internalization of dominant scripts. While researchers recognize the subjective facet of ethnic identity as constituting both ethnic self-identification and identification by others, few differentiate between the situational character of ethnic consciousness, perceived and actual acceptance by others, variation in modes, sources of other identification and the consequences of (non)acceptance. G1\textsuperscript{1/2} or G2 Eric Levine revealed an animated 'us and them' attitude that included himself in a separate 'us' category of "secular Jews"\textsuperscript{106} and delegitimized a 'they' grouping of "religious Jews:" "Same religion but completely different, and not in a positive way. It could matter very little that I am a Jew and you are a Jew because if you're Orthodox and I'm secular we may as well be from two different worlds. If you think that most of the Diaspora is secular and maybe less religious and so forth, they fall into the category of not being recognized as Jews by the Orthodox, that's a major problem." Synagogue attendance, institutionalized ritual involvement, with the exception of socially defined special rites of passage was not a feature of Eric's expression of Jewish identity. He chose to identify as "Israeli Jewish," perceiving it as classically "Canadian Jewish" to make "a lot of hoopla, getting

\textsuperscript{105} Linda, a holistic practitioner (former nurse), currently lives in a warm and open feeling home in a high Jewish density area with her G2\textsuperscript{1/2} husband and one son who was about to set off for a volunteer placement in Ghana at the time of the interview.

\textsuperscript{106} "You can use the word nationality, or traditional, or you can use the word secular, all these things apply way more than the religious aspects" (Eric). Eric's father, starting in his teens, was always left leaning, and Eric himself is associated with a Jewish group that is linked to Peace Now, a leftist organization.
dressed up” for “twice a year synagogue appearances.” On the other hand, his younger sister “kind of assimilated into the Canadian Jewish thing... because of the guy she married and so forth belongs to a synagogue, her kids go to a Conservative synagogue affiliated school. See Bialik would have been different because it is more secular, non-religious.”

De-institutionalization of the life cycle, the increasingly unpredictable, non-standardized entry into socially timed roles like marriage, parenthood and old age (George 1993; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999), renders assessment of (dis)continuities in Jewish identity, or other ethnic identities for that matter, over time an increasingly complicated task. Has a broader societal pattern of later age at marriage and delayed fertility reduced the significance of these life course events in encouraging forms of Jewish (dis)affection? Or, are we assigning so-called signs of Jewish identity reduction to later generations incorrectly, features that might be otherwise a function of childlessness and/or unmarried status? Given that a greater proportion of the later generations comprise young persons (see Brodbar et al 1993), higher rates of non-denominationalism, selective ritual involvement and residence in low Jewish density areas may not necessarily imply generation decline, but life cycle effects that change as the young marry and have children. As Goldscheider (1986) notes, the incentives to be ritually engaged in an organized sense may be temporarily displaced during young adulthood and rechosen when having children: “Children reinforce religious commitments, particularly formal ones associated with type of synagogue membership and affiliation, as well as family-related religious rituals” (178).

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107 According to study participant Eric, father of three daughters whom he raised solo when he and his First Nation/Native Canadian wife of the Bahai faith divorced: “The whole bunch of Canadian Jewry dominate the synagogues during the High Holidays. You know, selling tickets and doing whatever else they do, and then feeling religious for two weeks, and then Yom Kippur, capping it off with a fast.”

108 Bibby (1998: 148) also points out that many Canadian-based young unmarried persons in ‘no religion’, unaffiliated or low identifier categories leave these when they marry and have children, re-affiliating most often because of “the desire for rites of passage pertaining to marriage, the birth of children, and death.”
In conducting intensive multigenerational research, in most cases interviewing descent-related dyads (parents and offspring), notions of intergenerational (dis)continuity could not be sufficiently resolved without an appreciation of subjects' inherited family context. Said differently, relationships between parents and offspring—*intrafamilial processes*—inform the nature of intergenerational change. Most intergenerational studies of ethnic identity maintenance do not directly cross-reference parents and their children's ethnic identity scores. Although studies make claims about grandparent-parent-child changes in feelings, attitudes and behaviors, they typically rely on generation groupings rather than linked dyads or triads in their analyses. As Kertzer (1983: 137) poignantly highlights, “Every child in the sample could have values sharply divergent from those of his or her parents without there being any aggregate difference in values between the two ‘generations’.” In considering parent-child relationships, notably intergenerational value transmission, reproduction or reaction, Hansen’s image of the rebellious son[daughter] or child who wants to “forget” his/her ancestral past for instance becomes overly simplistic.

80-year-old G2 Toronto born Nancy Silverstein, a self-proclaimed “freethinker,” reared by Eastern European Jewish parents with leftist, secular humanist, Jewish Labor movement ideals, reproduced rather than repudiated her G1 parents’ axis on “Jewish culture, good music, Arts, Yiddish language, memories of the Holocaust and fighting against Jewish suffering.” There were a handful of G2 participants in the study that might have been incompletely characterized as having progressively attenuated ties compared to the G1 immigrant generation if one had not uncovered the socialist and Yiddishist, in some cases anti-religious, ideologies of their Jewish

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109 Without access to descent-related dyads or triads, Kertzer argues that under- or over-estimation of a ‘generation gap’ or intergenerational conflict [harmony] can occur.

110 Nancy’s mother, born to “religious, not fanatic” Jewish parents, immigrated from Poland in her late teens with one of six other siblings, fresh with memories of pogroms. Her father came over in his late teens to Toronto from a small Russian town near Odessa that is classified today as part of the Ukraine.
immigrant ancestors. In this study of primarily second and third generation family members which included previous and proceeding generations' experiences whenever possible, processes of continuity (retention) and discontinuity (erosion, intensification and invention) appear to be working in tandem. 40-year-old G3 Mickey Feldberg who was reared by an atheist Jewish mother who discouraged any religious presence in their home discovered the “fun” in certain Jewish rituals with the help of his G2 wife but ‘lost’ his mother’s affinity for “Yiddishkeit—East European Jewish culture. He states, “I was brought up with no Jewish background and all of sudden I realized what I was missing.” 31-year-old G3½ Todd Plaut continues his G2 parents' Outsider orientation to TJRO yet remains open to attending Jewish related lectures, movies and events with his Jewish girlfriend. 82-year-old G2 Winona Federman is what one might label a “traditional Jew”; her 60-year-old G3 son Michael expresses a similar level of group pride and personal commitment but clearly has different priorities in his Jewish ‘doing’. Winona expresses her Jewishness primarily in terms of the institutional structures in which she chooses to participate, specifically her membership in ORT (a Jewish women’s fundraising collective) and a mid-town Conservative shul she helped to found. Nonetheless, perhaps due to differences owing to one’s gendered experience of Judaism, Winona’s communal involvement is less about religiosity than a sense of group belonging. Contrastingly, energies her son Michael conserves as a consequence of his TJRO passivity are transferred into the social sphere in which he is highly personally committed to the Jewish associations he maintains at Toronto’s uptown Jewish Community Center.

Another issue unveiled by gathering data from descent-related dyads is intrafamilial pressure to

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111 Importantly, in this instance it is interesting to note that Mickey’s G2 mother was not rebelling from her roots, but rather continuing the anti-religious, bund orientation of her forebears.

112 53-year-old G2 Marianne Rosenthal talks of her “old school” parents, “It’s not that they don’t know non-Jewish people and can deal with them very nicely but they like their Yiddishkeit. I remember my father who was in business and out meeting all kinds of people, if he goes to an old age home he wanted to make sure it was among Jewish people, a Jewish one, I remember him saying this once many years ago.”
reproduce family patterns, being or doing Jewish *not more or less than* parents. While it is typically understood that being or doing Jewish 'less than' one’s predecessors is associated with intergenerational conflict, G3(plus) subjects intensifying their ritual involvement also experienced intrafamilial tension related to their differential dietary and/or synagogue practice, etc. For instance, 28-year-old Louise Shwartz encountered problems at home, when dating an Orthodox man she began going to synagogue more than her parents and refused to eat her mother’s, in her mind, *treyf* (non-kosher) food. It would be interesting for future research to investigate whether “high levels of religious denominational continuity, albeit in less traditional and usually less intense forms” (Goldscheider 1986: 182), mirror continuities in socioeconomic status. In other words, to what extent did intergenerational denominational switching occur because parents and offspring had different levels of education and types of occupation (e.g., shift from manufacturing to professional occupations)? Similarly, is denominational continuity common in families where children continue in their parents’ socio-economic footsteps?

**B. Broad Societal Forces**

Broad societal forces mediate the relationship between generation status and Jewishness. Jewishness is not static and alters in its priorities according to the influence of what is occurring in the wider society (e.g., wars, state of interethnic relations, social trends, etc). Economic and social discrimination against Jews, lack of access to jobs, educational institutions, social clubs and public beaches, form part of the collective life experiences of those Jews in the 60 plus age group. These exclusionary processes placed different demands and brought about different modes of being Jewish, such as a shift from survival to ‘success’ styles of Jewishness. 78-year-old G2 Nancy Silverstein experienced this period of anti-Jewish sentiment in the work sphere—“Not having a stereotypical Jewish look, I could easily be mistaken as not Jewish and I was hired to work at a gentile firm but fired in one day when I indicated that I was Jewish.” Working as a medical secretary, Nancy also learned about the “incredible obstacles” that Jews faced entering the
medical profession, as well as the unflattering images held of "Jewesses." Economist 62-year-old G1 (Paris born) Abe Warner adds, "The large corporations would look very hard until they found somebody who was not Jewish to hire. Some of my friends would hide the fact that they were Jewish in order to get jobs in the oil companies that would not hire Jews." The explanatory value of a cohort-historical perspective is also captured in 76-year-old intermarried G2 Paul Fischer's case.

I always knew who I was. I did not get up on the soapbox although kids nowadays cannot appreciate necessarily the fears a lot of Jews had of disclosing what their religion was in business, in day-to-day dealings with human beings. When I was 15 or 16 I applied for this job, filled out the application form, it included racial origin and nationality. In the case of racial origin, I wrote down white. In case of nationality, I wrote Canadian. I presented my application to the manager and he realized I was a cocky young guy having had to start contributing to earning a living at a very young age. Born in Calgary Alberta, I'm a Canadian. Are you asking me for my religion? I said oh what's yours and he said what's that got to do with it? And I said exactly. I can't repeat what I told him to do with his job, but that wasn't unusual. I grew up in a time when you saw signs on the beaches in Quebec where it said only Christians welcome.

While anti-Semitism persists, typically in more covert insidious forms, we have moved away from the 'No Jews or Dogs Allowed' signs. While Maslow's hierarchy of needs suggests that physical survival needs must be met before persons can afford to entertain spiritual needs and desires for self-actualization, the existence of external pressures on a community can function as a shield against passivity, building the esteem and cohesiveness of the group. Although there are still many Jewish individuals and families living below the poverty line today (e.g., Torczyner 1993), the material successes earned by Jews in the explosive garment industry that facilitated

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113 See Levitt and Shaffer (1993) for a case study analysis of ethnic violence and other forms of discrimination against Jews particular to the 1930s. Tulchinsky (1998) provides further insight into anti-Semitism during the inter-war years (1920s-1940s) which limited Jews' participation in Toronto's economic, educational, social and cultural fabric.

114 Rosenberg (1993[1939]) documents Jews' extensive participation in the clothing industry in 1931, manufacturing textile goods and clothing, including furs. See also Tulchinsky (1998) for a historical account of the role played by Jews in the Canadian Shmatte (Rag trade/Clothing) industry. Represented in the sample are interviewees who report their parents or grandparents working as for example furriers, tailors, textile workers, clothing production, as well direct salespersons of dry goods. G1 occupations however were not restricted to the garment industry and there were those who found work as butchers, electricians, peddlers, salespersons, convenience store owners and bakers.
the next generation's entry into high paying professional positions\textsuperscript{115} has strengthened the "institutional completeness" of the Toronto Jewish community. 56-year-old G2 Kurt Rosenthal, a professional engineer turned bicycle store owner (a change-of-life career), spoke of the normative pressures of his upwardly mobile cohort: "The message we got from our parents was that education's number one, you've got to be better than me, type of thing. There was no discussion of quitting school and going to work, going to trade school or apprenticeship. That just never came up, it's university. The value was on being something better. I think it was recognized that to be your own boss is still the ultimate. But it had to be a profession, it had to be something valued that people looked up to so it was law and medicine that became, and engineering to a lesser extent, but those were the big ones." The current "costs of doing Jewish," including the time and resources to afford synagogue membership fees, parochial schooling, board, committee and sorority/fraternal organization participation reproduce an unequal opportunity structure to vital TJRO. Low income, co-op housing resident, divorced, intermarried, 49-year-old G1\textsuperscript{12} Australian born Eileen Bargman, illustrates how the fact that "it costs money to be Jewish" may unfairly affect one's desired Jewish involvement: "I sent my kids to [a Jewish day school] until high school because I couldn't afford to send them to [a Jewish high school] even though I wanted them to." In-group divisiveness however may foster the emergence of alternative community structures that challenge the exclusive polity of the traditional Jewish institutional structures.

\textsuperscript{115} 68-year-old practicing lawyer and retired law professor G2 David Marky, son of a well-liked brewery salesman, does not speak or act alone in regards to the active entry of children of Jewish immigrants into professions. 90 percent of his Jewish reference/peer group, children of early immigrants, became professionals. In fact, his close friendship group includes a pharmacist, doctor and lawyer. According to his wife, David's mother was "very, very ambitious for her son. Being a lawyer was not good enough she wanted him to be the type of person that was very involved with other people socially in joining organizations, being very visible in the community, getting high marks, to be a star." Economist 62-year-old G1\textsuperscript{12} Abe Warner tells, "My father [a furrier] was insistent that I should not get involved in the fur business, the garment business, but pursue a profession." 58-year-old G3 Ottawa born Lou Wise who saw his father denied a journalist position for being Jewish suggested, "That was the reason so many of us went into professions because we could go out on our own and nobody was there to say I won't accept you." Lou entered dentistry in the late 60s and went into orthodontics because "the dean had a reputation for looking at talent not ethnicity. We had more Jews in Orthodontics in Canada than any other profession per capita all because of this one individual."
The modern correlation between fatty food consumption and health problems is altering the nature of TJRO. 82-year-old G2 Harry Fine who has suffered a stroke tells me that his son's (a cardiovascular surgeon) teachings about "health awareness" have undercut his consumption of Jewish foods not assimilation motives: "We don't eat that fatty Jewish stuff anymore because we're educated. You know, if there is herring and salami in the fridge our son when he visits says you've got nothing but garbage. My mother used to buy cow's brains, intestines and lung, but we've learned that this is unhealthy." 53-year-old G2 Marianne Rosenthal reiterates, "My mother used to make kishke which was fabulous, terribly fat, but she was known for it, not the stuff you buy out. We've come a long way in terms of thinking about cholesterol and fat. Gefilte fish, I don't like the bought stuff, I make it once or twice a year at the most." 40-year-old G3 Mickey Feldberg married to a pediatrician (Toronto born child of Holocaust survivors) insists that since meeting his wife not only has his orientation to TJRO changed but also his eating habits. Once accustomed to weekend bacon and eggs breakfasts he no longer eats such fatty foods for health, not religious reasons. Typical Jewish foods are now considered "too fatty" and instead they eat "tons of veggies and tofu."

The popularity of 'healthy lifestyles' either promotes the incorporation of low fat food-fare and innovative culinary practices into ritualistic Jewish meals or at least restricts fatty Jewish dishes to 'major' holiday occasions only. For example, naturopathic student vegetarian 27-year-old G3 Doris Snow's mother has modified home-based Jewish holiday meals to cater to her daughter's

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116 An additional lifestyle preference that is changing the way Jews eat —when, where and if they stick to Jewish dietary laws—is the social trend of dining out. As 29-year-old G3 lawyer Mara Horowitz indicates, "both my husband and I have busy long hour careers and don't eat at home most of the time so we decided we were going to keep a kosher home and be less strict when outside the home. For my grandparents' generation, it was easy to keep kosher because they didn't go out with their friends for dinner. Like, my grandmother finds it so ridiculous how often we go out for dinner. Why would you go out when you've got all this good food at home? It's a different society now, a different culture. I guess people had to adapt to make themselves feel comfortable, so that they could do what they'd like to do and not feel restricted in doing things, but still maintain a certain level of Jewish identity that makes them happy."
vegetarian health-oriented dietary approach. 40-year-old unmarried G2\(^{1/2}\) Eitan Rosenberg has melded his “healthy lifestyle” orientation with his Jewish commitment by forming the Toronto Jewish Vegetarian Society.\(^ {117}\) He also substitutes a traditional Jewish food dish of salty, peppery chicken fried in fat for deep-fried eggplant and tofu. Others ignore the ‘healthy lifestyle’ discourse and feel that consumption of traditional Jewish foods regardless of fat content is integral to an enduring Jewish identity.\(^ {118}\) 85-year-old G1\(^{1/2}\) Joshua Plaut who immigrated to Toronto at age ten from Russia continued to eat high fat foods such as herring, liver, gefilte fish and knishes at Jewish delis in spite of his physical ailments and upward social mobility.

Women’s altered status in society is also affecting persons’ internal orientation to TJRO and form of ritual involvement. The increased labor market participation of women that engenders for some a “double day”—the expectation to manage domestic duties on top of fulfilling their paid work responsibilities—necessitates time saving strategies and puts constraints on volunteering. 53-year-old G3 Marianne Rosenthal was raised in a “frum” (Orthodox observant) household but later switched to a non-Orthodox denomination and now looks at TJRO more critically in light of her newfound understanding or the inequalities related to the domestic division of labor. She explains her shift in approach: “For Yom Tev, for instance, or this or that, you are killing yourself and you are stressed out and you look at this and you say this is insane, this is meshuga [crazy]. And, as years go on for Pesach, I do less and less. We switch the dishes, but let me tell you, I don’t go through and make my cupboards the way my mother does. I do not light Shabbos candles at the right time. I light them when I’m ready. We run late because my

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\(^ {117}\) Eitan strongly pronounced, “The woman who I will marry will be Jewish and will be a vegetarian.” He is dedicated to forging ties with other vegetarian New Age alternative Jews via the Internet.

\(^ {118}\) With the reclamation of ethnicity and declining popularity of assimilation discourse in the authority questioning 1960s/1970s (Canada’s Multiculturalism Act, October 8, 1971) food consumption became inherently linked (for some) to ethnic memory and ethnic identity, leading some to say “ethnic survival lay in the hands of female cooks” (Gabaccia 1998: 184). This led to the importance of cookbooks such as ‘Generation to Generation’ that advertise traditional Jewish cooking as a means for later generations who did not grow up with the oral tradition of recipe sharing to rediscover their ethnicity.
husband is often late closing up the shop. I don't have the koyekh [energy] or patience for it, I'm tired."

Increasing time pressures effect many other observable changes in TJRO. Shifting Sabbath/secular-traditional Friday night ritual to a Sunday multigenerational family meal where Chinese food is often ordered in because of competing social or work commitments on Friday night has become popular. The convenience of using Jewish catering services or buying prepared Jewish dishes for Jewish holiday functions rather than making foods from scratch has markedly increased. For instance, 54-year-old G3 Sheila Gold who works nine to five in an administrative position is thankful to Pearl's, a kosher establishment where she can buy ready-made Jewish foods for the Sabbath and Jewish festivals. 57-year-old G3 Marilyn Neinstein is conscious of departing from the culinary options of her mother and grandmother: "My grandmother used to make gefilte fish almost every week, my mum makes it only for Yom Tov, and I buy it for the holidays." Opting for convenient modes of TJRO, many argued, does not detract from the meaning of the Jewish deeds or emotional weight attached to the rituals that are preserved. In fact, the alleviation of such sources of stress enables many ritual observers to relax and experience more "joy" in their Jewish festivities. Still, there are ethnic Jews like child of intermarriage 26-year-old G2 Reena Fiorio who find special meaning spending time in the kitchen preparing traditional Jewish meals for her kin from a Jewish cookbook. 56-year-old G2

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119 About 13 percent of the families engage in a ritualistic Sunday family affair.
120 Gabaccia (1998) suggests that upward social mobility of Jewish immigrants has also helped render catering family rituals big business.
Stacey Plaut suggests that among her friendship circle of mahjong\textsuperscript{121} playing G2 suburban Jewish women many still derive much personal satisfaction from preparing particular Jewish specialties, “brag[ging] about how their children love their dishes.”\textsuperscript{122} 80-year-old G2 Lori Fine proudly shares, “My specialty and I’m sure it’ll be in my eulogy is honey cake, even the great-grandchildren love my honey cake.” The opportunity to experience renown for one’s sponge cake, gefilte fish, matzah ball soup or chopped liver continues to be a source of attachment to Jewish festivities.\textsuperscript{123}

Medjuck (1993) argues that the changing role of women in Judaism still lags behind the secular advances attained by Jewish women in gender equality.\textsuperscript{124} Notwithstanding gains in the recognition of women as equal religious participants in Orthodox Judaism, Reform, Reconstructionist and Conservative synagogues (increasingly) are becoming comfortable spiritual homes for women. It is very apparent from the life stories of Jews aged 16-90 that bat mitzvahs, Jewish instruction, and synagogue attendance were not prioritized for women. In my sample 95.5 percent of women aged 50 plus reported not having had a bat mitzvah. Only recently has this Jewish rite of passage become common to non-Orthodox Jewish females. The incorporation of feminist principles into TJRO has minimized Jewish women’s feelings of alienation within their ethno-religious environment. However, women are still unequally represented in the Toronto Jewish power structure.

\textsuperscript{121} Mahjong, a Chinese tile gambling game is a popular mode of expressing social Jewishness particularly among Jewish women. According to Jacobs (2000), Mah Jong, a “famously addictive game” found a North American, notably Jewish, following in the 1920s. Movies such as ‘Joy Luck Club’, ‘Driving Miss Daisy’ and ‘A Walk on the Moon’ reflect the vogue pastime choice of Mah Jong among the current generation, making it no longer “just for grandmothers” (Schonenberger 1997). Jacobs (2000) presents the Mah jong playing ritual as a viable, vital venue for achieving and reinforcing Jewish social solidarity: “Like Shabbat dinners that occur in the dining rooms on Friday night, mah jongg has become ‘sacrosanct’ for the women who play the game.” Other social venues and modes of interacting with fellow Jews, notably in the 50 plus age group, include golfing, bridge, poker and canasta playing groups.

\textsuperscript{122} 23-year-old G3 Cindy Roth whose mother (mid 50s) belongs to a mah jong group suggests that the women “brag” about more than just their Jewish culinary achievements: “middle aged women sitting around gossiping about their children. They brag about how their children were so successful, this one’s getting A’s…”

\textsuperscript{123} For an interesting account of the social construction of “kitchen Judaism” see Joselit (1994).
Interrmarriage and interethnic dating have changed across time and space; cohort-historical effects play an important role shaping the approach to TJRO for the intermarried family or interdating couple. For instance, 31-year-old G3 $^{1/2}$ Todd Plaut reveals the intergenerational changes that differentiate grandfather, father and son concerning intimate encounters or relations with non-Jewish women. Until he went to university at age 21 Todd internalized the attitude that:

Non-Jewish girls were essentially inferior, dirty, stupid. Primarily one's interest in them was only justifiable in so much as sexual objects, and the reason why Jewish men get involved with them is because they are more promiscuous with less strings attached. That's the script you get fed by the previous generation of Jewish men. I think that my grandfather's generation, generation one was just 'like stay away, gross'. Generation two was like it's taboo and naughty but they are damn sexy and why not take a little nibble. And then my generation, generation three, there was ambivalence. My generation got mixed messages because in all likelihood their fathers kissed a few shiktzes in their days, let's say porked a few shiktzes, so they couldn't completely with good conscience adamantly insist that their sons don't get involved with non-Jewish women. So, I think it went from taboo in the second generation... it was much lighter, in my generation it's a very light form of rebellion or asserting independence and principally it's much more a question of like to what extent this will affect the closeness of the family. It is less about gentile girls being disgusting, bad, it is more about practical ideological reasons. When a friend talks about someone he knows is living with a non-Jewish girl it is used more as a descriptor now. It is only an aspect of it. It is not the situation. In days of yore, Chaimie married June, the non-Jewish girl and that's all they had to say about it. Now, Chaimie lives here, does this and is dating blah blah who is a blah blah and is not Jewish. So, there has been a shift in the priority.

The change in intergenerational response to intermarriage$^{125}$ marks a shift from instinctual avoidance to an intellectualized position, namely one of choice. Todd traces this shift. For men like his G1$^{1/2}$ zeyde, non-Jewish girls were "likened to treyf—unkosher meat, you don't eat it" (physical reaction). In G2, as reflected in his dad, the issue became "more emotional, about guilt, 'don't do this to me.'" For Todd's G3 generation, "it became more ideological in the sense that now it is just the idea of continuity, the idea of Jewish women as superior, rather than felt emotions the way it used to be. It is more justified on practical grounds, a conscious choice. It is

$^{124}$ See earlier discussion of the revitalizing effects of feminism on TJRO.

$^{125}$ See Spickard (1989) for coverage of intergenerational changes in response to intermarriage, ranging from cutting off ties to the intermarrying child, going so far as to sit shivua, the seven day mourning ritual for deceased family members, to reluctant acceptance or Judaizing the non-Jewish member(s) among later generations.
better to be dating a Jewish girl; it's easier."

This movement away from a chosen Jewish to a choosing Jewish mind-set is assisted by a wider state of interethnic relations that no longer denigrates, excludes or attempts to eliminate Jews. Now that there is far less opposition to Jewish intermarriage and Jews have become desirable partners to non-Jews the rate of exogamy has increased, yet remains low compared to other ethnic groups who have been in Toronto at least three generations (Brym, Gillespie and Gillis 1993). Although the "marriage is hard enough, why would you want to add another source of strain" discourse is used to accentuate the impracticality of exogamy, such strains it seems can be controlled if family, friends and community become supportive and welcoming rather than a block. A "foreboding syndrome" (Glickman 1985) about anti-Semitism being latent, "below the surface," Jewish "existential insecurity" (Mayer 1985: 100), the perception of Jews as "survival experts" and intermarriage as a threat to that survival, play an ideological function affecting intimacy with non-Jews. Such ideologies may encourage interethnic relationships to crumble before marriage, thwart intermarriage rates or undercut the social support and foundation of the intermarriage itself.

Although Jewish intermarriage did occur before the 1960s, an anti-immigrant mentality and interethnic social distance helped make these unions "aberrant" and largely "invisible." Underestimation of the number of intermarriages occurring in this period is related to the processes and effects of "passing" by conversion or cultural immersion into a 'non-Jewish' context, often because of estrangement or complete severance of ties from families-of-origin. For example, upper middle class 88-year-old G2 Ricky Tannenbaum's first intermarriage was for all

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136 56-year-old G2 1/2 Bill Plaut, a reactionary son of an influential Toronto Orthodox Jew (macher), accepts the sociological idea that there is a positive relationship between anti-Semitism and Jewish identity, "Being Jewish is about psychological roots. Historically, gentiles gave us a deep-rooted sense of insecurity. When there is no anti or a fear of anti, there is no need to band."
Intents and purposes recognized formally and informally as an endogamous union. His now deceased non-Jewish wife was an Irish woman he met while stationed overseas. Cut off by her Irish kin after she converted to Reform Judaism she came to Toronto with Jack where her Jewishness was never questioned given the Jewish surname she acquired by marriage. After several disheartening declines for help from other rabbis, 74-year-old French Canadian Patricia Fischer finally had an intense one-week Reform Conversion in Montreal and married (in the 1940s) Jewish Canadian Airforce officer Paul before he was transferred yet again to another Canadian province. The lingering effects of World War II encouraged in coethnics an unfavorable stance towards Jews intermarrying. In order to elevate the self-worth of Jews in these divisive times Jews tended to turn to fellow Jews for resources and rewards and non-Jews were delegitimized, as Ricky notes, "a Jew was a Jew and a Gentile a Gentile."

Attempts to enhance Jewish self-image in the face of interethnic conflict relied in part on ingroup usage of derogatory epithets casting non-Jewish WASPs, for instance, as "inferior, stupid and cold." Additionally, Jews internalized fears of "the shwarze" which were propagated by the majority group (i.e., "brown racism"). In response to interethnic competition for scarce resources and rewards Jews reproduced the prejudicial value structure and ethnic hierarchy of the majority group, and at least among the 50 plus age group, a "judging and intolerant" mind set developed. Daughter of intermarriage, 20-year-old G3 Fiona Zukerman, views the marital miscommunication between her now divorced 56-year-old G2 Italian-Canadian non-Jewish mother and her twice divorced 71-year-old G2 Jewish father as a function of her father's

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127 Patricia elaborated, "At first we were going to be married by a priest because my family was Catholic and we were brought up strict Catholics. I went to a school that was run by nuns and they were very strict. Most of the time it was just blind faith and you just never questioned it. So I went to Paul and he says 'I can't do it, I can't convert, I can't change. I just knew that it wasn't for him, so I made up my mind. Ok, let's go his way. I'll convert. I didn't feel as if I was leaving anything really fantastic behind, and when we left X there really wasn't anyone that I was concerned about leaving. I hadn't made any real close and fast friends."

128 Brown Racism refers to the internalization by minority groups of the color hierarchy invented by the dominant group.
prejudicial mind set and "controlling, authoritative personality." She also believes their 13 years age difference and their contrasting cohort-historical experiences were more detrimental to their relationship than the mere intermarriage issue itself. Tellingly, her non-Jewish mother Paula Zukerman has predominantly Jewish friends, lives in a upper middle class Jewish area and receives more invitations to Jewish holiday meals than her 'born Jewish' husband. Paula has a strong affinity for the Jewish people, but has no interest in organized religion. When she meets people, "they can't believe that she is not Jewish. I guess that could be because people associate you with the area that you live in, and that is why they can tell."\(^{129}\)

Jewish exogamy does not occur in a socio-cultural vacuum and prior portrayals of intermarriers\(^{130}\) (Berman 1972) exhibiting a particular social-psychological profile—namely a 'weak' or marginal Jewish identity with unstable, distant family relations marked by rebellion, internalized anti-Semitism and alienation—are now being reconsidered in light of new understandings of the importance of historical context. Goldscheider's (1986) and Mayer's (1985) North American intermarriage research casts doubt on the assumption "that intermarriage reflects an assimilationist ideology among Jews and a desire to reject their ethnic identity" (Goldscheider 1986: 12). The prototypical Jewish exogamist is no longer presumed or found to be a liberal, upwardly mobile professor, rejecting and embarrassed of their Jewish roots, anxious to get rid of inherited Jewish pekhl (emotional baggage). Further, Jewish women, often branded as community-keepers, loyal guards against exogamy, are intermarrying in greater numbers and altering the experience of intermarriage and its impact on Jewish identity.

For example, the Goldsteins' story is better understood in terms of the "rejectionist" milieu that

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\(^{129}\) Paula estimates the residential area to be at least 90 percent Jewish.

surrounded Jewish exogamy at the time of their union. Ben and Elisabeth’s desire to intermarry was not due to a desire or need to rebel against either of their respective cultural backgrounds. Elisabeth, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, converted not because of a loss of faith or as a form of intergenerational conflict, but rather for the sake of family unity. Elisabeth expressed sensitivity to what she sees as biased communal messages about the threats of intermarriage expressed during Rabbi’s sermons, in the Canadian Jewish News and by Community leaders. She feels comments like these unfairly position the non-Jewish spouse as “the enemy” and as an automatic weakening force to Jewish continuity. Though she finds her Jewish contemporaries are now being forced to accept intermarriage as it hits them closer to home (e.g., a cousin’s or daughter’s intermarriage), she is conscious of new ways employed to try and rationalize or justify the value of an exogamous union, as in “my son is getting married to a non-Jewish woman but she comes from a good family, is well educated and works as a doctor.”

Importantly, the effects of Jewish intermarriage in the 1990s are less dire than ever owing to its increased incidence and societal acceptance, as well as improvements like greater personal choice in conversion, the popularity of hybridity and an increased likelihood that Jewish kin will retain ties with the intermarried family members. For example, 20-year-old G3 daughter of intermarriage Fiona Zukerman feels that she has benefited from her double ethnic socialization, not experiencing her mother’s Italian and father’s Jewish heritage as incompatible. She is strongly attached to her Jewish identity and likewise connected to her Italian side, “I am really close to my Italian grandparents and love going to Italy but at the same time I feel very Jewish and so I get the best of both worlds, Christmas and Hanukah.” Another openly proud hybridized Jewish ethnic identifier reared in an era of multiculturalist and identity politics is 25-year-old G2½ actor

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131 It is necessary to highlight how even the terms younger members use carry with them different meanings than ascribed by previous cohorts. Let us consider the term “JEWDOs” (Jewish social functions): Unlike older members in the sample that are not in tune with new references and find this term derogatory, Fiona and her peers see it as “a neutral term, that is to say this thing that is going to be organized and largely attended by Jewish people.”
and writer Sarah Levine. Daughter of a mixed Jewish-First Nation marriage, Sarah picks and chooses according to different personal and work situations when it best suits her to assert one of her multiple identities alone and when to synthesize her different backgrounds. Her sister who recently married a fellow First Nation actor expresses her commitment to plurality/hybridity with a tattoo of the Hebrew word for “roots” on her back.

C. Agent of Jewish Identity Loss/Renewal: The Significance of Intermarriage?

Though intermarriage continues to be viewed as “a negative thing,” inherently prone to divorce and disruptive to Jewish group cohesion, ‘coming out’ as an intermarried Jew or child of intermarriage today is somewhat less laden with doom and gloom prophecies of Jewish non-involvement and identity loss. Nevertheless, scholarly and popular myths abound positing mixed marriage as the “litmus test” (Jiobu 1988: 149), “final outcome” (Hirschman 1983: 408), “keystone” (Gordon 1964: 81) and “indicator” (Richard 1991: 20) of assimilation. Recent studies investigating the consequences of intermarriage challenge such simplistic assumptions (Jaffe Mclain 1995; Phillips 1998), but have yet to receive wide publication or acceptance. To be sure, in some cases intermarriage does reduce the importance of ethnic affiliations, choices and identification. However, it is not always simply attributable to the mere fact of intermarriage itself, but is rather a function of a complex web of interrelating mediating variables. Importantly, under some conditions exogamy leads to counter-intuitive findings of maintenance, intensification and/or revitalisation in TJRO. Jewish intermarriage introduces change, but the

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132 Endogamous partner choices that can modify one’s vitality of TJRO are also briefly considered in this section.
133 Maller (1975: 289) found that Californian mixed Jewish marriages (1970/71) “failed much more rapidly than the Jewish marriages.” However, he did not conduct a multivariate analysis, specifically failing to control for the effects of other mediating variables such as external pressures on unhappily married endogamous couples to stay married, similar but opposite pressures on exogamous unions to separate and the nature of the Californian context itself. While he observed a higher proportion of childless, late age and order, divorcing mixed Jewish marriages, variables that may indirectly, if not directly, affect the likelihood of divorce among intermarrieds, he does not explore this connection further.
134 Equating exogamy with the ultimate dissipation of ethnic ties is premature and more accurately treated as an independent, interactive or intervening variable that directly or indirectly affects the nature of Jewishness expressed.
nature, direction and magnitude of this change shows great diversity for everyone concerned with respect to their TJRO. The principal factors\(^\text{135}\) moderating the impact of interethnic unions on the quality of TJRO arrived at in this study are:

- *Pre-marital Jewishness of the Jewish spouse*
- *Pre-marital religious consciousness and ethnic attachment of non-Jewish spouse*
- *Conversion*
- *Reaction of Jewish and non-Jewish kin to the marriage*
- *Ideological responses to intermarriage*

Unfortunately, extant research exploring the intermarriage/ethnic identity linkage continues to be frustrated by methodological limitations.\(^\text{136}\) Sometimes interethnic marriage is treated as a factor affecting the quality of ethnic identity (e.g., independent variable; see Goldstein and Segall 1985), other times it is considered an indicator of ethnic identity (dependent variable; see Brym 1993), and in yet other instances it is construed as both (e.g., Phillips 1998). This ambiguous and inconsistent usage is prone to circularity and increases the likelihood of inadvertent research bias. Whether intermarriage acts to undermine Jewish commitment or Jewish consciousness in the intermarrying Jewish or non-Jewish parent and their children remains inadequately addressed. Tellingly, in Goldstein and Segall’s 1983 Winnipeg study “only a small proportion of the variation in any of the five components of ethnic identity\(^\text{137}\) could be explained by the independent variables\(^\text{138}\) [including mixed parentage] in the analysis” (67), suggesting that there must be other important factors at work.

\(^{135}\) Other intervening variables that can explain why in some mixed marriages favorable, indifferent or antagonistic orientations to TJRO are pursued include the presence of children, a perceived cultural gulf and “social distance” between marrying cultures, the degree of value congruity and marital power dynamics.

\(^{136}\) The main offenders are inconsistent measurement and definitions of Jewish identity and Jewish cohesion, over-reliance on cross-sectional (rather than longitudinal or life history) techniques, and the omission of other relevant explanatory variables.

1. Exogamy

a. Pre-marital Jewishness of the Jewish spouse

Some sociologists find a high likelihood of exogamy among weakly connected Jews (e.g., Cohen 1988) while others uncover no significant correlation between ‘strength’ of Jewish ties and propensity to intermarry (e.g., Goldscheider 1986).139 Mayer’s (1985) important American Jewish intermarriage study conducted in the 1970s noted that intermarrying Jews are not necessarily unaffiliated or Jewishly disconnected140 (c.f., Jaffe Mc lain 1995). In addition, although intermarriage is often construed as a non-Orthodox ‘problem’, the fact that practicing Orthodox Jews report less intermarriage than their Reform affiliated counterparts141 might be more a function of other factors like the higher likelihood of a sitting shiva142 parental response, conversions prior to marriage, social group exclusivity143 and a taken-for-granted, “it’s unthinkable” internalized taboos against exogamy.

48-year-old G3 Noam Rose grew up part of “the original Jewish community” and was completely “at home” with Toronto Jewish norms. It would be inappropriate and misleading to interpret Noam’s intermarriage to his G2 Italian Canadian, non-conformist, Catholic wife Leora144 as a rejection of his Jewish roots. In this regard Leora emphasizes, “He didn’t want to go

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138 SES (occupation and education), sex, age and generation status comprised the other independent variables.
139 Incommensurability in measures of Jewish ethno-religious identity in the research leads to differing impressions of the strength or salience of Jewish attachment among intermarriers.
140 Notably, participants do not often enter the union lightly, reporting relatively long dating and engagement periods.
141 In Kallen’s (1977) Toronto study of an Orthodox, Conservative and Reform congregation she uncovered increased openness to intermarriage one moves from Orthodox to Reform affiliations.
142 The act of sitting shiva is a Jewish mourning ritual that lasts seven days. While this ritual is traditionally performed when someone dies, in the context of intermarriage parents may carry out this ritual symbolically so as to inaugurate and make it known that ties with their intermarrying child have been completely severed. 24-year-old G3 Doris Snow suggested endogamy is promoted by parental threats to “disown you if you don’t, or at least give you the impression that they would.”
143 This compares with the segregated socio-cultural contexts “natural” to earlier cohorts. For example, for 78-year-old G2 Nancy Silverstein, there was "never the need for parents to openly discourage ties to the gentiles." This is because the world she inhabited was Jewish, be it where she lived, school she attended, entertainment she enjoyed, shops and places she frequented, the likelihood of informal ties with non-Jews was slim.
144 Leora has minimal attachment to her ethnic or religious heritage: “Eating pasta is about the extent of my Italian part. I rejected Catholicism because it’s just indoctrination, nonsensical dogma. It does not require you to think.”
against the grain. He was uncomfortable. Sometimes I feel very guilty about that because I know Noam could have gone either way. Had he fallen in love with a Jewish girl he would have been very happy to stay within the community. For Noam, Jewish identity was very important." His tie to the Jewish people has always been ‘tribal’ not religious, and he still remains conscious of what lifestyle choices are “right” according to the standards set by his Jewish cohort. 49-year-old G3 Montreal raised Linda Pinsker, excluded from Jewish circles due to her impoverished circumstances, non-academic, sports and outdoorsy inclinations, dated mostly Blacks and West Indians before marrying a G2½ Montreal Jew: “The community never accepted me but I never feel not Jewish. Even when I was dating non-Jews I would talk to them about my Jewishness because it was very important to me, probably the reason why I cancelled two engagements.” 27-year-old G3 aerobics instructor Erica interdates, not because she feels disconnected from her ethnicity, but rather because she finds it hard to find a compatible Jewish partner:

I always wanted to marry someone Jewish. I couldn’t imagine getting totally serious about someone who isn’t Jewish, but when you are 18 or even now for that matter, marriage is not on my mind. But finding a Jewish mate who likes the same things as I do is very difficult and another story all together.

Almost half of the intermarried Jews in this sample revealed to me that they had “dated on the sly,” without their parents’ knowledge for at least a year before they were in effect compelled to expose the seriousness of their relationship. For example, 54-year-old G3 Eva Fitzgerald, married to a working class, socialist-oriented Englishman and “cosmopolitan” South African born G1½ Valerie Valdez (mid 50s), married to a Mexican-born, self-defined “atheist,” spoke of the need to sneak around, keeping their relationships secret for over a year until the issue of marriage forced them to publicize their unions. As self-described “black sheep in the family” Eva

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145 For example, he was concerned at first that settling in an upper class “gentile” area was not the “right” area to live as most of his Jewish peers were concentrated in particular suburban niches. He compromised by sending his daughter to a school that catered to a larger proportion of Jewish kids from high SES households. The Roses tried in Montreal to send their daughter to what Noam thought was the “right” Jewish pre-school but could not secure enrolment because his wife was not Jewish.
states, “I felt we had to sneak around on dates because he wasn’t Jewish.” Valerie grew up in ‘Jewish areas’ frequenting synagogue on holidays and attending Jewish summer camps and youth groups. Until she met her husband she “wasn’t friendly with anyone of the opposite sex who wasn’t Jewish.” Due to her parents’ proactive Jewish socialization she would go out on dates with Jewish guys “for show” and then end the date early to go out afterwards with her current husband, John. Valerie met John through her sister-in-law, a fellow teacher, who used to invite her to parties where she first met John singing and playing the bongo drums.146 Intermarried G3 Toronto Jew Noam Rose also felt obliged to ‘stay in the closet’ about his interethnic relationship for a couple of years before breaking the news. Having moved to Montreal for work, he would return to Toronto alone without Leora (G2 Italian Canadian) for Jewish family functions. “We were very good at keeping our lives compartmentalized. We kept the two worlds completely separate, I would go to Toronto without Leora for weddings and High Holidays (Noam).” They lived together for fourteen years during a time when it was still atypical to do so, only making their union ‘official’ after their daughter was born.147 As Leora explains, “We were so committed it seemed immaterial to formalize the union until Susan. When I was pregnant, Noam one day said ‘we better get married.’ The rest wasn’t as important as the fact that this was going to be his child and he was concerned about doing things the conventional way.”

Prior to marriage, many of the intermarried Jews in my sample did not place much importance

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146 It is important to note that contrary to assumptions of intentional exogamy, intermarriages often meet each other in Jewish contexts like shivas (e.g., the Zukermans) or Jewish weddings (e.g., Markys’ intermarried daughter met her specialist doctor British East Indian husband at their endogamous son’s Jewish wedding).

147 When Noam (engineer) and Leora (flight attendant)’s friends were having kids they were travelling: “All these people got married, lived the right way and had no sense of rebelling or rejecting. And we were travelling around the world for fifteen years, gallivanting while everyone was having their first, second and third babies. Now many are divorcing.”
on the religious dimension of their Jewishness,\textsuperscript{148} albeit feeling in many cases passionately personally, culturally, socially or politically Jewish. Any realistic assessment of the effect of intermarriage on their ritual involvement needs to take this into account, namely that intermarrying Jews are not likely to significantly minimize their previous disposition to TJRO (post intermarrying). In fact, in some instances intensification and innovation in the quantity and/or quality of TJRO develops in the intermarried familial context. The following pre- and post-exogamy scenarios illustrate situations in which there has been minimal change, marked additions or a revitalized connection to TJRO since exogamy.

For some, marrying a non-Jewish person acted as "a catalyst to increase their interest and involvement in their own heritage [...] be it in lighting Hanukah candles for the first time, taking a more serious interest in Jewish history, or simply intensifying their awareness of Jewish and Israeli affairs" (Mayer 1985:158).\textsuperscript{149} Whether related to pride, guilt, loyalty, sensitivity to difference, desire or commitment, increased involvement with one's religious/ethnic heritage post-intermarrying is more common to the Jewish spouse than his/her non-Jewish spouse.\textsuperscript{150} Indeed, irrespective of Jewish conversions more often than not non-Jewish spouses come to

\textsuperscript{148} While some of my intermarried group grew up in Orthodox, religious or traditional Jewish-centered households, they were typically non-religious in their orientations to their TJRO. One such interviewee, intermarried 88-year-old G2 Ricky Tannenbaum who was raised by active Reform temple parents—his father was "a very religious man, he was president of the temple for ten years. I think my father believed in religion. I suspected that my mother was more of an agnostic like I am"—is critical about what he sees as the outdatedness and divisiveness of Judaism. "At the time it made sense to say that you shouldn't eat shellfish because there was no refrigeration and if you ate it there was a good change you'd poison yourself and die. And so they said it's \textit{verboten} [forbidden], but today with modern refrigeration there is no such risk." His paternal grandmother was traditional Orthodox and never came to his childhood home because his mother didn't keep kosher.

\textsuperscript{149} The Jewish consciousness raising, affirming, and clarifying effects some people report within intercultural contexts is illustrated by the following example. 19-year-old G3\textsuperscript{2} Jerry Pinsker who recently returned from backpacking in British Columbia with his G2 Japanese Canadian girlfriend, talked about their participation in Aboriginal culture (e.g., involvement in a 1000 person pow wow) as something that "reminded me that I too was part of a culture."

\textsuperscript{150} Mayer (1985) finds that of his 100 Jewish intermarried respondents 46 reported no change and 28 more involvement in their religious or ethnic heritage since intermarriage compared to only 7 percent of non-Jewish spouses indicating increased involvement and 51 percent no change in their religious or ethnic background. Mayer however does not control for other factors that might help explain these changes like processes associated with post-marital adjustment or the extent of interaction and affective solidarity with extended kin.
experience Jewish rituals, societal norms and expectations. For other intermarrying Jews in the sample, the “religious stuff” which was never important prior to marriage remains as such and instead Jewish historical, political, social, and culinary consciousness is prioritized in their familial context.

66-year-old G2 Miriam Feldberg, reared by socialist\textsuperscript{151} Jewish parents for whom labor and social justice issues displaced interest in religious activities, stuck to the atheist ‘no TJRO’ socialization of her early years. Having initially married a Jewish man in her late teens as was socially expected, she would later divorce after marital infidelity and learn the hard way that “being Jewish does not necessarily make you a good husband [or wife].”\textsuperscript{152} She then married an irreligious, working class, non-Jewish man of British descent Brad Smith who like herself liked to keep fit, skiing, international dancing, playing tennis and so on. In time, Brad took on the father role for Miriam’s seven children who ranged in age from two to fifteen.\textsuperscript{153} The intermarriage itself did not prompt the introduction of Jewish rituals to the Feldberg household and Miriam’s pre-marital feelings about the separation of Jewish religion and ethnicity remained constant throughout her marriages. While feeling “proud to be Jewish” and a devoted adherent of “Yiddishkeit” (East European Jewish culture),\textsuperscript{154} the extent of the home-based Jewish rituals

\textsuperscript{151} The economically unstable 1930s and 1940s became a fertile climate in Jewish social circles for challenging labor concerns and social inequality, as well as joining Jewish socialist groups and sending one’s children to Jewish communist summer camps like Camp Naïvet. However, post-war prosperity, the publicized atrocities of Stalin and the escalation of fears associated with the nuclear Cold War brought about a change in the next generation (G2)’s disposition towards these ideas. Communism once esteemed now became construed in a pejorative light.

\textsuperscript{152} “My parents are old-fashioned and didn’t want me to divorce my first husband even though he cheated on me. It was par for the course I guess in those days. My parents harassed me and drove me crazy. The only way I could get out and socialize was if I would go to Scarborough on Friday nights. That’s how I met my second husband [non-Jewish]. If I went out on Bathurst, someone would say they saw me there. I mean I was 36 years old and they were still trying to control my life.”

\textsuperscript{153} I interviewed two of the offspring (third oldest and youngest), Mickey and Heather. Having had no contact with her British Jewish biological dad from age two, Heather was essentially raised by Brad and always thinks of him as her dad. Brad works at Mickey’s textiles factory and consequently they spend plenty of time together. I conducted the interviews with Brad and Mickey at the factory.

\textsuperscript{154} Miriam feels that her Jewishness lies in her “Yiddishkeit,” interspersing of Yiddish terms in her everyday speech, appreciation of Yiddish culture, sensitivity to the Eastern European Jewish and immigrant experience and periodic get-togethers with her ‘Bnai Brith’ Jewish women’s group association.
she observed in both of her marriages was limited to ritualistically “ordering in Chinese food Sunday nights.” Nevertheless, the fact that Miriam made ‘pro-Jewish’ school and residence decisions offering her children opportunities to interact, befriend and become intimate with other Jews is indicative of a purposefully maintained Jewish identity. Her sensitivity to anti-Semitism is finely tuned and helped rationalize her choice to promote in-group socializing and endogamy to her children. Importantly, Christian references were forbidden in the offspring’s intermarried home; the youngest child, Heather recalls having gotten in trouble for drawing a Christmas tree once for her step-dad.

The lack of significant change in Miriam’s TJRO pre- and post-intermarriage might also be influenced by the ordering of the unions. Perhaps if Miriam had married her non-Jewish husband first she may have experienced TJRO intensification owing to the sometimes-enriching effects of intercultural identity negotiation processes. The interpenetrating effects of various factors pushing and pulling individuals toward and away from Jewishness requires sufficient study to sort out the differential influence of divorces, remarriages, step-parenting and

155 Her intermarried, 30-year-old G3 daughter Heather did not relate to her atheist, leftist raised mother’s definition of Jewishness: “I never understood what being Jewish meant to my mother. We didn’t celebrate Hanukah. On one hand, she’s saying the culture, but then there were no traditions. There wasn’t any of the fun stuff that I think if you were really Jewish and you were traditional, the fun stuff for kids was Hanukah and Passover, like doing family stuff together, there wasn’t any of that. I remember a couple of times we celebrated a bit of Hanukah like we gave a gift and I remember me and my sister wanted to light candles and say a prayer and my mother wouldn’t come into the room because she didn’t want to say the prayers.”

156 Miriam spoke of possessing anti-Semitism “antenna.” Contemporary G2 Norman Neinstein, a retired professional, in his 60s invokes the term antenna in relation to his sensitivity to signs of anti-Semitism including unintentional usage of derogatory terms and phrases like “I really Jewed them down.” 54-year-old G3 Sheila Gold who grew up outside the Jewish core (in a low Jewish density area) uses the term “ghetto complex” to refer to her inherited sense of being on guard to indicators of anti-Semitism. While Sheila’s dad did not pass on Judaic literacy, he did transmit stories of discrimination against Jews such as the ‘no dogs or Jews allowed’ signs and the Christie Pitt riots. For her anti-religious father, “being Jewish was an identity, a history, a culture, not just a religion, it’s more than that.”
intermarriage scenarios on all involved. In addition, competing family members' expectations and differential treatment can introduce further complicating factors that influence the nature of TJRO expressed in any particular context, especially if there are multiple order marriages and children involved. For instance, 56-year-old G2 Italian Canadian (non-practising Catholic) Paula Zukerman, "the second wife" to 71-year-old G2 Toronto Jew Irving, attributes her divorce to inter-household conflicts and the "generation [age] gap" factor separating Irv and herself rather than Jewish/non-Jewish differences. Irving was initially married to a Jewish woman with whom he had four boys. Paula made it clear that "being the second wife is difficult especially if there are children involved." For Paula and Irv's daughter Fiona who has four half brothers from her dad's first marriage that associate her with their familial disruption, "detest[ing]" her for appearing to benefit from more prosperous times, it is particularly difficult. For fifteen years Fiona endured "harassment" and was made to "feel terrible" at obligatory family celebrations (weddings, bar/bat mitzvahs, etc). Additional tensions arose as a consequence of Fiona's upset at her father for "never sticking up for" her or her mother to his sons and former wife's relations. Her father never told his sons that the way they were treating Fiona was wrong—"he just thought it was a passing phase and let it go."

Prior to intermarriage, 49-year-old G1 1/2 Australian born single parent Eileen Bargman had a

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157 Note 56-year-old Rona Wise's experience who had two young children to care for when she divorced her first Jewish husband: "I have friends who when I was single and on my own did not quite know what to do with me. They had been married to the same husbands for thirty-five years and now I am with Lou [remarried] we are all bosom buddies again. When I was a single mother however they would phone once a year to make sure that I was alive, but I was never invited over. And the fact that I'd be alone at Rosh Hashana was never considered. I know they've forgotten it, but I haven't." Rona also pointed out the strain divorce can cause in terms of attending family-oriented holiday functions: "With all the divorces in my family it sometimes causes me a bit of stress because I don't know where to go and who I'm going to be with, and I feel torn apart." Endogamous 28-year-old G4 Suzy Segal, daughter of divorced Jewish parentage, shared this sentiment: "In some ways I dread the holidays because I'm always pulled in many different directions, I have to make choices every time, so it's never easy. I always have to juggle things and sometimes go two places in one night. My dad puts a very big guilt trip on me if I don't see him at any particular holiday. He thinks the holidays mean more to him than to my mother because he sees himself as being more religious."

158 There is a 19-year age gap between the daughter of the second marriage (intermarriage), Fiona, whom I interviewed and the youngest son from the first marriage.
non-religious conception of her Jewishness and limited experience socializing with coethnics. When her now ex-husband and fellow school swim team member, Bill, a working class Anglo-Australian\textsuperscript{159} Christian, converted to Judaism for marital purposes there arose a need to find an “accepting” comfortable niche in the Jewish community in which to carry out this process. Having found such a place, a warm egalitarian/traditional hybrid shul, Eileen has moved from her prior Outsider orientation to TJRO to a clear case of spiritual-traditional revivalism. Post-divorce,\textsuperscript{160} her appetite for learning, growth and Jewish attachment has grown even stronger, sending her children to parochial school, attending shul regularly, observing the majority of the Jewish holidays and dietary practices.

Previous prototypical “secular Jew,” 50-year-old G2 Ava Cronenberg had little interest in ritual activities and limited synagogue exposure prior to her intermarriage, but is now an active member of the Toronto Reconstructionist synagogue and firmly attached to the incorporation of Jewish festival celebrations into her household. G3 Miriam Marky (late 30s) has not reduced her pre-marital secular-traditional orientation toward TJRO since her union with her England-raised East Indian husband. She no longer devalues what she sees as culturally significant family-oriented occasions like Hanukkah, Passover and Rosh Hashanah which she feels ensure her two children recognize their Jewish roots. Voluntarily childless, 55-year-old G3 Eva Fitzgerald has not altered her disposition toward TJRO since intermarriage: “My Jewish identity is still the same. I have the same ideas and thoughts, but my husband likes everything Jewish. So, if more people who intermarried had that attitude, like going more for it, then you wouldn’t have the death of the Jewish religion, or whatever’s perceived.”

\textsuperscript{159} Bill was born in Scotland and immigrated to Australia when he was ten. He came to Toronto to avoid the draft. Bill and Eileen were married for eleven years where after Eileen has been raising their two children alone. The two Bargman offspring have no attachment to their birth dad’s Scottish heritage.

\textsuperscript{160} Importantly, Eileen stressed to me that her “marriage didn’t break down because it was a mixed marriage but because he drank too much and had trouble keeping a job.”
When an intermarried Jewish spouse transforms from a ritual Outsider to an active TJRO participant or rather becomes less involved with their religious heritage since marriage as illustrated in the examples above, there appears to be other conditions/variables in operation beyond the intermarriage itself that are at play. Consequently, controlling for the pre-marital Jewishness of the Jewish spouse so as to prevent the possibility of mistakenly attributing Jewish identity loss to exogamy is only one aspect, albeit an important one, of disentangling the variety of factors associated with Jewish identity trajectories.

b. Pre-marital religious consciousness and ethnic attachment of non-Jewish spouse

Treating intermarriage as a dichotomous variable—non-Jewish intermarriage versus Jewish in-marriage—ignores the realities that Jews not only intermarry for different motives (e.g., limited opportunity to interact with coethnics, passive connection to local Jewish community), but also marry partners, exogamous and endogamous alike, of widely divergent backgrounds. How is Jewish vitality affected for persons in families where the intermarrying non-Jewish born spouse: 1) has drifted from their ethno-religious socialization experiences but retains a respect for religion in general, 2) continues to maintain facets of their ethno-religious upbringing and 3) was raised in an irreligious, de-ethnicized context? It is fallacious to assume that intermarrying non-Jews have not had a previous life before they marry, yet most Canadian studies of intermarriage neglect the life experiences and identification patterns of the non-Jewish born spouse including the impact of the union on their kin. Jewish communal policymaking also tends to overlook the non-Jewish spouse's perspective, wants, needs and backgrounds in its approach to Jewish Continuity drives. Who Jews marry helps determine the likelihood that interest in activating

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162 Note that according to Jewish law, it is improper to discuss the prior life of a convert, a proscription that may exert a negative influence on researchers and intermarriers alike as they struggle to ignore the powerful influences of people's personal histories.
TJRO will be exhibited, encouraged, sustained or muted.163 For example, recently divorced, “cultural pluralist,” “lapsed Catholic” Paula Zukerman took it upon herself to initiate Hanukah, Passover and High Holiday celebrations when her ex-husband’s family from his first marriage showed minimal interest in TJRO.

It was interesting to note that receiving religious socialization, instruction, attending church, participating in church youth groups and initiation into traditional customs, even if later devaluing or drifting away from the same (e.g., “lapsed”), facilitated, in some cases, a proactive approach to Jewish rituals and intergenerational identity transference. Having been reared in a religious context, notwithstanding theological or social difficulties with their birth religion, can warm non-Jewish intermarriers up to the subject of converting to Judaism.164 Intermarried 47-year-old Italian-Canadian, Catholic drop out Leora Rose offers her perspective, “When you are willing to be religious in one religion you are often prepared to be religious in the other and you’re determined your children will grow up this way. A good friend who also intermarried is religious and became more Jewish than any Jewish mother could be.” Before becoming involved in “working class” politics childless, intermarried 58-year-old, England born Arnold was “a very religious Christian before I became disillusioned with the Church, disgusted with the hypocrisy of it all.” Arnold who converted to Reform Judaism and “loves” attending the “Reform shul” near

163 Consider the varied intermarried scenarios of Anne Baker’s three exogamous offspring: “Although all my children married Canadian-born persons, their spouses all come from different backgrounds. My daughter, the least interested in religion of all my children, still would not convert. She actually married an Italian Catholic. She is enamished in her husband’s family. If anyone needs anything at all, they’ll all get together and they’ll give it. It’s a togetherness that is unsurpassed. She lives on 125 acres of land where they also restored a homestead on the property for her Italian mother-in-law. The two grandchildren get to live in both houses. In contrast, my eldest son’s wife converted to Judaism. Her mother is a prim and proper English woman and her father an Indian Trinidadian is a former high school teacher turned doctor. There are no warm interactions with these in-laws as it is very formal, but then I’m not a formal person and wherever I go it automatically becomes informal because I don’t put up with that. This son has two children. My middle child is 40 years old. He married a woman 10 years his senior. They have one child. Both are careerist, very busy in business. They met through business contacts. Even though his wife did not convert, they are raising their child Jewish. Her mother came from a tiny island off the coast of Scotland.”

164 Spiritual-traditionalist, 23-year-old G3 unmarried Cindy Roth suggests, “I feel closer to my friend who is a religiously-oriented Christian than I do to somebody who is Jewish who is Reform and who has no care or interest in spirituality.”
their home, attends more than his wife and would do more Jewish rituals were it not for his wife's disinterest. Jews who have internalized the history of Jewish persecution and its Jewish survival discourse are "disinterested in [their] own religion but do not want anybody else's religion either" (interdater, 28-year-old G3 Simon Shwartz). Consequently, religiously minded non-Jews are often instrumental not only in their own conversion but also their family's expression of TJRO.

Sometimes an "intuitive non-Jewish spouse" will awaken her Jewish spouse's repressed or unacknowledged 'Jewish spirit' (see Weiman Shneider 1993). Betty Warner, an Anglican-raised late generation Anglo-Canadian who came into her relationship knowledgeable about "the Shoah [Holocaust]" is one such intuitive spouse. Her G1 1/2 Jewish husband Abe appeared highly disinterested in Jewish ritual activities when they started dating in their early 20s, however Betty "realized very quickly that he was Jewish to the core and there was you might say a whole Jewish package that came with him." She explains,

Abe was a hidden child, from age five to approximately seven at the time of liberation in France. An anti-clerical non-Jewish family in the French countryside who had ties to the Resistance and with whom we are still very close hid him. 165 His family in France survived but everyone who was behind in Poland did not. His parents were in hiding in Lyon and they were able to come get him at the end of the war. When I met him he was totally non-observant, his parents were traditional European Jews from Poland, but very quickly I realized this guy is Jewish. His outlook on life, his sense of values was grounded in it. I had grown up with a number of Jewish friends but I was quite young then. In elementary school my closest friends were Jewish. I'm from [X], Ontario. I just had a little sense of what it was and of course historically I'd studied some history and I realized how important it was for him to maintain that Jewish identity and I was not particularly attached to my family's affiliation which was Anglican. I was not particularly attached on theological grounds; there were certain things I couldn't accept and it just seemed to me very logical to convert and I really had a very difficult time doing that. Why did I go through all of this? Because for both my husband and I our connection to the Jewish community is an extremely important thing, probably based on our history. I grew up in a home where religion was a very important thing, my mother was a Christian Scientist who died when I was a child, my father was an Anglican and becoming an Anglican didn't really take with me. My stepmother was a wonderful woman who was a traditional Christian but not doctrinaire, just believed very firmly that God had a plan for everyone. That was all there was to it. But religion and faith was an important component in our home and when I left the church I left it for reasons of faith, not because it was too much

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165 The interviews with history buffs like Paris born economist G1 1/2 Abe Warner were rich in dates and details.
Before the Hungarian revolution\textsuperscript{166} and after when he met his wife Abe had a non-religious conception of his Jewishness and subscribed to communist ideals.

I cared about my family and I knew I was Jewish. Okay there was no question. But philosophically in terms of religion, whatever, I really had no interest. I mean my parents would hold a seder but if I had to study for exam I would just go to university and say sorry I can’t make it okay. And then have, you know go and have a club sandwich at a cafeteria or something and study for my exam whatever. And I remember once I had a summer job in British Columbia and without paying attention, to come back, I didn’t want to go back by train. I came back by plane. Without paying attention, I ended up taking the plane on Yom Kipper and paying very little attention to what day it was. Of course, I knew I was Jewish and certainly have an emotional attachment to the Jewish people, but had little attachment to the religion. Meeting my wife changed this all. My wife realized astutely that my pretensions at having only a superficial link to my Jewishness, my Jewish past, was really not the truth, and that deep down it was a lot stronger than I wanted to admit. She herself was attracted to Judaism as a religion and she understood that for the harmony of the household it’s better to have unity of religion. She herself comes from a very religious background. So, that’s what motivated her. It has been my wife who pushed me for a greater degree of Jewish observance.

This sensitivity to others’ unspoken needs can also influence the Jewish identity outcomes of the children of intermarriage. 20-year-old G3\textsuperscript{12} Maya Rand’s intermarried parents dissolved their union after seven years and her father is now endogamously remarried. “I think my mum knew it was rebellion for my dad and that if he got married again it would probably be with someone

\textsuperscript{166} The Hungarian Revolution demystified for Abe utopian communism, that the French Communist party was just an arm of Stalin’s expansionary views, “Stalin imperialism.” All his friends in Paris were Jews “but they were Left Wing Jews.” He became quite involved in the French Communist youth movement and joined the party at age 15. He acknowledges having very “little in common with the true French working class, we liked Jazz, interest in American movies, we were kind of walking both sides of the street.” Abe’s hiding experience instilled him with left wing anti-clerical, socialist thinking—“I benefited a lot in terms of opening the horizon. Plus the fact that living on the farm there was always the animals and you know the harvest and the wine growing. And also, they ran a bistro you know. Like they were quite well to do and they had a shop where they made wooden shoes. And it’s incredible to live on a farm and learn all these things.” Coming to Canada however also made him realize “the narrow view of world you get from communists.”
who was Jewish, and I think she didn’t want me to end up feeling left out because I wouldn’t know as much. She insisted my dad expose me to all the Jewish traditions.” Interest in expressing Jewish affinities by non-Jewish born spouses can greatly influence the character of Jewishness manifest in an intermarried household. As 80-year-old Murray Silverstein observes, this can easily shift the balance “more toward the Jewish way” (e.g., his brother married a German non-Jewish woman and they are raising their two daughters Jewish).

While the intergenerational transfer of Jewishness is often emphasized when the non-Jewish spouse finds religion important yet feels dissatisfied or disinterested in their pre-marital approach, when the spouse upholds his/her religious heritage the two spouses have to be more creative in balancing the push/pull of competing cultures. For example, practicing Catholic 35-year-old G2 Italian-Canadian Rita Montenero does not understand why her Jewish boyfriend of two years 31-year-old G3 Lome Brown would be opposed to rearing children in the Catholic faith “because he is atheist.” Lome finds it difficult to explain to Rita that “being Jewish for me is ethnic, a shared sense of history and the need to survive and not disappear.” Currently, he maintains a passive secular-traditional approach to TJRO wherein he goes “through the motions” during major holiday times, indifferently joining his family for multigenerational Passover, High Holiday and Hanukah meals and reluctantly going to shul only when absolutely necessary. Both Lome and Rita have kept their relationship hidden from their parents out of fear of their disapproval and discouragement. Further, Lome tells me, “our relationship is great as long as we don’t talk about religion; that messes things up.”

167 Lome who is divorced from his Jewish wife admits that he finds it difficult to meet Jewish women who are not turned off by his financially insecure career path as a musician. Finding a balance between unconventionality, individuality and Jewish social conformity is characteristic to a sub-group of Lorne’s cohort. While at the time of my informal fieldwork exchange with Lorne he was keeping his interethnic relationship secret to his parents, compartmentalizing his worlds, I have since received process reports on their relationship in which both sides have been loosening up the boundaries and including each other more and more in family rituals.
Jane Fox, a committed Anglican, therapist, feminist and wife to G2 thrice married writer Jake Feingold, son of a Jewish American actress and stockbroker father exhibit a harmonious union which both attribute to their "share[d] values and respect for each other's traditions." Though uninvolved weakly attached Jewish parents with minimal regard for TJRO reared Jake, Jane has helped him discover and find value in liberal forms of Judaism. Jane joins Jake at the Reform temple that he likes to go to but Jake prefers not to go to Church with Jane. Sabbath, Passover, High Holidays and Hanukah/Christmas rituals are incorporated into the couple's home while Jane alone continues to maintain her loyalties to her Anglican beginnings. Jane's three kids from her previous marriage, including a son who has married a Japanese Buddhist woman, have been exposed to Jewish customs and acquired an appreciation of Jewish causes. Perhaps, however, if the children were of such an age that they were still dependent on parental decisions and influence, the Fox-Feingold marriage might require a greater need for compromise.

More common in my sample of Jewish intermarried households were non-Jewish spouses who were minimally, if at all attached to their religious and/or ethnic backgrounds pre-marriage. Critical of his Anglican and Celtic roots, socialist-minded, Paul Williamson grew up as a minority in a primarily G2 Toronto Jewish context and entered his marriage to Toronto Jewess Janet (second order) with a negligible connection to his birth religion and ethnicity. Janet had

168 Religiously raised 27-year-old Lutheran born Canadian Barbara Roberts and her Toronto born Jewish husband Harold both "respect each others' personal religious beliefs." In tune with the individualistic spirit of the times both spouses do "what they want to do when it comes to religion," choosing their own "comfort zone." However, Barbara displays a proactive attitude toward her husband's Jewish identity retention: "it's kind of ironic (he laughs), but she doesn't want me to lose my identity." She is active in making sure her husband lights the menorah and would like "to see him have more." While Barbara goes to the Lutheran church for Christmas with her parents and Harold stays back at the house, "she is the one pushing all this and always bugs me to keep the no hameitz rule. I will for a day or two especially around my parents."

169 As a boy, Paul received some Anglican religious instruction and attended a secular church organized summer camp for two weeks. The only time he felt strongly about his Anglican faith was ages 13-17 when he felt left out of all the Jewish rites of passage etc. By age 17, his commitment to Anglicanism had almost completely dissipated.
a comparable experience in which she was the only Jew in her public school located in her principally non-Jewish area. As Janet relates, "both of [them] grew up feeling alienated, different and outside of it; we had that experience which we could understand in each other." Having been a regular guest at his friends' shabbat dinners, holiday meals and Jewish rites of passage, Paul was quite accustomed to the cultural practices of Jews and became instrumental in introducing their son Eric whom he has fathered since age three to the Friday night ritual. Many non-Jewish spouses in my sample, Paul included, expressed disdain for the divisiveness and narrowness of religion, rejecting their religious backgrounds before marriage in favor of affiliations associated with social justice and leftist social consciousness. Quite often non-Jewish spouses like these, be they self-defined atheists, communists, socialists or social democrats, exhibit a hearty appetite for reading and learning and have a fascination with history. For instance, Bob Johnson, a 72-year-old Canadian widower, reared in a French Arcadian Catholic household was married in the late 50s to a fellow member of the

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170 It is important to emphasize the homogamous character of the Williamson's union that transcends the Jewish/non-Jewish distinctions: "Paul and I, I think have more in common than my mother and father ever had. We were born in the same year and a lot of the cultural things, musical events and political events, I mean whatever, and they were the same." Notwithstanding their comparable experiences, their interethnic union elicited alienating reactions from Janet's Holocaust survivor parents and a "religious" Jewish friend of Janet. Both chose to not validate Paul's and the marriage's existence. Thrice converted Betty Warner who experienced her twenties in the 60s also spoke about shared societal events she experienced with her Jewish husband Abe: "We moved to X in 1962 and we came back to Canada for good in 1968. So we got to the States just before the Cuban missile crisis. We did a trip to Europe before we came back and we were in Athens when Martin Luther King was assassinated. And we just moved back to Canada when JFK was assassinated. Those are the markers. I mean it was the whole Vietnam War, an incredible time to be there with the civil rights movement. I was active only as much as I could; I had a green card so I had to be careful."

171 81-year-old G2 endogamous Lori Fine who also spent her formative years in a non-Jewish public school setting and residential area spoke like Janet of the within group alienating effects of being bussed into cheder: "I didn't feel like part of the Jewish community. I felt like an outsider always because I didn't know the kids when I went to cheder. I didn't know who was sitting next to me."

172 Incidentally, a well-known Jewish man Paul admires is Stephen Lewis, a former leader of the NDP.

173 During Paul's interview I noted an impressive walled bookcase packed with many books on Jewish themes. Many 'successful' Jewish intermarriages exhibited non-Jewish spouses who were intensely curious and interested in expanding their horizons.

174 Bob spoke of his early Canadian roots, "The first Johnson who came to Canada was in 1671 and we're all descendent from him." As a child growing up in a late generation French Arcadian-Canadian, "very Roman Catholic," working class household of eight children, Bob believed in Catholicism when he was in Catholic separate school, but when he started working in the factory he rejected it in favor of socialism. A fellow worker who had grown up with a Communist premier of Saskatchewan (CCF) "made a Socialist out of [him]." He became so at 19 in spite of his parents' disapproval. He elaborates, "I question all Catholic practices, never mind questioning Jewish practices. I'm an atheist, and I don't believe in any of it, but we spent a lot of time in synagogues and Catholic
Communist movement, a G3 Canadian Jewish woman, and shared with me his impressive knowledge of Jewish literature. Interestingly, his wife's intimate group of four Jewish girlfriends, who had grown up together in Montreal, all married non-Jewish men that were part of this Communist network. Bob, a factory worker/communist activist, and his wife shared socialist aspirations. In spite of the forgoing the Johnsons two daughters (now in their 40s) were given ample opportunity to sample secular-traditional interpretations of Passover, Hanukah/Christmas and New Year's. Vivien, their youngest, even joined her parents on a trip to a kibbutz in Israel. However, though the Johnson parents themselves had many Jewish friends, their daughters' residences in predominantly non-Jewish areas left them with few close Jewish friends and very little sense of being a part of the Toronto Jewish community.

For self-described Catholic rejecting, atheists, 49-year-old, G1 Sicilian Don Fiorio and G1 Mexican John Valdez (early 50s), celebrating Jewish rituals is an emblem of ethnicity not religious conviction. Being actively secular-traditional (i.e., emphasizing the familial, novel and fun aspects of TJRO) is 'successfully' added to their ties to Italian and Mexican cultures respectively. Indeed, both have passed on to their offspring a sense of identification with the

*churches, but I'll never kneel in a Catholic Church." His wife was buried in a Jewish cemetery but without a rabbi—they "didn't want anything religious."*

*175 Bob "met a lot of Jewish people in the Communist movement." According to Bob, "The Jewish section of the party was quite large and so I knew people from the Jewish People's Order. I knew people like Salzberg." Bob's G3 Montreal born Jewish wife "had a long history in the Left Wing movement and when she moved to Toronto it was to get away from her family." She was involved in the Communist Youth movement as a teen during the war (40s) and Bob joined later in 1948.

*176 In the Johnson's lower income area home, the most apparent Jewish markers were a large collection of Jewish books, evidencing Bob's avid interest in Jewish history, geography and literature. The Jewish writer, Shalom Alchem, "is one of my favorite authors. He is to Jewish literature what Mark Twain is to American literature or Stephen Leacock is to Canadian literature, and he lived in the Ukraine at the turn of the Century in a small Jewish community, *shehl*."

*177 Bob was a leader of Toronto's Communist Youth group and member of the Jewish People's Order.

*178 Bob has a special affinity for Israel and has been there five times with his wife. In particular, he has a strong appreciation for Israel's socialist beginnings and the hard struggles it has and continues to face. He has a special attachment to Kibbutz ideologies and ways of life.

*179 Similarly, the Johnson daughters did not retain their parents' leftist attachments: "My daughters believe in unions but they don't agree with me about the politics, and we've never pressed them for that. They have a very good approach to life. They accept people for the way they are, not by their color, or anything. If they don't like a person, it is because that person is not a good person, not because he's black, or anything else. I'm pleased about that."*
land, food and culture of their home countries, aided by family visits to their relatives abroad. Dual identities do not necessarily have to entail concomitant losses in Jewish vitality, but rather they demand that energies be shared, limiting the likelihood of ethnocentrism, parochialism and exclusivity. The possibility of children of intermarriages choice to value and retain TJRO appears to be shaped by factors such as the area in which they grew up, the nature and degree of interaction with other Jews, peer group influence, the reception and affectional solidarity with their Jewish kin. John’s oldest daughter, 28-year-old G2½ Wendy Valdez is proud of both her Mexican and Jewish ethnicities and has become more interested in exploring the meaning of TJRO (i.e., revitalization) in her 20s. Growing up in a predominantly Jewish area, attending a high Jewish density school, having principally Jewish friends and boyfriends—she is engaged to be married to her Toronto Jewish boyfriend of three years—and living close to her South African widowed Jewish grandmother could help explain her vital Jewishness.

c. Conversion

Research shows that in situations where the non-Jewish spouse has converted to Judaism there is little, if any, difference in the religious sphere that can separate exogamous from endogamous unions (Epstein 1999; Mayer 1985, 1995; Medding et al. 1992). According to 56-year-old G2 Bill Plaut, “the Jewish infant is born into an ongoing stream of conditioned consciousness that is transmitted from birth both consciously and unconsciously. The Jewish infant yet to be born 500 years after the Holocaust will still carry the feeling of these events and see the world in keeping with these historical experiences. The convert may develop a devout attitude and apply the law more stringently. They may even apply the style, manner and vernacular but they are from a different stream of conditioned consciousness.” Others concurred that there is a kind of collective psychic inheritance derived from shared historical experiences that limit newcomers’ ability to
fully integrate into the group. Consequently, converts may feel it easier to “define their Judaism in religious rather than communal or ethnic terms” (Mayer: 240).

Others, like 58-year-old, England born Reform Convert, Arnold Fitzgerald, find it easier to relate to the ideology or history, real or imagined, of the Jewish people.

I can’t really say I’m Jewish in the sense of a boy who was brought up with it from the word go, has a Bar Mitzvah and learns the language has followed the rules right from the start. I couldn’t possibly say that I was like him or her. Like a lot of it for me is tremendous admiration and respect for the Jewish people. I feel in one sense I identify myself as a Jew because I’ve been in situations where I’ve been the outsider. I’ve been dumped on. So, I can identify like Jews with the idea of being an outsider, underdog, I always root for the underdog more than the favorite to win.

Similarly, 56-year-old, non-religious, G2 Italian-Canadian, Paula Zukerman was embraced and granted “honorary Jew” status on the basis of her ability to fit in with the social Jewishness of her upper middle class clique. Paula did not convert to Judaism because she saw herself as a non-believing, cynical, “against organized religion” Catholic who would be “converting for all the wrong reasons which [she] didn’t think was the right way to do it.” Notably, Paula’s disinterest in converting did not carryover to their daughter: “When I was born my father really wanted me to be Jewish and my mum didn’t have a problem with it as she was not really close to her own religion and so she thought that this was better. I was converted to Judaism as a baby. My mum didn’t convert. She also felt that at a suitable age I would have the freedom to shape this religious choice (Fiona Zukerman).

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180 While converts often pass on religious turf, enduring cultural and social-psychological differences such as worldview, self-concept, ways of relating and conversing make it harder to acquire ‘full’ ethnic Jewish status.

181 Importantly, for some intermarrying individuals, low Jewish communal involvement is more a function of a general disinterest in institutionalized commitments than a sign of an apathetic Jewish connection. For example, communist raised 49-year-old Sicilian born Don Fiorio who rejected his birth religion (Catholicism) at age 13 is uncomfortable with formally organized structures. Don prefers to spend what leisure time he can afford with his family. Still, he accompanies his wife to informal lectures on Jewish topics and Outreach High Holiday services because these are family-oriented events.

182 Paula is immersed in an exclusively Jewish friendship group and resides in a predominantly Jewish area where fashion and other cultural sensibilities are the currency of exchange.
Self-defined “non-conformist” and “feminist” 47-year-old intermarried Italian Canadian Leora who rejected her Catholicism, paying little homage to her Italian roots beyond eating pasta, asked her G3 Toronto Jewish husband why he never asked her to convert to Judaism. Her recollection of his reply was: “He said, I would never dream of imposing such a thing on you. Especially since he knew that I had rejected everything else of my religion and background, why would I want to take on something else when I had rejected even my own.” 48-year-old, late generation Anglo-Canadian, “honorary Jew,” Paul Williamson grew up primarily with Toronto Jews and elected not to convert to Judaism because he felt that he wouldn’t be doing it for religious motives but rather for ethnic recognition which he did not see changing with conversion. In addition, he feels that “there is no real trust or acceptance of converts anyway.” 68-year-old England born Brad Smith agreed,

I’ll never have the Jewish label even if I converted. They always say 'he married a girl who converted not he married a Jew.' In order to convert you have to be religious, you have to believe, and I don’t believe in my own religion that is Anglican, Church of England, so to me it's hypocritical for me personally to convert. I agreed to raise the kids Jewish but I would never convert because there is nothing to convert from and I’m not religious.

Still, Brad enjoys the cultural basis of TJRO: “I find that part fascinating. The bit that I hate is religion, and the turmoil it causes. People die in the name of religion. Look at the religious conflict among Jews themselves.” 25-year-old American-Canadian Jew Olivia Fiorio, the daughter of a union between a lapsed Catholic, Irish American father and a Jewish American mother, feels strongly that her father’s choice not to convert to Judaism did not lessen his Jewish orientation:183

My father, at heart, is a very Jewish person, he really identifies. He never converted, but he was very accommodating and he really seemed drawn in by the community aspect of the Jewishness that he knew.

Converts, or the sometimes-preferred term “Jews by Choice,” do not have uniform motives for

183 Olivia is married to a fellow child of Jewish intermarriage. Her mother divorced her father when she was ten. Her father, a psychology professor based in Montreal, is remarried with another American Jewish woman.
conversion and therefore the implications of conversion on the vitality of TJRO are varied. A conversion can be pursued not as a means to further or realize a religious Jewish lifestyle, but rather to 1) appease reservations by his/her spouse's kin, 2) minimize the presence and effect of multiple allegiances, 3) enhance the connection to one's spouse or 4) fulfill a pre-condition to a Jewish wedding ceremony by a rabbi. As the following examples demonstrate, in a conversionary household the nature of TJRO is very much affected by the conversion experiences and communal responses surrounding the decision. Converting to Judaism is never just a one shot deal; negotiating one's Jewishness is an ongoing, lifelong process. Moreover, one can convert at different stages in the family life cycle, such as in having done so after a period of cultural acclimatization to the do's and don'ts of one's particular Jewish reference group.

Mexican-born atheist John Valdez was turned off organized religion by his Catholic beginnings, but converted to Reform Judaism in order to quiet the concerns of his future Jewish in-laws who were initially disapproving of their daughter's intermarried union. Neither John nor his wife Valerie is keen on synagogue life, but secular-traditional, family-oriented meals on Passover, Rosh Hashanah and Hanukah remain important in the Valdez household. John is welcomed by Valerie's Jewish peers as a "honorary Jew"—"He's like one of them you know, and because they know him so well and know what he is, and what he's like and they think of him being more Jewish than non-Jewish." The relative ease of entry and acceptance present in this case, in part possibly due to comparable ethclass backgrounds, fostered a comfortable and conducive enough

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184 Widowed, late generation, French Arcadian, communist activist 72-year-old Bob Johnson (born into a large religious Catholic family) was married for 42 years to a Montreal born Jewish member of the movement also converted to manage his wife's family's negative reactions. His wife's parents considered performing a sitting shiva ritual until Bob said to her "it doesn't make any difference to me who signs the wedding certificate, whether it's a judge or a rabbi, and it makes a difference to your family and your relationship with them, that's ok with me. So—we were married by rabbi X. It took her family really some time to accept me. We were married in August and in February her family held a party in their house with friends and relatives."

185 Still, Valerie recognizes that John's surname marks him, even if not voiced, as a non-Jew to acquaintances, "I'm Jewish and my husband isn't. Everybody, for example my neighbors know he's not Jewish, with a name like Valdez, and I can't describe it, it's just a known fact. Nobody says outright oh you're not Jewish, it's not discussed, but it's just known."
environment for John's appreciation of home-based Jewish rituals to take root. Paying homage to the Jewish tradition, valuing his wife's background and his sense of connection to Jewish people underlie his internal orientation to TJRO.

Other new members to the fold choose to convert for spiritual-traditional reasons such as the need to have a religio-mystical presence in their lives. Betty Warner, a former Anglican, is a prime example of what Epstein (1999: 239) referred to as "the contribution of conversion to continuity." In spite of her marriage to her initially irreligious Jewish mate Abe, Betty chose on her own, in the early 60s, to convert to Judaism. Becoming more and more knowledgeable about the various Jewish denominations, cultures, worldviews and people, she and Abe eventually began their journey towards intensification in their TJRO.

The first conversion I had was just simply not halakhically acceptable and would not be accepted by the Reform today. It was in a Reform synagogue in Montreal and it was extremely once over lightly and my husband's parents didn't even know anything differently, nobody knew anything. And it was only when we were both in grad school at the university of Pennsylvania and had gone to Rosh Hashanah High Holiday services in Hillel and felt comfortable there, started going to services on Shabbat. It was a very gradual thing and I realized perhaps I needed something more and as things turned out through nobody's fault except one person who performed a conversion which again was not halakhically acceptable for various reasons. Something had happened to this at one time Orthodox ordained rabbi and he was not kosher anymore which is the best way to put it; he no longer had the proper authority to perform a conversion and it took a while for me to catch up. Eventually I got it straightened out. It was an unfortunate situation but it strengthened my feeling that you absolutely have to have clear information from a communal source. Ultimately, I was married three times with every conversion, the last being finally a legitimately Orthodox Jewish conversion. What really helped change things for me and Abe was settling in Toronto and finding a havurah of young Jewish families interested in creating a spiritually meaningful way of Jewish living.

Betty's influence has inspired a revitalization of Abe's TJRO, ultimately leading him to his self-identification as a modern Orthodox Jew and service as vice-president of his synagogue. Betty's desire for "something more" has turned her on to what she views as a more "authentic" and spiritually satisfying lifestyle. "Publicly" coming out as a convert through her work for a Toronto Jewish publication she has managed to retain an appreciation and respect for her non-Jewish past in addition to her newfound acceptance as a religio-ethnic Jew. In many ways, Betty speaks,
thinks and does Jewish. For instance, she uses Jewish conversational style, donates to Jewish charities, gave her children a Jewish education, takes an interest in Jewish politics and participates in communal initiatives. Her sense of belonging within her Jewish social circle has been a positive factor in helping to ensure that her three offspring (two of whom I interviewed) similarly express vital affinities for their inherited Jewishness.

d. Reaction of Jewish kin to the marriage

The reaction of Jewish and non-Jewish kin to an intermarried union can have profound effects on the nature of TJRO expressed in these contexts.\(^{186}\) This study provided examples of situations wherein the Jewish parents' unwillingness to accept their child's desire to intermarry and refusal to recognize the non-Jewish mate led a couple towards a negative disposition toward their TJRO. Conversely, a welcoming parental response appeared to exert a positive effect on the couple's orientation to TJRO. The degree and quality of interactions with Jewish grandparents are also important factors affecting the nature of Jewish identity in the offspring of intermarried couples. In addition, the degree of a couple's relative independence from their respective families, and hence the extent of their freedom to stylize their own brand of Jewishness as they please, can also play a significant role in Jewish identity formation processes. For instance, 72-year-old Bob and his G3 Montreal-born Jewish wife Hannah found opportunity for cultural innovation by settling on "neutral terrain away from both sets of parents."\(^{187}\) There might have been alienation from anything Jewish in the Johnsons' case had Bob not circumvented Hannah's parents' threat

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\(^{186}\) Sung (1990) found four types of Chinese American parental reactions to an offspring's intermarriage: 1/ to disown, 2/ disapproval, 3/ displeased but resigned and 4/ acceptance.

\(^{187}\) Physical distance from parents is important irrespective of exogamous/endogamous spouse selection. For example, 56-year-old G2 Kurt Rosenthal links a turning point in his ritual involvement to both moving out of his parental home and moving his wife and two daughters to a mid-sized Ontario city. "In this small city there was no choice, there was one very small Conservative congregation where we could sit together." According to Kurt, living outside Toronto, away from parental scrutiny, afforded the Rosenthals the opportunity to initiate independent religious choices and orientation to TJRO.
to *sit shiva* for their daughter through his Reform conversion.\(^{188}\) 62-year-old Abe Warner intermarried with born Anglican Betty also trumpeted the benefit “that geographically the two families lived at least five hours drive away.”\(^{189}\) Betty highlighted other differences that separated the two families more so than the Jewish/non-Jewish factor:

Our families did not meet for a long time not because they were angry at each other or that they didn’t want to meet. They were just frightened, scared, because there was not only the religious gap, but there was also the cultural gap, the pre-war/post-war gap, the language gap. When they did meet, it was a question of always having me, or my husband, around to interpret. The language would only go so far. My parents were typical Canadian, totally ignorant in French. So, there were factors that set up artificial barriers and plus the fact that they lived a fair distance apart.\(^{190}\)

Formerly intermarried Jewish single father of three, 47-year-old G2 Eric Levine indicated that even when his First Nation B’hai ex-wife was around “there was a significant Jewish influence.”\(^{191}\)

He elaborates,

> There was a couple of reasons, a) there was a significant influence from my family, b) her whole entire family lived in BC and c) she was at that time of the Bahai faith, the point being that she did not come from a Christian background. It is an interesting religion; their headquarters are actually in Israel. On the other hand, my friend in the Caribbean married a non-Jew and there is no remnant of anything. This is cause he is 1000s of miles away from his immediate family, he has no inner sense of his Jewish identity, and is dominated by his wife.

From a child of intermarriage’s perspective, the quality and quantity of interaction present with

\(^{188}\) Bob converted to Judaism for family approval, clarifying to me, “I don’t see myself as Jewish. I’ve been very involved in Jewish social and cultural life because of my wife and her family and my friends in Toronto. I go to things of the Jewish People’s Order and I prescribe to the magazine.”

\(^{189}\) Goldstein and Goldstein (1996) note that while a statistically significant positive correlation holds between intermarriage and residential mobility for intermarital cohorts before the 80s, such is not the case for the recently intermarried. Due perhaps to greater communal support/acceptance and the ‘normalization’ of intermarriage the researchers find recent intermarrieds are more alike in their residential mobility/stability behavior as their non-intermarried counterparts.

\(^{190}\) For 49-year-old Sicilian (born Catholic) Don Fiorio and his 66-year-old G2 Toronto Jewish wife Lara, being far from Don’s Sicilian-based parents and cut off from Lara’s meant that the Fiorios could independently choose what to keep, add, or reject of both cultures.

\(^{191}\) There were several factors working against the ‘success’ of Eric’s 1973 city hall marriage at 22 beyond Jewish/non-Jewish differences. “We’re talking now 25 years ago, so the idea of bringing home an illegitimate child and a girlfriend, barely 17 who wasn’t Jewish, that’s a pretty big load to unload (Eric).” Eric’s wife left him, due to “personal problems”, to raise their three daughters alone (all under age nine at the time). She is currently remarried and lives five hours away by car. Since she has been living with another man for twelve years, the three daughters now visit with their mother at Christmas every year (“It’s more of a traditional thing versus a religious thing”). Other than ten days at Christmas, there is only episodic contact between mother and daughters.
the various sides of their family increases or decreases their affection for the culture of each. For instance, 28-year-old G21/2 Wendy Valdez, daughter of a Mexican Catholic born father and South African born Jewish mother, is currently engaged to a G3 Toronto Jewish man and celebrates her multiple heritages. In spite of the distance, there is substantial familial contact with her father's side (e.g., regular annual family visits to Mexico) such that,

I feel much closer to my father's side because I have never been to South Africa before and my dad talks a lot about his past and tells stories about what he did and I have a lot of cousins that I am really close to from Mexico. But my mum's side is much smaller having left only my grandmother whom I am very close to and talk regularly with but I learn more about my Jewishness from her, not so much a connection to South Africa.

The reception intermarried 47-year-old Italian-Canadian Leora Rose received from her Jewish in-laws was anything but rosy. "The exclusion was not on my side. It was quite the opposite. I was shocked. It was like I was the first non-Jewish person they ever met. I just didn't live in that kind of world and every time that anything came up the doors were always closing on me. I was desperate to accept anything and everything but I was constantly excluded." Things changed when 14 years later they formally married and moved to Toronto: "By marrying we removed one of the stigmas, in this case the stigma of not being married, but the reason we weren't married was the fact I wasn't Jewish." The Rose intermarried family case illustrates how length of marriage and family life cycle (e.g., birth of children) can influence cultural identity negotiation. Time has healed relations with Leora's Jewish in-laws and provided time for her mother-in-law to appreciate that Leora is "just the best thing that ever happened to her son" and for Leora to see that her in-laws are in fact "very nice people." Nevertheless, Leora still does not feel that she can have a "real relationship" with her Jewish kin because she can never really "let down [her] guard" and banter freely about anti-authoritarian or anti-religious ideas, as she would like. Having been raised with an overly strict set of beliefs she had hoped to encounter within Judaism a more open-minded and intellectually curious approach, but found it similarly restrictive. While much is gained from her impression that as long as one "avoids bringing up Jewish issues, all is well" and "we learn not to talk about certain things" approach, Leora's experience of exclusion
and conditional treatment has solidified her perception of organized religions.

To me, all religion is excluding. I feel we should have moved beyond that and yet most people haven’t and I am constantly disturbed by that. We have to respect all the different ideas. People should accept that they are all equal and all perfectly valid, or equally nonsensical, not mine’s better than yours and this is the only one.

In the early years, she was very ready to embrace Judaism.

If I’d been openly accepted I might have gone further with it, but when I realized that this was just as closed I stopped putting in the effort. I used to take the Seders seriously because I thought it was such an improvement over Catholicism. We always made it a wonderful experience. There is a lot of value to them. However, the Seders are becoming shorter every year and more selective.

30-year-old G3 Heather Feldberg’s Outsider response to TJRO is in part related to her perception of her mother’s negative reaction to her interdating and intermarriage. “I was kicked out, at least that is how I saw it, because my mother wanted me to date someone Jewish and I said no. Yet meanwhile she’s an atheist and since I was age two she was married to somebody who is not Jewish, so I was like so what are you saying that we shouldn’t marry the way you did, don’t you love your husband; it was such a mixed message to me.” Heather’s mother, Miriam replied to this charge of inconsistency that “if you don’t have children you can pretty much do what you want but if you are going to have children with somebody then you can’t intermarry, your children have to be pure Jewish.” According to Heather, her mother has not been at all accepting of her non-practicing Sikh, East Indian-Canadian husband of eight years, Sangeet Singh, but has at least been trying, albeit with limited success, to reach out to them since the birth of her granddaughter this past year. In contrast, Sangeet’s parents “were

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192 At age 17, Heather dated a Greek Orthodox man for four years whose mother also denigrated the match due to religious differences.
193 Heather and her mother see things differently: “My mother is an atheist which is completely weird to me that she was totally forcing us to get married to somebody Jewish when my stepfather wasn’t Jewish, and they have a lot of the same interests.”
194 Technically, all seven of Miriam’s children were a product of her first endogamous union, but Heather was more or less raised (since age two) by Miriam’s non-Jewish second spouse.
195 The G2 Marky parents (late 60s) are in a similar situation, but having been very positive about their children’s intermarriages and are enjoying acting in their role as Jewish ‘cultural guardians’ for their two mixed Jewish and East Indian-Canadian grandchildren.
open and warm, immediately accepted me, just like, come on in, totally friendly to me.” Consequently, Heather and her daughter have much more interaction with Sangeet’s parents. They are “very involved in helping out, they come over three times a week and bring dinner and are very involved with their granddaughter.” Sangeet feels rejected and put off by what he sees as an “exclusionary” bias in Jewish culture and does not care to participate in Jewish rituals and events. Heather also feels put off by remarks she receives from coethnics like “don’t worry your daughter’s still Jewish” to which she retorts “I’m not worried. Like I actually consider her Buddha, she’s Sikh and she’s Jewish. She has two sides and hopefully we can teach her about both. I take it that she’ll be smart and she’ll know what she wants to believe and she’ll know about both.”

For the last couple of years Heather and Sangeet have been attending a Buddhist temple, a site of contemplation that is removed from both their respective birth religions. In many respects the Singh-Feldberg marriage is a homogamous union.

We both share a lot of the same beliefs. There wasn’t that problem when we first met. He didn’t believe something completely different. Neither of our religions ever believed in Jesus. Him being Sikh, they don’t either. And his parents didn’t bring him up religious at all. So there really wasn’t any conflicting anything. There wasn’t a conflict, there was no clash of values, I think other people were having more of a problem with it than us. And even like his parents and my parents lived like two blocks apart when we were growing up. So, we were both raised in the same area. Other people were like that’s so great that your love endures all this and it was like we seemed to have more in common than most people did. We both don’t really believe in God and Buddhism doesn’t either. They don’t really talk about God a lot. And we both believe in spirituality and meditation and you know trying to be as good, what we think is good, as we could be. And to be good to ourselves, enjoying the present and trying not to look to much to the future and letting go of the past which I’ve started to work on a lot. Buddhism is for living for the moment. I mean that’s what meditation is about. You are supposed to just totally concentrate on the exact moment that you’re meditating.

Intermarried mother 29-year-old G2 ½ Eva Bargman (daughter of intermarriage) sees her

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196 Given their personal experience with their own arranged marriage, Rangeet’s parents “never expected him to marry an Indian woman.”
mother Eileen as critical to her family’s Jewish continuity. Eva’s efforts to “pass on a Jewish identity” to her daughter is dependent on visits to her mother’s place in Toronto for certain holidays where she has access, among other things, to her extensive Jewish library and synagogue attendance. On her own, she retains no TJRO. She points out, “Some people practice traditional Jewish rituals and they don’t have any internal relevance. I don’t practice, but I still have the internal meaning.” While Eva feels that she inhabits neither of “the two worlds” (Jewish and non-Jewish contexts) fully, it is important to her that her daughter “knows where she comes from, her roots, her history. I will try and tell her as much as I can and I try to bring her down to Toronto when possible.”

26-year-old G2\(\frac{1}{2}\) Reena Fiorio’s (daughter of a Sicilian/Jewish union) mother’s family had a negative reaction to her parents’ intermarriage. The enduring effects of this bitterness functioned to turn Reena off from anything Jewish for quite some time. By contrast, the warm reception to the union by her Italian relatives furthered her burgeoning interest in things of an Italian nature including several visits, learning the language and acquiring a taste for Italian films. Reena’s 32-year-old brother Reuben also ties his mother’s family’s negative treatment of the family to his one time defensive and antagonistic Jewish identity; “I was treated by my mother’s side like I did not exist. We were like Pariahs.” Later in his adolescent years Reuben learned that “being Jewish isn’t necessarily one thing or another, it’s a choice of what you make of it. I like the freedom to decide how I wanted to be Jewish and make it comfortable for me.” His wife 25-year-old G2 Olivia Fiorio (fellow offspring of a Jewish intermarriage) finds Reuben’s Jewish identity very interesting. “He really refuted being Jewish when he was young so his being Jewish comes from such a conscious place and it was imperative for him that he marry someone who was Jewish.”

90-year-old widow Esther Levin, mother of two exogamous offspring, made clear to me her belief that “if you don’t welcome the non-Jewish person into your family, you and the Jewish
community will lose them.” Esther and her husband did not come to this awareness immediately, but rather learned from later life experiences, having lived and socialized for most of their lives exclusively with Jews. Their luck in their children’s choice of benevolent, family-oriented mates also made things easier for them to rethink their preferences.\(^{197}\) Esther claimed first hand knowledge of the importance of “opening your arms” toward the non-Jewish spouse to increase the chances of him/her accepting a Jewish influence and passing some of that on to the offspring. She argues for additional support and Outreach to intermarrieds using her son, Jake’s second wife’s experience to make her point.

Their boys were circumcised and they both went to Hebrew school. You see, she didn’t object. She went along with the whole thing. First, they belonged to a conservative shul because he thought that’s where he belonged but they weren’t accepting. They didn’t accept her. She didn’t feel comfortable. The people were not nice to her, so he left. Then he joined an ultra-Reform temple, and he had a great association with the Rabbi who was young like he is and they were welcomed there. See this makes a difference. The shul made a big mistake. What they do is they push them away, so they lose their children. Instead of welcoming them and becoming a family, becoming part of the community, they really make a big mistake. I know people who sat Shiva for their children because they left the fold, you know, the religion, which is wrong.\(^{198}\)

G3 Joseph Lebowitz’s two-year-old son has more chances to be exposed to TJRO and acquire a Jewish self-concept since the G2 Lebowitz parents have included their son’s common-law partner and her two daughters from a previous marriage in all home-centered Jewish rituals. A positive reaction to the merging of two cultures on the part of the kin does not always come straight away and orientations toward TJRO can mirror the adjustment as it takes place in the realm of inter-household relations. For example, 28-year-old G2 Harold Roberts, Lutheran

\(^{197}\) Esther spoke about her intermarried daughter’s case, “Although she was brought up very Jewish and she went to Israel and she went everywhere, and went to a Jewish camp you know she mixed with Jewish people, but she married a non-Jew. And at first, I disapproved of the marriage. I wouldn’t allow him to come to the house even, which was wrong. But he’s turned into a most wonderful human being. I adore him. And he actually converted which didn’t mean anything because they don’t even go to shul. I was determined for her not to marry him unless he converted which was the only stipulation I made. And today I could kick myself for it because I really adore him. He’s as good as any son could be.”

\(^{198}\) 60-year-old G2 Norman Neinstein emphasizes, “If somebody did marry out, people sat shiva. We didn’t disown our daughter when she married out; we accepted it. In my generation, if you married outside your religion, you ran the risk of being disowned by your parents”. 78-year-old Anne Baker, mother of three exogamous offspring, also notes “with certain Jewish people they are so inflexible where if their son doesn’t marry a Jewish girl, they won’t talk to them for the rest of their lives.”
Canadian wife Barbara was initially not warmly received by Harold's vitally involved American-born Reform parents, but has since become an accepted member now that they realize that the intermarriage does not necessarily bring about any attenuation in Jewish ties. Instead, they have seen Barbara go to the Reform temple with her husband on High Holidays and enthusiastically encourage Harold's TJRO.199

e. Ideological responses to intermarriage

Sometimes Jewish intermarriages become venues of weakening ethnic attachment, conflict and/or agents of intergenerational exogamy, less because of any direct causal connection (i.e., one intermarriage begets another) than the indirect effect of influential perceptions and ideologies about intermarriage. Common ideas about intermarriage, endogamy and the expectations and obligations associated with each exert a powerful effect on people's behaviors. Intermarriages' reputation as a necessary agent of loss creates fertile ground for the reification and reproduction of its portended 'negative' effects. However, as the incidence of intermarriage increases and counter-intuitive 'positive' scenarios (i.e., instances of transformative or additive ethnic continuity) surface, the ideological and material landscape becomes more complex as a veritable war of words plays itself out in our midst.

On the issue of spouse selection, intermarried parents and their offspring must contend with a unique set of conditions. Parents who would like to see their children marry Jewish are limited by

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199 Barbara has made an effort to go Jewish. She has gone to a couple of High Holiday services “to see what they were like” and she found it “a lot more relaxed; they have a cellist from the Toronto symphony and I like that the cantor is female.” Harold added, “When I signed up to join the temple on my own separate from my parents they wouldn’t allow Barbara to join even if she wanted to and it’s their choice and that’s fine unless she wanted to convert. So, they wouldn’t allow a non-Jew, which I think, is kind of backward because our temple is very open. As far back as I can remember, there has always been intermarriage in the temple but they have never allowed the non-Jewish spouse to become a member. This is sort of a drawback. I mean there might be something you both want to go to but if one of us is not a member then you might not want to attend. I wouldn’t consider however of joining another congregation who does accept because I have always been part of this congregation. I grew up with a lot of the people and I’d rather remain part of that.”
the fact that they themselves chose not to do so, leaving them open to criticism as hypocrites attempting to convince someone to do as they say but ignore what they have done. Parental power to assert an endogamous preference is further weakened by the ‘success’ of their own exogamous marriage—in effect robbing them of the ‘right’ to be pro-endogamous. In situations such as these, children of intermarriage are the ideological victors, gaining bargaining power and an enhanced ability to freely choose their religio-ethnic destinies.200

The Fischers, a conversionary couple, did not insist that their daughters date only Jews just that they “pick decent people.” He continued, “I could not deny my daughters what their mother and father had done. We didn’t sit down and say this is the way you’re going to do it. After all, children learn by example anyway.”201 Similarly, G2 Eric Levine reported that listening to hard-line, Jewish American radio talk show host, Dr Laura Schlesinger, has helped inform the character of his pro-endogamy discourse, “It should be presented as this is something you should consider, think about, and not flat out do, or not do, or else, cause then one rebels”. 20-year-old G3 Fiona Zukerman, daughter of intermarriage, shared with me that she is “strongly encouraged to marry a Jewish man,” but stressed that her father “does not put that pressure on me because he can’t. He can not do that when he did it himself. Still, I know that his dream is that I end up with a Jewish person.” 28-year-old G2 Dorothy Warner, daughter of a conversionary union, finds that her Jewish born father is “incredibly uneasy” when she dates non-Jewish boys. Dorothy has mixed feelings about her dad’s attempts to defend his position by underscoring that “what happened with him and mum is an exception.”

200 Note how this differs from would be intermarrying children of Holocaust survivors who must deal with a special obligation to carry on the survival of their parents’ Jewishness. Intermarried 47-year-old G2 Janet Williamson was a “miracle child” to holocaust survivor parents who refused to acknowledge her second husband because “he was not Jewish.” She shared with me, “I was feeling guilty at that time you know when Paul and I were going together and my father was sick, and dying. It was awful. I was grieving for my father. Actually, even before he died he was grieving because he knew he was dying and having all that grief mixed up with guilt knowing all that time that he was dying and that I am doing something that is hurting him terribly. It was horrible. I still feel guilty, and like I killed him.”
While hegemonic mythologies about intermarriage make it harder for intermarried parents to justify hard-line approaches, in some cases the ensuing balancing act enables offspring the freedom to cultivate a Jewish identity, no less strong, on their own terms. For example, 28-year-old G2°2 Wendy Valdez and her sister conceded to taking a supplementary Hebrew heritage program, but resisted attending Hebrew school as their Jewish friends of endogamous unions had been forced to do. Wendy recalls a time when most of her Jewish friends had to study hard to prepare for their bat/bar mitzvahs while her and her sister were as usual given the option of whether to participate or not, and if so, how. She further differentiates her TJRO experience from that of her friends which she described as “a thing they endured” and “resented having been imposed on them” while for her “it was more for interest and understanding. It wasn’t something we had to do.”

The intermarriage discourse circulating Jewish households features pro-endogamy/anti-exogamy arguments citing concerns over Jewish survival, fears of insidious, latent anti-Semitism and mythologies related to the alleged increases in comfort, security and ease in “having the same background.” Albert Warner, son of a conversionary marriage, feels that “marrying somebody not Jewish has never really been an option for me...how you’ve grown and your entire religion and social perspectives is for me too large a gap to be bridged. I don’t think that I could be in a

201 One Fischer daughter married a fellow child of intermarriage while the other daughter married a South African raised Jew.
202 It is interesting to note that a similar state of affairs is appearing in endogamous families as well. 28-year-old G4 Suzy Segal, married for two years to a Calgary born Jewish man she met through some friends at a party, illustrates the emergent trend, at least in abstract, to let kids decide their own Jewish destinies. “I want to transmit the sense of pride that I have in being Jewish. I want to teach any kids I have about the religion. I feel that kids need something to believe in. At the same time, when they’re old enough to understand I want them to understand that they have a choice.” 50-year-old G2°2 Lionel Pinsker spoke also of choosing Jewish identities. “It is really important to show our kids the relevance of Jewish customs and sense of Jewish history, really important for them to understand the history behind the survival of Jews, be proud of who they are and pick out from it what they consider important.”
203 Chow (2000) found such a “comfort level, cultural preservation discourse” echoed among the pro-endogamous Asian Americans in her qualitative study exploring the spousal preferences of 154 second and later generation Chinese and Japanese Americans. Such “respondents talked about how Whites no matter how empathetic can never understand what it feels like to be a racial minority and that the absence of this common ground was an important factor in their decision to either marry or prefer an Asian American spouse (15).” Some of Stoller’s (1996: 152) 34 non-immigrant Finish American interviewees also spoke about the comfort and ease when there’s “a whole bunch of
marriage where there was that big a difference between me and the other person.” He suggests that “with other Jews there is an underlying level of understanding, a common history, a common culture, common interests.” Conversely, stereotypes propagated within the group about coethnics also detract some people from staying within the group or becoming a more active group member. Passive secular-traditionalist, 55-year-old G3 intermarried Jew, Eva Fitzgerald relates, “I never wanted to marry a Jewish boy because I found them arrogant, not too much fun to be with, and stuffy.”

The other half of the assumption inherent in the foregoing mythology of endogamous homogeneity is that non-Jewish partners could not possibly have "the same sensitivity, compassion and understanding of Jewish issues, sensibilities and culture” (G3 Mickey Feldberg). 40-year-old Mickey spoke to me about the origins of his endogamous choice. Finding himself simultaneously in love with both a non-Jewish and a Jewish girlfriend, his mind was ultimately made up after watching a Holocaust documentary with the former wherein he became uncomfortable with her level and mode of emotional sensitivity and consciousness about the issue. Notions of ethnic differences, real or imagined, also permeate and complicate life after and within an exogamous choice. 66-year-old G2 Lara Fiorio, wife to Don, a Sicilian self-described atheist and socialist 16 years her junior, views her husband’s lack of emotion around the military defense of Jewish interests as a function of his non-Jewish status rather than his anti-militaristic position. The fact that Don is generally opposed to military acts, is skeptical of so-called ‘just wars’ and personally dodged his own draft in Sicily does not register with Lara who

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204 Intermarried G2 Lara Fiorio agreed, even granting that exogamous Jews are seldom “going to marry anti-Semites,” often marrying non-Jews of a similar value system, lifestyle, upbringing and political alignment, there will always remain “things that are inexplicable and incomprehensible to non-Jews,” adding complications.

205 Mickey remarks, “I wish that most male Jews would realize that if they meet someone they like that is let’s say Catholic, there’s someone Jewish just like that too. Like, there’s someone out there that’s Jewish, it’s just a matter of meeting them. That’s where the synagogue comes in. If they could gather more people, then you’d meet more. There are the ones that go to synagogue anyway, and that’s what turned me away from it, I thought I don’t want a religious person.”
continues to see the 'real' reason for Don's resistance as him "just not getting it." While Don clearly retains his Italian identity, he also identifies culturally, albeit not religiously or nationally, as a Jew. Don's Jewishness is contained in his sense of being closely "connected to the people" and selective TJRO that are retained as "a family thing." 206 In contrast, Lara, who has no Jewish friends, assigns little weight to the ethnic definition of Jewishness, claiming that being Jewish lies primarily in the religious acts one performs. She claims to not understand her husband's conception of Jewish identity and in effect undermines his feeling of Jewish legitimacy. In this way, intermarried Jews can fall victim to destructive ideas that threaten their relationship, unwittingly reproducing cultural stereotypes and beliefs that need not be applicable (i.e., an intermarriage 'self-fulfilling prophecy').

Interrmaried 30-year-old G2 Sam Berkowitz has internalized hegemonic definitions of Jewish identity such that he believes he is "not a good Jew." As 'punishment' for his failure to maintain, in a traditional devoted manner, any of the Jewish rituals or things he thinks are expected of him as part and parcel of a Jewish group member in good standing, Sam has banished himself to the secular mainstream culture. Nevertheless, he remains internally aware of his tie to Jewish history and his affiliation with a wider Jewish group. Similarly, the Valdez family has attempted to protect themselves from unfavorable messages and exclusionary treatment by self-excluding and purposefully not joining a synagogue. Though Sam and the Valdez family find other ways to express Jewishness and are happy with their choices, their ideological approach triggers a catch 22 situation in that self-excluding intermarrieds are unwittingly colluding in sustaining the system that oppresses them.

206 Don strongly agrees with the statement that “if I was born again, I would wish to be Jewish.” His attitude toward intermarriage is "positive" but he “would prefer that [his] children marry Jews.”
Another common ideological source of misunderstanding and miscommunication centers on the definitional debate over the meaning and significance of various modes of Jewish expression. In an intermarriage spouses may become polarized on this issue when the non-Jewish born spouse has difficulty relating to the non-religious dimensions of Jewish attachment (i.e., ethnic, social and cultural bases). Intermarried 68-year-old Brad Smith does not “understand when people think of being Jewish as outside of the religion.” He has trouble with the idea that being Jewish can extend beyond keeping TJRO and that a Jewish identity does not just “disappear” without religious involvement. Widowed 66-year-old (Presbyterian born) Elizabeth Goldstein does not relate to the non-religious approach (secular-traditional) to TJRO.

Policies and practices that make it difficult for intermarrying non-Jews and converts to feel wanted, obtain acceptance, understanding and secure "tribal" membership in the group are promoted by religious and secular leaders of the Jewish community who support the intermarriage equals Jewish identity loss position. By problematizing intermarriage and propagating a moral panic and Jewish continuity crisis, these concepts and ideas circulate in everyday interactions so that Jews are taught that interactions with non-Jews, other than for business or pragmatic exchanges, are something to be avoided, "a bad thing." Intermarried lapsed Anglican Paul Williamson relayed his sensitivity surrounding the anti-exogamy discourse:

I don’t know any Jews that are religious the way that I am religious. They know the kitchen and the holidays. The food, the food, the food. They don’t know their religion. What they do know is their heritage. And heritage for them is their religion, and for me religion is something different. They go to shul because you dress up and look smart. It’s part of being there and being seen and you have paid your penance for the year.

207 Intermarried 28-year-old G2 Toronto Jew (at least two generations of American born Jews on his dad’s side) who learned a lot about peoplehood/tribal conceptions of Jewishness from his Israeli Jewish friends suggested, “I consider myself as a Jew as a people. So I consider myself a Canadian but I also see myself as a Jew. I would consider it just as I would see myself as Canadian, two separate things, but both me. I see myself as Jewish as more of a background, an identification with history and only a little bit of religious component.” His Lutheran Canadian wife in contrast understands being Jewish as principally a religion.

208 58-year-old, formerly Christian, Arnold Fitzgerald illustrated potential negative effects of an anti-exogamy discourse. “If a rabbi says to intermarried couples look we will not tolerate Jews marrying gentiles, you don’t have the right, then the Jew in the couple might say ah to heck with you and walk out, and you will lose someone more likely that way.”
What I read and hear is Jews fussing about the rate of intermarriage ‘it’s terrible, it should not happen’, that tends to be excluding for people who married someone who isn’t Jewish. It had no effect on us but the fact that I wasn’t a Jew was a problem for the director of the shul and for people at [the Jewish day school]. In other circumstances, it might have been you don’t need me, fine I don’t need you. If it were not such a source of disapproval, people like us. You want your children to be Jewish? Let’s do it. What role do you want and not want us to play, rather than simply rejecting.

Janet, his G2 Jewish wife, added,

You get into difficulty when it comes to things like [our son] Erez’s bar mitzvah. There are times when it is uncomfortable. When my father died we were sitting shiva Paul was coming and going, he was helping with childcare. Erez was four or five years old and at one point we were doing the prayers and you need a minyan, and we only had nine men and we had to wait until we got one more. And somebody else counted and said no we’ve got ten men and there was some disagreement about how many men there were there. And there was like this whispering, no, no he’s not Jewish you can’t count him. And Paul’s there realizing what’s going on, he picked up on it right away. It’s very alienating knowing that you are not among the anointed, the chosen.

The tendency to accentuate the perceived negatives of intermarriage whilst ignoring the potential gains can encourage non-Jewish spouses and/or their offspring, in effect cast “the enemy,” to become defensive and resistant to institutional Jewish life and the Jewish community in general. Self-described and politicized “working class” 58-year-old Arnold Fitzgerald admits that when he first met his G3 Toronto Jewish wife he felt “defensive toward Jewish things” because he could not understand “not being accepted because [he] wasn’t Jewish.” Later when he converted to Judaism and started reading texts about the history of Diasporic Jews he began to feel more comfortable and accepted as a Jew.

Fortunately, the hegemonic exogamy equals loss discourse can also work unintentionally to activate TJRO. For example, G2 Noam Rose suggested that a communal expectation around Jewish identity disappearance in the context of his Jewish intermarriage engendered upon him

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209 Janet suggests that for the most part communal positions on intermarriage do not really affect Janet’s personal experience with intermarriage: “I am not actively involved with the Jewish community. I don’t think it is an issue here. I sort of feel like it might become an issue as far as a birth is concerned or a bar mitzvah, or shiva, or things like that.”

210 A minyan is a religious quorum of ten men.
"an obligation" to introduce TJRO to his teenage daughter so that she would most definitely be aware of her Jewish roots. Intermarried parents like the Roses react to exclusionary ideologies by working hard to "prove those people wrong" (29-year-old lawyer G3 Erica Barak).

Just as there is no one unified Jewish community, there are competing ideological responses to intermarriage. The diversity of Jewish options and perspectives is reflected in the expanding number of liberal, alternative and innovative sites of Jewish expression. Organizations like Oraynu (the Community for Secular Humanistic Judaism), Dachai Noam (Toronto's Reconstructionist synagogue), non-sectarian community centers and progressive, social justice-oriented Reform temples have become inclusive spiritual homes to intermarried families. Importantly, intermarriage may function as a vehicle for TJRO revitalization, removing the taken-for-granted passivity of an indifferent Jewish spouse or stimulating the need to find or create accepting niches within the Jewish spiritual landscape.

ii. Endogamy

With the bulk of the discussion and concern over assimilation centering on the intermarriage debate, the changing nature of endogamous families often gets overlooked. There are numerous assumptions and presumptions about in-marriages and out-marriages related to the oversimplifying effects of bipolar thinking about the 'intermarriage crisis'. While much is often made of the complications associated with the intercultural negotiations of intermarriage, the difficulties of these processes for in-marriers, though often ignored or downplayed, are sometimes no less severe or influential with respect to Jewish identity maintenance. Along the lines of the five intervening factors derived in the previous section moderating the effect of intermarriage on TJRO, one need only make small modifications so as to make them equally applicable and useful to one's understanding of these affairs in the context of an endogamous union. Although time and space constraints prevented me from performing a full cross-
comparative analysis of intermarriages and their endogamous counterparts, the following examples and commentary could help direct further research on these matters.

One of the uneasy paradoxes of science is that as our understanding and sensitivity to a phenomenon increases so to, in a seemingly infinite manner, does our awareness of its multiplicity. With regards to the subject at hand this has the effect of making it highly difficult to separate out and/or deem common particular characteristics as belonging to individuals or groups. Fear of the unknown and the need for constancy and predictability in our lives feeds a tendency to essentialize experience. However useful and seductive this all-too-human trait may be it is certainly not without its own misgivings, failings and negative consequences. When looking at a group like the Toronto Jewish group, a collection of people hailing from different countries, of different ages, having arrived in Canada at different times, for different reasons and with different plans, one quickly realizes just how much information is lost when referring to this group in the singular. The Toronto Jewish group is incredibly complex consisting of people of widely divergent backgrounds, interests, values, priorities and actions. Hence, when people talk about an endogamous marriage as if it were a union between inherently similar ‘Jewish families’ that are alike to a greater degree than their intermarried counterparts they may very well be speaking more from an ideological bias or tendency to mythologize the sameness of Jews than any objective fact of the matter. In fact, in many situations within group differences can overshadow differences from without.

The pre-marital nature of spouses’ Jewishness greatly informs and helps determine the evolving TJRO of a given endogamous family unit. The union between a secular Reform and an Orthodox Jew can present in-group denominational divisiveness that is virtually
indistinguishable from a so-called conflict prone interfaith marriage. Unmarried 40-year-old G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Eitan Rosenberg disclosed the complexity of his endogamous parentage,

I came from a cross-cultural marriage. My mother was an ignorant Jew, my father was an Orthodox Jew, and I was raised as a liberal Reform Jew. I eventually came up with my own theories. I am still struggling with my Jewish identity a lot because I can't identify myself clearly with any of the major streams of Judaism, so it's difficult to know how I would be able to translate what about Judaism I still appreciate into rituals if there is no liturgy.

Interdenominational unions are stigmatized\textsuperscript{212} by practicing Orthodox Jews who use informal social control mechanisms like gossip to paint these marriages as a form of group defection and loss unless the 'lesser' Jew converts, at least informally, to an Orthodox observant lifestyle.\textsuperscript{213} According to 28-year-old G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Dorothy Warner, non-Orthodox Jews too play an important part in the perpetuation of subgroup misconceptions, cultural misunderstandings and distance. She reports, "I felt more comfortable explaining my Orthodox Jewish background to my ex-non-Jewish boyfriends religious Pentecostal parents from rural Canada than I have in situations with very Reformed Jews who are more likely to say well that's stupid, or why do you do that, or that's old-fashioned and backward."

\textsuperscript{211} See Warsh (1998), 'Sects and the Single Jew: What happens when Secular and Orthodox singles inter-sect?' Other sources of within group differences include socio-economic status, ancestral origins and traditions (i.e., Ashkenasic/Sephardic background), national and political allegiances.\textsuperscript{212} 24-year-old G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Ron Bargman, son of intermarriage, gets incensed about in-group denominational divisiveness: "Some of these Jewish shops you go into, they're rude...I can't stand when people do that. If you go in there with payes and a siddur under your arm, I bet you get good service. That's another problem is the divisions among the Jewish people, as much as we all want to say 'we're one' until they start recognizing that there are three different major forms of Judaism- Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. I think Reform will acknowledge others as Jews, but as far as the other two you can spout the slogans but you are still not Jewish. They won't recognize you. You can't stop anti-Semitism when you have your own people trying to segregate themselves."\textsuperscript{213} 28-year-old G2\textsuperscript{1/2} Dorothy Warner, daughter of a conversionary intermarriage, who was raised modern Orthodox spoke in her interview about such effective informal social controls, "There is gossip and teasing if your parents were not Orthodox observant. You are shamed into conforming. I imagine for a guy it's harder because if a woman doesn't show up to shul, you didn't show up to shul, but if a guy stops showing up to shul everyone asks where were you and it's a very public thing. The rumors start going around. They assume something crazy must have happened to them for wanting to leave. It's almost like if you've gone to the other side of the tracks, you've gone to the dark side." Her 25-year-old brother Albert shares his experience: "I still have great problems with the intolerance of non-Jews or people of other cultures, races or other ways of practicing Judaism. It is still around today. I still sometimes go over to people's houses for shabbos lunch or something like that, and suddenly they go off on a rant about the goyim. Definitely any intolerance that I found was much more on the Jewish side." He refers to the informal social control mechanism of Orthodox Jewish community as "the rumor mill." If somebody "falls off the beaten path," breaks Orthodox sociocultural norms, "everybody talks, everybody wonders." For example, "When an Orthodox guy or girl moves out of home before they're married, in the same city, somebody always wonders if something's wrong."
The Jewish candor of an interdenominational household must contend with cultural negotiations comparable to that faced by their intermarrying counterparts, such as the choice of whether, and if so, what synagogue to join, what religious schooling to provide, what holidays to celebrate and with whom. An endogamous couple, Stuart Gold (Orthodox raised) and Sheila Gold (unaffiliated, secular raised), struggle to negotiate a “Conservadox” household in the context of their families of origin who do not share this blending. Endogamous G3 members in their 40s, Reform raised Steve Sacks and his Conservative raised wife, are stuck in grid-lock over the subject of religious education for their children. While Steve is dead set against parochial schooling, his wife desperately wants their children to acquire access to Judaic knowledge and the community. As if that was not enough, when the issue of having a bar mitzvah for their boys came up, this too proved to be difficult and contentious—once again his wife could not imagine not doing so while Steve adamantly wanted none of it (“it’s all ridiculous”). Importantly, such disagreements as these are no less bitter or potentially relationship breaking than are those in intermarried contexts.

While the divergent backgrounds spouses bring to a marriage can be a source of conflict, so too can they be a source of strength. G3 Faye Stern and G3½ Saul Stern, endogamous YUJIEs (young urban Jewish individuals/professionals) in their 30s living in a trendy upper middle class Jewish neighborhood, believe that they have benefited from having two different Jewish socialization experiences to combine. Faye grew up with a Conservative–Reform mixture and Saul grew up participating extensively in Reform temple life. Faye relayed the TJRO advantages of their union as she sees them, “Saul actually brought me into synagogue where as a Conservative Jew I didn’t find myself that involved, so this has been a good mix. He’s had to learn milk and meat and now he’s all for it, he knows why I do it and why it’s important to me.” 53-year-old G3 Sheila’s marriage to G2 Stuart Gold opened up a new “vista” of religious affiliation for her. She states, “I am so grateful to my husband for bringing me into this Jewish
world because I didn’t really have it through my own family, through my parents.” Before Stuart there was essentially no religious component to Sheila’s Jewish identity, having grown up in an atheistic household and spent her adolescent years surrounded by very few Jews with little institutional involvement.²¹ She “received Christmas presents and my mother said Santa Claus dropped them off; talk about assimilated.” Sheila’s connection with Stuart has facilitated a reclamation of the religious facet of her Jewish identity and she now self-defines as Conservadox. Speaking critically of her prior “in name alone” brand of Jewishness she expressed strong feelings of pride in her newfound active spiritual-traditional orientation.

The intercultural negotiations of an endogamous union inspire a variety of TJRO outcomes that are themselves influenced by familial, institutional and ideological forces. In general, positive interactions with kin, flexible and accessible Jewish wedding, bar mitzvah and bris experiences and helpful and receptive dealings with Jewish educators, leaders and synagogue staff, tend to engender a vital connection to TJRO. G3 Mickey Feldberg and his two brothers (raised in a non-observant atheistic household) have all enriched and expanded their ritual involvement courtesy of their wives’ influence,²¹⁵ one in fact becoming a ba’alei teshuvah (Orthodox Jewish ‘returnee’). In this case, Mickey’s inspirational Holocaust survivor in-laws figured prominently in his revitalized interest in TJRO (now a regular Shabbat devotee). When secular raised G2¹/² Stacey Plaut married G2¹/² Bill Plaut from an Orthodox family, there was a great deal of criticism and bad feelings owing to her and her family of origin’s perceived religious inadequacy in the eye’s of Bill’s father. The effect of being cast ‘a bad Jew’ and being ostracized for one’s choices tends, as it did in this case, to drive people away from collectivized notions and expressions of

²¹⁴ TJROs had lapsed already in the G1, her grandparents’ generation. The dominant message Sheila received from her father was that being Jewish is a matter of “history and culture, not just religion.”

²¹⁵ It is important to also consider how marital power dynamics can tilt the balance in favor of one spouse’s inherited approach over the other.
their religio-ethnic identities. Many people in this study complained of having had unpleasant experiences with institutional leaders or bodies such that they were compelled to retreat or reconstruct their involvement. Orthodox raised G2 Kurt Rosenthal "hated with a passion the long services, unnecessary rules and synagogue politics," transforming him into a TJRO Outsider, an orientation he has brought into his relationship with his wife (Orthodox upbringing), in spite of her desires for more.

Ideologies and mythologies about endogamy, namely their relative immunity from marital discord and alleged propensity to produce a strong Jewish identification, may themselves be in part responsible for their own reification. For instance, in regards to the previous example, should that have been an exogamous union, wherein marital conflict and discord is expected, Kurt's wife may have felt more comfortable remaining more steadfast in her views and insisting that he be more compromising. The continued over-reliance on endogamy as the litmus test of Jewish identity maintenance ignores the diverse realities of such unions. Quite a few participants in this study from exogamous contexts evidenced qualitative and quantitative TJRO superiority over their endogamous counterparts, many of whom though 'Jewish' in many ways would score minimally on traditional measurement instruments. Importantly, it is not merely the presence or absence of an in-marriage or out-marriage that offers sufficient predictive capacity, but rather a host of other associated intervening factors that together in an interactive fashion help determine the character of Jewish households. Consequently, over-simplistic assumptions about endogamous unions having it "easier" because they share "the same background" function more

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216 30-year-old G3/2 Mark Frank's father used to be "very involved" with a Reform synagogue but had "a falling out" with the synagogue's executive. He withdrew his family's membership because he did not feel his contributions were recognized or appreciated. At the time of the interview Mark was now no longer a member of any synagogue and was not going for the "first time" on the High Holidays.

217 70-year-old endogamous G2 Ted Abramowitz, a retired social science professor, is "equally distressed" by both Jewish identity responses in his two offspring. His son and daughter are "night and day": His daughter turned ultra-religious and permanently resides on the West Bank, while his son rejects his Jewish identity, married an Italian woman, and addresses himself as "a goy."
as boundary-enforcing strategies than words to live by.

D. Life Stage: Opportunities for (Dis)connection

Some Jewish sociologists find family life cycle events trigger changing levels and modes of Jewish identity (e.g., Brodbar-Nemzer 1988; Cohen 1989; Farber et al 1976). For instance, maintaining the bar/bat mitzvah rite often even leads secular parents to Jewish educators and synagogues wherein their perceived responsibility for the intergenerational transference of Judaic knowledge can be fulfilled. Much has already been written of the clearly observable increase in Jewish institutional affiliations among parents with pre-school age offspring, but little has been directed at other equally influential stages in the life course. In this section, I briefly consider two other such stages—adolescence and retirement/later years—that emerged in this study as important factors influencing the nature of one's TJRO.

i. Adolescence

Adolescence is a period of tumultuous change and self-development wherein the need for group belonging and self-discovery must be reconciled (Clausen 1986; Erickson 1968; London and Hirshfield 1990). 28-year-old G3 Simon Shwartz notes, "At that stage in your life you want to

218 The changing nature of TJRO across the family life cycle is captured in the story of 57-year-old G3 Marilyn Neinstein's evolving endogamous Jewish household. "In the early years of our marriage we weren't religious in any way. My husband went to shul on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur, but I rarely went because we had little kids. Also I felt awkward, I didn't know the Hebrew, I couldn't pray anyway what was the point. I lit Friday night candles and eventually we started making a Friday night dinner but for a long time we didn't bother. It all started slowly. We wanted one night of the week where we could sit down as a family. And Nora was a teenager and running wild and she didn't want part of it. We worked out a compromise that she would be here for dinner, a special Friday night dinner and after that, she could go out. It started out not the full kiddush, we were at someone's place a couple of shabbos nights and we thought it was very nice and we started saying kiddush. And it's still evolving because our son has wanted to sing Shalom Haleichem before and I'm starting to come around to that. And now our grandchild is going to a Jewish daycare center and she sings Shabat Shalom. We are not shomer shabbos which I would be but Norman wouldn't, so that's put an end to that."

219 Sprott (1994: 320) suggests that parenthood is a critical life cycle period that affects the maintenance of ethnic identity in that child-rearing decisions, both conscious and unconscious processes, about what values, habits, attitudes and behaviors get transmitted are brought to the fore.

220 There are many other socially defined life stages that may act as change agents to the vitality of TJRO such as the death of a parent and entry into post-secondary schooling that can either (de)activate a particular approach to TJRO. Time and space constraints limit discussion to only entry into adolescence and retirement.
do everything in your power to be like everyone else and yet somehow remain yourself.” While some adolescents adopted passive or outsider displays of TJRO, partially due to communal failures to adequately address their needs, the heightened need to “fit in” for others during this period produced active Jewish engagement or experimentation in within-group trends. 19-year-old G3 Josh Gold’s disinterest in synagogue and religious rules is viewed by his worried, Conservadox parents as a “passing phase”\(^{221}\) that they are hoping he will grow out of. 48-year-old G3 intermarried Jewish father Noam Rose also thinks that his self-defined atheist 16-year-old daughter’s low attachment to things Jewish is part of the life cycle: “I think she will probably go through another stage. Right now, she is rejecting everything.”\(^{222}\) My research seemed to demonstrate that the greater resistance to accepting the child’s individuality or independent choices, the more likely that person will grow in their defensiveness and their rebellion will become entrenched.

Josh Gold disclosed to me, “Right now I’m not so much thinking about religion. I’m occupied with school, friends and stuff, so religion does not play a huge part of my life except for my Bar mitzvah teaching.” In keeping with the movement from ascribed Jewishness to an achieved one, Josh confirmed that among his peer group religion is viewed like music, as “a preference” or “choice,” that often loses out to competing extracurricular interests like playing in a band, playing hockey or shopping at the mall. In a focus group discussion Josh, a budding journalist,\(^{223}\) conducted with a handful of other Jewish youth, there was wide agreement that while youth

\(^{221}\) Parents in this study who viewed adolescent rebellion against parental values, customs and attitudes as a natural function of the maturation process, wherein each succeeding generation defines itself in part in contradistinction to the one before, tended to have less conflict with their children.

\(^{222}\) While Wilson and Sherkat (1994: 148) concur that there is such a phenomenon as teen religious rebellion/disaffiliation—“expect teens to reject their religion, at least for a while, until they settle down”—they direct attention to factors like having ‘close’ ties to one’s family of origin as affecting the likelihood of reaffiliation, (re)activation of religious connected-ness.

\(^{223}\) At age 18, Josh Gold wrote an article for the Young Street, Life section of the Toronto Star on Jewish youth, ambivalence, choice and alternatives in ritual expression.
desire more control over their form of Jewishness their parents and Jewish communal leaders have not been entirely cooperative participants in this process. Also, youth are against externally imposed TJRO and feel “everyone has the right to decide for themselves what they want and not let the Rabbi or your parents dictate what you do, say or think.” Clearly, if ritual involvement is going to be valued as “a weightier issue than music,” then the voices of youth need to be heard. For 20-year-old G3 1/2 daughter of a mixed marriage Maya Rand, it was not until her last year in Catholic high school that she was finally able to break free of excessive concerns about “being like everyone else” and celebrate her “half-Jewish” social identity. Growing up, Maya “didn’t know anyone who was Jewish. It was like I was special when I shared my Jewish identity in the last year of high school.” As she spoke of the uniqueness her half-Jewish dimension granted her when she finally could or wanted to incorporate this as part of her public self-presentation, there was palpable pride evident in her voice. She now demonstrates a thirst for understanding her Jewish heritage having enrolled at university in a history of Judaism course for the upcoming semester.

Not all teens find compelling reasons to rebel against their TJRO, rather a desire and need to “fit in” can motivate them to become more active participants. While some Jewish youth find religion “unappealing, boring, an inconvenience, embarrassment and a waste of time,” others experience this period as an exciting time of new beginnings, friendships and learning about their Jewish identity. 26-year-old G3 1/2 Flora Neinstein had a passionate connection to TJRO in her youth and views her religious socialization experiences during these formative years as the foundation of her current active personal commitment. Synagogue—choir singing, praying, bar

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224 Feuerverger (1986) finds the same sentiments in her interviews with 15 Toronto born Jewish youth (ages 15-20) about to embark on Kibbutz experiences, namely that they did not feel their needs had been satisfied or valorized in the Jewish community. They were all nonetheless engaged in an ongoing search to find meaning in their Jewishness.

225 Maya admits that she “wouldn’t hesitate to wear a Star of David alongside a Cross” around her neck to convey her dual ethnic loyalties “which would make a lot of people upset.”
mitzvah teaching, and synagogue youth group activities—were also an integral part of 23-year-old G3 Gary Gold’s Jewish self-concept. Similarly, 30-year-old G3½ Mark Frank’s Jewish commitment was robust in his adolescence but has since waxed and waned during his eight years of post-secondary schooling. As a teen Mark was very involved with his synagogue, Jewish youth group and leadership seminars but studying at university outside of Toronto weakened his connection to his old community and he was unable to develop any sense of attachment to “substitutional communities that were very temporary and transient.” Now that he is working in a small Jewish law firm and about to be married to a fellow Jewish professional he is trying to find his niche and “hoping to get re-attached.”

Some youth organizations like B’Nai Brith Youth Organization (BBYO) are beginning to understand that if they want to remain a vital agent of Jewish continuity they better start to put youth’s needs and wants first and incorporate more attractive youth-directed programming. BBYO has experienced noteworthy growth in its membership since the introduction of intelligent programs like Jewish hockey camp and overnight camp where prayers, songs and Judaic knowledge are intermingled into a varied menu of fun-filled youth activities. Modern improvements aside, the positive effects of the increased palatability of these programs is hampered by ongoing accessibility constraints. 19-year-old G3½ Al Pinsker, son of a family of modest means, quite rightly notes that the success of these organizations’ abilities to reach and retain Jewish youth is limited by their ignorance and/or failure to deal with the fact that “not all Jewish parents have a lot of money.”

ii. Retirement/Later years

The common perception of the elderly as being isolated, conservative and traditional has been demystified by current research (McPherson 1991). A recent article in Psychology Today (July 1999) on this issue suggests that contrary to lay beliefs that equate aging with rigidity, increased
conservatism and intolerance, for some a decline in mental acuity in the later years can have the positive side-effect of opening them up to change.226 Entry into the retirement/later years can be an impetus to re-choose, redefine, or abandon religious bases of attachment, re-prioritizing in the process ‘new’ social forms of group alignment. Accordingly, there were many variations in Jewish identity styles and orientations to TJRO among those in their later years.227 Notably, people’s choice and rationales for the use of particular kinship terms like bubbie, grandma, grandmother or granny was indicative of their relationship to traditional age-specific Jewish identity scripts. For example, 82-year-old G2 Winona Federman explained why she is called bubbie by all of her grandchildren: “The difference between being called bubbie not granny is that I am the eldest one and the other grandmother who is younger is granny. She’s more in the gentile side, the more modern. I’m the old-fashioned bubbie that cooks every Friday. So, I’m bubbie for everyone.” Her granddaughter 28-year-old G4 Suzy Segal added,

On my dad’s side, it’s bubbie, and the other side, is grandma and grandpa. One’s a Jewish term and one is a Canadian term. My mother’s parents are not the traditional picture of bubbie and zeydi. They’re very much Canadianized. My grandmother is not the sort who cooks, cleans and sews. They’re wealthier, more upper class, I guess you might say. It’s my grandmother’s conception of herself. She didn’t see herself as fitting that role. She’s probably a little bit of a snob. She sees herself as being above that. From my grandma I got Jewish consciousness. Being Jewish is very important to her. She’s not a practicing Jew, but she feels a strong tie to the religion in terms of traditions, history and her own upbringing. Even if you don’t go to synagogue she feels that you have to put on a show of strength and togetherness of the religion. She doesn’t go to synagogue, but she does support the synagogue.

28-year-old G3\frac{1}{2} Simon Shwartz who had no contact with his maternal grandparents for ten years (estranged relations with his mother) offers his perspective of the bubbie/zeydi and grandma/grandpa distinctions.

My mother’s parents refused to be called bubbie and zeydi. We’d call them grandma and grandpa, they are atypical grandparents, selfish, self-absorbed and not the warmest people, they’re world travelers which is very atypical for that generation of Jewish people.

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226 Erikson et al (1986: 60) also found their elderly participants (70-90 years old) to be “open to considerations they used to view as incompatible...more tolerant, more patient, more open minded, more understanding, more compassionate and less critical than they were in their younger years.”

227 ‘Later years’ is used here to refer to those persons, typically retired, aged 65 and over.
Irrespective of the enduring positive correlation of ethnic consciousness with those in their later years (Rosenthal 1993), there are numerous sub-group differences related to socioeconomic status, Sephardic/Ashkenazic affiliation, marital status (e.g., widowed, married), etc. For instance, some exhibit their Jewishness primarily via their ‘Florida snowbird’ rituals and status, including, in some cases, golf club memberships and participation in fundraising initiatives. For others, retirement facilitated (re)joining a synagogue, an increase in their frequency of attendance and/or a renewal in their TJRO.

In some cases interviewees’ initiation or restoration of synagogue attendance and ritual adherence in their later years offered “a way to reconnect socially,” or was related to an imminent “sense of mortality” or “the death of a loved one.” Nearly retired, economist Abe Warner views intensified synagogue involvement upon retirement as an outgrowth of the fact that “you generally don’t have the pressures for one thing, and you become more philosophical and you try to establish greater links with the past.” Retired teacher, intermarried 66-year-old G2 Lara Fiorio assigns her current reinvigorated Jewish consciousness—exploring the Jewish spiritual landscape, seeking a spiritual base and renewed personal commitment to celebrating all Jewish holidays in the home—to “free time and the luxury to focus on self-actualization.” Lara continued,

I was kicked out of my parents’ home and on my own since about age 21. And when you are on your own, what counts are more basic things than culture. Cultural things, religious identification is very important, but when you’re young and starting out and you don’t have material resources, you don’t have money, what really counts is survival. What counts are the basics, you know, Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. You have to have the basics before you can have philosophy, religion or culture. What you really need is security.

Viewing an axis on “continual education and self development” as inherently Jewish, Lara feels that her intellectual curiosity, spiritual seeking and rediscovery of TJRO define her commitment.

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28 Sephardim are considered Jews of Spanish and North African descent, while Ashkenasim are held typically to be Jews of European descent (Davids 1993; Lasry 1993).
78-year-old Anne Baker who currently practices healing touch and polarity therapy is someone who also believes in lifelong learning, attending courses and lectures offered at a predominantly Jewish senior center.

There is so much to learn. I can't keep up with all the new technological changes. My leaning is towards the creative side. I'm very interested in people and my travels haven't taken me to the usual touristy type of places. I have always gone to out of the way places... the Galopagas Islands and Papa New Guinea, and all kinds of places that are unusual. I like to see the tribal way of life, to see what kind of statements they've got to make and the fact that we don't listen to people that live a tribal way of life and they've got an awful lot to teach us.

In order to combat loneliness some Jews in their later years intensify their synagogue participation at a congregation where they feel comfortable. 87-year-old retired pharmacist Max Klein davens and eats breakfast every morning at his Conservative affiliated synagogue since his wife passed away a couple of years ago. Intermarried, 78-year-old, G2 retired Canadian Airforce officer, Paul Fischer is emotionally attached to his new, weekly (active) attendance at a Reform service for “the sense of belonging and community” it offers. Recently widowed 67-year-old G2 Maggie Davids has found new friends and a social niche since revitalizing her ritual involvement by joining a synagogue for the first time ever.

However, all Jews in their later years do not inevitably experience a religious renewal or (re)activated commitment to TJRO, but rather may gravitate towards an intensified interest in the sphere of social relations. For 82-year-old G2 Winona Federman, this stage marked a turn towards a more relaxed and passive orientation to her ritual adherence in response to a perceived decline in the need to model behavior to younger kin. Since having an ‘empty nest’, her attentiveness and dedication to the strict observance of Jewish laws has become much more “lax” and she now “improvises,” and “cuts corners.” Winona's ‘Jewish way of life’ is now more a

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29 The focus of these healing techniques is on removing emotional blockages and restoring positive energy. Faced with independence, and the difficulty of making it on her own, she discovered holistic healing.
function of her residential choices, her long personal history of leadership in a Jewish women’s organization, and her social relations with the Jewish women in her buildings at home and in her Florida condo community. While all preserving home-based holiday meals a few times a year, “irreligious” G2\(^{1/2}\) Laura Markowitz in her 60s, 78-year-old G2 Karla Weisman and the “atheist” G2 Spielbergs in their 80s, primarily express their Jewishness in the context of regular golf with Jewish friends at Jewish golf clubs.

E. Jewish Education: ‘Positive’ or ‘Negative Agent of Jewish Vitality?’

It is commonly assumed that there is a positive relationship between the extent of Jewish schooling received and one’s level of Jewish identification. However, this overlooks the fact that Jewish education varies not only in duration and scheduling, but also in terms of mandate, ideology, quality of instruction and the extent and value of secular learning.\(^{230}\) Though Jewish day schools such as CHAT, Bialik, Leo Beck or Hebrew Associated typically feature more extensive religious instruction than is provided in a four times a week (and/or Sunday) Hebrew School, this study found that more does not always lead to a more vital orientation to TJRO.

The in-depth interviews of this study offered participants adequate time to include the subjective basis of their schooling experiences (i.e., their feelings and interpretations). Objective data like whether, and if so, when, where, how long and what type of instruction they received, is important but only tells part of the story. Time and again, certain aspects of a Jewish education came up as problematic and ill conducive to positive attachments and associations with Jewish affairs while others were primarily deemed beneficial and promoting of such commitments. Although Jewish schooling was not one of the main issues under consideration in this

\(^{230}\) Alternate forms of Jewish education such as time spent studying Jewish topics on other types of media such as the Internet, movies and books is likewise undervalued as a significant marker of Jewish learning.
dis:...tation, certain themes emerged from this work that make it possible here to suggest, via examples, avenues for future research in this area.

Consider 32-year-old G3 Tabitha Shwartz who characterized her experience of Hebrew school (four times a week including Sunday) as consisting of “a rigid, conformist" environment that discouraged critical thinking, made you feel like you couldn’t question anything especially any of their ridiculous rules.” Tabitha’s self-described atheist Jewish identity and antagonistic reaction to TJRO is clearly in part traceable to her negative thoughts and feelings about her religious schooling and synagogue involvement. Tabitha also ascribes explanatory significance to a forced "schism between my school life and my social life" and unreasonable parental pressures to maintain Jewish exclusivity in her friendship circle, in spite of her residence and attendance in high Italian (non-Jewish) density contexts. Conservadox raised, currently borderline outsider/passive spiritual-traditionalist, Josh Gold, a Jewish day school attendee until grade six, spoke of his discomfort and dissatisfaction with the isolation, parochialism and inadequacies of his institutional socialization experiences:

I made some good solid friends there, but the whole thing I guess what was wrong with the school was that it secluded you, very, very sheltered lifestyle. So, when you went to public school in grade seven, met all these different people, different ways of life, different cultures and I wasn’t used to that. I wasn’t you know used to being with Blacks or even Asians. You adjust and make friends but that was the difference. Private school secludes you, makes you a bit apprehensive, while the non-Jews are very loud and spontaneous and they have no inhibitions, which is commendable. Also, the public school

231 Erez Freedman transferred out of Jewish day school into public school because his classroom behavior did not mesh well with the school’s “hammer a square peg into a hole” approach to producing future “docile and non-questioning accountants” (stepfather, Paul Williamson).
232 Orthodox schooled, currently non-observant, outsider, Lionel Pinsker concurred, “[t]he way I grew up it was forced and inflexible and I don’t think that dogmatic approach works.”
233 Tabitha believes she inherited her paternal grandfather’s inquisitiveness, curiosity and affinity for “sparring”; qualities she feels were notably absent in her formal Jewish education.
234 Discouraged from socializing outside of school with non-Jewish kids, Tabitha forged two separate worlds where on weekends she hung out with a Conservative synagogue youth group, as well as “lied to [her] parents about extracurricular involvement so as to get to go to some of these forbidden church and school dances.” Currently, she is dialoguing with a close girlfriend whose daughter is the same age as hers about schooling choices wherein Jewish issues are debated. While the girlfriends would ideally like their children to attend the same school together, her girlfriend G3 Julie Berkowitz is intending to send her child to a Jewish day school whereas Tabitha is opposed, not unlike others in my sample, to Judaizing a child who will have to ultimately enter an integrated interethic social world.
has better programs. There was no music program and barely any gym facilities in Jewish
day school. The government is so sparse with funding and the religious aspect was not so
appealing for me.

Poor quality teaching\(^{235}\) and scheduling pressures can undermine the positive association of a
Jewish education with religious awareness, ethnic pride and attachment. Michael Federman was
“turned off religious stuff by the unqualified teachers” at his Conservative shul’s cheder (Hebrew
school) and the frustration of him having “had to attend Hebrew school Monday to Thursday
after spending the day in public school and then Sunday mornings too which cut into my leisure
time.” Understandably, many children are tired enough after a full day in secular school such that
they have little energy left for supplementary Hebrew school, negatively affecting their
motivation level and attitude toward religious membership.

I would sit in Hebrew school and I hated it because I was athletic and I liked playing
with my boyfriends and later on my girlfriends and I just detested it, and added to that
the teachers were terrible because they had never been instructed to be teachers. They just
came off the boat, they had no training and they were cheap to employ, I suppose, and as
a result they did more harm than good because they couldn’t control the class because
they had no abilities as far as discipline. So, therefore if you were out of line they would
slap you or smack you with a ruler. We sat in rows, learnt by rout and someone would
read a paragraph and the next guy would read a paragraph and half the day was spent just
reading. You had to learn the prayers. And then they gave you something to print on the
blackboard that took you a half-hour it was just wasted time working.

Presently, Michael evidences a passive secular-traditional approach to TJRO. He confessed to
me not being a paying synagogue member for the past six years and waits until his Jewish
neighbor leaves for shul on the High Holidays before he sneaks off “far away, like to the Beaches
with my brother-in-law and we both cheat.” As for his four children’s religious instruction, he
switched his affiliation to Reform in the hopes that Reform’s English language focus might
improve the chances that they might at least understand the prayers they had to recite and obtain

\(^{235}\) Orthodox raised Marianne Rosenthal, one of the first set of Toronto Jewish families to attend Toronto’s first
Jewish day school relays her experience: “We did twice the work in half the time. It’s also somewhat insular, I felt
uncomfortable with non-Jewish children because I wasn’t around them. They had Yiddishkeit at the school but they
also had untrained teachers. The principal had nieces and nephews in the school, so there was favoritism.”
a working Jewish knowledge. However, his 32-year-old son suggested that his schooling experiences did not encourage an appreciation for a synagogue-centered and torah-directed Jewish life, in fact as soon as his father drove off from Hebrew school he would go and “play hooky” until his father returned to pick him up. Like many others in the sample for whom supplementary religious education served to be of little benefit, Frank’s main complaint and justification for his disinterest was the popular refrain, “It was boring and I didn’t really learn anything.”

Of course, not all participants in this study cited negative Jewish schooling experiences. There were numerous cases where Jewish education was recalled as a “positive experience” that participants felt helped foster their emotional attachment to their TJRO. 29-year-old G3 Shirley Katz, a member of a young professional Jewish women’s group, expressed enthusiasm about her Hebrew school (six hours per week at her exclusive midtown Conservative synagogue) and Jewish summer camp attendance which she believes facilitated deep, long-lasting Jewish friendships. Shirley did not mind going to Hebrew school after ‘regular school,’ but rather relished the experience because “it was just so much fun, friends got together and we did lots of things. We actually appreciated being there and the synagogue was the center of our lives and it was the place where we liked to meet.” Simon Shwartz who found the Hebrew schooling itself “meaningless and inconvenient” nonetheless reinforces the popular sentiment of its social importance, citing the friends forged and maintained to this date as the only positive side-effect

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256 Weinfeld and Zelkowitz (1993: 147) observed there are Jewish parents who send their children to Jewish day schools as “a necessary evil” not because of an active personal interest in the value of Jewish studies or a desire to intensify the quality and/or quantity of their TJRO.

257 Shirley was one of approximately 12 women who attended a focus group I ran on Jewish identity as a visiting speaker to this group.

258 Janet Williamson enjoyed travelling the long distance from her non-Jewish area to cheder after public school being “one of those types that likes to go to school.” One’s attitude to schooling in general can also affect people’s experience of their Jewish schooling that may in turn affect the nature of their TJRO.
of his compulsory Hebrew school attendance.239

Though a minority in my sample, some people such as 33-year-old G3 Faye Stern extolled the virtues of Jewish day school attendance on the basis of its content, having given her “a good grounding in the why’s of Judaism.”

Every little thing you do has a reason why. Going to X school helped me learn those why’s I don’t want any kids I have to mimic me. Though I would want them to look at my traditions and pick and choose which ones they would like to use and have the reasons for doing that, to understand why they did them and make their own choices as well. I think that’s very important. I would never want to go into anything blindly, so I wouldn’t want my kids to do the same.

My findings in this area, though undeveloped, lend support to a shift towards a more qualitative direction in Jewish schooling. The consensus among the participants of this study is that what is important is that Jewish schooling improve the substance and style of its offerings, not merely ensure quantitative increases in students or hours of instruction. In other words, for Jewish schooling to actualize its potential to become a more influential agent of Jewish vitality, it should begin with a thorough re-evaluation of the effectiveness and attractiveness of its programs and facilities. Weinfeld and Zelkowitz (1993: 148) reached a similar conclusion in a recent article:

For too long the concern of the Montreal Jewish community has been the quantitative growth of day school enrolment. It may well be opportune to shift the emphasis to more qualitative concerns and to invest resources, both human and material, in maximizing the effectiveness of the Jewish instruction and in striving for excellence in teaching.

F. Exposure to Jewish Diversity: “So I can be a Jew after all”240

There were a number of Jews in the sample who revitalized their expressions of Jewishness after discovering that there are diverse groups of Jews and non-conventional, alternate bases for

239 The social dimension of Jewish schooling as an agent of Jewish solidarity is undermined for others who have “difficulty fitting in.” Louise comments on her Hebrew schooling experiences: “I felt alienated and didn’t talk to anybody. They were just intimidating to me and wherever I went it always seemed like everybody knew each other already.”

240 As mentioned in the previous section in regards to Jewish schooling, my observations and remarks about the relationship between exposure to Jewish diversity and Jewish attachment emergent in this study appear here principally as pointers to potentially fertile areas of further research.
cohesion in which they can find a sense of belonging and active involvement. Conversely, alienation from one’s Jewish reference group—be it a secular, upper middle class Jewish social orbit or a religiously-focussed and observant social circle—coupled with limited exposure to Jewish diversity can undercut Jewish attachment. For instance, 26-year-old Reena Fiorio, daughter of intermarriage, experienced an awakening in her Jewish attachment and introduced Jewish ritual celebrations to her family after she was exposed to new ways of being Jewish that were more appealing to her. Specifically, in her case this involved a previously unknown group of left-leaning, intellectually-oriented, fellow Jewish, York University grad students and her discovery of an Israeli ‘Jewish way’ in a summer work project in Israel.

I really found that the Israelis are like me. I don’t have to be a JAP to feel Jewish and connected to a Jewish homeland. I felt really at home there, like I belonged there.

Her current sense of ‘at homeness’ departs from her former sense of feeling like she didn’t belong in Jewish groups/cliques because of her perceived inadequate Jewish knowledge base and disconnection from “the JAPPY Jews” she was exposed to in a Toronto high school.24

23-year-old Erez Freedman is an interesting G3 case to explore because he received all the Jewish socialization strategies that are often charged with imbuing an active sense of Jewish membership. Erez received parochial schooling, attended a high Jewish density high school, grew up in a high Jewish density area, visited Israel, experienced home based TJRO and participated extensively in Jewish summer camps. Such, however, did nothing to abet, if anything may have triggered Erez’s ambivalence and skeptical orientation to his Jewish identity. Raised by intermarried Jewish parents among upper middle class Jews Eric described his environment as “a

24 Reena relates to the social justice and communitarian (kibbutz) dimensions of being Jewish, “I think both of my parents are interested in social justice. My dad’s parents are communist and our whole family, I’d say is leftist and socialist inclined. We’re not very materialistic and the whole idea of a kibbutz kind of fits perfectly with these ideas and I’ve absorbed them 100 percent. My parents have always been NDP supporters and are very left wing, but then I kind of go further.”

25 Reena disassociates herself from the image of “the typical North American JAP, you know frizzy hair, and their not very serious nature, the typical clothes, they all seem to wear the same type of clothing.”
conservative YUPPY, JAPPY area” where “rich Jews who had large homes and drove fancy cars” resided. In contrast, his parents are “modest people” of an anti-materialist worldview and average-sized home, driving “basic, functional cars.” Not surprisingly, Erez “did not fit in” with most of the fellow Jews in his high school and grew up feeling alienated from his Jewish reference group. Unfortunately, Erez has not yet discovered a style or group of Jews with whom he feels a strong sense of commonality, as did Reena above. This has had the effect of minimizing his Jewish involvement within institutional contexts and encouraging his preference to celebrate his distinctive cultural heritage in interethnic settings. Currently, one of few Jews in his Photography College program Erez is interested in maintaining Jewish holiday celebrations first and foremost as a means of conveying personal uniqueness.

Intemarried mother, Heather Feldberg, raised predominantly in a Jewish intermarried household, also cites social alienation as an important agent shaping her Jewish identity, “I felt excluded and I don’t know if I chose it for myself, but I felt excluded. I felt that I would never fit in the JAP crowd because they were all from the area. I didn’t live in that area. You had to have a certain Jewish look and I don’t think I have that Jewish look. It wasn’t that we didn’t have money, we just didn’t live in a really Jewish area.” Whether one is an outsider, or merely feels like an outsider, from their Jewish reference group(s), the effect can be the same, namely that one will likely display a reduced participation in that group’s ways and means. So much is inherent in the construction of an us/them distinction. Intemarried mother Eva Bargman also cited not living in the same area as Jewish classmates as a reason why her friendship ties faltered after her Jewish schooling ended. Living in a low income, low Jewish density, downtown coop and travelling up North by bus to Jewish day school made it difficult for her to develop school friendships that transcended the classroom. Her 24-year-old brother Ron had the same problem, but also felt that there was an economic basis for their exclusion and alienation.

They were rich. I was poor and didn’t fit in. You see where I live, well this was a school
where parents are dropping their kids off in Mercedes. I'm a little old kid from downtown arriving on a bus. All these kids are walking in with their Roots attire and I'm walking in with grungies. I was ostracized pretty quick. I started dressing like my rich friend as he started giving me some of his clothes because he'd grown so quick so I actually started fitting in with them. It took me three years to fit in with them and now I wouldn't want to.

Ron's sense of not fitting in and then later desire not to in this case might be seen to be a positive motivating factor in the development of his own vital orientation to TJRO and Jewish identity. While some alienated and excluded persons retreat and solidify their outsider status, others like Ron take a proactive, creative approach and work hard to reconstruct a version of their 'oppressors' system' that they are happy with. Perhaps, if Ron had encountered greater Jewish diversity, he would have been able to find a place for himself within rather than without the group.

While exposure to Jewish diversity can function to restore the "heart" in people's approach to TJRO, others simply find the support of other types of Jews for whom the symbolism and import of TJRO is devalued and downplayed. For instance, 28-year-old Stan Spielberg grew up as one of a few "token Jews" in a private WASP boys' school and could not relate to the "clannishness" of his Jewish contemporaries. Through his supplementary Jewish schooling and Law school attendance Stan was exposed to other Jews of a non-religious, more multicultural bent, and found more of a sense of connection. However, this has not been a particularly 'positive' turn of affairs for Stan's TJRO as his union with fellow Jews of an outsider orientation has only served to reaffirm and strengthen his passivity and indifference. Similarly, 30-year-old intermarried Sam Berkowitz also finds support for his nonchalant and disenchanted orientation to TJRO by surrounding himself with a likeminded group of Jewish guys who "do not conform and buck tradition." However, perhaps if Stan and Sam met professional Jews who approached TJRO in

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243 See earlier section on revitalization.
244 Attending this private WASP boys school also conditioned him to see "the blond hair, blue eyes, you know the typical private school girl look" as the normative image of attractiveness in a woman.
an innovative manner that they respected, they might find cause to rejoin 'the fold' and take part in a revitalized TJRO on their own terms.

**Additional Remarks: Staying Power of TJRO**

It is important to recognize the emotive weight and significance people invest in their ethnic expressions, no matter how small, infrequent or insubstantial they may appear from the outside. In an era committed to the notion of “choice,” individual self-expression and multiple identities, the quality of emotional attachment (personal commitment) people bring to the things they do, or don’t do, is a critical force determining the ‘staying power’ of their actions, in this case, their TJRO.

The oft-maligned sentimentalized approach to TJRO can demonstrate much strength and stability. For example, G2 retired businessman Stuart and G2½ Laura Markowitz, Florida snowbirds in their early 60s, lead a “social Jewish lifestyle” throughout the year with little attention to religious regulations yet assert strong feelings about preserving “family-oriented” Jewish traditions. Importantly, Stuart relays, “[W]hen my wife’s father passed away there was no one in the family who knew Hebrew and could lead the Passover Seder. It was difficult for me but I went out and joined a Reform temple where over the course of a year I learned to read Hebrew and finally got bar mitzvahed, something I missed out on growing up in Winnipeg. We don’t use that much Hebrew now in our holiday meals and I prefer the Reform *baggadab*. Still, there is no way I was going to let all that disappear and have my grandchildren not have holiday meal celebrations in the home.” Courtesy of “convenient” catering services such as ‘Yitz’s’, traditional dishes like gefilte fish, matzah ball soup, chopped liver, potato latkas are maintained by the Markowitz family together with culinary ‘innovations’ like vegetarian matzah lasagna to make Jewish cuisine palatable to secular-traditionalists. The sentimentalist symbolism that is enshrined on these occasions is more about asserting ethnic distinctiveness and an ode to ethnic
continuity than a matter of religious devotion. Notably, notwithstanding attacks on the substantiality of the Markowitzes' casual, convenient, festive approach, it would appear to be anything but tenuous or unlikely to be intergenerationally transmitted.

Similarly, 28-year-old G3 Simon Shwartz finds pleasure in maintaining the Friday night family ritual not because of its religious intent or connotation but rather as a time for family bonding, sparring, bantering, laughing and the exchange of stories. The strength and importance of an active personal commitment toward the continuation, or revitalization, of one's TJRO is reflected in Simon's explanation for the unlikely endurance of his mostly secular family's Friday night ritual.

The only way your ever going to get everyone coming together on a weekly basis like that is if they truly enjoy it. Nobody's going to put that much time to anything. I won't do anything on a once-a-week basis unless it brings me something because my time, as I'm sure you've gathered, is scarce and is limited. And there's nowhere near enough time in the week for me, and for me to give up every Friday night of my life it better be giving me something. So, it's important to all of us because we all get something out of it.

Conversely, when persons are indifferent to, obligation bound, or otherwise passively attached to their form of TJRO, the external indicators of their ritual involvement are less likely to be stable over time and place. For example, consider G2 Janet Williamson, who grew up in a predominantly non-Jewish area and married a non-Jewish socialist-minded lawyer, Paul. Ironically, it was not Janet but Paul, who having grown up identifying with Jewish culture in a high Jewish density area with primarily Jewish friends, insisted that their family introduce the "shabbos" ritual to their home. Janet had not encountered the Jewish Sabbath ritual in her own childhood home because survivalist concerns took precedence. Her relationship to shabbos never grew strong roots.

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245 Janet indicates, "I grew up in the 50s in an area of Toronto that at the time was very WASP."
246 Janet's father ran a tailor shop and had to remain open late on Fridays and work on Saturdays. Janet's mother felt that "it would be hypocritical to light candles if you know perfectly well you are immediately going to break the Sabbath either fully or partially."
It always felt very strange because I hadn't grown up with it and I didn't feel comfortable with it. And I thought it was like make believe or let's pretend that this is how those other Jewish people I went to camp with did things. Or, maybe what they would have known, but I hadn't been invited to their homes for shabbos so I felt strange to be lighting candles, saying a brachah [prayer] over a loaf of challah, never got used to it, not really.

Importantly, Janet's incorporation of a higher level of TJRO did not arise due to an inner need or desire for something in her life. Rather it was a circumstantial development relating to her sense of obligation to pass on certain traditional ways to her son. That said, creating "shabbos" in the Williamson's household for the sake of transmitting Jewishness to the next generation remained a ritual for 14 years. However, tellingly, when their son at 17 took a year off to enjoy skiing and the mountains in British Columbia the Williamson's shabbos ritual quickly faded away.

"Cosmopolitan agnostic" Noam Rose presents another case illustrating the tenuous nature of obligatory and situational based adherence. Noam believes that if he had married a fellow Jew instead of his lapsed Catholic wife, he probably would not have maintained any form of TJRO. However, he underscored, "It is very important to me and maybe more so because I married a non-Jewish woman that my daughter is exposed to Jewish stuff...Still, when Susan leaves home we will no longer keep up the Sabbath ritual or do anything in the home."

There are many reasons why people express or move from one level or style of TJRO to another. In the first half of this chapter, I presented an analytical framework in which variations in the vitality of people's TJRO can be understood. The importance of the framework is that it pays equal heed to who or what is prioritized and the internal disposition with which this is done so as to more accurately gauge the vitality of people's ethnic attachments within the sphere of ritual involvement. In the second half of this chapter, I investigated several key thematic mechanisms of change that evolved from this work as common turning points in people's Jewish identity trajectories. While a qualitative study of this nature does not purport to be able to make generalizable claims, it excels at road-testing the validity of our assumptions and in bringing new
material to light upon which can be based larger scale, more broadly applicable research. Too often important details, that often tell the 'real story', get overlooked in the process of developing tidy measurement criteria. Periodically, it is crucial that we revisit the field of study with an open mind, willingness to change and curiosity to listen to what the people have to say.
Chapter Five

Summary of Findings and Implications

*Jewish life on the threshold of the new millennium is complex and confounds attempts at simple description and analysis* (Gordis 1998: 1).

This dissertation project unearthed diversity in Jewish expression and connectedness—its various forms, styles and intensities—and gave voice to the Jewish interpretations of oft-ignored and misunderstood ‘secondary’ characters in the collective Diasporic Toronto Jewish story. We risk sacrificing a deeper understanding and appreciation of shifting signification systems if we fail to include people's life stories, notably their Jewish journeys, in our ethnic studies. Our postmodern culture is replete with continuities and discontinuities. Idiosyncrasy coexists with conventionality, ‘tradition’ is often refurbished and contemporaneous ‘inventions’ are traditionalized. We need to broaden our lens to document *transforming priorities* and *plural modes* of cultural identification.

Ethnicity researchers are increasingly aware of the misspecification biases inherent to using restrictive measures that impede comprehension of varied bases of commitment (Brodbar-Nemzer 1988; Cohen 1989; Cohen and Eisen 1998; Goldscheider 1986; Gordis and Ben-Horin 1991; Himmelfarb 1982; Silberman 1985), but have remained slow in revising their tools. There continues to be disagreement over what direction Jews and other ethnic groups, for that matter,

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1 See Levine 1993, and Jones, Marsden and Tepperman 1990.
2 Witness the flexible adaptations to ‘old’ signs and the input of ‘new’ forces in the architectural realm wherein exteriors are preserved while their interiors are modified (e.g., a Starbucks coffee shop taking over an antiquated structure), and similarly interiors remain steadfast while exteriors are reconstituted. See Giles and Middleton (1999: 101), authors of ‘Studying Culture’, for competing perspectives of our historicist and cultural turn. Similar to the content/continuity or style/substance debate that characterizes Jewish identity politics, the authors portray a socially constructed dichotomy between the purist archive-based historian and the consumer-oriented style of ‘going’ heritage. Just like the Jewish traditionalists charge their flexibly traditional Jewish counterparts with vacuous, content-less identities, heritage consumers and rootsie searchers fascinated with compiling their family trees are cruelly viewed by critics as focused on entertainment in the absence of active engagement.
are going beyond the immigrant and endogamous experience. This is in no small part due to conflicting ideas about the extensiveness, representativeness, and relative weight, of Jewish identity indicators. This exploratory investigation of the nature of Jewish identities, specifically the vitality of traditional Jewish ritual observance (TJRO), articulated by 100 non-immigrant members, typically parents and offspring, of Toronto-based non-Orthodox, Jewish endogamous and intermarried households, demonstrated the importance of examining objective (behavioral), subjective (attitudinal) and sub-subjective (social-psychological) facets of ethnic identity.

By taking heed of the social-psychological underpinnings (cognitive and affective dimensions) of people's Jewish actions (behaviors and attitudes), I have responded to Cohen's (1988) quality versus quantity concern, finding that indeed more is not always more and less is not always less. While my study followed others in its coverage of items related to ritual practice, communal affiliation, family relationships, friendship patterns, social life, charitable giving, Israel, and so on, it departed from these traditional gauges of Jewish vitality by including interest in the “cognitive and social-psychological aspects of identity” (Brodbar-Nemzer 1988: 83). Passion-less, taken-for-granted incorporation of extensive TJRO was recognized as qualitatively different from the derivation of meaning and active fulfillment people claimed having personally chosen a high level of TJRO. Similarly, someone who had chosen to adopt few rituals but was personally invested in and emotionally attached to these selective modes of Jewish expression was not collapsed together with someone for whom doing less was passively, if not reluctantly, observed.

In treating Jewish vitality as a multidimensional, mutable, socially negotiated construct, this study found that at the nexus of apparent ethnic identity decline (assimilation) there was in fact plural emerging modalities of Jewish attachment. Importantly, these new adaptations to ethnic identity maintenance often take place alongside, not at the expense of, selective incorporation of mainstream culture. At the same time, among the most ritually adherent in the sample, those
who in surveys would typically get cast as ‘high identifiers’, feelings of apathy, disenchantment, obligation, indifference and alienation surfaced, undercutting expected and assumed notions of Jewish vitality. Additionally, the complexity of contemporaneous ethnic identities proved no less apparent in the semantic struggle between universalist and parochial orientations, ideas about the old and the new, high and low identifiers, core and peripheral designations.

The in-depth, semi-structured, life history-oriented interviews of this project both illuminated intra-group variation in meanings, priorities and rationales attached to Jewish ritual adherence, and rendered visible people’s differing forms of emotional attachment toward their particular style of engaging in TJRO. Unfortunately, only relatively recently have sociologists started to seriously consider emotion as a variable (Brodbar-Nemzer 1988; Burkitt 1997; Game 1997; Jenkins 1996). By placing interviewees’ meaning structures and affective orientations under the microscope, this study was able to investigate whether there was, as Gordis and Ben-Horin (1991: viii) chose to call, “a psycho-cognitive reality” underlying the behavioral and attitudinal aspects of Jewish ritual expression. There is a difference between wholesale discarding, or rejecting, and the selective reconstruction, or stylizing, of new Jewish identities. Indeed, the more I was able to get ‘inside’ Jewish doing and see how signs and symbols functioned for my participants and the feelings they had about their Jewish foci, the more I came to appreciate the importance of these newly evolving Jewish forms.

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3 Paradoxically, universalistic precepts such as ‘love is blind to ethnicity’ can function as parochial markers (See Erica Jong’s notion of the “non-conformist conformist” in her compelling book *Inventing Memory*, 1997, that recounts the stories of four generations of Jewish women, one family’s multigenerational saga in America).

4 Goldhagen (1996: 21) argues in his text ‘Hitler’s willing executioners’ that to understand, let alone describe, actions, in this case the eliminationist acts perpetrated against Jews and other ostracized persons by ‘ordinary Germans’, it is necessary that the “phenomenological reality” of the actors be “taken seriously.”
I. Key findings

A. Majority Approaches to TJRO: Hidden Diversity

Notwithstanding the continued proliferation of North American Jewish population surveys since the early 1970s, Dashefsky (1990) notes an enduring limitation that studies still do not probe "deeply into the complexity of motivations for expressing Jewish identity." This study suggests that in failing to duly investigate what motivates people to do the things they do, we risk unwittingly misrepresenting the ritual practices and commitment orientations of contemporary Toronto Jews. In a careful attempt to escape such misinterpretation subjects' varied motivations, rationales and ways of cognizing TJRO were explored. Analysis of this data was sorted into a continuum of subjects' sources of inscribed TJRO significance, specifically from self-oriented to other-oriented approaches. Importantly, the modalities of ritual involvement participants identified to express their Jewishness are expanding. Two general orientations to TJRO were discovered: [1] secular traditionalism, and [2] spiritual traditionalism. Secular traditionalists display a down-to-earth, pragmatic approach to TJRO, including a typically de-religionized conception of their involvement, or lack thereof. Conversely, spiritual traditionalists see their Jewish ritual involvement in abstract or transcendental terms.

Often denying the religious import of their TJRO, secular traditionalists in the sample further differentiated themselves by the attribution of personal, familial or social meanings to their Jewish ritual patterns. Those who leaned towards a more self-oriented basis of commitment, forwarding 'personal' rationales, often saw their form of TJRO as a way to communicate "uniqueness" or representative of their axis on "fun," celebration and entertainment. Others described their TJRO as a vehicle for preserving and/or bolstering familial "togetherness,"
solidarity and continuity. Others still, assign social significance to TJRO, seeing it as something that aligns them with their peer group, presenting opportunities to shmooze and kibbitz (i.e., network and laugh), and enshrining their place within their Jewish social circle.

There was also a diversity of cognitive orientations/sources of significance among the spiritual traditionalists: [a] congregational-communal, [b] ancestral-historical and [c] universal-mystical. Persons in the first grouping viewed their TJRO as a way to revere their community, express congregational loyalty and belonging. Others inscribed ancestral-historical meaning to maintaining TJRO, specifically, by signifying their connection to Jews globally, honoring the survival of “a Jewish way of life,” paying homage to a “shared history” of persecution and marking themselves politically. Others cognizing their TJRO in universal-mystical terms presented their TJRO in supernatural or superstitious terms, affirming their connection to the universe and/or God.

Another crucial variable defining Jewish vitality that emerged from this work is the nature of people’s emotional attachment to the particular ‘why’ of what they do. Active emotional attachment, or the extent one is personally invested in their form of TJRO, was manifest when subjects expressed positivity, contentment, conviction and dedication to their choices. Passive emotional attachment was noted when persons reported feelings of “complacency,” “indifference,” “apathy,” “going through the motions,” “boredom,” “obligation,” “guilt,” “fear” and “alienation.” The emotional dimension of people’s actions, whether they had voluntarily chosen, or re-chosen, inherited modalities of TJRO, or alternatively, were involuntarily attached,

5 In some households the religious symbols of occasions such as ‘Friday night dinner’—e.g., siddur (prayer book), kiddush cup (wine goblet), Sabbath candles, and challah (egg bread)—had “fallen to the wayside,” or were never present to begin with. In other households the symbols were present—e.g., Hanukkah menorah, Passover Seder plate, and other acts like eating on special dishes in the dining room that functioned to separate these occasions from the “ordinary”—but were interpreted as props to differentiate these times from other family meals.
and/or disconnected, informed the quality, and especially for late generation participants, the longevity of people’s TJRO. Said differently, the more personally invested participants were in what they chose the more enduring and vital their actions tended to be.

B. Alternative Approaches: Emerging Jews

i. Outsiderism - Lost Jews?

The social construction of the Outsider varies across reference groups (i.e., one’s “social orbit” or social location). In some circles, one felt “different” or disconnected if one violated the Sabbath laws, while among other groups of Jews not “wearing Lacoste,” fitting into the standard occupational scripts of let’s say “lawyer or doctor,” or perhaps not being intellectually oriented or marrying a coethnic, etc, produced feelings of outsiderness. Less common to ‘new ethnic identities’ research generally (e.g., Hall 1996; Modood et al 1994) and ‘new Jewish sociology’ specifically (e.g., Levine 1993; Silberman 1985), this study did not solely evidence sources of ethnic identity gain but also pointed to new signs of loss. There is not only processes of revitalization (sometimes referred to as rediscovery, renaissance or invention) or happy maintenance at work, but attenuation to Jewish identity is recorded when feelings of closeness, enjoyment and purpose have been circumvented by alienation, disenchantment, disconnection and disengagement.

This extremely passive emotional attachment to maintaining a secular traditional or spiritual traditional orientation to TJRO, abandoning in some situations entirely any display of TJRO, suggested weakening communal ties and marginality within the realm of Jewish ritual involvement. On the other hand, outsiders who are vocal about their criticisms, distance and discordant feelings toward TJRO push the Jewish ‘establishment’ to clarify and solidify its group boundary criteria, keeping it vital and reflexive. These ritual Outsiders who were sometimes
dubbed by others, or self-ascribed “black sheep” who have “strayed,” sometimes found alternate venues where they could demonstrate Jewish connectedness (e.g., membership in anti-defamation leagues).

ii. Revitalization - Meaning Seekers, New forms of Engagement

Trend-setting Jews are those who are in the process of enriching their approach to TJRO. Participants experiencing revitalization spoke of having created or recreated a positive emotional experience for themselves and/or others in their ritual context. These people are highly personally invested in their particular Jewish ritual improvisation, seeking meaning from resources within or without the group. Some achieved this goal via the incorporation of ‘other’ systems’ values, ways and means into a modified expression of TJRO (i.e., innovation). Others intensified and/or sought the restoration of the transcendent quality and/or quantity of TJRO (i.e., retraditionalization). Although it is assumed that we are all intentional beings who engage in meaning-ful conduct, it was clear from the sample that there were those for whom the search to “find meaning” and ignite conviction in their Jewish choices was especially, if not explicitly, pronounced. Revitalization to TJRO was facilitated through transformation, be it by adding something new to the brew or replenishing, albeit refining, the ‘old’ stock. There were dual forces at work among this subgroup whose TJRO had become more “meaningful,” specifically those attracted to the themes of synthesis and authenticity. That is, participants were engaged in hybridization and innovation or alternatively were reconstituting ‘tradition’ from within, customizing anew their approach to TJRO, often including the intensification of practices.

For some of the synthesizers/inventors, or what I prefer to call innovators in the sample, their ritual involvement had been recharged and re-engaged by infusing the principles, philosophies
and practices of Buddhism, Shamanism, Channeling, etc. For others, their TJRO had taken on new significance since they integrated feminist notions of egalitarianism and inclusion, including for instance the emphasis on participatory Passover Seders where every person present got to be involved in the telling of “the story.” Jewish innovations were also manifest in the creation of “safe spaces” where one could celebrate one’s multiple identities. For others still, their micro-inventions were more gastronomic, entailing the mixing in of one’s vegetarian identity, ‘health’ food consciousness or one’s affinity for Asian cuisine. In terms of those interviewees striving to ‘authenticate’ their Jewish commitment within the ritual sphere, they have found “spiritual homes” within the Jewish denominational landscape, often via “shul shopping,” denominational experimentation, joining or starting up new congregations, alternative synagogues and informally run self-constituted groups. Whether one gathered together with a group of “likeminded” families, perhaps even former Outsiders among them, or have discovered at last a congregation that resonates with them and reforms their TJRO, revitalizers revealed a readily observable intensification in emotional attachment (personal commitment) to their TJRO.

C. Movers and Shakers: Identifying Change Agents

This thesis, admittedly ambitious in its intentions, set out not only to document native interpretations of, and relationships to, Jewishness among the non-Orthodox, post-immigrant generations and heterogamously oriented, but it also strove to explore potential conditions under which Jewish attachment falters, endures, strengthens, and/or transforms. What happens to Jewish identity over time and in differing familial contexts? Are Jewish ties weakening as assimilationists or traditionalists insist and forewarn? Or, are people picking, retaining, and sometimes even prioritizing selective facets of Jewishness as pluralists or survivalists point out?

* Not unlike jazz music in which a standard venue offers artists an opportunity to forward their own interpretations, Jewish ritual revitalizers customize a unique form of expression that speaks to them.
Or further still, are conceptions of Jewish identity altering, new modes of attachment earning salience, as transformationists argue? Although the purpose of this project was not the derivation of definitive and exhaustive remarks, in conducting in-depth life history oriented interviews I was able to glean 'movers and shakers', for some even epiphanies, in people's Jewish journeys. In exploring the meanings post-immigrant generation members of endogamous and intermarried familial contexts assigned to their 'Jewish' experiences I was also exposed to the agents at work that had effected changes in the direction, nature and intensity of participants' orientation to Jewishness. While a qualitative research project is by nature not an appropriate tool to overcome the lack of sufficient controls present in extant multivariate ethnic identity research (see Brodbar-Nemzer 1988), this intensive interview project did reveal the role played—presence and absence—of several key variables associated with initiating differential Jewish identity outcomes.

1. Generation status and Jewish vitality

*Usage of the generation concept is much more problematic than most scholars have acknowledged* (Kertzer 1983: 141).

This project exploring the nature of Jewish identities in post-immigrant generational settings lends support to the position that the processes of assimilation, and attendant assumptions of loss, are perhaps overstated given the complexity and non-linearity associated with demonstrated plural adaptive strategies and selective integration. In the context of increasing immigrant heterogeneity—changes in the nature and sources of immigrants—glossing over 'differences' as in for instance relying on the nativity status of at least one parent and/or set of grandparents to infer generation status, can be misrepresentative, insufficient, or at best, an oversimplification.

The common definition and operationalization of generation status in the North American ethnic identity and immigrant adaptation literature focuses on genealogical distance from socialization experiences in another country, or alternatively stated, extent of exposure to the new
country's ways and means. The first generation (G1) is often considered non-native/foreign-born persons whose "basic process of socialization took place before immigration" (Isajiw 1999: 193), but analysts now acknowledge the differential cultural imprint of foreign birth on those over or under twelve at the time of immigration as an important ingredient. Some researchers consider this under twelve grouping as members of the second generation whereas others label those who fall in this category generation one and a half (G1½). The second generation (G2) typically refers to those persons who share the experience of being native-born and having at least one parent who is foreign born, the third generation indicates having grandparent(s) in this non-native category, and so on for consecutive generations.

Problems abound in terms of clarifying both what we mean by generation status, the passing of generations, and its possible effects on the nature of ethnic identity, beyond merely considering those twelve and under upon arrival as more open and close to the socializing influences of the new context. Not only is it crucial to sort out the effects of age at immigration in refining our understanding of generation location, there are still other potentially confounding 'time' oriented variables that challenge the extant utility of the generation concept. For example, some of the later generation (G3 and over) participants in the sample prioritized a "fun" focussed orientation to their brand of Jewish ritual involvement and others still expressed an axis on understanding, questioning and choosing their ritual engagement. Is this a function of their generation status, assuming we could even come to some clear understanding of what that is, or rather is it perhaps more accurately attributable to the interplay of other competing factors such as the "spirit of the time", one's age, and/or life course effects?

Contrary to the assumptions of assimilation theory, immigrants do not begin the societal adaptation race on equal footing, that is, they arrive in different periods, on their own, prior, after or together with family members, and are of varying ages, hailing from a variety of sources
and circumstances, etc. The first generation do not arrive for the same reasons or with the same sets of expectations, aspirations, perceptions and orientations to their ethnic socialization and host culture, much less do they share motives for migration, types of reception by host members, chain migratory patterns or ethnic linkages. Generation status, as it is currently construed, tends to overlook or subsume differential starting points, perpetuating erroneous assumptions about the clarity of generation descent. Is it accurate to ignore or fail to incorporate into our notion of generation status the effects of migrating at the turn of the 20th century, as distinct from doing so in the 1930s, or say just after World War II? People sharing the same alleged generation location can have experienced different 'slices of history', even if they share a common country of origin, not to mention the effects of inculcating into different historical conditions upon arrival.

Another difficulty related to differential starting points, is the problem of how to deal with split family migration patterns. For instance, when a child has already resided for some time in the new country and is then joined by his/her parents, does the younger migrant shift from being G1 to G2, or are both parents and children members of the same generation? Further, what is the generation status of family members whose husband/father initially settled alone in a Canadian city and then, several years later, sent for his wife and offspring after he was established? Aside from complicated split-family migration patterns, measuring generation status in the typical fashion is unclear and misleading when a migrant comes in one's teen years together with both parents. In addition, relying upon foreign birthplace to infer generation status whilst ignoring migrants' differential countries of origin mutes the effects potentially associated with variation in the extent of cultural discontinuity/dissimilarity with, in this case, Canadian cities' ways and means. According to Torczyner et al's (1995) analysis of the 1991 Canadian Census, South African and American Jewish immigrants fare better in terms of SES than their Israeli and Russian Jewish counterparts, demonstrating perhaps the immigrant adaptation advantage of coming from a culturally and linguistically comparable country. Although the majority of non-
immigrant Jews in the sample claimed Eastern European Jewish roots, measuring generation status was complicated in several cases by multiple migrations, in particular intermediary stopovers of mixed duration and effect from Anglophone, 'Western' sources with similar institutional structures. How do you classify the generation status of a participant who descends from at least one generation spent in the United States? What about generation(s) spent in such countries as England, South Africa, Australia, or the extent of similarity existing between the size of the community of origin and that of the community of destination?

As we move beyond the first generation, Kertzer (1983: 141) astutely notes that all these “initial problems [defining generation status] are magnified because marriages are not necessarily generation homogenous or ethnically endogamous.” These problems are often bypassed by measuring generation status using only one side of the family tree. The problem with ignoring the other parent’s, or sometimes stepparent’s, socializing or inculcating influence is we fail to concede the consequences of growing up in a family of mixed generation positioning (e.g., one parent or grandparent G1 and the other G3). To try and account for this uncovered generation heterogeneity and complexity I introduced an averaging technique that gave equal weighting to a given individual’s mixed generation inheritance. For example, the respondent of a G1 and G3 parent was no longer classified as G2 or G4, but was treated here as G3. According equal weight to both sides is itself limited in that one parent’s generation status may be more salient or influential. However, even when only one side is explicitly validated, or favored, active rebellion against some ‘thing’ or someone else, is often very influential in self-concept formation.

\footnote{While I did not account for generation complexity in intermarriages here, my research reinforces the need to do so. For example, should a child of an intermarriage between a Canadian born Jew and a Canadian born non-Jew be accorded the same generation status as an intermarriage between a Canadian born Jew and a Foreign born non-Jew? Additionally, future research needs to consider the role played by conversion in minimizing the effects of cultural dissimilarity on genealogical location.}
Consequently, this averaging technique captures at least some of the doubleness, and 'invisible' factors that occur within families.

Are the observable changes present in this study, notably the diversification of Jewish identity outcomes, including the trend toward personalized and meaning-centered Jewishness, attributable to the passing of generations in a new context? Or, is it the changing spirit of the times with its emphasis on individualism, choice, self-actualization, pluralism and symbolic materialism, coupled with a diminished scope of religious authority that challenges straight-line predictions and accounts for the multiplicity and fluidity in Jewish identity pathways? Does the high representation of young unmarrieds or 'nonfamily' living arrangements in the later generations give a false impression of 'generation decline', modes of Jewish identity that perhaps alter in nature across the life course? This study revealed that we could not draw hasty conclusions about the explanatory weight of generation status especially when the interweaving functions of different dimensions of time, namely, age, cohort, period, life cycle and intrafamilial processes, have not been sufficiently disentangled.

Growing up in a social climate that discourages external or overt displays of ethnic identity—be it a cohort, period, or generation effect—can affect the nature of ethnic attachment. For instance, a climate of identity politics, entitlement, 'never again' politicization, and the improved social standing of Toronto Jewry encourage new modes of unembarrassed and non-passing Jewish consciousness independent of one's generation status. Distinctions between cohort membership and generation status [genealogical location] remain fuzzy as the effects of being part of a birth cohort, namely "a group that moves along together and thus experiences historical events at the same age" (Clausen 1986: 8), remain peripheral, if not overlooked entirely. Taking into account

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8 Members of the same generation (descent) may have lived through different historical periods.
whether one grew up in a period of prosperity, recession, Depression, social unrest, wartime, or is labeled a baby boomer, generation X or Y member, is instructive to our comprehension of changing definitions of, options, and priorities in ethnic commitment.

A subjective awareness of how one measured up alongside, or the extent of feeling as though one fitted in with, one's peers (i.e., reference group or cohort) entered often into people's Jewish identity discourse. Self-regulation is also a powerful force in reproducing hegemonic definitions of Jewish identity in that people self-exclude, not only are excluded by others, based on their internalization of dominant scripts. While researchers recognize the subjective facet of ethnic identity as constituting both ethnic self-identification and identification by others, few differentiate between the situational character of ethnic consciousness, perceived and actual acceptance by others, variation in modes, sources of 'other' identification and the consequences of (non)acceptance.

De-institutionalization of the life cycle, the increasingly unpredictable, non-standardized entry into socially timed roles like marriage, parenthood and old age (George 1993; Goldscheider and Goldscheider 1999), renders assessment of (dis)continuities in Jewish identity, or other ethnic identities for that matter, over time an increasingly complicated task. Has a broader societal pattern of later age at marriage and delayed fertility reduced the significance of these life course events in encouraging forms of Jewish (dis)affection? Or, are we assigning so-called signs of Jewish identity reduction to later generations incorrectly, features that might be otherwise a function of childlessness and/or unmarried status? Given that a greater proportion of the later generations comprise young persons (see Brodbar et al 1993), higher rates of non-denominationalism, selective ritual involvement and residence in low Jewish density areas may not necessarily imply generational decline, but life cycle effects that change as the young marry and have children.
In conducting multigenerational research, interviewing intensively in most cases descent-related dyads (parents and offspring), notions of intergenerational (dis)continuity could not be sufficiently resolved without an appreciation of subjects’ inherited family context. Said differently, relationships between parents and offspring—*intrafamilial processes*—inform the nature of intergenerational change. Most intergenerational studies of ethnic identity maintenance do not directly cross-reference parents and their children’s ethnic identity scores. Although studies make claims about grandparent-parent-child changes in feelings, attitudes and behaviors, they typically rely on generation groupings rather than linked dyads or triads in their analyses. As Kertzer (1983: 137) poignantly highlights, “Every child in the sample could have values sharply divergent from those of his or her parents without there being any aggregate difference in values between the two ‘generations’.”

For instance, some G2 participants in the study might have been incompletely characterized as having progressively attenuated ties compared to the G1 immigrant generation had I not uncovered the socialist and Yiddishist, in some cases anti-religious, ideologies of their Jewish immigrant ancestors.

Another issue unveiled by gathering data from descent-related dyads is intrafamilial pressure to reproduce family patterns, being or doing Jewish *not more or less than* parents. While it is typically presumed that being or doing Jewish ‘less than’ one’s predecessors indicates intergenerational conflict, G3 (and over) participants who intensified their ritual involvement also spoke of intrafamilial tension produced by their differential dietary and/or synagogue practice, etc.

Further, it would be interesting for future research to investigate whether intergenerational ‘continuity’ mirrors continuities in socioeconomic status. In other words, to what extent does intergenerational denominational switching occur because parents and offspring have different...

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9 Without access to descent-related dyads or triads Kertzer argues that under- or over-estimation of a ‘generation gap’ or intergenerational conflict [harmony] can occur.
levels of education and/or types of occupation? Similarly, is denominational continuity common in families where children continue in their parents' socio-economic footsteps?

In sum, this multigenerational Jewish identity exploration found a clear need for future research to revise the generation concept, either by disentangling the possible confounding effects of other 'time' variables, or rather perhaps by incorporating these conceivably interacting factors into a new multifaceted, improved generation concept.

ii. Re-considering the Intermarriage-Jewish Identity Linkage

While beliefs about irreducible, irrepressible Jewish/non-Jewish cultural differences still abound,10 Jewish intermarrieds and their offspring are, at least in some circles, increasingly less subject to doom and gloom prophecies of Jewish non-involvement and identity loss (see Klein and Vuijst 2000).11 Is it wider societal acceptance of hybrid and hyphenated identities, the non-zero sum expression of multiple modes of ethnic affinity, that has led to the formation, celebration, and politicization of the “half-Jewish” identity, or is this new label still misinterpreted as connoting ‘less than’? Is 20-year-old G31/2 Toronto-born child of intermarriage Maya Rand’s12 pride in identifying as “half-Jewish” a function of her inclusion in a network of other children of intermarriage, or rather a consequence of a societal ethos of distinctiveness?

Notwithstanding exposure to “the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social

10 Given historically variant conceptions and experiences with Jewish intermarriage in North America, projecting a large future decline in Jewish commitment based on rising intermarriage rates may be an unwarranted straight-line prediction (Brodbar-Nemzer 1988: 78; Goldscheider 1986; Cohen 1986).

11 In Klein and Vuijst's The Half-Jewish Book they argue that the increasing incidence of intermarriage has facilitated a transformation of what it means to have Jewish and non-Jewish roots. They celebrate a movement from fractional to double identity, and the option of offspring being reared in both traditions. The authors reject the notion of intermarriage as destructive to Jewish group survival and revel in the distinctiveness of having Jewish multiple ethnic origins in its own right.

12 Maya’s paternal ancestry is Jewish; she says she is Jewish before she even considers mentioning Poland. Her maternal roots are Catholic Canadian, ancestors descending from the original French settlers in New Brunswick. Maya readily identifies herself as half-Jewish and perceives it as a key feature of who she is: “I don’t see it as a religion, I see it as who I am.” She sees Jewishness as tied to consumption and conversational styles, emotional intensity and an exaggerated need to save face in front of other Jews.
experiences and cultural identities” that compose ethnic and racial categories (Hall 1996), a progressive awareness of differences within groups, Jewish intermarriage is still conceived in binary terms and as a catalyst or consequence of ethnic identity reduction.

This qualitative inquiry revealed that there was not just one type of intermarriage, but a variety of intermarried contexts, different experiences and Jewish identity outcomes that changed across the family life cycle and individual members’ life trajectories. It is important to note that in challenging the intermarriage-Jewish identity loss (declining Jewish attachment) relationship I am not suggesting that intermarried households are indistinguishable from their endogamous counterparts, as this would be silencing the effects of having non-Jewish kin. Instead, I question the presumptions of uniformity in form, experience, and outcome among intermarried and endogamous families alike. Validating hybridized, synthesized, ‘cut and mix’ styles of ethnic identity, not to mention the experienced compatibility of expressing multiple ethnic origins, demonstrate that Jewish identities may be moving in transformative and additive not reductive directions as a consequence of intermarriage.

In engaging in in-depth interviews with intermarried parents, including the born non-Jewish parent/spouse, and offspring (or vice versa depending on access) I was exposed to an array of intermarried narratives, including varying conditions under which intermarriage was linked to attenuation, maintenance, intensification, and/or revitalization in TJRO. While it was not my intention to make some conclusive remarks on the Jewish identity-intermarriage connection, these intensive interviews and ethnographic experiences led me to other mitigating, likely interacting, factors that may help us better understand variation in Jewish vitality. Five key variables arising from this work included: i) the pre-marital character of Jewishness of the ‘Jewish-born’ spouse, ii) the pre-marital religious consciousness and ethnic attachment of the
non-Jewish born spouse, iii) Conversion to Judaism, iv) the reactions of kin to the marriage, and v) the ideological climate to intermarriage.

Privy to pre- and post-marital scenarios, I learned that an association of low Jewish identity maintenance with intermarriage and mixed parentage could be misleading especially in situations where post-marital reports demonstrated continuity, intensification, or rejuvenation in ritual involvement relative to pre-marital Jewish positioning. Often before marriage, many intermarried Jews in my sample did not place much importance in the religious dimension of their Jewishness, albeit feeling in many cases passionately emotionally, culturally, socially, and politically Jewish.

Taking into account the nature of Jewish identity of the born Jewish spouse preceding the intermarriage helped me realize that one does not inevitably minimize one's disposition to TJRO upon intermarrying. For example, adoption or refashioning of a secular-traditional approach to TJRO among intermarrieds who were pre-maritally atheist, left-leaning Jews revealed itself to be more about continuity of upbringing than the consequences of outmarrying. Considering pre-marital modes of Jewish identity shed light on reconstitutive Jewish features (additive, synthesized, and subtractive forms), including maintenance in the quality and/or quantity of TJRO or an oft-ignored intensification in Jewish valuation and consciousness developed in the wake of interpenetrating multiple cultures.

Paying attention to 'who it is that an intermarrying Jew marries' unveiled not only a range of pre-marital ethno-religious backgrounds and orientations, but revealed other sources of homogamy (e.g., political as in two socialists marrying) and implications for the nature of Jewish identity negotiated within the household. This study followed in the footsteps of recent Jewish intermarriage research that renders questionable the traditional monolithic bias that
homogenizes intermarrying born non-Jews. How is Jewish vitality affected for persons in families where the intermarrying non-Jewish born spouse: 1) was raised in an irreligious, de-ethnicized context, 2) has drifted from their ethno-religious socialization experiences, and 3) continues to maintain facets of their ethno-religious upbringing?

It was interesting to note that receiving religious socialization, instruction, attending church, participating in church youth groups and initiation into traditional customs, even if later devaluing or drifting away from the same, facilitated, in some cases, a proactive approach to Jewish rituals and Jewish intergenerational identity transference. In the contexts where an intermarrying non-Jewish born spouse retains vital, if not primary as distinct from dual or flexible allegiance and attachment to his/her pre-marital ethnic/religious heritage, cultural negotiation styles and intrafamilial power dynamics figure prominently in shaping Jewish identity outcomes. "Shared values and respect for each others' traditions" surfaced as an important agent to additive as opposed to subtractive and/or contested ethnic identities. Having no or minimal pre-marital attachment to one's religious and/or ethnic background(s) was most represented among the intermarrying non-Jewish born spouses in my sample. In some circumstances, this entrance status led to an active secular traditional orientation to TJRO, or the invention of creative forms of Jewish intermarried alignment. For others, energies were primarily transferred to modes of expressing Jewishness outside of the ritual sphere.

Prior research shows that when the non-Jewish born spouse converts to Judaism negligible differences in the religious sphere separate the exogamous and endogamous unions, nevertheless associational ties like participation in Jewish organizations continue to demonstrate difference

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13 Recent studies investigated for instance the (de)vitalizing effects of the non-Jewish spouse reporting Protestant versus Catholic backgrounds, conversionary versus nonconversionary, or female versus male status.
(e.g., Brodbar et al 1993; Epstein 1999; Medding et al 1992). This study found that among the Jewish converts or “Jews by Choice” in the intermarried sample there were a great variety of motives for conversion and hence implications for vitality in TJRO. That is, adopting a religious Jewish lifestyle was not always the motivating intention of the non-Jewish born spouse. Alternatively, s/he sometimes chose to formalize a Jewish commitment in order to dispel reservations expressed by his/her spouse’s kin, as a pre-condition to being married by a rabbi, for purposes of religious unity in the family, or personal connection to one’s spouse. Notably, the vitality of TJRO may have more to do with the pre-marital Jewishness of the Jewish spouse and what s/he is comfortable with in terms of ritual content, as well as the born non-Jew’s conversion experience and treatment by others, than the mere fact of conversion itself. Life stories of born non-Jewish spouses suggest that achieving a Jewish identity orientation is hardly a one shot deal marked by formal religious/ethnic affiliation switching, but rather negotiating a Jewish identity is a lifelong process. Importantly, the interplay of self-identification and perceived recognition by others, independent of formal or informal initiation into ‘Jewish ways and means’, seemed to influence Jewish vitality. Further, conversion or choosing Jewishness did not only occur at the time of marriage but occurred at other stages of the family life cycle.

A crucial factor shaping the members of Jewish intermarried households’ vitality of TJRO was the type of reaction by the Jewish and non-Jewish kin to the union. When Jewish parents reacted negatively to the intermarried union of their offspring the intermarrying couple and their children were often less interested in expressing and valuing their inherited Jewishness. However, some intermarrying couples that experienced, at least initially, a discouraging reception refused to let their families’ varying modes of non-acceptance (e.g., informal ostracizing, non-attendance at or financial support for the wedding, sitting shiva, etc) rob them of their interest in Jewish identity. It is important to note that reactions from kin did not remain constant across the family life cycle, but varied according to exposure and circumstance (e.g., presence of grandchildren). In
the cases where an intermarrying couple received a welcoming response from Jewish kin, such receptiveness helped facilitate non-Jewish born spouses’ interest in ‘going Jewish’. Other related family variables such as the degree and quality of interactions with Jewish kin, specifically grandparents, and also with ‘non-Jewish’ relations, influenced the Jewish vitality patterns of the offspring of intermarried unions and the intermarrying couple’s relative independence in stylizing their own brand of Jewishness.

The final condition under which intermarriage could sustain, activate, suppress, depress, or revitalize TJRO specifically, and Jewish identity generally, was one’s exposure to particular intermarriage and ‘who is a good, real, authentic Jew’ discourses, including for instance the internalization of essentialized Jewish/non-Jewish differences. While the younger cohort in the sample mostly rejected the perceived incompatibility of intermarriage and Jewish identity maintenance, a naturalized intermarriage discourse relying on pro-endogamy [anti-exogamy] arguments concerning Jewish survival and fears of latent anti-Semitism remained nonetheless, including the idea that it is “more comfortable to have the same background.” Not only are notions of inherent cultural conflict and erosion in ethnic commitment perpetuated among later generation Jews, but these perceptions, mythical or not, take on a life of their own. Presumption of differences can sometimes lead to a realization and entrenchment of the same. Hence, W.I. Thomas’s transhistorical sociological insight, “if people define situations as real, they are real in their consequences (Thomas and Zaneicki 1918: 79).” If you are perceived as not fully Jewish, then you might accept this externally ascribed categorization. Similarly, if you learn that a non-Jewish person will inevitably not have “the same sensitivity, compassion and understanding of Jewish issues, sensibilities, and culture” (40-year-old G3 Mickey Feldberg), you will probably find support for your view and go on to collude, perhaps unwittingly, in its reproduction.

Although exogamous Jews seldom marry non-Jews who are anti-Semitic and tend to marry non-Jews sharing their value system, lifestyle choice, upbringing and/or political alignment, persistent
claims that there are "just things that are inexplicable and incomprehensible to non-Jews" occasionally function to strain interethic unions (G2 Lara Fiorio). People often forget that endogamous unions are hardly immune to marital discord or dissolution. As Jewish partners do not necessarily share parallel Jewish socialization experiences, there is “no guarantee that one will produce a strong Jewish identification in the kids." There is a tendency to overestimate the extent of cultural harmony and similarities present in endogamous unions while underestimating the amount of congruity present in exogamous unions. Spouse selection, including the impact of marriage between persons of differing Jewish denominational allegiance/influence who manifest divergent pre-marital quantity and quality of TJRO and reckon with differing familial reactions, cannot be sensibly disregarded in one's efforts to explain shifts in Jewish identification.

iii. Life Stage: ‘New’ Commitments Within or Without

While I have already made reference to the importance of considering life cycle effects in regards to generation status, this study looked beyond the usual examination of parenthood and marriage life stages to explore entering adolescence and retirement/later years as opportunities for (dis)connection with one's Jewish identity. Adolescence is a period of dynamic self-development in which the need for group belonging and 'who am I' questions are worked through. This study found instances of individuals finding group belonging and existential security within and without the arena of Jewish ritual involvement during their adolescent years. While some adolescents adopted passive or outsider displays of TJRO, partially due to communal failures to adequately address their needs, the heightened need to "fit in" for others during this period produced active Jewish engagement or experimentation in within-group trends.

14 It is worth considering how 'generation Y' and its successors' socialization into and active contribution to internet-generated, post-industrial, modes of production, including a highly compressed childhood and adolescence, will affect their ethno-religious attachment.
Entry into the retirement/later years can be an impetus to re-choose, redefine, or abandon ritual bases of attachment, re-prioritizing in the process 'new' social forms of group alignment. Accordingly, there were many variations in Jewish identity styles and orientations to TJRO among those entering 'old age'. People's choice and rationales for particular kinship terms like *bubbie*, grandma, grandmother or granny are highly indicative of their relationship to traditional age-specific Jewish labels. Within group variation in socioeconomic status, Sephardic/Ashkenazic affiliation, and marital status (e.g., widowed, married, etc), helped in part account for varied 'Jewish' markers among those in the 65 plus category. There were those who exhibited their Jewishness primarily via their “Florida snowbird” status, golf club memberships and participation in fundraising functions. For others, retirement offered an opportunity to (re)join a synagogue and in general intensify one's involvement in TJRO. In some cases interviewees' initiation or restoration of synagogue attendance and ritual adherence in their later years was related to an imminent "sense of mortality," "the death of a loved one," or offered "a way to reconnect socially." Importantly, contrary to the presumed traditionalism associated with the 'later years', for some this stage marked a turn towards a more relaxed and passive orientation to their ritual adherence, such as in response to a perceived decline in the need to model behavior to younger kin.

iv. Jewish Education

The options and modes of religious education have expanded and diversified. Subjects' Jewish education varied in duration (both in terms of length of commitment and weekly time expenditure in parochial schooling), mandate, ideological orientation, quality of instruction, extent and valuation of secular learning, financial support, costs of attendance, social recognition, and scheduling. In this study, I did not find a straightforward positive correlation between receiving Jewish education and Jewish vitality. Sending kids for Jewish schooling or gaining a formal Jewish education did not ensure active and longevitous TJRO commitments. However,
particular experiences that the individual had with the schooling, be it for example “hated,” “uninformative” and “repressive” or socially “rewarding,” congruent with home learning, and a good fit with their wants and needs, did seem to exact some influence. Notably, interviewees themselves often saw their Jewish education experiences, ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ alike, as informing their current orientations to TJRO.

v. Exposure to Jewish Diversity

There were a number of ethnic Jews in the sample who have revitalized their Jewishness since discovering that there are diverse groups of Jews and alternate bases for Jewish attachment. A sense of alienation from, being “different than” one’s Jewish reference group, be it a secular, upper middle class, or a religiously-focussed and observant, Jewish social orbit, and limited exposure to Jewish diversity can adversely affect the vitality of TJRO. Some subjects’ experience of other Jewish identity brands beyond their inherited sociocultural context resonated with them so as to restore the “heart” in their approach to TJRO. Other subjects found support in their outsider orientation to their Jewishness among ‘other types’ of Jews who likewise share in their devaluation and disinterest in TJRO.

II. Study limitations and implications for future research

This project found a variety of Jewish ritual involvement identities operating within and between generations in endogamous and intermarried familial contexts. The signs and symbols representing Jewish identity demonstrated variation in intent, affect, and form. A key objective driving this project was to expand the Jewish vitality debate beyond strictly numerical accounts and hegemonic discourse. My intention was to include not only the level and labels of what people say they do, but also the how and why of what they do, including the meanings these actions have to them and their feelings and thoughts about their behavioral expectations. Taking at face value the significance of people’s self-identification and behavioral reports, ignoring the
intentionality, or the how, what and why of people’s ethnic connectedness/vitality, offers an incomplete, misleading picture.

This project challenged the presumed 'inferiority' of non-Orthodox, post-immigrant, and intermarried expressions of Jewish ritual involvement which are often viewed as diluted, weakened and inauthentic. It urges us to attend to the meanings, sources of significance and emotional attachment people, not researchers, assign to their ethnic identifications. In conducting in-depth life history oriented interviews this project brought into relief distortions (under- or over-estimating quality and intensity of identification) and distinguished nuances that are typically masked by a failure to explore the internal—affective and cognitive—underpinnings of behavioral and attitudinal measures.

Though I collected rich data, in an open-ended fashion, on the many modalities of participants’ Jewish expression, I ultimately was only able, given the time and space limitations of a doctoral work, to fully investigate the sphere of Jewish ritual involvement. This seemed an appropriate compromise, in spite of its inability to comment on a great deal of interesting new ethnic trends, due to the fact that the heart of the controversy surrounding Jewish continuity resides within the Jewish ritual sphere. Nevertheless, as I conclude this project I do so with a sense that there is so much more to be done in this multidimensional area. The transformations that are occurring in people’s ethnic expression are quite broadly based and deserve individual attention. Future research would be well served by taking adequate pains to ensure that the social-psychological dimensions of participants’ diverse modes of ethnic commitment (e.g., self-identification, social, and aesthetics) are included. Not only is there an ongoing re-orientation of priorities occurring for those expressing their Jewishness, but there are also diverse sub-priorities corresponding to people’s particular area of focus and style of the same. Lest we arrive at erroneously conceived impressions and inferences of the strength (quantity) and nature (quality) of ethnic, in this case
Jewish, commitment it is imperative that we consider the intentions (meanings) that underlie participants' attitudinal and behavioral responses in these other spheres as well.

The need to consider the subjective and sub-subjective aspects of ethnic identities in multiple spheres is evident from the following example of quantitative oversimplification. Frequently, important presumptions about strength [dilution] and quality are made based merely on subjects' ethnic self-identification and origin reporting (Berry et al. 1977; Brym 1993; O'Bryan et al. 1976). Whether, for instance, one sees oneself as Jewish only, Canadian only, a Jewish Canadian, a Canadian Jew, or something else entirely, is held to speak volumes about the extent to which one has remained loyal to their ancestral ties. Interpreting precisely what any particular subject may actually mean by any of the above descriptors, however, is far more difficult, and not at all readily apparent from survey data. Sensitive instruments that respect the significance of participants' meaning systems are required should we wish to gain a more accurate appraisal of the actual ethnic state of affairs (e.g., what does a Canadian or hyphenated identity mean to those who report it?). To further illustrate this point regarding the hidden diversity of intent laden within people's ethnic identity reports note the following excerpts from participants in this project.

It is interesting to get a taste of the varied ethnic self-identification responses among a handful of G3½ Canadian Jewish offspring of endogamous unions and importantly the meanings they attach to preferred ethnic self-identifiers.¹⁵ Despite descending from several generations of Toronto Jews on both sides, 34-year-old G3½ Pauline Plaut likes to see herself as an American Jew rather than a Canadian Jew.¹⁶

¹⁵ See socio-demographic profile in the appendices for more detailed ethnic origin (ancestral) data.
¹⁶ Pauline spent four years of residence in the US South during her second endogamous marriage.
I don’t see myself as Canadian. I feel more like I’m an American. I can pass as one in the States. I’ve always perceived Canada as being a second class citizen, the poor relation, the younger cousin, that really isn’t that important. It’s like you know the Passover table at my cousin’s house. We felt like the Canadians. The poor relations unimportant, nobody wanted to hear us, they were the Americans big, loud, noisy, it was their party. We were just invited, nobody even noticed if we showed up. Nothing we did made any difference. I always wanted to be on the bigger side. Canada just feels very bland to me. It’s like the difference between sugar and Nutrasweet. Sure they tell you it tastes the same, but they took all the flavor out and it leaves this funny aftertaste and it’s really a good for you version, it’s antiseptic, it’s bland and that’s sort of the metaphor I use to describe the difference between Canada and the States. The States maybe isn’t so good for you, but hell it has some taste. So, I like it there. I like even the parts of it that are bad because it’s just more interesting, it’s more colorful.

28-year-old G3½ Mark Frank considers himself alternately “at times a Canadian Jew and at other times a Jewish Canadian. When I’ve reason to feel proud of my identity as a Canadian, which could be during sporting events, or travelling abroad I feel very Canadian. I am more of a Canadian Jew when my Jewish identity is more at the forefront, I am never just Jewish, being Jewish usually comes first.” As for 32-year-old G3½ Alan Newman when asked if he had to choose between identifying as just Jewish or Canadian, Canadian Jew, etc, Alan states, “I guess a Jewish Canadian. I’d say the Canadian thing would probably be more important. I feel very much a part of this country. I’m not religious. I am very proud of my Jewish heritage and culture and those type of things but I primarily see myself as being Canadian.” 78-year-old G2 retired Canadian Airforce officer and active war veteran Paul Fischer (conversionary intermarried)

17 28-year-old G2 Stan Spielberg who came to Canada with his New York born parents (paternal grandparents New York born and maternal grandparents German Jews) at age four but prefers like Pauline to emphasize an American identification. “I’ve never really tried to pigeonhole myself as one thing or other. I do consider myself American even though I have Canadian citizenship and I’ve been living here for most of my life. I’m patriotic and I like American sports teams. It would come out but not in the first few sentences that I am Jewish because religion falls way down to the bottom. I don’t deny it.” That said, he suggests, “I’m fascinated about history and seeing where we came from.”

18 Declan Neary was born and lived in Ireland for the first 21 years of his life. The next 31 years were spent in Toronto (22 of those 31 being a Canadian citizen). He writes in a Canadian newspaper (November 20, 2000) that watching an international soccer match between Canada and Ireland, an unanticipated test of his “loyalty,” made him realize that describing himself as an Irish-Canadian (hyphenated Canadian) “couldn’t be a more fitting label for who I am.”

19 Pauline’s 31-year-old brother Todd thinks of himself as a “Canadian Jew,” valuing both components of his identity equally. Todd elaborates, “For me, being Jewish is being part of a historical legacy, community. I never felt connected to the Jewish community until I traveled alone in Europe and visited Dachau. That experience did make me feel connected to something wider...I find travelling generally puts you in greater touch with your Canadianness.” 23-year-old G3 Cindy Roth adds, “In Israel, I feel more Canadian and in Canada I feel more Jewish.”
passionately remarks, "My nation, nationality is Canadian. My religion is Jewish. I want to be known as a Canadian of the Jewish faith, if you want to identify my faith, but what’s it got to do with me being a member of this country." Outsider, 55-year-old G3 intermarried Jew, Eva Fitzgerald, identifies as a “Canadian Jew” and prioritizes the Canadian aspect of her identity. She feels “more Canadian than Jewish,” partly because she “never fit in” with the Jewish cliques, finding coethnics “uptight and there’s a lot of one-upmanship.” 28-year-old G2½ dance theatre performer Dorothy Warner, daughter of a Jewish conversionary union, indicates:

It’s funny like just to tell someone I’m Jewish, always feels like I'm not explaining enough, Well these are the different words I've used. I've said I'm an artist. That would be a big one. I think that’s pretty much near the top. And then it's funny to say a Jewish artist because then that would probably suggest that my art is about being Jewish but I don’t think it is. I don’t think that would quite describe it, so I’m an artist, and then there’s kind of like a slash and you could say Jewish Canadian, like that sounds good (laughs). Though, of course Canadian means so many things for so many people, I guess that’s what I would say, artist, Jewish Canadian. For me, Jewish and Canadian have never really contested with each other. I don’t feel by becoming a Canadian I’d be betraying my Jewishness by calling myself Canadian. So I would feel that they’re sort of neck-in-neck. I see them one and the same. I’m definitely North American Jewish.

33-year-old G3 Tabitha Shwartz recognizes her “born a Jew” status—“don’t deny my identity, my background heritage and all of that stuff”—but she sees it as a “distinction” that “plays no role in [her] daily life.”

T: I don’t know how other people feel about this but if I were asked to identify five characteristics about myself I don’t think Jewishness would be in the top five.
D: What would the top five be?
T: I would identify myself as a woman, wife, mother, I would get into my work what I do workwise and then you’d start getting into personal characteristics, freedom loving and all that stuff and way down on the list somewhere would be Jewish. That doesn't define me. For me, being Jewish is a cultural background, being born to a people who hold a certain belief system but also born to a people who have a strong history that I’m proud of. I’ve no issue. I don’t walk around denying that I am Jewish if anyone were to ask me, but it’s not something that would come up in probably the first or second conversation with someone I just met unless it was around Christmas time and they say have you done your Christmas shopping. So, it depends on the time of year, so sometimes it comes right out like that, but it is not something that usually would come up. However, I should backtrack with other Jews it does. I guess it's this whole Jewish geography thing you can recognize somebody who is either by their name or the way they speak or the way they carry themselves or even where you meet them, some places are more Jewish than others, so it would probably come up a lot faster with someone I met who was Jewish than versus someone I met who wasn’t. Some Jewish people like to peg you, figure out if there are any connections.
Todd's, Mark's and Tabitha's responses highlight the fluidity and situationality of ethnic identity. The experiences of subjects like these highlight the need for longitudinal studies and projects that focus on changes in the nature of ethnic self-awareness and articulation within differing settings (e.g., exclusively Jewish or primarily non-Jewish social situations, travelling abroad, job-related contexts, external societal events, etc). For example, 30-year-old G3 Heather Feldberg, born to Jewish parents but reared in an intermarried (remarried) Jewish familial context since age two, is quite aware of the malleability of her Jewish self-identification. While for the most part she suggests that her Jewish identity exists as a largely unspoken, matter of fact, feeling of merely "being Jewish," in other contexts her Jewish consciousness is brought to the fore. Contexts that heightened her awareness of herself as a Jew included [1] having pennies thrown at her as a child; [2] being called a "dirty Jew"; [3] confrontation with stereotypical assumptions of Jewish wealth and privilege; [4] being identified by other Jews as a Jew; and [5] being in Israel.

In order to appreciate the situationality, flexibility and fluidity of ethnic identities, it is necessary to conduct studies that emphasise the situations, processes and experiences that are conducive to 'coming out' or 'passing' as Jews. The limitations of carrying out decontextualized, ahistorical, cross-sectional analyses are readily apparent in the face of recent events, specifically the Palestinian uprising and associated violence in the Middle East, the possibility of a Jew entering the White House for the first time, and the Florida recount debacle. It would be fascinating to conduct Jewish identity interviews during this period so as to better understand and test the connection between ethnic identity and broader social circumstances, including also the relevancy, if any, of age, gender, SES, intermarriage, Jewish education, exposure to Jewish diversity and generation status in moderating this relationship.
Further, the model I developed and used as an analytical tool to unravel some of the confusions and dilemmas of Jewish ritual expression may very well prove to be helpful in our analyses of the social realm. A commonly used external\(^{20}\) indicator of ethnic identity, the extent of ethnic exclusivity in friendship networks (e.g., whether most, many, some, or hardly any, two or three of one's 'closest' friends, are co-ethnics), is less reliable and valid without duly considering people's cognitive and affective orientations to their friendship patterns. Future research needs to pay heed to the changing functions, forms, meanings and feelings associated with the ethnic composition of participants' informal social relations.\(^{21}\) How do subjects (themselves) view the ethnic basis of their friendships? Do those persons, for instance, indicating mostly Jewish friends reveal a proactive desire, interest in sustaining and pursuing friends with co-ethnics, or is this primarily Jewish friendship group perceived and maintained passively (circumstantially) as a function of where persons live and/or go to school? As for those participants who have mostly non-Jewish friendship ties, is the nature of their Jewish attachment really less tenuous, unconscious or unimportant than their more socially exclusive counterparts? Some subjects, who had experienced being the only Jewish person, or one of few Jewish friends in a clique, viewed their role as akin to that of a “cultural ambassador,” sensitizing and educating others about Jews.\(^{22}\) For instance, during law school 26-year-old G3\(^{1/2}\) Flora Neinstein was the only Jew in her friendship grouping. Though she wears a “Magen David” necklace as “a constant reminder” and communicator of her Jewish identity, she found herself “more tense around Jews because [...] 

\(^{20}\) Although questions about the co-ethnic or majority group presence in one's close friendship circle are often treated as external indices, it is important to note its subjective ingredients. Specifically, answering this question presumes shared notions of 'closeness' and assumes a subject's interest in the ethnic composition of their friendship ties.

\(^{21}\) There have been shifts in the motives and venues for interacting socially with fellow Jews (e.g., Jewish elite golf clubs, women's book clubs, mah-jong or poker evenings). There is increasing diversification in styles of, criteria and forums for Jewish sociability which function sometimes unwittingly to sustain interethnic distinctiveness.

\(^{22}\) See Harold Shulweis's response to Schindler's 1978 address: “Something happens to the Jew who is asked to explain the character of his tradition to one outside the inborn circle...Called upon to interpret the spiritual conscience of Judaism and its world wide vision to others, the Jew may gain for himself a new self-awareness, self-esteem and articulateness (cited in Jaffe McClain 1995: 220).”
there is a pressure that I am supposed to be friends with them," and preferred to see herself as a “Jewish ambassador.”

While I uncovered stories of subjects’ personalized Jewish approaches within ‘non-Jewish’ ritual contexts like Shamanic spiritual cleansing retreats, Buddhist meditative practices, and Christmas festivities, my analysis was confined, by necessity, to the plural adaptive strategies expressed within the traditional Jewish ritual sphere. Future Jewish identity researchers, however, would be well advised to explore the addition of Jewishness to such socially constructed non-Jewish ritual spheres. For example, attention to the various styles of incorporating Christmas within Jewish endogamous and intermarried familial contexts would be a welcome addition to our evolving understanding of interpenetrating ethnic commitments. Different ways of marking Christmas such as the distinctively Jewish rituals of eating Chinese food and going to the movies, or attending catered or in-house family dinners to name a few, are worthy sources of interest. A lack of clarity in general persists regarding what gets counted as assimilation or incorporation into mainstream culture. There is a sore need in the Jewish [ethnic] identity literature for ethnographic works that explore the ethnicization of the mainstream (i.e., ethnic groups inventing their own mainstream trends, incorporating styles of other ethnic groups and the broader society’s co-optation of ethnic genres).

Earlier in this chapter, I problematized in detail the extant usage of the generation status concept. New sophisticated and sensitized multivariate designs are required to better put into relief the unresolved question ‘what happens to Jewish [ethnic] vitality over time in a new context’. I suggest that new insights may be obtained via the creation of a generation quotient that factors in all relevant time-oriented variables (differential starting points, cohort, period, life
cycle effects, etc), or at least attempts to sort out their potentially confounding influences and interaction effects. Next, in terms of carrying out more work on change agents, specific detailed attention is necessary to gain a fuller understanding of the distinctive contributions Jewish intermarriage makes to the transformation of Jewish identities. While this project is one of the first to consider the life stories and Jewish journeys of both intermarried (Jewish and non-Jewish born) spouses/parents, more attention to these stories and to documenting the relational identities born out of interactions with participants’ Jewish and non-Jewish relations is needed. In addition, a lack of access to intermarried households wherein the born Jewish spouse had converted out of Judaism left unanswered reasons for exodus and the ‘actual’ nature and extent of Jewish ‘losses’ in these contexts. Moreover, limited numbers in comparison groups make it difficult to independently assess the effect of gender in ethnic identity negotiations. The gender of the born non-Jewish spouse intersects with marital power dynamics and issues surrounding the legitimacy of Jewish descent in complex and as yet understudied ways.

This dissertation was only able to briefly touch on the role of intrafamilial dynamics in shaping Jewish identity. While the family is often recognized by sociologists as a carrier of culture, the social form that has had the greatest impact on the creation of ethnic identities (Lieberson and Waters 1988; Undergleider and Menkis 1993; Weinfeld 1994), few have looked any deeper than family structure (but see Kassabian 1987). We have insufficient knowledge about the effects of familial relationships (grandparent-grandchild, spousal, parent-child, sibling, in-law, etc) and processes such as affectional solidarity, mode and level of interaction with extended kin, and conflict, on family members’ ethnic identities. At this juncture, it is worth highlighting the need to redress a noteworthy absence in the extant ethnic identity literature of documenting sibling

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23 See Jaffe McLain (1995: 139) for a discussion regarding the effects of putting up a Christmas tree, such as “[It] does not have the power to make me feel less Jewish.”

24 Sunderland (1997) enters comparable unchartered terrain when she considers the ways five European American women talk about themselves as ‘black.’
differences in ethnic identity, a factor that clearly challenges straight-line perspectives. Investigating the sources of sibling divergence like attendance in different schools, birth order, family dynamics and residential mobility patterns may be a fruitful means of enhancing our understanding of the ethnic identity-family linkage.

The principal goal of this Jewish vitality project was to generate new insights from which better studies could be designed that may in turn aid our ability to make more generalizable claims. Specifically, my findings point to ways in which a long overdue overhaul of our measurement indicators and criteria for Jewish [ethnic] identity might be realized. Other methodological concerns of this project that warrant future attention center around issues of accessibility, (dis)advantages of one- versus multiple-family member interviews, data management, and “emotional fieldwork.”

III. Policy implications

The Jewish vitality or continuity debate rests at a stalemate due to deep disagreements over style and substance. Where Jewish traditionalists see marginality, dilution, vacuity and content-less Jewish identities, transformationists find re-prioritization, re-expression, gains and new content.

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25 For example, witness the sibling differences in Jewish identity of interviewee atheist 66-year-old G2 Miriam Feldberg: All three sons, her three eldest children, married Jewish women that initiated them into TJRO. One son affiliates with Orthodox Judaism and leads an “observant” life. The four daughters have mixed Jewish identity outcomes: Her fourth order offspring is a ba’alat teshuwa (ultra-Orthodox) living in Israel with a surfer turned ultra Orthodox and has seven children. The fifth is not interested in Jewish stuff, lives a globetrotting materialist lifestyle (three marriages to non-Jews). The sixth order child is a talented, unmarried cellist who wants nothing to do with TJRO or primary Jewish associations. I interviewed the seventh order and third order offspring. Miriam emphasizes sibling differences: “Well you feed them the same food and you put them under the same roof but different children act differently and interpret what you are saying differently.” The daughter, turned ultra-Orthodox, “was always searching for something; she had an Indian girlfriend and she used to come home and talk about her religion. She loved being involved in something mystical like that. Once she went to Israel and went to shul, she loved it and wanted to go back. She was 18 and walking down the street in Jerusalem and heard someone saying any Canadian or American students want a place to stay for free and all you have to do is come and study the bible with us once a week. So, she got hooked. She was matched with a former American surfer. His mother was an artist.” The fifth order child in contrast “finds someone with money and goes. She typically finds someone 20 years older. Now she is with a younger hippie type guy and they’re living in England on a holistic farm.”

26 Hallinan (1997: 1) calls for a “new way of thinking about social change” that suspends with built-in assumptions of continuity and linearity.
The findings of this study tended to lend support to the latter by recognizing personalization and giving fair voice to varied orientations and expressions of Jewishness. In light of shifting socio-demographic patterns altering the face of Toronto Jewry such as an aging population, declining fertility rates, later marriages, increasing non-nuclear living arrangements, intermarriage and divorce rates, initiating effective Jewish survival/continuity strategies is recognized as a hot communal objective. Given competing notions of Jewish survival [dissipation] in a North American context (e.g., Brym 1993; Brodbar-Nemzer et al 1993; Dershowitz 1997; Silberman 1985; Waxman 1990), it is not surprising that there exists great diversity in scholarly and communal estimations of Jewish futures (see Moment's December 1997 issue). Importantly, our ability to effectively minimize attenuation in Jewish ties relies on an accurate appraisal of who is 'at risk' and how they might be 'turned on' to a more vital connection to their Jewishness. The policy suggestions that follow are derived from notable patterns that correspond to shifts in interviewees' Jewish journeys, specifically what they indicated drew them away from, toward, or might attract them back to, Jewish involvement.

A. Inclusivity: The majority of this study's participants viewed the Toronto Jewish group as internally divisive and fragmented. Participants expressed differing perceptions about the primary sources of in-group divisiveness: while some highlighted denominational conflicts, many others were conscious of eth-class boundaries and others still spoke of country of origin balkanization (e.g., Russian Jews, Israeli Jews, etc). The non-Orthodox Jewish group needs to

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27 Without collecting systematic data during this (in) tense period of Arab/Israeli conflict it is difficult to assess if such situations of threatened Jewish security stimulate the dissolution of within group boundaries and the sentiment of am echad (literally one people, a singular, unified Jewish community). For instance, it would be interesting to find out if left leaning self-described “progressive,” “freethinker” 80-year-old G2 Nancy Silverstein has held to or altered her position on violence in the Middle East. While Nancy has visited kin once in Israel and is conscious of the historical meaning of Israel, her disdain for the killings and bombings that take place on both sides makes her only conditionally supportive of Israel's policies and what it stands for. Nancy and her 80-year-old G2 husband Murray have “no time for a former couple we were friends with who called us anti-Semites for taking an anti-Israel position.”
continue to challenge traditional monolithic conceptions of Jewishness so as not to collude in the devaluation, delegitimization and silencing of its diversity. Similarly, greater tolerance, demystification and de-homogenization of Orthodox Jewry, not to mention appreciation of their varied choices are required. Given the proliferation of Jewish styles, unacknowledged benefits of exposure to Jewish diversity and the exclusionary, alienating effects of feeling “different” to one’s Jewish reference group, Jewish institutions, including the media, need to revamp their organizational cultures and expand their criteria for entry and modes of participation. In short, greater respect for Jewish plurality and a democratization of legitimate claims to Jewish authenticity would function to encourage and improve the quality of social interaction within the Jewish ethnic group.  

Irrespective of whether Jews are inherently or have become questioning “dialogic people” (Dershowitz 1997: 293), it is important to capitalize on the fact that we often think and act as though we are. While much progress has been made in the realm of interfaith dialogue (i.e., mutually respectful forums created to hear and understand differing religio-ethnic positions), greater efforts to realize the principles of Canada’s multiculturalism policy, in particular “unity in diversity,” need to be applied inside as well as outside the group. Rabbi Elyse Goldstein (2000) is innovative in this regard, striving to achieve a climate within the

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28 Brym (1993) argues that traditional oligarchic tendencies in the Canadian Jewish community are ironically working at cross-purposes to their objective to ensure the survival of the Jewish group. He suggests that if Canadian Jewish leaders do not take seriously efforts to broaden their agenda, removing for example, their uncritical support of Israel and expanding religious forms that might appeal to a more highly educated, cosmopolitan and young audience, they will risk further communal dissipation. Interviewee 19-year-old G3¼ Josh Gold argues that Jewish continuity is all about respecting choice: “Don’t let the rabbi or your parents dictate what you say because you’re your own person and choose whether to be kosher, go to Jewish day school or have non-Jewish friends, or not.” Another interviewee 44-year-old G3 daughter of intermarriage Tammy Fischer remarks, “I find that among most Orthodox people that I have encountered there is still this kind of holier-than-thou attitude. And I really hate to see it because we’re all Jews, we just have different ways of expressing it, but there isn’t the acceptance that I would like to see. There are some things about Orthodoxy or more traditional Judaism that I find very attractive, I love a lot of the traditions but there is a major issue for me being a feminist is the status of women. I also don’t believe in an all-powerful God. It is important to me on a personal level to have some kind of relationship with an ultimate being.”
Toronto Jewish group that is dedicated to “true pluralism” (post-denominationalism). In order to break down intragroup divisiveness and brand-name allegiance, she calls for “true pluralism” within the Toronto Jewish community. She insists, “True pluralism is not another label; rather, it is the deeply held belief that each one of the movements, with all its strengths and weaknesses plays a valuable role in the ongoing continuity, survival and ultimate creativity of the Jewish people.” It is important to note that dialogue between subgroups of Canadian Jews is not merely needed to foster in-group understanding and acceptance of differences [similarities] and demystify stereotypes held of one another within the sphere of ritual involvement, but other sources of in-group misunderstanding and separation demand our attention. For example, whether it is a by-product of a general societal mood of embittered gender relations, enmity between Jewish men and women is shamefully underrepresented as an issue of serious concern in Jewish communal agendas. Communal and scholarly works stress the role of external factors—declining anti-Semitism, diminished social distance of Jews, community size, etc—and displace attention, or perhaps blame, from the role played by internal forces in contributing to increasing Jewish communal disaffection and disaffiliation. They have overlooked the role played by internally produced and perpetuated stereotypes about Jewish women and men that affect dating and marital choices and

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29 Rabbi Elyse Goldstein in the Fall 2000/5761 volume 10 Kolel, The Adult Centre of Liberal Jewish Learning, publication refers to “no-name Judaism,” brand names like Reform and Orthodox being secondary to the product itself.

30 Hyman (1998) explored the ‘who is a Jew’ discursive landscape, from the perspective of being a Jew who is not always accepted as such because of her mixed Jewish background (Christian maternal and Jewish paternal ancestral heritage). Her explorations revealed that “[d]ialogue opens up understanding, and humanizes people to each other. Once you’ve been through a process of dialogue with somebody, it’s very hard to stereotype” (215).

31 As Halberstam (1997: 113) notes, “Whether or not they invented the JAP caricature, Jews certainly helped consecrate it.” Jewish gender stereotypes hold incredible staying power in the culture, socializing succeeding generations into these impossible demands and retaining the “luggage of demeaning labels, of themselves and each other (127).” For 23-year-old G3 Aaron Gold who involuntarily outdated due to poor material standing “a lot of Jewish women are hard to please and overly concerned with materialistic stuff, what car you drive, your clothes, your prospects for the future and potential earning power. There’s a lot of attitude.” 28-year-old G3 Simon Shwartz claims that Jewish women in their late 20s are “high maintenance, demanding” whereas his 23-year-old Italian Catholic girlfriend does not “pressure” him and gives him “space.” Conversely, divorced intermarrier 32-year-old G3 Nora Neinstein holds the view that Jewish men are “wimpy, mama’s boys” while G3 unmarried Estelle Rosen in her late 20s perceives her Jewish male peers as “confused, never satisfied and don’t know what they want.”
experiences. Varied gender scripts for Jewish men and women—counter-representations—need to be heard and taken seriously (see Prell 1999).

B. Adaptability: While assimilationists (traditionalists) emphasize Jewish identity declines, they are not acknowledging the importance of our history of persistence through adaptation. The “totems,” venues, vehicles and styles of expressing Jewish ritual involvement are expanding, transforming and diversifying. Instead of treating nontraditional forms of attachment as “watered-down” styles, it is in the community’s interests that communal leaders validate and encourage the addition of organizations (i.e., enhance the Toronto Jewish group’s institutional completeness) that help alleviate communal disinterest and apathy, as well as realize unmet needs and wants. Although ethnic purists bemoan the current shift toward corporate synagogues selling sales pitches, competing for new customers, customer retention and so on, having choices can breed active engagement. Jewish institutions might widen their customer base and loyalty in part by flexibly incorporating wider societal interests within the group. To further restore the ‘heart’ in people’s Jewish attachment community leaders would be well served to listen to what in-group outsiders are

The “popularity of these ugly images” (Halberstam 1997: 108) reproduced within and between gender groups plays a part in the “disinclination to date [or befriend] each other” (106).

32 At a Jewish Federation-Council session held in Orange County, California, January 5, 1992, on relationships between Jewish men and women, Jaffe McLain (1995) noted that the rush to judge one another produced a list of Jewish American Princess and Jewish American Prince stereotypes. Jewish women were described as pushy, demanding, whiny, overly critical, money oriented and flashy, etc. Jewish Men were prejudged as short, aggressive, egotistical, wimpy, needy, rich, show-off, and who assume Jewish women are JAPS, etc.

33 See Durkheim (1965[1912])’s classic text, ‘The Elementary Forms of Religious Life’, that presents totems as symbols that reinforce social solidarity.

34 See also Modood et al (1994) who do not believe that proud public assertions of ethnic identity—symbolic or new ethnicity—among, in her case, non-immigrant generations of East Indians in Britain, constitute merely a watering-down of ethnic cultures and identities.

35 In a CJN November 30, 2000 article, Blackman documents changes in the role of synagogues, at one time serving as popular ethnic enclaves where immigrants forged new ties, to later becoming places parents dropped their children off to be educated (50s and 60s), and now recently its corporate transformation.

36 See Neitz (1987) whose work demystifies and rejects the premise that awareness of choice is inversely related to attenuation in commitment.
saying, what are the sources of their disengagement and disenchantment. By revamping the quality, one can achieve quantity.

C. Accessibility: There is likely widespread agreement that any such actions we could take that would encourage fuller and more vital participation in Jewish affairs are desirable objectives to pursue. However, where disagreement exists is in terms of where limited resources and attention needs to be directed. For instance, communal leaders fear that in adopting a supportive stance toward Jewish intermarriage that they are encouraging more Jews to follow suit. Unfortunately, such leaders internalize an unproductive dichotomy, commonly perceiving Inreach efforts (i.e., facilitating the participation of the unaffiliated unmarried and nonintermarried Jews) to be a polar, if not greater, policy concern to those energies invested in creating and implementing Outreach goals (retaining and attracting intermarried family members to their midst). This study found that intermarried born non-Jewish subjects who had encountered a welcoming reception, external support, revealed a positive orientation toward expressing Jewishness. Similarly, those who experienced condescension, insensitivity, invisibility and alienation in their encounters with Jewish organizations (e.g., seeking a rabbi to officiate, bar/bat mitzvah ceremonies, treatment by Jewish school teachers, etc)37 suggested this outsidersness status acted as a deterrent to active participation. In some situations however this prompted people to proactively seeking safe, inclusive venues and like-minded individuals to choose, affirm and personalize Jewishness. One such proactive choosing Jew in this study offers the suggestion that at the very least leaders ought to direct parties to relevant Jewish alternatives. Another interviewee believes

37 Schiffman (1999) shares the frustration that people who grow up intimately connected to a synagogue, holding a warm relationship with rabbis, feel let down and rejected from the community when their rabbis won’t marry them. This frustration is heightened in the face of double standards, knowing such rabbis will marry a nonobservant endogamous couple without making it conditional upon them adhering to an observant Jewish household.
that wider publication and education of what is entailed in the varied types of Jewish conversions, including the implications for pursuing these different routes would help intermarriages find a comfortable niche.\textsuperscript{38}

Short-term programs that reach out to unaffiliated intermarried family members play an important role in promoting Jewish identity maintenance, if not revitalization.\textsuperscript{39} However, to put an end to the marginality of such ‘at risk’ members the community needs programs that have longer life span and are open to all. Synagogue based havurot (informal groups) for intermarried family members are conducive environments to discover, learn, exchange experiences, create traditions and socialize together, but these can be enhanced further by also pairing intermarried families with a support system of buddy matched endogamous families.

\textsuperscript{38} Betty Warner who descends from several generations of Anglo Canadians and has undergone three Jewish conversions volunteered her family’s participation in response to my CJN coverage. Betty had been instrumental in the 1994 taskforce sponsored by the Jewish Federation on Jewish continuity and assimilation. As a self-identified “public convert,” she was well suited to talking about the realities of Jewish conversion. One of the main reasons for the taskforce was to find positive reasons to be Jewish, what is good about being Jewish and why you want to stay Jewish. “One thing I felt that was essential was to get clear information on conversion. I suggested Federation act as a clearinghouse for information so that it would be a neutral site where you could go and get fairly neutral information. If I convert through conversion classes at Holy Blossom, what’s going to happen and where do I fit in, what happens if I go to Agudah? The Jewish community is complicated, such a spectrum within the Jewish community it is very hard for outsiders to even get a sense of what are the consequences if you go here or there... The Jewish community is made up of a mosaic of so many people. There are so many distinctions or possible divides, different cultural groups, pre-war/ post-war, Holocaust survivors and their children, plus the old Toronto Jewish families. And that’s a big thing in the taskforce, just the perceived chilliness of the old Toronto Jewish community to anybody Jewish, non-Jewish, convert alike. If you weren’t Polish and your grandparents hadn’t arrived here in 1903, you were out-group, and so we spent a long time [in the taskforce] on that, and so converts were just one subset of outsiders, non-Jewish spouses and intermarried couples were another.”

\textsuperscript{39} Faye Stern, an endogamous G3 interviewee in her 30s, participated in a leadership development for the Jewish Federation through which she helped create and implement a short-term program in a university setting aimed at promoting Jewish continuity for interested descendents of Jewish mixed marriages. She “loved being involved” as she liked feeling like she was helping attendees find a connection to Judaism. They chose to direct their attention to intermarried couple’s university aged kids because they felt that “when you’re in your 20s you’re kind of trying to figure out who you are. When you’re in your teens, you’re trying to figure out who your friends are. At university age, they’re trying to find direction, so it would be a good time to get them, and not that we were going to proselytize, we were going to inform because Jews don’t try to convert other Jews.” In terms of program participants, “there were some people who knew that they had one Jewish parent and were just not given the opportunity to practice their Judaism. There was a person who found out that his great-great-grandfather was Jewish and came to our group to learn more about Judaism. There were siblings who came together, one who really wanted to learn more and one who was there because the other sibling dragged him. And it caused I think a lot of fights within families because there were obviously parents that maybe didn’t want their children to explore this, and it was sad. I mean, that’s why we had someone from Jewish Family Child Services very involved in it because we could definitely plan the programming, but we couldn’t handle the experiential stuff. We couldn’t act as a counselor. We didn’t pretend to.”
G3 endogamous Faye Stern, in her 30s, participated in Toronto's 'March of the Living program. It was an opportunity that "left [her] with the taste of being involved but wanting more." Faye sums up one of the principal findings of this analysis of Jewish (dis)continuity when she remarks "it's too bad that more people aren't involved. I think that one of the main problems in the community is that you do not always know how you can get involved. Somebody had to invite me in, which was great, but I don't think that invitation is extended to very many people. If it was, you'd probably have many more people involved." As we enter a new Millenium, marked by ever-increasing pluralization of channels and modes of communication and expression, the means to achieve harmonious and enriched ethnic attachments has never been greater. All that remains is the desire to let each other in.

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40 Canada's March of the Living program takes North American Jewish youth on a "march" from the concentration camps in Poland that ends with a visit to Israel. As participant Faye, who had learned about the program from a cousin, shares, "You feel a range of emotions, from Poland you felt despair, anguish, desperation. We went into gas chambers. We saw claw marks on the walls. We saw remains of people, hats and suitcases. And then you get to Israel and our kinds were dancing on the runway kissing the ground and you felt the elation that Holocaust survivors must have felt when they finally did immigrate and the State of Israel became the State of Israel."

41 Affordability, reducing the costs of 'doing Jewish', is also another important means of expanding and sustaining Jewish involvement (see Lungen 2000; Winter 1991). For example, one interviewee 23-year-old Cindy Roth who is in the process of intensifying her Judaic commitments bemoans the fact given her limited financial resources that "you have to pay money to belong to a synagogue, It's not right you shouldn't have to pay". 25-year-old G2 Albert Warner, son of a Jewish conversionary marriage, offers another point to the money/TJRO relationship: "In Jewish politics money talks. The Federation which is based on fundraising and allocation of funds and those fundraising dollars start to take more power in terms of how the Jewish community organizes itself. I've seen that where the money seems to be carrying more weight. I don't like the idea that s/he who gives the most money has the most to say on how things are run."
Appendix A:
Jewish Vocabulary List

Am Echad [H]: One people.

Ashkenasim: Jews of central and eastern Europe; many migrated from Germany to Poland and Russia during the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.

Baby naming ceremony: ritual ceremony for the birth of a baby girl.

Ba’al teshuva (pl. ba’a lot teshuvah) [H]: a woman who adopts ('returns' to) Orthodox Judaism as an adult.

Ba’al teshuvah (pl. ba’alei teshuvah) [H]: a man who adopts ('returns' to) Orthodox Judaism as an adult.

Bar Mitzvah: a rite of passage ceremony in which a thirteen-year-old boy is initiated into religious adulthood.

Bat Mitzvah: a rite of passage ritual marking a thirteen-year-old Jewish girl's formal initiation into the religious community.

Bimah: raised platform in the synagogue from which the services are lead.

Black Hat?: the term black hat is used by some Jews to differentiate themselves from ultra-Orthodox members who are visually identified by their black attire.

Brachah (pl. Brachot) [H]: blessing(s).

Break [the] Fast: ritual meal marking the end of the fast on Yom Kippur.

Bris [Y]/Brit [H]: ritual circumcision (boy baby) ceremony.

Brisket: A part of the cow used most popularly in smoked beef dishes.

Bubbie/Bobbe [Y]: grandmother.

Bund: largest Jewish socialist movement; formerly known as the General Union of Jewish workers in Lithuania, Poland and Russia. The Bund was brought into being after a three day clandestine meeting in Nov 1897 in the attic of a small house in a Russian Tsarist town of Vilna by 13 men in their 20s representing Jewish socialist groups in Lithuania, Belorussia and Poland. From these 13 men grew a proud movement of hundreds of thousands men and women fighting for workers' rights and humane conditions generally and national and social rights for Jews specifically. By 1898, the Bund was the most effective socialist organization in Poland.

Challah: special braided loaf of egg bread, traditional for the Sabbath.

1 Hebrew words are identified with the letter H and Yiddish words with a Y.
2 Colloquial interpretations and/or spelling are sometimes used when not otherwise identified.
Chametz [H]: leavened bread not to be eaten during Passover.

Chazzan: professional cantor.

Cheder (Kheyder) [Y]: room; after hours Hebrew classes.

Cholent (Tsholent) [Y]: a hearty stew popular among Ashkenazic Jews consisting of barley, beans, potatoes and flanken. It is a traditional Shabat lunch dish.

Chutzpah [Y]: courage, gaul.

Daven [Y]: to pray.

Gentile: non-Jewish person.

Goy (pl. Goyim) [Y]: non-Jewish person; sometimes used locally in a pejorative sense.

Flanken: soft, mushy meat-based stew.

Frum/Frummie [Y]: Ultra-Orthodox (piety). Also invoked as a disparaging signifier by non-Orthodox Jews to distinguish themselves from ultra-Orthodox, 'by the book', Jews.

Haggadah: text used at Passover Seder.

Halakhah [H]: Jewish Law.

Hamishc [Y]: homelike, small and relatable.

Hanukkah: Festival of lights observed for eight days; holiday in December commemorating the victory of the Maccabees after a three year revolt against the Greek regime, culminating in the recapture of the Temple of Jerusalem in 165 B.C.E.

Hassidim: a Jewish spiritual movement that was founded in Poland and Ukraine in the eighteenth centuries and continues today as a fundamentalist movement within Orthodox Judaism.

Hava Nagila: celebratory song.

Havurah (Havurot) [H]: Small, participatory, kin-like groups that meet for prayer, study and celebration.

High Holidays: Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

Hillel: Jewish student organization.

Isch Kabible: a simpleton.

JAP: Jewish American Princess.
Kabbalah: a medieval Jewish mystical tradition that originated in Spain after 1200. The word Kabbalah means ‘receipt’.

Kashrut [H]: Jewish dietary regulations.

Ketubah [H]: Jewish marriage contract.

Kibbitz [Y]: to joke around.

Kibbutz (p.L.kibbutzim): cooperative agricultural settlement(s) in Israel.

Kiddush: blessing over the wine recited on the Sabbath and holidays.

Kiddush cup: wine goblet.

Kippah: skullcap. The Yiddish term is yarmulke.

Kishke [Y]: stuffed derma (cow intestines).

Keyn eyn-ore [Y]/Bli ayin hara [H]: a superstitious incantation to give or avoid bad luck.

Kol Nidre: The opening prayer of Yom Kippur, an annulment of all vows chanted to a haunting melody.

Koyekh [Y]: energy

Kugel: egg noodle casserole (sweet or salt and pepper version).

Kvetsh [Y]: a whiner, a complainer.

Lox: smoked salmon.

Magen David [H]: Star of David.

Make Aliyah: diaspora Jews “ascending” or migrating to the land of Israel.

Mandlbroyt [Y]: finger shaped almond cookie.

Matzah (Matzot) [H]: unleavened bread eaten during the seven days of Passover.

Mazal Tov [H]: Greeting of congratulations.

Medina [H]/Medine [Y]: country.

Menorah: eight-branched candeladrum with an additional spot for the service candle. Lit on the eight days of Hanukah. The Hebrew term for the menorah is hanukiyah.

Meshuga [H]/Meshuge [Y]: crazy.

Mezuzah [H]/Mezuze [Yid]: the container of a parchment scroll affixed to a doorpost.
Mikvah [H]/Mikve [Y]: Ritual bath (purification).

Minyan [H]/Minyen [Y]: quorum of ten needed for the conduct of public religious worship.

Mitzvah, Mitzvot (pL) [H]/Mitsve [Y]: blessing, good deed, commandment.

Motsi (Hamotsi) [H]: blessing over the bread.

Musaf [H]: additional service.

Nachas [Y]/Nachat [H]: pride and joy from something or someone.

Oy Vey [Y]: an expression of exasperation.

Payess [Y]: long earlocks of hair grown typically by male members of ultra-Orthodox Jewry.

Pekl [Y]: package; socio-emotional baggage.

Pesach: Passover, the spring festival that marks Jewish freedom from slavery in Egypt.

Purim: festive holiday celebrating the saving of the Jewish communities living under Persian rule from Haman’s evil designs to exterminate them.

Rabbi: religious leader of the community/congregation.

Rosh Hashana: Jewish New Year.

Schmuck [Y]: jerk.

Shvitsn [Y]: to sweat or go for a sauna.

Seder: ritual meal usually with a specific order of service on the first two nights of Passover in the Diaspora, one night in Israel.

Seder plate: ceremonial plate on the table including the following ritual items - one egg (either boiled or roasted), shankbone, bitter herbs (horseradish), haroset, karpas/parsley, and salt water.

Shabat [H]/Shabbos/Shabes [Y]: Sabbath.

Shadchan [H]/Shadchen [Y]: matchmaker.

Shikse/Sheygit [Y]: derogatory terms for non-Jewish woman/non-Jewish man.

Shiva [H]/shive [Y]: Jewish mourning ritual.

Shlep [Y]: As a verb, it means to carry burdensome loads around. As an adjective, “X has shlep,” can also mean that person has influence/carryes weight.

Shmatte [Y]: contextual variation - rags or clothes (e.g., “X was in the Shmatte business”)

Shmooze [Y]: socialize and/or network.
Shoah [H]: Holocaust.

Shofar: Ram's horn blown during the High Holidays.

Shomer Shabbat [H]/Shabbos/Shabes [Y]: a person who keeps many of the rules of the Sabbath—from sunset on Friday until sunset on Saturday (e.g., refrains from work, does not handle money during this period).

Shtetl[s]: small ethnic enclaves in Eastern Europe.

Shul [Y]: synagogue.

Shule [Y]: school.

Siddur: prayer book used during the liturgy.

Sukkah: a temporary hut/booth.

Sukkoth (Succot): Autumn festival of “booths” or “tabernacles” (temporary dwelling places used by children of Israel in the desert during their 40 years in the desert.

Tallis(im) [Y]/Talit(ot) [H]: prayer shawl.

Talmud: The Talmud is comprised of the written compilation of Oral law, centuries of interpretations, commentaries and explanations by the Sages about the Written law. It is intended to communicate the practical applications and meanings of the written Torah.

Torah: the first five books of the Scriptures (the Pentateuch).

Treif, Treyf [Y]/Taref [H]: not kosher (forbidden).

Tsimes [Y]: a difficult-to-make stew typically made with prunes, raisins and carrots but also used informally to mean ‘don’t make a stew about it’ (‘don’t make a tsimmis about it’).

TuBishvat: Holiday for the trees.

Tzedakah [H]/Tsdoke [Y]: acts of charitable giving; considered obligatory under Jewish law.

Tzitzit: attachment of fringes to prayer shawl.

Yiddishkeit [Y]: Yiddish (Jewish) culture, Jewishness, Jewish spirit.

Yom Kippur: Day of Atonement.

Yom Tov [H]/Yon Tov [Y]: have a good holiday!

Zeydi/Zeyde [Y]: Grandfather.
Appendix B

Interview Schedule

1. **Immigration History:** Ancestral stories from both sides of the family concerning the where, when, why and how of their immigration. Subjective and objective distance from, and orientation to, the immigrant experiences of one's family relations.

2. **Growing up experiences:** Details and feelings about participants' family situation, neighborhood, school, friendship patterns and wider societal context.

3. **'Who are they?':** How do participants self-identify, define their Jewishness and view the significance of ethnicity in their lives.

4. **Traditional Jewish ritual observances (TJRO):** What, where, why, when, how and with whom TJRO are practiced, celebrated and/or constructed. What is one's orientation and subjective appreciation or lack thereof in regards to these acts? What sorts of things are related to these thoughts and feelings? What contributes or has contributed to observable changes in participants' ritual life? What meanings are assigned and with what type of orientation does one approach and/or appraise such practices as Shabat, High Holidays, Hanukkah, bar/bat mitzvahs, keeping kosher, synagogue, Jewish schooling etc?

5. **Family Relations:** Intergenerational continuities and discontinuities both as a cause and effect of TJRO differences/similarities. How participants' identities are negotiated within their families.

6. **Relationships:** Experiences with inter-/in-dating, inter-/in-marriage. Where, when, why, how, and with whom, people partner, and their experiences of having done so. The reception to their choice and its effects. Their appreciation of the impact of their coupling choice on their ethnic identity.

7. **In-group Discourses:** Participants' thoughts and feelings about Jews and Jewish living—talk about sex, money, consumption, (inter)marriage, assimilation, expectations, stereotypes, problems, Jewish 'baggage' (e.g., guilt), Jewish families, the Holocaust and Israel.

8. **Israel:** Connection to Israel including visits, if applicable, and their consequences. Thoughts and feelings about the Jewish state.

9. **Social Networks and Cultural Repertoire:** Composition and nature of participants' friendship circle including the role and significance, or lack thereof, of Jewishness in these groupings. Where, when, and how participants experienced interaction with coethnics and/or their feelings about not doing so. The significance of geography, ethnic language use and the possession of cultural artifacts/symbols to their sense of Jewish identity.

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1 The life (his)story orientation of the interviews demanded interview schedule flexibility and personalization.
Appendix C

Canadian Jewish News Article

Interfaith couples sought for Canadian’s PhD thesis

By FRANCES KRAFT
Staff Reporter

TORONTO — Doctoral candidate Danita Mushkat is seeking Canadian-born intermarried couples with children 18 or older, and has also begun interviewing couples in which both partners are Jewish for her PhD thesis in sociology at the University of Toronto.

The study will explore definitions and expression of Jewish identity through a questionnaire and in-depth interviews.

Although similar studies have been done in the United States, Canadian research on intermarriage among Jews has been based on census data and vital statistics, said Robert Brym, professor of sociology at the University of Toronto.

And American results don’t necessarily apply here, he noted. A study like Mushkat’s “should be useful for policy-makers and religious leaders in the Jewish community.”

Mushkat, 27, is interested in discovering “under what conditions Jewish identity is retained, transformed or weakened.”

Her own background is eclectic. Born in Ottawa to Israeli parents, Mushkat grew up in England, New Zealand and Hong Kong, where she spent 11 years before moving back to Canada to attend Trent University. She has spent many summers in Israel visiting extended family.

Between her research and responsibilities as a teaching assistant, academia has become her main focus. A graduate of Trent and Queen’s University, where she received her MA, Mushkat has garnered numerous scholarships and awards.

“I’ve always been interested in people who are marginalized,” she said in a kitchen table interview. Her previous research includes a study on Jewish lesbians.

Mushkat attributes her academic interest in large part to her “tikkun olam upbringing” and the “social justice mind-set” of her mother, a professor of International Law at the University of Hong Kong.

She finds her background an advantage in her research, giving her the perspective of both an insider (as a Jew) and an outsider, having spent many of her formative years in the Orient.

In its own way, her parents’ union has been an intermarriage, she mused. Her sabra mother is the granddaughter of a rabbi; her father, who left Poland as a child, was raised in a secular, albeit proudly Jewish, family.

Mushkat, who is not married, has a Jewish boyfriend, but it was more common in past years for her to date non-Jews. She’s been involved in the Jewish community on a volunteer basis for many years. Her parents would like her to marry someone Jewish, even though she grew up in predominantly non-Jewish environments, she said.

For her thesis, Mushkat is questioning whether accepted criteria for Jewish identity, such as number of Jewish friends and observance of various rituals, actually capture what it means for people to be Jewish.

She has no predictions about the impact of intermarriage on Jewish identity. “To make predictions, you have to have a larger sample. My objective is to raise insights and question taken-for-granted techniques of doing things.”

Sociologists are divided on the issue, she noted. “Traditionalists measure identity in terms of adherence to ritual. They come out with gloomy forecasts that the Jewish community is shrinking.

“The other camp recognizes that Jewish identity has been transformed... We’ve lost certain things, but they’re being replaced by alternative [forms] of Jewish cohesion,” she said.

She tends to the latter view. “There’s been a redefinition of what constitutes Jewishness,” she believes.

She hopes to talk to intermarried Jews who have retained their Jewish identity as well as those who feel uncomfortable with their Jewishness “so I can see what causes some to fall by the wayside.”

Anyone interested in participating in the study, or just talking to Mushkat about it, can contact her at 416-481-6120, or by e-mail, [dmushkat@eapsutoronto.ca].
# Appendix D

## Socio-demographic Profile of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alias</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Generational Status</th>
<th>Family History</th>
<th>Birth Cohort</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Socioeconomic Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kate Lebowitz</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Mum came from Galicia at age 16 (&quot;affluent family, ed people&quot;). Polish born dad K has 6 siblings who live in close proximity. She has 3 offspring.</td>
<td>War baby who experienced her formative years at a time of post-war prosperity but also one of persistent inter-grp divisions: &quot;You always knew you were J&quot;). Childhood in the original downtown locale and progressed with her J cohort &quot;up North&quot;.</td>
<td>Married to a fellow Toronto J she met on a blind date.</td>
<td>Occ: Homemaker (an aspiring actor at one time)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ed: Completed High School</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dad-Cantor in Canada</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unlike her mum, her dad did not have much formal education beyond Hebrew learning; &quot;I think my father always felt inferior to my mother&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Lebowitz</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Parents married unhappily in Poland. Dad migrated 1st to get set up and sent for his wife and R's elder bro. R liked to busy himself as a kid to avoid his tense family context. Bro lives currently within walking distance, they gather in the park to philosophize.</td>
<td>Holocaust G: born at the onset of WWII. Grew up on the edge of a high concentrated J area when most lived near to or in J Kensington. The family made the move Northward relatively slowly from the family's store. R felt the pressure to &quot;succeed&quot; a weighty in-grp expectation.</td>
<td>Married a traditional J woman</td>
<td>Ed: college educated (electrical engineering)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1st Occ- hardware store owner; Current Occ- personal driver</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parents owned and ran a convenience store/corner shop where R worked many hours growing up. There was both marital and financial strain in R's childhood home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Lebowitz</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>G3 Toronto Born J</td>
<td>Fam has been in Canada 3 Gs. Identifies his EE J roots. Has a younger bro and sis living in TO that he sees weekly at Fri night dinners.</td>
<td>Post-Holocaust G Exp'd formative yrs during the prosperous 80s. He grew up, attended public sch and hang around excl w/Js. Popularity, material achieve't, beating the system, not religious adherence were central. His closest friends are still J.</td>
<td>Living common law w/ an Anglo-Canadian non-J he met at a New Age grp.</td>
<td>Parents: see above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ed: earned a BSc as a mature student. Occ: self-employed (communications)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alias</th>
<th>Age</th>
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| 4. Max Klein | 87  | G2 Toronto born J  
Resided in Queen/Parliament area in 1911 (Berkeley St shul built approx 8 yrs later). Moved up to the College St area in his early marital yrs and like other upwardly mobile Js wanted to get out of the crowded downtown core and buy affordable housing up N, properties that increased in value as the suburbanization process advanced. | Split fam mig: his dad fled Russia 1st to avoid the Russo-Japanese war in the early 1900s as “conditions were v bad for Js in the Russian army and he also had some cousins who had come yrs early”. Dad came to TO in 1904 and sent for his wife in 1907. | Growing up in the early pt of the 20th C the core J comm. “extended from about Elizabeth or Bay st west to Bath st, and from Queen up to Bloor—that was the center of J activity”. Moved to FH area in the 40s, moved to a bigger hse in 1932. 40s was the beginning of a vibrant J comm on Eg Ave, before empty fields. | Widowed “I was married to a wonderful girl in 1930 for almost 60 yrs; passed away 2 yrs ago on the 1st day of P and to this day I can’t stop thinking about her all the time.” | Occup - Retired Pharmacist (J Pharmacist fraternal org member). Owned own pharmacy for 30yrs “in a particularly Italian neighborhood”. “I would say that 30-40% of the pharmacists in TO were J in the 30s and early 40s because that was the kind of business where you did 3 yrs of apprenticeship and could earn money before going to uni, the faculty of pharmacy.”  
Ed: Uni  
Dad’s 1st job: laying rails 2nd job: Employed in the garment industry. |
| 5. Bill Plaut | 56  | G2/1/2 Toronto born J  
B was among the 1st batch of J families in his ref grp to begin the Northward residential shift out of the downtown core.  
Lives currently w/ his wife in suburbia, a popular destination for J families keen to reside in large, relatively affordable homes. Chinese and Italian Canadians also congregate in this area. | Dad came over from Russia at age 9 to TO (his dad left earlier when he was a baby, settling in TO in 1913). When he had enough money, 9yrs later, he sent for the family.  
B’s mum came from Poland to TO as a ch. His mum died when B was 18. He has 2 bros 53 and 50. | War baby, W/ relatives in Auschwitz camp, from age 3 B was made well aware: “They’re killing the Js, our people, they’re killing our fam”. Conscious of “being dif” and shielding himself from “Jew boy” insults by sticking w/ Js. Gathers socially to play poker, talk stocks, eat w/ coethnics | Married to his Jewish “childhood sweetheart” whom he met at a Bnai Brith social dance at age 15 and tied the knot at age 20. | Occup - Self-employed designer and manufacturer.  
Dad was a college-ed electrician.  
Proprietor of Electrical contracting co and real estate holdings.  
Mum died when she was young was a homemaker and Bell tel operator, and earned 2 yrs of high sch. |
| 6. Stacey Plaut | 56  | G2/1/2Toronto born J  
While S considers | Mum born in TO. Dad came from Poland at age 22 with his 2 older sisters to escape  
Born during the war but did not have an awareness of its effects. A Holocaust | In-married at age 19 | Ed: High Sch grad  
Occ: Runs the admin end of a business she owns w/ her husband |
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<td>Winona Federman</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>Currently resides half the year in Florida and the other 6 months in a high J density area and principally J apt building (special Sabbath elevator).</td>
<td>Exp'd a period when job discrim against Js was rife. Discouraged from &quot;mixing with the goyim&quot;. Of her in-laws: &quot;His mother and father never really got along. They never divorced in those days, they should have&quot;. Storytelling style of senior Js involves sharing</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>Ed: graduated from high sch of commerce. Occ: Started working at 16. Typing envelopes and licking stamps in a &quot;boiler room&quot; until the non-J co got caught. W's 1&quot; husband was a pharmacist &quot;would have loved to be a doctor but couldn't afford to go through medicine&quot;. He was</td>
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<tr>
<td>Todd Plaut</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>G31/2 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>Does not identify herself with her Russian or Polish roots. Despite descending from several Js of Can Js on both sides, she likes to see herself as an American Jew.</td>
<td>Exp'd teens in the disco 70s. Lived on the &quot;wrong side of the [J] tracks&quot;. Felt her growing up yrs as being lonely times. &quot;I was a loner, serious and intense. I was weird. I had red hair. I was what they call a browser. I just never fit in, I was always off doing my own thing and not knowing that I was supposed to be doing their thing.&quot;</td>
<td>Divorced twice to J men. At present is dating a G31/2 Can Jewish man. Feels ease not having to explain her inherited J outsider complex, sociocultural expectations.</td>
<td>Ed: college and uni schooling. Occ: self-employment Parents: see above</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pauline Plaut</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>G31/2 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>Lived in different mixed Jewish areas in suburbs. Spent 4 years in US. Returned to TO after her 2nd marriage dissolved.</td>
<td>Exp'd teens in the flamboyant 1980s -conspicuous consumption. Socially invented consumerist signs and symbols became more effective and powerful vehicles for status group closure. Member of the post holocaust G.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Ed: college and uni schooling. Occ: self-employment Parents: see above</td>
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Being J both her religion and ethnicity, she feels alienated by J religious and class elitism. Still, she will conform to the visible structures like ritual circumcision but ascribes in her mind alternate, non-tradit meanings to these behaviors.

Pogroms. Her mum grew up downtown, fam owned a shoe store. S moved from Coll/Spadina area to Bath/Lawr area at age10.

Survivor member of the fam had come over when she was 3 yrs old and she did not have the repertoire to deal with his exp. Reared among sec Canadian Js.

Father's Occ: owned a kosher butcher shop.
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<td>10. Michael Federman</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>&quot;The hse I grew up, we just got electricity&quot;. Reared in an Orth home near McCaul synag. Guest rabbis would live at their place.</td>
<td>pride in kin's achievements, earned status.</td>
<td>Married at 25, a woman who grew up in a small ON town (identical twin). See Harry and Lori Fine's profiles. M's wife's TO born J parents, for insight into his wife's background.</td>
<td>&quot;always fearful of not having enough; he would always cry poor to me&quot;. Dad- had a little cigar store. &quot;he used to give credit, he couldn't write English, he has his own method&quot;.</td>
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<td>11. Isaac Federman</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>Grew up on the &quot;fringe of the village&quot;, 5 mins from the Conserv synag and went obligingly to synag for &quot;the basic hols&quot; my faith wanted me to be. Beside him and it wouldn't look nice if I didn't go. Currently lives with his wife as empty nesters in a North York area.</td>
<td>Canadianized Jewish parents. &quot;My brother and I talk to my mother daily even when she is in Florida&quot;. 1 bro, 3 daughters, one son. I accessed the F' am thru M's son.</td>
<td>We lived in probably the least expensive hse in the village but it had status in that it just sneaked into FH jurisdiction, enabling them to attend FH school. &quot;You always said to others you lived in FH, not exactly where&quot;. For J kids who lived outside of FH, they were hungrier and strived more. For M like other FH kids &quot;there was a bit of complacency there&quot;</td>
<td>Married 25, a J woman who grew up in a small ON town (identical twin). See Harry and Lori Fine's profiles. M's wife's TO born J parents, for insight into his wife's background.</td>
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<td>12. Karla Weisman</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>G2/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Grew up in an area where &quot;there were no J kids, I didn't meet any J kids, didn't&quot;</td>
<td>Raised by a Polish religious J mum and a gregarious NY-born dad. K's dad's 1st wife died in a flu epidemic after WWI, left with 3 little babies living in TO. Wife's parents sent over another daughter.</td>
<td>Heralds &quot;open-mindedness&quot; as distinguishing her from her J peers. Underscores &quot;worldly, flexible and practical&quot;. At 7 when N of Lawrence was mostly farmers' fields, K's family</td>
<td>Married to a fellow G2 TO J peer.</td>
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<td>13. Robbie Weisman</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>G21/4 Toronto born J</td>
<td>have J friends until I was 15 or 16. Marital life: “We didn’t live the segregated, the ghettotized life”. Currently lives w/ her husb in an elegant condo in the heart of the high priced living area of downtown. The building is 60% J. who he married and w/ whom he had K. Over 10 years age dif w/ other siblings. moved when very few Js had begun to do so. Job discrim agst Js was blatant esp during the war yrs,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>changed the direction entirely of her life course.</td>
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<td>R’s mum came from Poland to a small ON town when she was 10 (3 girls were born in Poland, 3 born in a small town in ON). R’s dad came from Poland to TO as a child.</td>
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<td>K’s father: self-employed business.</td>
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<td>14. Bonnie Weisman</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>G31/4 Toronto born J.</td>
<td>Toronto Jewish socialization &quot;It’s just a part of my being, I’ve never been terribly religious. The only thing that has changed a bit for me is my perception of life and of J people&quot;. JI: “It’s more of a tradition, it’s part of the upbringing”. Valuation of the “high life”. Conformed as she suggested to sociocultural expectations by marrying a J professional, living in the “right” area, sending her kids to the “right” (i.e., u-class J) camps, sch, vacations, shopping and socializing in the “right” spots.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Divorced her J husband 9 yrs ago. She intermarried a non-Jewish coworker</td>
<td>Occ- taken over her parents’ business with her current husb who worked as an employee at her parents’ operation for 23 years. Ed-BA (social sciences) Raised w/ bourgeois tastes like drinking wine w/ meals, eating steaks rare and travelling. Her 2nd husb has w-c roots yet shares the cultural values in which she was raised.</td>
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<td>Suzy Segal (Weisman)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G4 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Grew up in a high SES, J area. Currently lives w/ her husband in a condo in what she estimates as being a half J, half Italian area. &quot;In my observation, the Js sort of click together and they stay together in groups and perhaps becaue of the history of persecution of Js, and they sort of clung together for security or familiarity&quot;. Parents born in Poland. Dad lived for at least 13 yrs outside of Poland, including a brief stint in Portugal and over 12 yrs in Rio. The Fs visited the remaining relatives in Rio in 1970. The Fs have 2 daughters (twins) and a son. The 2 daughters married J men and the son is divorced from a non-J woman w/ whom he had 3 ch. H's father was a fighter in the Christie Pitts riots. Storytelling style of those in their senior years recount the geography of downtown Toronto during the period. Earliest memories of TO tied to their J self-concept. Wintered for 20yrs in Fl until health ailments prevent them travelling. Every Sat night the Fs play a penny game with a few J couples. H's father was a fighter in the Christie Pitts riots. Storytelling style of those in their senior years recount the geography of downtown Toronto during the period. Earliest memories of TO tied to their J self-concept. Wintered for 20yrs in Fl until health ailments prevent them travelling. Every Sat night the Fs play a penny game with a few J couples.</td>
<td>Married for 2 years to a Calgary born J. Husb's dad died when he was 16. His mum and her parents were Sask Js while his dad was born in Fr and his grandpa survived WWII hiding out in Fr. Recently his mum married again to a non-J man</td>
<td>Ed- MA degree Occ-Market research</td>
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<td>Harry Fine</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Grew up in TO and married life took him to a small city outside TO: 'I hated TO, I had a job in TO and the smell of the streetcar to work every day was voracious. I analyze a lot and I used to say 'God this isn't living.' In his marital years, H started with his wife a family in a small ON city. Currently lives w/ his wife in a condo within close proximity to J services and people, including their twin daughters, grandch and great-grandch.</td>
<td>H's father was a fighter in the Christie Pitts riots. Storytelling style of those in their senior years recount the geography of downtown Toronto during the period. Earliest memories of TO tied to their J self-concept. Wintered for 20yrs in Fl until health ailments prevent them travelling. Every Sat night the Fs play a penny game with a few J couples.</td>
<td>Married a co-ethnic at the start of the war. Met in their teens. Married 59 yrs. &quot;The day we got married at 12 o'clock my mother got a telegram they had murdered my grandparents and a sister. And she wasn't going to the wedding, but the rabbi came and explained to her this is pre-ordained, you've got to go. So, that's the wedding gift the Nazis gave us&quot;.</td>
<td>Occ- retired from the scrap yard business. Moved to an ON city 2 hrs drive from TO in his marital years for occupational motives.</td>
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<td>17. Lori Fine</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Visited relatives but didn't live in the downtown J hubbub. Went to a sch where all the kids were non-J, mostly Italians.</td>
<td>“We're first J and then Canadian” Russian J starting points. Her dad came 1st to NY. Her parents came from the same Russian town but did not officially meet until TO where they married.</td>
<td>Married a fellow TO Jew</td>
<td>Lori's father had a paint shop, L's Ed: commercial schooling, Occ: Homemaker</td>
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<td>18. Rebecca Weinrib</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>G2 Mtl born J</td>
<td>Grew up in a J area. Her parents had only J friends but were friendly w/ the few non-J families on the str. Currently lives alone in a mostly J occupied building. Suffers from health ailments and is battling depression and loneliness. Both daughters and her 2 grandch reside in TO. Comes from a long line of card players and plays bridge on Sat nights w/ a group of senior citizens in the apt building.</td>
<td>R's mat grandpa came over to Can 1st from Poland until he had &quot;saved up money&quot; to bring his wife and ch out. Reprod her mother's &quot;demanding, high strung, very critical&quot; character.</td>
<td>Waited 7 yrs to have her 1st child bec she &quot;decided that there was no way I was going to be a war widow w/ a child if that was to happen&quot;. &quot;There was no such thing as like steady boyfriends in those days and if we had a party or anything everybody invited everybody and that was that&quot;. R did not remarrry bec she finds J men in their 60s &quot;want young chicks&quot;, &quot;someone to pick out their ties, take care of them, and insist that you give up your own interests&quot;.</td>
<td>Widowed after 35 years of marriage. She met her husband at an ice cream parlour, a hang out at the time for young Jews. Married in 1941 before her husb was sent to army service.</td>
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<td>19. Hilda Weinrib</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>G3 Montreal born J</td>
<td>Currently lives in a J area on an &quot;all non-Jewish street&quot;.</td>
<td>Canadian-born J parents. East European J roots Identifies &quot;strongly as a woman, then as a Jew and as an afterthought as a Canadian, I'm not a nationalist but I recognize that I live in a good country&quot;. Self-identifies as &quot;one of the</td>
<td>Experienced her 20s in a period of progressive thinking, ideological change. Resists the &quot;brainwashing&quot; of advertising media. &quot;have not watched TV over 20yrs, don't listen to commercial radio, don't buy magazines&quot;.</td>
<td>Widowed as a young woman to a G2 Jewish man</td>
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<td>20. Linda Weinrib-Pinsker</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>G3 Montreal born J</td>
<td>EE J roots. Borders were so fluid. While L feels her pat ancestry as Austrian, the next yr ancestral ties could be identified as Polish. Thinks of herself as a Canadian Jew.</td>
<td>Always felt on the periphery of and &quot;never really accepted into&quot; the J comm &quot;bec we were poor&quot; until her 40s—she had 2 sch age children—and lived in Toronto. Pt of the baby boomer G striving to &quot;find herself&quot; and fulfill her spiritual needs. Adult bats mitzvah at age 50.</td>
<td>Married to a J man born in Mtl.</td>
<td>Ed: graduated from nursing college (self-defined as &quot;not the book smart one, I am the street smart one&quot;). Occ: Holistic practioner. (Taught kindergym for 2 yrs at the JCC; a certified fitness instructor. Has been a bouncer, a clown and a nurse). Low-middle income yet warmhearted, generous and giving of her spirit.</td>
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<td>21. Lionel Pinsker</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>G21/2 Montreal born J</td>
<td>Dad came from Poland right after the war. His mum was born here and her parents came from Lithuania. Dad's family was killed during the war, &quot;not a whole lot of genealogy&quot; Sees himself as a J Canadian — J comes 1st. For L, being J is &quot;mostly a matter of ethnicity&quot;.</td>
<td>&quot;The people who form the organized J comm are to a v extent those who can afford to. It is influenced by the size of your cheque book&quot;. He thinks that intentionally banding together w/ &quot;one's own&quot; does a big disservice and creates more probs. Can't educate tolerance.</td>
<td>Married to a fellow Can J woman. Met Linda thru a roommate during uni. Short courtship before getting married.</td>
<td>Ed: Bachelor of Commerce Occ: property management, financing work. Suggests doing better than his dad who wked as a furrier, garment industry. Mum: homemaker- &quot;My father had this thing that she had to cook and clean even though she wanted to work. She was trapped by her own mentality&quot;. Low-middle income household</td>
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<td>22. Jerry Pinsker</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>G31/2Toronto born J</td>
<td>Several Gs of Can Js. Aware of his EE J roots. Being J: &quot;it's a part of me&quot;, something more nebulous and difficult to verbalize; &quot;It's roots to look back on and a sacred history that is part of your history&quot;.</td>
<td>Growing up in a climate when youth increasingly find going to synag boring, when multiethnic friendships do not mean a loss of JI or that mixing means that you will not want to continue TJRO. Reared in a context that is anti-prejudice, appre cultures ,ethnic pride, etc.</td>
<td>Dates seriously for 2 yrs a G2 Japanese Can girlfriend he met at a dragonboat racing event. J's mother loves his girlfriend and is Ok w/ intermix except she'd like whoever it is she'd hope they convert but if wasn't going to be she'd &quot;be accepting&quot;</td>
<td>Ed- graduated from high school. Taking a yr off for a volunteer cross-cultural experience in Guyana Parents: see above</td>
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<td>23. Jack Gold</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>G11/2 England born J</td>
<td>Immigrated w/ his parents to TO in his youth. Despite experiencing the Canadian sch system, Jack is a self-proclaimed “British-filr”, rating Brit culture, movies, books and music as superior to NA products. Strongly attached to his Jud and is consistent on J ritual adherence.</td>
<td>&quot;Well it's just like John Porter said in his book, you know in Canada distinction is based on money&quot; J and his wife have felt excluded on the basis of class position within the J comm.</td>
<td>Endogamous married status.</td>
<td>Occ- a couple of yrs as a Cantor. Now wks as a supply public sch teacher. Ed- B of Ed (received cantorial training) J's dad had a long list of failed enterprises and defies, like many, the stereotype of J's being good at business. J's fam had to come to TO b/c his dad went bankrupt. Recalls as a boy being evicted and kicking the bailiffs shins.</td>
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<td>24. Sheila Gold</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Parents lived w/ mat grandma for the 1st 3 yrs of S's life and next 3 yrs w/ her paternal grandpa bec her grandma had died quite young. Affording one's home was difficult and necessitated extended households. Moved up N into a non-J area when S was 10. Social life was family life for her parents as each came from a family of 5 siblings. Parents grew up in TO. Mum's family came from Pol when she was a little girl. Her mum &quot;identified more as a Can than Polish&quot;. Her mat grandpa: a baker; grandma a chickenplucker. Her dad's parents originally came from Russia (pat grandf: fruit peddler). While her pat grandma died when S's dad was about 13, her anti-religious stance was effectively instilled in the 5 offspring. Internalized a heightened sensitivity to Anti-semitism (inherited a &quot;ghetto complex&quot; Growing up in a largely non-J area where she was 1 of 3 other Js in her class even if &quot;we did find each other&quot;. But she always felt an &quot;outsider, the odd one out&quot; and not accepted in J social circles as she was far moved from the J 'movers and shakers' of FH. 2 of her closest friends are non-J.</td>
<td>Married 28 years to her J husband. &quot;Growing up my dad always said that I should always avoid dating non-Jewish boys&quot;.</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Occ- works in an admin capacity at a National Dance school. Ed: BA S's mother: caretaker S's father: a taxi driver. The taxi was their family car.</td>
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<td>25. Aaron Gold</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>G31/2Toronto born J</td>
<td>Moving out of his parental home to a city 2hrs outside TO to take up his position as cantor. J Canadian ties w/ a recognition of Brit and EE J ancestry. Pat grandpa died when he was 6 and he recalls going to synag w/ them and staying over for the Sabbath. Feels &quot;nil connection to London&quot;. Dated on the sly for fear of parental concern mostly non-J girls because he felt judged and alienated on material terms by the Jewish women. Well versed in the synagogue politics of the day.</td>
<td>Unmarried, plans to marry a J woman and many of his new congregants are on the match-making mission.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Occ-Cantor for a Conserv synag 2 hrs outside of TO. &quot;continued in his father's footsteps&quot;. Ed- BA and cantorial training Parents: See above</td>
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| 26. Josh Gold | 19  | G31/2Toronto born J | Lives at home w/ his parents in a high J Minimal attach't to immigrant ancestries. "I really don't have much connection with London, I feel more Indifference and apathy in his cohort. I feels that there is "a lack of faith within J youth. For them, religion is Single "I think that what and how much I would do [in terms of Ed-recently enrolled journalism at Uni Parents- "they are a bit pushy with the religion side. I also reject their anxiety
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<td>27. Tabitha Shwartz</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives w/ her husband and daughter in an expansive home in a rural area on the outskirts of TO. Update: w/ a 2nd baby on the way they are moving into a new home within TO (i.e., a suburban area popular with many young J families) closer to her parents.</td>
<td>TO-born J parents who came from dif social class backgrounds. Pat grandpa came over from UK when he was 5. Pat grandma, a famous piano accompanist (her father: cantor) came from Russia.</td>
<td>T feels &quot;pride about being J when thinking about Jews' successes in spite of the discrimination that they have risen above where other groups who have also faced barriers have not demonstrated such gains&quot;. Attuned to these hardships from the job discrimination stories told by her grandparents.</td>
<td>Married at age 24 her G3 TO J high school sweet-heart (shares her atheistic J orientation).</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Simon Shwartz</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives w/ a J roommate, an old friend from Hebrew sch, in a mixed J area. Growing up: The immediate vicinity where he lived in his younger years was non-Jewish. Grade 10 he moved into a &quot;Jewish dominated school&quot;: &quot;I was so different from the typical J person that wore preppy polo shirts and had short hair.&quot;</td>
<td>He knows &quot;little or nothing&quot; about his ancestral history except that both his grandpas came from England and 1 grandma was born in Russia and moved all over Europe before it was during the war. Minimal contact with mat grandpa due to breach of contract for 10yrs.</td>
<td>Inculturated to NA J culture where money, clothes, work and spectator sports dictate and unify his group of closest J male friends. Pt of a burgeoning J social trend of golfing (business sport). Plays hockey weekly with a group of longtime J friends.</td>
<td>Dating seriously for 2 yrs an Italian Catholic woman who only recently has been included in Fri night dinner ritual.</td>
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<td>39. Louise Shwartz</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives in J suburbia (the last of 4) See above. Dad's parents passed down an axis on achieve, mat success, status, security. Shwartz parents are</td>
<td>While the Shwartz parents are not enamoured w/ the idea of internarr, they are more accepting bec they</td>
<td>Failed engagement w/ a G3 TO J. Currently dating a non-J man after some</td>
<td>Ed: BA Occ: pt nanny aspiring to be a Shamanic therapist. She also dabbles in astrology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norman Neinstein</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Montreal born J</td>
<td>Grew up in a poor mixed area in Mtl. Now resides w/ his wife and return to the nest daughter and her daughter in a three storeyed home in the FH area (3 Gs in one household). Parents both immigrated just after WWI. Dad came with another bro to Mtrl, the 3rd to NY. Mat grandma: stuck w/ 4 ch in Russia while no money was getting thru, turned to bootlegging to survive. After the war-reunited.</td>
<td>Our G was not as exasperated financially compared to the younger G who have unrealistic expectations based on the education levels you have, and the expectations will not be achievable whereas I think I have surpassed many of my expectations.</td>
<td>Endogamous.</td>
<td>O-retired chemical engineer</td>
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<td>Marilyn Neinstein</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Montreal born J</td>
<td>The N family “moved around a lot and we were the 1st J friends of many people and many people changed their perceptions of Js as a result. We dispelled myths that we have horns, we're all rich...” “My parents are Canadian born so it's like a step away while N's parents many times felt to me like my grandparents not my in-laws and they were only 7 yrs older than my parents, but there was a whole different generation”. Parents born in Can. Dad's parents came from Russia at the end of the 1800s because of the pogroms. Grandf: a cobbler. Mum's parents also came at the end of the century from Latvia. Mum's father was a travelling salesman in the &quot;sbatte biz, rugdealers&quot;. Mat grandmother (2nd wife).</td>
<td>12 yrs dif between herself and her sis who grew up in the 60s, “the sexual revolution” while M grew up in the conserv, familistic 50s. 60-70% of M's friends on the street growing up were J.</td>
<td>Married a fellow Mtrl J. At age 15 wanted to be set up w/ a McGill man as she felt &quot;mature and ready for the finer things in life&quot; and her husband, 17 yrs old at the time, a 1st year uni student was the set up.</td>
<td>Father &quot;wasn't rich, he was a pantsmaker&quot; (garment industry) M's Occ: ft homemaker. Loves being &quot;a bubbie&quot;; &quot;it's just the best, skip being a mother and goes straight to being a grandmother&quot;</td>
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<td>32. Nora Neinstein</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>G31/2 Ontario born J</td>
<td>Jewish ancestry. “I think that the older you get the more tied you get to your roots” Doesn’t feel any emotional connection to Old country (E.E.). As for her grandp, she spent more time w/ her mother’s parents “bc they were more hip, my dad’s parents were more old school, you know plastic on the furniture, spoke Yiddish and English”. Moving to TO in high sch yrs was alienating as she dressed and acted differently than her J peers. Went to a clique school and “this was my 1” exposure to that many Jewish people coming from a city w/ only 35 Jewish families”. Befriended the few nonJ people in the school. “The Jews really irritated me. I found them very Jappy. I found them phony.”</td>
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<td>33. Flora Neinstein</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>G31/2 Ontario born J</td>
<td>EEJ roots: “Being J is who I am”. Sees herself as “a Canadian J, J 1”,then Canadian”. She feels more religious than cultural because of social differentiation from within.</td>
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<td>34. Susan Balinsky</td>
<td>70s</td>
<td>G2 Ontario born J (small town with only 2 other J families) where she lived until 17. The Balinskys live in a J building in a high density J area close to synagogues, J schools, butchers, dairy restaurants, etc</td>
<td>Ashkenasic Jewish background.</td>
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<td>Joseph Balisky</td>
<td>70s</td>
<td>G2 Toronto Jew</td>
<td>Came w/ his parents from Poland as a little boy.</td>
<td>In-married</td>
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<td>Gordon Balisky</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Jewish roots</td>
<td>Daring seriously a J woman.</td>
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| Harvey Snow   | 54  | G2 Toronto born J   | Mum: England born J (her sister and mother also came over from England). Father: born in Russia.  
  "English side was totally secular and the Russian side was very Ashkenasic." While H  
  did have a bar mitzvah, his 2 bros did not and to this day  
  can't read Hebrew.  
  Lives currently in a large home in an u-c area | In-married.  
  Unpopular with the girls growing up, H had better success  
  when he enrolled in dentistry and had 'new potential'.  
  Parents died when he was 20. His mother's early death  
  "propelled" him into marriage. |
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<td>38. Gail Snow</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Returned to the family nest, an exquisite home in an upper class enclave. Parents never spoiled the Snow offspring; they all had to pay for their post-secondary schooling and always had to have summer jobs. Know little about father's side because they had already passed away. Mother's parents lived in a city 2hrs outside Toronto and her grandpa gave more attention to their uncle. Jewish ancestry is emphasized in the Snow household.</td>
<td>Gail is part of the trend of individuals seeking meaning and personal connection in an increasingly impersonal and harried world. Attracted to New Age influence. Growing up she felt outside the &quot;Jappy&quot; element in her orbit, seeing many as: &quot;obnoxious, self-absorbed, condescending&quot;.</td>
<td>Unmarried. Dating a J man that her parents disapprove of because of his economic instability.</td>
<td>Ed: BSc degree. Currently a f-t naturopathic student. Parents did not understand this occupational choice at 1st, couldn't understand why she could not just be a doctor. Mother in particular felt she had to rationalize her daughter's choice to her peers. Occ- wks p-t as a fitness instructor at the JCC. Update: Opened up her own holistic business.</td>
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<td>39. Doris Snow</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>&quot;You learn from your parents to not settle for anything less than you already have. People expect a certain lifestyle. If they've grown up w/ it, they want to keep the lifestyle they are accustomed to&quot;. &quot;I've never asked questions about the past. It is v unfortunate now that our mother's dad is dead cause he could have told us so many amazing stories about his immigrant here and what it was like in Poland&quot;</td>
<td>At least 2 Gs post-holocaust. Internalized the anti-exog norms of her orbital comm. D imagines a future household where she would have 2 sets of dishes, kosher kitchen, send the kids to Hebrew school or some sort of school like Associated and CHAT.</td>
<td>It is v imp't for both sisters that they marry J men as they would like to continue the J traditions, dietary laws. Update: Is engaged to marry a Maritime Jewish businessman</td>
<td>Ed: Masters of nutrition student Update Occ: Nutritionist Parents occupation see above</td>
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<td>40. Vivien Marky</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>G21/4 Winnipeg J</td>
<td>EE Jewish roots. Mum: born in Russia but came w/ her family to Can at age 12. Mat grandpa was a manager of a fruit farm but &quot;never actually obtained any satisfying wk&quot; in Can. Sees her mat grandpa as Russian immigrant. Parents separated when she was 5 years old. Little contact w/ her dad's side.</td>
<td>Grew up &quot;feeling different&quot; due to her nontradit, for the times, family of origin structure. Born in the Depression era, 9 years old during the onset of WWII— &quot;I was always somewhat fearful of being Jewish&quot;. For V's cohort, pre-marital sexual relations were stigmatized.</td>
<td>Married a fellow J Winnipeger.</td>
<td>Ed: nursing. The only area she enjoyed was psychiatric nursing because she &quot;wasn't good w/ her hands but I was good at the intellectual type work&quot;. V's Occ- retired psychiatric nurse. Lived growing up in official poverty but had rich support systems. V's mother had ltd ed. V's father was a furrier. V's mother's family visited Argentina and England 1st before deciding on Canada.</td>
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1 It is important to note that although families are divided here according to endogamous and intermarried parentage there are a number of families in the sample like the endogamous Marky, Lebowitz, Silverstein and Baker parents for instance who have offspring who are intermarried as well as intermarried parents (e.g., Valdez, Fischer, Singer) whose offspring have married Jews.
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<td>41. Nancy Silverstein</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>N's mother: born in Poland, 1 of 7 other siblings. Immigrated in her late teens w/ 1 brother, fresh w/ memories of pogroms, settling 1st in a small town outside of Toronto (v few Jews) bc of a cousin (tailor). Her father came to TO also in his late teens from a small Russian town near Odessa classified today as pt of the Укр on a whim w/ his step-bro.</td>
<td>Cohort of Jews reared with socialist secular humanist Jewish ideals. Versed in the Jewish Labor movement ideals. Axis placed in N's childhood home on the arts (music, theatre and dance), a value transferred across both N's and her spouse's family.</td>
<td>Married fellow active humanistic, socialist leaning Jew. She knew he was &quot;the one&quot; when she realized she &quot;could spend the whole day with this person&quot;.</td>
<td>N's Ed-not being able to afford university schooling she went to commercial school to attain a &quot;practical vocation&quot;(secretarial skills), Occ-secretary. N's father was an unhappily employed factory worker in the garment industry. Uncredentialed and hampered by an unequal opportunity stereotype penalizing immigrants and overt e discrimination agst Js, N's dad remained stuck in a dissatisfying, dehumanizing factory work situation. N's dad suffered much of his adult life w/ depression, dying 14 years after his wife at age 97.</td>
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<td>42. Murray Silverstein</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Ashkenasic Jewish background. Parents died when Murray was a young child, and the 7 surviving offspring raised each other in TO. Art, music, singing, and acting appear to be &quot;in the family&quot;.</td>
<td>Both Murray and Nancy travelled in J leftist non-religious circles. Anti-Semitic climate where &quot;no Jews, blacks or dogs allowed&quot; signs and ec discrim against Js were common-place. Until 1989 Russia like Israel had been an 'imagined community' for Jewish socialists. &quot;warmly welcomed in a synagogue&quot; on a visit to Russia. Agst &quot;religious fanaticism&quot;.</td>
<td>Married fellow J socialist he met on a blind date.</td>
<td>Ed-had to drop out of high school to work. Occ-first owned a 2nd hand clothing store. M and his brother had to close up shop when the govt appropriated the property and tore the building down in which they were housed. After another failed joint venture w/ his bro, M and his bro parted ways on poor terms. M acquired a stable secure job as a Toronto Liquor store (LCBO) employee and remained in this position until retirement.</td>
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<td>43. Kurt Rosenthal</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>G2 Toronto J</td>
<td>The higher the level of schooling, he &quot;couldn't afford to miss that much and so the less observant [he] became&quot;. K always had questions with the rules but &quot;coming from an</td>
<td>Viennese Jewish roots. K steers me toward the movie 'Exodus' as encapsulating the migratory stories of his parents who succeeded in making the passage out of Vienna to Palestine. Both K's and M's parents are Orth, went to Orth services, kept kosher, kept all the hols.</td>
<td>K's cohort exp'd predominantly J, 90% J social relations. Attending a high J density sch made it &quot;easy and natural&quot; to date coethnics bec &quot;there were so many Js to pick from&quot;. Ed is #1. Realities of small town J living: I always felt that if you were an outsider, you were a 2nd class citizen.</td>
<td>Met his J wife at 16, a week before entering grade 13 in a local Cole's bookstore. K describes his wife's personality as being v forthright, honest and blunt. Clashed w/ his mother who</td>
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<td><strong>Orthodox background you just don't question</strong>.</td>
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<td>K's parents always had &quot;disparaging views of the Ref movement&quot;.</td>
<td>was also the same.</td>
<td>because of business and mother when she went out and did the shopping and interacted w/ K's teachers.</td>
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| **Marianne Rosenthal** | 53 | G2 Toronto born J. Lived for some time in her marital years in a small Ontario city 3hrs outside TO. Have been living for the past 11 years in suburbia popular with J and Ch families keen to have large sized homes at lower costs. Finds where she lives a young area and wishes that there were more of her contemporaries living closer by. She doesn't have young kids anymore which often becomes a source of connecting w/ other parents. | Dad came from Poland well before the war and her mum is a Holocaust survivor who "got out of Poland just in time but she lost her parents in the Holocaust". Both of her parents came from large families and are the youngest child of both families (8 siblings in each). | Born in 1943, just near the end of the war when her mother found out that she had lost her parents and it was very difficult and depressing for her. M grew up in high J density areas, went to shul every "Shabbos" and M and her 3 siblings were raised "frum"—observer of the Jewish laws. Mother—daughter clash came from the effects of losing her parents (survivor's guilt), and living in a home w/ her brothers' wives who "put her down." | As was customary for the times, M married her J hub young. In our current ethos M admits, "I have always regretted that I was never on my own to learn to rely on myself and self-confidence because I went from my parents' home that I lived in all the time to a married home." | Occ-librarian for a private company
Ed-Masters of librarian Science
M's father started out as a door-to-door salesman for dry goods. Then their mother started up a busin w/ buying hses and renting out the rooms. Dad's side, relations were strained bc M's mum was more educated. Her mum finished high sch which for the time was v unusual and her father was v learned in Yiddishkeit. For a woman to have such knowledge was rare and discouraged especially in traditional Orth circles. M's dad was physically absent because of his work. |
| **Erica Rosenthal** | 27 | G3 Ontario born J. She spent her childhood years in a small ON city; her dad was located there for business. At the time of interview, returned for a couple of years to her parents' TO home for cost-saving reasons. Update: spent some time in Europe in fitness related work | Jewish roots. Rejects labels. Being J is pt of her latent self-concept but does not pervade daily thinking. Know of fam history; mum's father came 1st from Poland and met his Polish J wife in 1920s. Pat side came 1948 from Israel. For E, her JJ lies not so much in what she does but who she is: "it is part of who I am". | Axis on fashion, consumerism and defining who you are through what you wear. Choice, freedom of exp, hedonism are what fuels E's view to life. Exp'd her teens in the excessive 80s. Rejects the "lazer", exclusive lifestyle of her parents and places emphasis on her social life, dances weekly at latin dance clubs. | Single, Serial dater of Hispanic men she meets in Latin dance clubs. E is absorbed by Latin fever, going so far as to learn the language and travels to the Caribbean. | Occ-freelance aerobics instructor
Ed-BA
Going to a party-oriented university away from home expanded Erica's social world—interethic friendships.
Parents: see above. |
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<td>46. Faye Stern</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Faye and her husb live in a new hse in an upper m-c area.</td>
<td>Both parents were born in Germany right after WWII. Mum came at age 3 to Can</td>
<td>1st marriage was to a coethnic when she was 23 and ended 3 yrs later.</td>
<td>Occ- works in the advertising business. Her boss is a Jewish man. Ed-college educated.</td>
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<td>Mum came at age 3 to Can via Russia. Dad went from Germany to Switzerland to</td>
<td>2nd marriage to a J Canadian man who she says &quot;treats me like I am made of gold&quot; Talks of her current husband Saul as being her &quot;haberter&quot;, soulmate.</td>
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<td>Israel and came to Can when he was 10. Her parents met in Mtrl where they lived</td>
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<td>most of their lives. F's dad belonged to the Masons and a longtime member of</td>
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<td>a J lodge</td>
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<td>Perceived ingroup religious and social divisiveness. Grew up in the 70s, 80s in</td>
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<td>a high J density area, colloquially known as &quot;the Manor&quot; where she went to J b'd</td>
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<td>day parties and bar/that mitzvah ceremonies&quot;. Even when she hung out w/ Ital and</td>
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<td>unaffiliated friends, she was never rebellious against [her] Judaism. Always</td>
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<td>had mostly J friends and was v involved with Bnai Brith.</td>
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<td>47. Lou Wise</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>G3 Ottawa born J</td>
<td>Grew up in a high J density context, always went to J summer camps. Helped out w/</td>
<td>Parents were born in Mtrl. Pat ancestry: Pat grandpa a tailor came w/ his wife</td>
<td>In-married Both marriages were w/ Jews. L's 1st wife married 14 yrs (2 boys, 1</td>
<td>Occ- works in the advertising business. L's dental practice is &quot;totally in a non-Jewish community&quot;. People do not think he looks Jewish but he &quot;talk[s] about [his] Judaism to many people&quot;.</td>
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<td>religious services a couple of summers during his teens.</td>
<td>to Mtrl from Poland. My grandfather went to shul every Sabbath and the</td>
<td>daughter). L's 2nd wife Rona married now 16 yrs. They met on a blind date.</td>
<td>Occ-dentist (&quot;you're your own boss&quot;), &quot;I picked dentistry because I knew I could spend more time w/ my family. Little did I know that 14 yrs later it would fall apart&quot;.</td>
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<td>synagogue was v impr to him.</td>
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<td>Mum's family: some came from Germany and others from Poland. Maternal</td>
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<td>grandparents &quot;turned a lot of them off&quot; religion because they were very difficult people&quot;. For L, losing his</td>
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<td>mother at 18 revitalized his personal desire &quot;to find out more about Judaism&quot;.</td>
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<td>War baby. J grp expectations: &quot;go to university, to succeed, get a profession,</td>
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<td>to succeed, get a business, whatever endeavor is out there&quot;. &quot;To rise from a</td>
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<td>minority it has always been the basis that we have to succeed. So, we are</td>
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<td>catapulted into an 'A type personality', neurotic, driven and obsessed that we might never have been. My father always used to say if you came home and got 80% he'd say where's the other 20%. L grew up in a</td>
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<td>personal desire &quot;to find out more about Judaism&quot;.</td>
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| 48. Rona Wise     | 56  | G3 Toronto born J    | From age 12 onwards she has always lived in an area where there are other Js. A  | War baby. Anglo-conformist and anti-Semitic climate particularly in her     | In-married 2nd marriage is also w/ a Canadian Jew. 1 daughter and son from her | Occ-travel agent Ed: finished high school.  
| (Feld)            |     |                      | conseq of her mum's remarriage was that instead of attending the Ref synag in an   | childhood years (mid 50s in a "WASPy, nouveau riche area"). Moved to a     | 1st marriage. Daughter is married to an Israeli man and they have 2 children.  
|                   |     |                      | upper m-c area, they attended the Conserv synag. Currently lives w/ her husband    | high J density area and sch for grade 8 and "felt like I belonged. I fit     | See her son's profile below.                                                  | Her maternal grandfather had a       |
|                   |     |                      | and on-off her son in a 4 storey home in a upper m-c J enclave.                  | right in immediately." For R, being J "is a way of life, I think it        |                                                                                  | convenience/grocery store downtown.  
<p>|                   |     |                      | Both sets of grandparents came from Russia at the turn of the century. R has     | provides some parameters on the type of person that you are. I'd like to      |                                                                                  | Thinks there is &quot;some kind of chemistry |
|                   |     |                      | ltd ancestral info bec her mother didn't know much about the past herself.      | think that although I'm not a religious Jew, I'm a good Jew&quot;.               |                                                                                  | that draws&quot; Jews to one another. &quot;A way |
|                   |     |                      | Since her dad has been deceased for 28yrs and she is &quot;left w/ a stepmother who   |                                                                              |                                                                                  | of speaking, a way of dressing, and   |
|                   |     |                      | hated me her whole life&quot;, feels &quot;an outsider in their family&quot;.                  |                                                                              |                                                                                  | typically the business and professional |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              |                                                                              |                                                                                  | background&quot;.                                                                       |
| 49. Martin Feld   | 30  | G31/2 Toronto born J | Lives due to financial pressures back home with his mother and step-dad. Update: | 2 Gs post-hol. Pt of a cohort that feels a sense of entitlement to societal   | Unmarried. Always attends J single dances, events, etc., in the hopes of     |                                      |
|                   |     |                      | moved on his home into a basement apt in a J woman's home.                      | rewards and privileges. M is pt of a subculture that likes to get something  | meeting someone compatible who also happened to be J.                        |                                      |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              | for nothing. He tries to exploit resources within the grp that may give     |                                                                                  |                                      |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              | him an edge in the self-employed business realm. Pressures of competition    |                                                                                  |                                      |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              | amongst his peers to achieve material stability.                            |                                                                                  |                                      |
| 50. Mitch Friedman| 41  | G3 Toronto born J    | Parents born in Toronto in 1923. Grandparents came from Poland and Russia. Ec   | Post-holocaust baby boom G. &quot;Zionist influence&quot;. &quot;My grandfather was a Labor  | Unmarried. Attends all Jewish liberal learning events, and continually         |                                      |
|                   |     |                      | push factors. There are 8 grandch in his mum's fam, 16 in his dad's.            | Zionist. So, that's where our Jewishness was more focused&quot;. M has embraced  | expands his social opportunities to meet a J woman.                           |                                      |
|                   |     |                      | &quot;Israel is my country and not my country, I &quot;I'm a Canadian Jew meaning I'm a   | an axis on &quot;learning&quot;, &quot;try to understand the bible; it's a way              |                                                                                  |                                      |
|                   |     |                      | 2nd:&quot;                                             |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              | of thinking&quot;.                                                               |                                                                                  |                                      |
|                   |     |                      |                                                                              |                                                                              |                                                                                  |                                      |
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<td>Orthodox doesn't mean they are necessarily religious. I just see myself as serious and Jewishly conscious.</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>G4 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Mat greatgrandparents came from Russia and dad's side from Poland. Mum's side lived in Hamilton and dad's side in TO. &quot;We all have a need to have a belonging to a certain group&quot;. &quot;I'm not really close w/ any of my family.&quot; &quot;You either fit in or you don't.&quot;</td>
<td>2 Gs post hol. Exp'd his teens in the materialist 80s. &quot;there was always labels on the clothing and the cars and being spoiled; I didn't have the 'polos' or get sent to 'white pine' camp&quot;. &quot;If somebody tells you enough times, you are going to believe it. It's drilled into your head&quot;.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Paternal grandfather: initially a Canadian meatpacker, but ended up working in the garment industry (owned a menswear store). Maternal grandfather: builder (construction business).</td>
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<td>Randall Buber</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>G4 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives alone in a high Jewish density area.</td>
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<td>&quot;If you feel you belong, you belong&quot;.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>G31/2 Mtrl born J</td>
<td>Mum's parents were Polish. His dad's parents were Mtrl born and their parents in turn came from Russia and Romania. &quot;I don't identify myself as Romanian, Russian or Polish, for me my roots are Jewish&quot;.</td>
<td>Post-Hol materialist G- M is pruned as a YUUJE, wine tasting and avid diner. Imbues J foods like krepplach, chicken soup w/ matzah balls, brisket and kishka w/ idealized images of the past. In J co M might tell &quot;an off color J joke or laugh at one but wouldn't in mixed company and I use yiddish words in J co.&quot;</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Occ: self-employed as a fitness product/personal training operator. He has been selling fitness equipment for 8yrs. Ed: college (fitness instruction)</td>
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<td>Mark Frank</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Mtrl born J Family moved to TO when he was 10.</td>
<td>At the time of the interview, M had temporarily moved in w/ his mother after 8 yrs away who was living in a downtown condo. Update: Has moved into a condo with his newly wed wife.</td>
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<td>54. Eitan Rosenberg</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>G21/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>EE J roots. Pat grandpa was a baker from Poland. E's mother grew up in Hungary in &quot;a generally assimilated family. Lost her family during the Hol. Came to Can in 1948 when she was 14 and an orphan, fostered into a Russian Orth J home.&quot;</td>
<td>A child of the 60s, Quest for meaning in alternative stres. For E, being active in creating attach'ts w/ vital Veg New Age persons is a priority. coined a concept of jud he calls 'Realities Judaism' (formerly New Age Judaism) Gathers periodically w/ like-minded Js to engage in phil discussions on J issues.</td>
<td>Unmarried. Wants to marry a Veg, ideally New Age, J woman.</td>
<td>Occ-psychotherapist and natural health sales. Former teacher for 10yrs. Ed-Masters degree in Counseling psychology, BA and Bed. Montessori schooling certificate. Parents were teachers. Stipend for foster kids was provided by JFCS.</td>
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<td>54. Alan Newman</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>G31/2TO born J</td>
<td>Pat origin: Poland Js Mat origin: Mum's parents are Can born, her dad in TO and mum in Cape Breton. Their parents came from EE. &quot;Anything before the 20th Century is patchy, they left Poland due to political persecution&quot;.</td>
<td>2Gs post-Holoc. Exp'd his teens in the materialistic 80s. Attuned to fitting in the 'right' sec J social circles. While his friend base is 50/50 J/non-J, he tends to form &quot;the strongest bonds&quot; w/ Jews &quot;because we have more in common, goals and understandings, and the world.&quot;</td>
<td>Unmarried. Grew up among other sec Js and would ultimately like to marry a fellow non-practicing J.</td>
<td>Ed: currently attending computer school. Didn't complete his BA in psych Occ: a former insurance agent. Mother: retired lawyer Father: businessman Maternal grandfather: garment industry.</td>
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<td>55. Stan Spielberg</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G2 came to Canada at age 3 from NY w/ his NY born J parents (all dad's friends growing up were J). His parents met at a resort in the Catskills. Lives with a uni friend (who is of mixed J parentage) in a downtown YUPPIE condo.</td>
<td>S's mum and dad are NY born. They came to Can for business reasons. S's mum's parents came from Germany shortly before the war. His dad's parents were born in America. His grandpa came from Russ. His widowed dad is now remarried. He is a Florida snowbird. &quot;I've this whole new extended family. It feels like the Brady bunch, we're all sudd mixed together.&quot;</td>
<td>2Gs postHolocaust Anti-org religion. Pt of a cohort who sees obligation and doing things out of respect not volition as an insincere commitment. Had no J friends up until his uni yrs. His closest friend is an &quot;assimilated&quot; Chinese Canadian who married an Italian woman.</td>
<td>Unmarried. Dates mostly non-Js. Even if he internmarries, he intends to pass on Jewish traditions, awareness of their roots.</td>
<td>Ed: Law degree O-lawyer &quot;Both my parents were very educated. They both have master degrees&quot;. Mum: teacher. Dad: businessman, exp'd work instability when the garment industry &quot;fell apart in Mtrl&quot;. Retired garment manuf in TO. Mat grandma in NY: cleaned houses; Mat grandpa in NY: made donuts. His sister teaches at a Hebrew school on Sundays. All her friends are J and she only dates J (&quot;I'm kind of the aberration in the family then&quot;). Dad's 2nd wife: travel agent.</td>
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<td>56. Anne Baker</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>G11/2 London born J</td>
<td>Viennese J ancestral roots. Reared in a climate where divorce was stigmatized and double sexual standards were sustained. Unlike A who acquired a socialist conset, her children could only exp this abstractly. Her sons' kibbutz experience and appreciation of J</td>
<td>Separated and widowed from her UK raised J husb she had met in the context of their shared socialist ideals during the unstable 30s.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oec-Eclectic career history including being a dress designer and teaching a college course in creativity. Currently practices healing touch and polarity. While her daughter went to Montessori w/ some other J kids, the boys had their elementary schooling in one room school.</td>
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<td>56. Jewish</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>G3 MrL born J</td>
<td>residential area. Her 2 sons and daughters (all intermarried) chose to remain on the rural outskirts of TO where they grew up.</td>
<td>history sensitized them to social equality concerns.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>houses where they were the only J</td>
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<td>Moved to TO when she was 9.</td>
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<td>57. Cindy Roth</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>G3 MrL born J</td>
<td>Shares a basement of a mixed J area with 2 other non-J roommates. On her bedroom door she has put up a colorful creatively designed mezuzah. C has a lot of symbolic J artifacts that she holds as &quot;special&quot;.</td>
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<td>Moved to TO when she was 9.</td>
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<td>58. Sam Berkowitz</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>G2 Toronto J.</td>
<td>&quot;Even if someone didn't look stereotypically like a Jew, I can tell Jewish people, I am good at identifying Jewish people&quot;.</td>
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<td>Moved to TO as a little boy from NY.</td>
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<td>Parents were acculturated in US.</td>
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<td>59. Tanya Smith</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Late generation Anglo-Canadian lapsed Catholic.</td>
<td>Several generations Canadian born. Original ancestors can be traced to Britain.</td>
<td>Choosing G and a shift in gender expectations. Despite her shared YUPPIE lifestyle with her husb (wine tasting, dining club, and classical music interests), she observes ethnic diff: lack of a 'do-it-yourself' mentality in J families. T grew up seeing and expecting dads to</td>
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<td>Grew up in a small Ontario town</td>
<td>Her mother passed away when T was in her teens and never got to see her marry.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage 2 years She is conscious of intercultural differences in her marital context.</td>
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**Socioeconomic Status**

- **Ed:** Ft BA university student 1st in her family to go to university. Her bro works in a manual job in an automotive company.
- **Occ:** insurance agent (met her husband through work).
- **Mother's Occ:** Secretary
- **Father's Occ:** Carpenter
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<td>60. Elisabeth</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>G6-five generations of Canadian born. &lt;br&gt;Entire family lives alone in a spacious, high rise apartment in a high J density area. E had taken up a &quot;wonderful hobby&quot; of exploring her family's genealogies: &quot;it was the history line that made me look into my family's history&quot;. Growing up, she lived in a house adjacent to her father's church - &quot;you were constantly under scrutiny&quot;.</td>
<td>Irish and English roots. The 1st immigrants on her father's side came to Canada from England in 1853. Mat ancestry-Ireland to Canada in 1798. Born into a large kin network of Presbyterians.</td>
<td>&quot;make repairs around the house, build a deck, make a book shelf&quot;.</td>
<td>Widowed &lt;br&gt;Got hitched in City Hall at 22 to a 32 yr old EE J man. Quickie costly Orth conversion when E was pregnant w/ their 1st child Hub: Hol survivor. The Gs met through work.</td>
<td>Occ-Retired. Prior to marriage - real estate agent. Worked as a co-manager for her cousin's real estate agency. She is involved politically and runs political campaigns for the Liberal party. Volunteered in non-sectarian organizations. Ed-Nursing. Her eldest son owns a &quot;very successful real estate business&quot;; 2nd daughter is a lawyer, and 3rd son owns several businesses including a gas station. Her now deceased husband was a successful real estate operator, president of Toronto's real estate board.</td>
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<td>61. Paul Fischer</td>
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<td>G2 Calgary born J.</td>
<td>&quot;I didn't live in Calgary very much although I used to brag about it as though it was my hometown because it was in the center of cowboy country, but in actual fact at age 3 we moved briefly to Detroit and then from age 4 to 21 I grew up in Montreal.&quot; &quot;I've led a gypsy type life, I was in the service and I've lived in 6 of the 10 provinces in my lifetime plus Russia and France.&quot; Lives w/ his wife in a Polish, Ukr, Canadian. Identifies proudly as a Canadian.</td>
<td>Grew up in a social climate where &quot;a J was a J and a g a g. You saw signs on the beaches in Quebec where it said only Christians welcome. In the 50s when the F's married it was not a receptive climate to J mixed marriages, and initially met with &quot;intolerance&quot; and disapproval from his family. You had to pay for High sch &quot;in those days&quot;, &quot;My folks couldn't afford it and things were pretty rough and I went to work ft at the age of 131/2.&quot; Scout master in the 30s; Proud member of the J Veteran society. One-upmanship in J social circles.</td>
<td>Met P, a former Catholic, at age 27 when stationed briefly in Calgary. Despite the difficulties finding someone who would perform a J conversion and marry them, P gladly put aside her Catholic beginnings and chose instead a liberal J pathway. &quot;I'm a living example that the world can get along if they want.&quot;</td>
<td>Occ: Retired CAF officer, Readers' Digest Sales. &lt;br&gt;From age 7 P helped out at his father's grocery store. Picked up a lot of French dealing w/ the French customers. P acquired an entrepreneurial spirit by working for his father, learning for him the values of honesty and generosity. Ed-finished grade 9 at 13 1/2. Commercial courses at night while working ft due to ec pressures. Completed high sch via the air force. His parents couldn't afford to send him to university. Ardent believer in continual education. Living comfortably with his wife in a home in Jewish suburbia. Due to geographic mobility associated w/ military life, it wasn't until their 50s that they bought a home and are relishing in their later years continually adding to the place (built a deck and are intending to...</td>
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<td>Patricia Fischer</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Saskatchewan born, late G, Fr Canadian converted to Jud for family unity. Reside in a high density J area—there are so many shuls around here, it's very much in demand. When they 1st moved into the area it wasn't built up much and nothing North of the area.</td>
<td>French Canadian Catholics P couldn't speak a word of English till she was 7.</td>
<td>Strong appreciation for the Arts. Came from a &quot;musical family&quot;. From her mum, P learned to &quot;treat everyone w/ respect, respect that was a big thing&quot;. J exposure of non-J kin to J ceremonies. Mum introduced to blintzes and sufganiyot cooking with the Fischers for 6 years and she loved it, learned the hols. Crash course to convert to Reform Judaism.</td>
<td>Converted to Reform Judaism to marry her Jewish husband. Has been married 46 years and &quot;feel[s] Jewish&quot;. &quot;Complete support from her family&quot; when she made the decision to adopt her husband's religion.</td>
<td>Prior to marriage: Aspired to have a singing career but this took 2nd place to her marriage. Worked in her early 20s as a Jewelry salesperson. Ed- attended the School of Fine Arts in Banff. In the past 2 yrs P has taken up classical singing again and is currently taking coaching lessons. Her youngest daughter was a flight attendant for a Canadian airline.</td>
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<td>Tammy Fischer</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>G3 Edmonton born J Lived a couple of yrs in Trenton, 1/2 yr in France and a couple of yrs in Calgary where it was difficult standing out as J. Moved to TO w/ her immediate family at age 12.</td>
<td>&quot;Thinks more of her J roots than her EE origins. Appreciates from a cultural standpoint her Fr Can links &quot;My paternal grandmother had a big influence on my life and we were very close. She moved to Toronto from Calgary when I was 19, and from then on we were very close and saw a lot of each other&quot;.</td>
<td>&quot;You knew you were different&quot; as a child living in Calgary in the 60s. T, a baby boom child, who grew up w/ in a pacifist and anti-war social climate, retains still a &quot;knee jerk reaction&quot; to her father's airforce involve'. Exp'd her teen yrs in the counter-culture heyday, sexual lib and fem move'. A feminist- gone back as a mature student for a BA in Jewish studies w/ a Women's studies focus. Pt of a cohort of &quot;young families looking for a meaningful J way of life and finding it in different venues&quot;.</td>
<td>Married also to a J man whose father also married a non-Jewish woman who converted to Judaism. At age 19 T met her husb on a blind date and were married 3 yrs later. T's husb grew up in ON w/ a neg view of relig caused by neg Heb sch exp. T never dated anyone who wasn't J whereas her Orth turned sister only dated non-J guys until her husb.</td>
<td>Ed-enrolled pt in BA prog (2nd BA degree). Occ-eclectic wk history; secretarial work, indep printing broker; advertising business; had a pt business doing children's b'day parties. She hasn't returned fit to work since having her daughter 12 yrs ago.</td>
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<td>64. Abe Warner</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>G11/2 Paris born J.</td>
<td>A's parents were both born in a small town in Galicia. His parents were both part of a young Labor Zionist org. They left that small town around 1935. His father came to Paris to establish himself and then his mother arrived not long after. Left Fr in 1955.</td>
<td>Born 2 yrs before the outbreak of WWII. They found refuge in Nice where somehow Jews were more or less left alone for a while. They managed to live there until 1942 when the climate for Jews got more vulnerable. A's parents befriended a well-to-do French farmer family with active links to the Resistance who took Abe in as &quot;a hidden child&quot; at age 5. A's cohort faced job descrim. It was the late 60s when A shifted from a TJRO Outsider to a revitalized style.</td>
<td>Married 3x a late G Anglo raised Can, converted to all 3 denom of Judaism. Met his wife when he was living on his own, wking (engineer)</td>
<td>Ed- PhD in Economics Occ- economist</td>
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<td>JL: &quot;a certain outlook on life, a sense of humor, never taking yourself totally seriously, laughing at yourself, a sense of peoplehood, history, interest in social justice and the sciences, arts, concepts, you often find Jews in these areas.&quot;</td>
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<td>A's father was a furrier. He did not have much sch and could only write in Yiddish. His wife who completed elem sch could write French and Polish. She helped out w/ the business.</td>
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<td>65. Betty Warner</td>
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<td>G4 British Canadian</td>
<td>Reared as an Anglican and became a 'chosen Jew' or Jew by choice'. Irish, English- Celtic roots. Her Irish-Canadian mother died when she was 10. Went through 3 conversions until she was satisfied with her modern Orth J status.</td>
<td>Exp'd her 20s in the 60s, initiated into feminism, equal opportunities. Also influenced by the countercultural emphasis on searching and meaning. Confronted a lot of obstacles to convert based on lack of the right kind of info.</td>
<td>Calls her J husb her &quot;bescher&quot;, soulmate.</td>
<td>Occ-former reporter and editor for the CJN. Currently works for the immigration and refugee board doing refugee determination. Ed-post graduate Journalism degree</td>
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<td>JL markers: &quot;there are signals that people give off. I've learnt what they are. It's hard to explain to somebody else. A little bit is looks, but language is a big marker. Speaking Eng there are certain expressions that come out. I use English differently when I'm speaking to Jews and non-Jews and when I'm speaking to a grp in my synag than when I'm speaking to my J colleagues even. For example you will hear a J mother to say to her kid 'like make nice.'&quot;</td>
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<td>66. Dorothy Warner</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G21/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>J and Celtic roots. Mat grandp played a lot of bagpipe music. Sees herself as &quot;NA Jewish&quot; or Post-holocaust G ExILLED her rebellious teen yrs in the materialist 80s. Rebelled agst her Orth</td>
<td>Unmarried. Had just broken up with a non-J man whose parents are religious</td>
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<td>&quot;I remember the day when I realized&quot;</td>
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<td>other people weren't Jewish. I was looking outside the window and I asked my mother why people were driving on Shabbos, and she said well not everyone is Jewish. I just thought they were all breaking shabbos.</td>
<td>67. Albert Warner</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>G2/1/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>“For me, it’s mostly being part of a community.” “For me, it’s very cultural and it’s very much belonging to a group, distinct group of people, and being able as well to appreciate the diversity of the family group”.</td>
<td>Post-Holocaust consciousness. Feels “very different” from his contemporaries at his parents shab: “they’re very different from me in terms of what they’re interested in, what concerned them, what their viewpoints were. I found them to be self-centered and intolerant.” “A friend who grew up in small communities, his identity was more based on the intolerance he had felt from other people, having to defend himself against these things. He was very much a Jewish power kind of person. We’re not going take crap from nobody”.</td>
<td>Pentecostal adherents from rural Canada.</td>
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<td>68. Eva Fitzgerald</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>“Indifference threatens the future of Toronto Jewry, not intermarriage.”</td>
<td>Ed-Engineering degree (“came into his own in university”). Jewish occupations: &quot;Jews stereotypically are concerned with having a stable home, stable income, stable means of support, and the arts do not provide a sense of stability, at least in the beginning years.”</td>
<td>Married 25 yrs to a Christian-born British man who converted to Reform Judaism to allay family disapproval. R’s w-c parents in the UK did not accept the union. Married</td>
<td>Ed- grade 12 Occ- working pt mostly in admin work or &quot;whatever buys the groceries&quot;. R’s father was a ‘Red Cap’, porter, for union station for 47 yrs [he loved meeting workers who traveled the train]. R’s mother was a secretary at the Jewish &quot;Y&quot; and a homemaker.</td>
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<td>69. Ian Fitzgerald</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>G1 England-born Christian. Converted to Reform Judaism. Immigrated to Toronto when he was 25 because he was turned off by the classist structure in Britain, its elitism and limited upward mobility and opportunity structure for the w-c.</td>
<td>(1909) and Hamilton born mother (1912) passed away at 76 and 81 yrs old respectively.</td>
<td>anything to shame the J grp. Her parents' &quot;code was Jews stick together&quot;. Bat mitzvahs were not typically performed when R was young, and she is not bat mitzvahed.</td>
<td>by a &quot;very Reform rabbi&quot;, the ceremony was held in the rabbi's garden.</td>
<td>Self-identifies as &quot;working class&quot; Ed- left school at 15 Occ-Full-time Printer Ian and Rose put on plays, dabble in theatre and comedy. Money issues are a concern for the Fitzgeralds. Ian's family SES: father was an illiterate, truck driver and stepmother a factory worker.</td>
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<td>70. Paula Zukerman</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>G2 Italian Canadian. Sees herself as Canadian 1st but does hold a special attachment also to Italy. Born in an Ontario city 3hrs outside Toronto. Lives in a house in a upper m-c J area-&quot;the village&quot;.</td>
<td>Italian ancestry on her mother's side. Austrian/ Ukr ancestry on her father's side. Moderately encouraged to interact primarily with other Ital, keep the Cath religion, date/ marry w/in the grp, and learn Ital. Growing up, P's heritage was very imp to her. Mother is a very strong Catholic, but they always liked Irv.</td>
<td>A war baby. Experienced her 20s during a time of tumultuous, radical social change. Sensitized to multicult discourse, equality and rights thinking. P has raised her daughter to appreciate all cultures, cultural freedom, to be independent and career-oriented, and appreciate her roots, both Jewish and Italian.</td>
<td>Twice divorced- 1st a Catholic man, and then recently from her J husband. Met him at her uncle thru marriage's shiva. They were married at City Hall. &quot;Unlike me, my parents believe people of like religions should marry&quot;. &quot;My husband is more strongly attached to his Jewish roots. Since marriage I am more involved with my husband's ethnic heritage&quot;.</td>
<td>Occ-teacher Ed-BA honors in Sociology Father owned a plumbing business and his wife helped him with office administration. Paula's side is all manual workers while Irv's side are mostly professionals.</td>
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<td>71. Fiona Zukerman</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J Converted as a baby to Judaism.</td>
<td>Describes the neighborhood where she lives as &quot;friendly, Jewish community feeling&quot;. &quot;Forest Hill people are always raised w/ the same mentality&quot;.</td>
<td>Post-Holocaust Late 70s/early 80s child born into more prosperous times. Materialist social consciousness of this period—axis on clothes, monetary success, possession of material items... &quot;today's youth are not as involved in their religion as their parents were&quot;.</td>
<td>Unmarried. Has dated only 1 man. Her social orbit is primarily fellow Jewish residents of &quot;the village&quot;.</td>
<td>Ed-Currently doing her BA degree in history/cinema studies. Aspires to be an entertainment lawyer.</td>
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<td>72. Lara Fiorio</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J Lives currently with her husband in an open concept minimalist styled home in the suburbs, in &quot;a Jewish area&quot;.</td>
<td>Mat-Galician Jewish. Par-English J. L's dad, &quot;black sheep&quot; of 12 siblings traveled to Canada. L's youngest brother, Al, a semi-retired real estate agent, is compiling a family tree. L feels both Canadian and Jewish by religion, Can nationality, British, and Galician ethnic origins.</td>
<td>Birth cohort exp'd the Depression. Grew up in impoverished circumstance, poorer pt of &quot;the Ward&quot;. Climate of Anglo-dominant conformity. Conseq, L supports the perspective that immigrants should adapt to the major culture. British Victorian ethos. For L, being Jewish means &quot;being a mediocrity, giving charity, continuous education, being a thinker, questioning...&quot;</td>
<td>Mixed marriage Age, life stage, educational differences prove more difficult challenges.</td>
<td>Occ-reired teacher Ed-teaching college Father-postal clerk with grade 13 schooling Mother-homemaker with grade 2 schooling. Impoverished household: L and her siblings were typically undernourished, prone to contracting infectious diseases, wore the same clothes to sch daily, and bathed only once a wk. &quot;Squalid conditions&quot;, inadeq diet of L's mother during pregnancy and the kids growing up, the 2oldest son contracted rheumatoid arthritis at age 13. Lara showed signs of RA in her late 40s and had to obtain early retirement.</td>
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<td>73. Don Fiorio</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>G1 Sicily born Immigrated to Canada by himself in his late teens Views himself as Ital-Canadian (Ital 1°). He does not consider himself Jewish in terms of religion because he self-identifies as an atheist, but considers pt of himself to be ethnically Jewish.</td>
<td>Italian ancestry No other family immigrated to Canada. Don, a pacifist, came to Canada to avoid war conscription.</td>
<td>A child during the 60s, a time of dramatic social change. Raised in a communist milieu, tries to retain his socialist idealism. Acq material things and money are not v imp to him beyond being able to afford shelter, food and support for his ch. Growing up in Sicily, he did not know any Jewish people.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage Met his Jewish wife at a dance club in an Ontario city approx 3hrs outside of TO. Married at City Hall w/ 5 people in attendance. Faced chilly reception by in-laws. In contrast, his parents were very accepting. &quot;Even in a mixed marriage Jewish values are so strong, they are transmitted to children over other cultural values&quot;.</td>
<td>Occ-contractor, owns also a paint store. Ed-grade 12 at an Italian high school (technical school) Mother's ed-Grade 2 Father's ed-Grade 5 Unlike his wife's exp w childhood poverty where food was sparse, compounded by a harsh climate, D's exp growing up in a poor Sicilian village was offset by the fact that they never went w/out food because the climate was conducive to growing food.</td>
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<td>Reena Fiorio</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>G2 1/2 'Toronto born J' Until age 10 she lived in a low Jewish density area in an Ontario city 4hrs drive from Toronto.</td>
<td>Mat ancestry- J (no connection to her Galician and British roots) Pat ancestry- Italian. Self-identifies as an &quot;Italian Jew&quot;.</td>
<td>2 Gs Post Hol. Raised in a socialist leaning household. R, like her parents, and similar to her mother who traveled alone to Israel in her 20s, feels comfortable in Israel. Unlike her mother, R sees her Jewishness as tying her to Jews everywhere, all aligned together by a shared history of oppression and exclusion.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Ed- currently working on her MSc degree.</td>
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<td>Olivia Fiorio</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>G2 NA Jew Born in an American city and then moved to Canada when she was 6. Returned to the States for her teens when her parents divorced. Spent the 1st 3 yrs w/ her father in Canada, and then to Portland where she spent her teen yrs.</td>
<td>Mat roots- German Js Pat roots-Irish. O's father grew up in the Bronx and identified more w/ the Carrib culture he was immersed in than his inherited Irish heritage. O feels American now that she is living permanently in Canada because &quot;I get such an opposition here to the States.&quot;</td>
<td>Olivia was raised by hippie parents. The neg conseq of the divorce for her mother was being a single mother and &quot;being really quite impoverished because of that&quot;. O's mother has had a &quot;profound impact&quot; on all the children in transferring humanistic values. O, herself is interested in international affairs, always participating at school in Amnesty International.</td>
<td>Married to a fellow J man born to a mixed J marriage. &quot;his being J was really a big deal. It was really sort of ultimately the deciding factor&quot;. Life stage dif- R wanting to buy a home, and O wanting to be free and travel.</td>
<td>Occ-working as a university TA. Update: Took an absence of leave to complete a work/ study program in Israel.</td>
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<td>Miriam Feldberg</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J Rents the basement apt in her home out and rents a room to a student in order to afford to keep her North York home post-divorce</td>
<td>Mat origins: British Jewish. M's mother was born in UK. Migrated to Vancouver in her teens. Pat origins: Russian Jewish.</td>
<td>Grew up during a period when Spadina Ave was bustling w/ J life. Her father's papers had been destroyed in Europe during the war and he had to join the army to secure papers. &quot;In those days, [fellow Jews] didn't compete, they would help you if you were struggling, people were kind&quot;.</td>
<td>Separated from her non-J husband of 20 years. 1st marriage was to a J man as &quot;I was supposed to&quot; (came from England as a boy). Unlike her single peers who she sees as &quot;settling for fat, finance dependent J men&quot;. rather than non-Jewish men w/ whom they may have &quot;more in common&quot;.</td>
<td>O- nanny for Jewish children. Obliged to return to work due to financial stress.</td>
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<td>77. Brad Smith</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>G1 England born</td>
<td>British ancestry</td>
<td>Reared in a climate where there was a lot less ethnic mixing. He is as a consequence much more pessimistic about the future of TO Jewry, viewing &quot;assimilation&quot; as the fact that &quot;In the past 23 yrs or so Js were with only Js. Now, who cares if you're J, nobody cares. Long-term survival of Js is being threatened&quot;.</td>
<td>Internmarried/separate d. B met his J wife on the ski slopes. Miriam used to take the 7 kids skiing every winter break. B supported his wife in her pro-endog pressure for the children he cared for as a father.</td>
<td>Occ-helps his son out at the Textile factory Ed-high school w-c background.</td>
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<td>78. Mickey Feldberg</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives w/ his wife and 2 kids in an upper m-c high J density area</td>
<td>Mat ancestry: Euro Jews Biological dad's origin: English J who descended from EE Js. Step-dad's ancestry: British (lapsed Anglican). Post-was G. Born in the late 50s. At age 10, his biol log dad left his mother to care for 7 kids, and confront downward ec mobility. M had to leave private boys' sch where few other Js attended due to financial dictates.</td>
<td>In-married. Mickey was faced w/a situation where he had to choose between spending his life w/ a J woman or a non-J Anglo Canadian.</td>
<td>Occ-self-employed textile factory owner Ed-Attended college in a small ON city over 2 hrs outside TO where he was the only J among his classmates Wife's Occ-obstetrician Ed-Medicine</td>
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<td>79. Heather Feldberg (nursing her 8 wk old baby during the interview).</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born</td>
<td>Lives w/ her husband in a 1 bedroom apt on the periphery of an upper m-c high density J area: didn't move there because it was a Jewish area, but &quot;because it was a nice neighborhood&quot;. younger yrs- grew up living in a low density Jewish area. Raised in a food-centered, lively, argumentative household.</td>
<td>Mat ancestry is J. Mat grandpa's relatives all died in the Holocaust. From age 2-12 no contact w/ her birth dad. Step-dad's ancestry is British (WASP). 2Gs post-Holocaust Exp'd her teens during an era of ec growth, rampant materialism- &quot;cruel and heartless, wasn't a caring, sharing time, the 80s from a Leftie perspective was the epitome of selfishness and greed&quot;. H went on a trip to Israel at 16. Raising her daughter in an era of voluntary Jewishness. Her husb, Ranjeet is a huge fan of Seinfeld, watching multiple re-runs.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage. Met her E. Indian-Can (G2) husb of 8 yrs, Ranjeet at wk. Married in her bro's backyard by Unitarian minister.</td>
<td>Occ-maternity leave Ed-currently enrolled pt in a BA program. &quot;I don't have great self-esteem. I didn't even think that I could go to uni...&quot; Husband's Occ-Social Worker Ed-MSW</td>
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<td>80. Eileen Hargman &quot;Few knew I was intermarried and those that did couldn't care less.&quot;</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>G1 1/2 Australian born. Immigrated to TO in her late teens</td>
<td>Mat ancestry: Jewish-German, English, Welsh Pat ancestry: Jewish-German, Danish. E's mum was born in Australia and dad in Denmark. Dad is deceased. She sees her mother in Australia approx Ch of Holocaust survivors. E's parents moved to rural pt of Australia where only 1 Jewish family lived close by because they feared that Jewish exclusivity might elicit anti-Semitism. Strongly discouraged to</td>
<td>Divorced from her mixed marriage of 11 years. Married at 20, she has been a single parent for 19 years. Her parents were philosophical and resigned to the</td>
<td>Occ-Physical therapist Ed-Bachelor of Science Low income household Mother's Occ: singer and a homemaker Father's Occ: musician by training, farmer and mechanic out of instrumental</td>
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<td>81. Eva Bargman</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>G2 1/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Grew up in a low-income downtown Co-op. Created a self-designed &quot;chamber&quot; in the basement (hanging electric guitar, Jewish symbols, and a Star of David emblem with JAH, God to Rastafarians in the centre).</td>
<td>Post-holocaust gen (grandparents were Holocaust survivors). 70s &quot;wild child&quot; who embraced the free-spiritiveness of the times. Her adventurous spirit made her a solo traveler from 16-19. Living in a low income, non-J area and travelling up N by bus to J day school-no lasting friendships w/coethnics.</td>
<td>Mixed union. Living common-law for 9 yrs w/ an Anglo-Canadian, lapsed Anglican, w/ no interest in ethnic or religious matters. He is the youngest of 11 siblings (37-55). He has a 13yr old daughter from his 1st marriage. E has never dated anyone J and thinks Jewish men are nerdy. Non-J men are more outgoing and dangerous.</td>
<td>Occ- wks w/ the horses at the race track, homemaker. Husband's Occ- job instability. Relationship conflicts are about money not religion as she's &quot;not going to push that on him&quot;.</td>
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<td>82. Ron Bargman</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>G2 1/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Australian J origin. Has had minimal contact w/ his Australia-based J grandparents. R only met his grandpa once when he was 11. R has no special identifiable w/ Australia, alth he recognizes his mother's Aussie background.</td>
<td>Multiculturalist and era of choices. R espouses a flexible model of affirming his Jewishness, defying rigid description and seizing upon &quot;diverse ideas&quot;. For example, &quot;it means worshipping in your own way. I don't believe that you have to be in synagogue every Fri or Sat, or you have to obey every command in the bk&quot;. Learnt from his Rasta &quot;brother&quot; a &quot;stand up and be counted&quot; approach, assertive identity politics</td>
<td>Unmarried. Dating seriously a Polish non-Jewish girl (came from Poland 6yrs ago w/ no English). She is included in all Jewish-related functions, include synagogue. R attributes never having dated J women to &quot;snobbery and materialistic demands, you have gold on your fingers, what car you drive&quot;.</td>
<td>Ed- studying at College to be a cook. Occ-summer painting job.</td>
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<td>Bob Johnson</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Late generation Canadian—Windsor born. His now deceased wife is G3 Jewish Canadian. Has been living for 25yrs in an apt in a low income, w-c, 'non-Jewish' area.</td>
<td>French Arcadian roots. &quot;I'm from Windsor ON from a Catholic family, very religious family&quot;. B's wife parents were Mtrl Js of Ukr descent, her mother came from Ottawa and father from Mtrl. Both descended from very religious families.</td>
<td>Depression cohort Exp'd his teens during WWII. B's lifestyle also reveals his enduring class consciousness. Intermarriage cohort experience: late 50s. His wife's parents considered performing a sitting shiva ritual until B decided to convert.</td>
<td>Converted to Jud so he could marry his wife. Currently widowed (3yrs). Met his wife thru his LW involve's Married by a progressive Reform rabbi, the only rabbi to openly officiate at the time at interfaith ceremonies.</td>
<td>Occ—retired factory worker and Communist Youth leader in TO (came to Toronto in 1952 to be youth leader). Became so at 19 contrary to his parents' approval. Wife's Occ: admin job at Jewish Child and Family Services. Wife's family were &quot;all workers&quot;. Just her mother's side were professionals, and 1 section, all the kids were businessmen.</td>
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<td>Janet Williamson</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>G2-born in Paris, grew up in TO since age 1. Lives with her husband in a quaint home in an upper m-c J area. Growing up J lived among &quot;very few J people&quot;.</td>
<td>Mat ancestry— Czech Jew. Pat ancestry-Polish Jew. J's parents both survived the Holocaust 'Rootsie in focus: &quot;I am searching for my roots&quot;, &quot;I'll never have a complete picture, never, it doesn't go back many generations&quot;.</td>
<td>Child of Holocaust Survivors. J's JT is rooted in her Holocaust consciousness. &quot;The intermarriage was unthinkable for my father, v shameful thing to have happen to your daughter&quot;.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage. Met her husband International Dancing. 1st mar was to an Israeli she met on her travels in Israel who chose to have barely any contact with his son (he left when he was 1). 2nd: Married at City Hall by a Justice of the Peace. They dated 4 yrs prior to marriage.</td>
<td>Occ—occupational therapist Ed—Occupational therapy university degree Father owned a men's tailor shop. Mother-grade 5 schooling was a homemaker.</td>
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<td>Paul Williamson</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>G5 TO born Anglican Anglo-Canadian. Lives currently slightly S of where he used to live growing up with his wife and on and off their son when he is not in school.</td>
<td>Pat ancestry— Irish; Mat ancestry— Scot. Neither Celtic heritage is imp to him. Being pt of the J in-grp he grew up w/ was more imp.</td>
<td>Post-war baby Exp'd his teens during the questioning 60s, social justice concerns. Left leaning pt of Marxist grps for many yrs. 1 well-known Jewish man he admires is Stephen Lewis, a former leader of the NDP. He also admires Edgar Bronfman.</td>
<td>Married for 16 yrs to a J Canadian woman. 1st got married at age 20 to an Anglo-Can. Married by Justice of the Peace at City Hall who &quot;happened to be J&quot;. &quot;Every time I read of the 'threat' of intermarriages I get defensive and angry&quot;.</td>
<td>Occ—self-employed lawyer Ed— BA in Eng Lit, LLB. Fath's O: newspaper editor Moth's O: ch care worker</td>
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<td>Erez Freedman</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J. Currently lives in a roommate situation in a small city under 2 hrs drive from TO but commutes into</td>
<td>If asked about his backgr, he responds &quot;Czech, Pol, Morocco&quot;. Step-dad's ancestry-Anglo-Can. Birth dad's origin-Moroccan Sephardic J. E's J roots are more salient to Gen Y outlook, &quot;free spirited&quot;, less reverence of authority. E grew up in what he describes as &quot;a conservative YUPPY, JAPPY area&quot;.</td>
<td>Unmarried Does not consider religion as a factor in choosing who to date.</td>
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<td>Ed-Ft College student studying photography. &quot;The artist occupation is more valued than it used to be because you are not worried about survival and acceptance quite as much&quot;.</td>
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<td>87. Noam Rose</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>G3 Toronto born J</td>
<td>lives w/ his wife and daughter in an upper class mostly non-J area.</td>
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<td>Occ-several summers working as a camp counselor for secular J summer camps.</td>
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<td>J roots. His mother is 85, living in her own condo, does yoga everyday.</td>
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<td>Post-high school; spent a year off trying to find himself on the ski slopes in BC.</td>
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<td>Ni pt of &quot;the original TO J community&quot;. Descends from the 'priestly class',</td>
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<td>few traditional rabbis would officiate at the intermarried ceremony of a Cohen.</td>
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<td>&quot;When I grew up this was a time of growth in J prosperity, a time when J orcs</td>
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<td>and institutions were springing up all over the city, when North TO had</td>
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<td>not yet been dev'd. We lived at Bath and Eg when people thought my dad was</td>
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<td>crazy to do so, the whole area was hardly built up&quot;. Mother grew up in a 7</td>
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<td>child wealthy household.</td>
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<td>88. Leora Rose</td>
<td></td>
<td>G2 Migrated w/ her</td>
<td>Italian Roman Catholic heritage</td>
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<td>Ed-mechanical engineering</td>
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<td>parents to Mrtl when</td>
<td>Rejected Catholicism:</td>
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<td>Only 2 other Jews were in his class- he felt as though he was rebelling from the</td>
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<td>she was a little girl.</td>
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<td>popular doctor, lawyer choices. His father was happy w/ him going to university in</td>
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<td>The Rose living room is filled w/ collectibles- extensive exotic travels.</td>
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<td>gen bcc he himself had faced ec and ed discrim for being J.</td>
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<td>Occ-Currently owns a computer business</td>
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<td>89. Susan Rose</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>G4 Mrtl born J</td>
<td>lives w/ her parents in an upper class WASP area and travels to a predominantly J area that has a gifted program to attend high sch.</td>
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<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Ed- high school</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pat ancestry: J</td>
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<td>Mat ancestry: Italian (lapsed Catholic)</td>
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<td>At least 2 Gs post-hol. Dissolving ethnic boundaries multi-ethnic friendships.</td>
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<td>Relig and ethnicity are treated as 'achieved' not 'ascribed' identities, based on voluntarism, choice, and imposed identities are seen by youth as constractive and old-fashioned.</td>
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<td>90. Esther Levin</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>G1 S African born J</td>
<td>&quot;Money wasn't as important then as it is today. I managed to have a good life without having a lot of money. My sister was a wonderful dressmaker and she made all my clothes and it cost me</td>
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<td>Ed- Dropped out of high sch, couldn't go on to teacher's college, bee her dad died when she was 16, she had to go and find wk. She started working for the Zionist Fed handwriting envelopes for fundraising campaigns, and progressed to being a secretary. She stayed there for 12 yrs. &quot;I loved it because it was a very Jewish atmosphere, and I was very lucky to meet a lot of big, well-known Zionists from Palestine in those days who used to</td>
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<td>G2 South African as</td>
<td>her parents and sisters migrated there from E. Europe. E's husband came from</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>her parents and</td>
<td>Paris at age 36. Came to Can in pt bcc they didn't like what was going on in</td>
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<td>sisters migrated</td>
<td>SA.</td>
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<td>there from E. Europe.</td>
<td>&quot;I came from quite an Orthodox family and my parents came from Russia which</td>
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<td>became Poland&quot;. Strong personal Jewish Identity, &quot;I don't like being w/</td>
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<td>non-Jewish people constantly, I'm too Jewish inwardly&quot;.</td>
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<td>Exp'd teens in the 20s. For some, this split migration meant having to get to</td>
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<td>know your father &quot;like a stranger&quot; for the 1st time or even reacquaint yourself w/ your husb. E was raised in era when you went along w/ things. Conscious of ethnic realities: &quot;There's a certain class of Jews that are</td>
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<td>Widowed (in-married in 1937). Her husb, a Germ J 10yrs older &quot;who left Germany in good time, in 1933 he went to Paris.&quot; He grew up among Catholics in a small town. He was the only J in his regiment</td>
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<td>Valerie Valdez</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>G1 1/2 S Afr born.</td>
<td>Came to TO w/ her parents and bro when she was in her teens.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage</td>
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<td>Ed- Pre-school teaching college certificate</td>
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<td>Lives w/ her husb and 2 daughters who have temporarily returned to the nest in an upper m-c J area.</td>
<td>Thru serving as a camp counselor at a secular J camp she made J girlfriends w/ whom she “is still friendly today”. Travelled to Israel w/ a friend in 1960. Never pushed to send her ch to Isr bec a classmate of theirs had died there in a bombing. “When I was a kid I wore a Magen David, but that’s bec that’s what the grp did. To me, that’s more of a religious symbol now”</td>
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<td>“There was about 50/50 Jewish in my particular class. So you see we gravitated together, or perhaps I did in the sense of I could identify”</td>
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<td>O- Retired from nursery school teaching and serves in an administrative capacity for the Valdez family business</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Valdez</td>
<td>50s</td>
<td>Mexican born.</td>
<td>Cycled with his bro to TO at 20, stayed to complete his post-sec studies</td>
<td>Mixed marriage</td>
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<td>Ed- engineering degree (enrolled as a mature student)</td>
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<td>Occ-self-employed manufacturer and distributor of light fixtures.</td>
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<td>Wendy Valdez</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G21/2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Spent her formative yrs in an upper m-c J area. Most of her friends are J.</td>
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<td>Eric Levine</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>G11/2/G2 Toronto J</td>
<td>Came as a 6 yr old boy to TO from Israel Lives in an increasingly mixed, albeit still mostly J</td>
<td>Ch of Holocaust survivors. Post-war baby boom ch. Pt of the sub-group of seekers interested in alternative sources of life satisfaction. Exp’d his teens in the 60s This was “not a time of safe</td>
<td>Divorced from his non-Jewish First Nations B’hai wife. Married at 22 in 1973 at city hall. Cultural difference discourse: “A J”</td>
<td>Occ- self-employed (put together the Jewish directory). Never been in the financial position to send his kids to parochial school nor had much of the inclination. He had to make business sacrifices in taking on the responsibility of raising 3 kids solo.</td>
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<td>the area.</td>
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<td>transferred those values to his kids. For E, being J is &quot;more of a nationality than the need for religious support&quot;.</td>
<td>sex; this was a time where everybody got stoned and partyed. Went to Hebrew school common to his cohort.</td>
<td>woman takes good care of herself, you know hair, probably wouldn’t be gray but colored and more jewelry and stuff like that, than a gentle women who wouldn’t typically have a prob being grey-haired1.&quot;</td>
<td>Ed- 1 yr of uni before he had to jump into paid work to support his family, Axis on education is &quot;very big, especially so in Israel&quot;. Assoc w/ a J grp that is linked to Peace Now, a leftist organization.</td>
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<td>95. Ricky</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>G2 TO born J.</td>
<td>Lives in an upper m-c J area with his WASP 3rd wife who is about 20yrs his jr.</td>
<td>Pat origin- Polish Mat origin- Czech. R sees himself as Jewish Canadian, identifying as Canadian 1st, then Jewish.</td>
<td>Grew up in a climate where sexist exchanges were considered the norm and not treated as sexual harassment. R internalized the assimilationist ideology of the time. &quot;I love eating lobster and I don’t have a guilty conscience about it&quot;</td>
<td>Thrice married. Currently intermarried w/ a WASP woman 20 yrs his jr. His wife says she is &quot;too old&quot; to convert.</td>
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<td>Thrice married. Currently intermarried w/ a WASP woman 20 yrs his jr. His wife says she is &quot;too old&quot; to convert.</td>
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<td>96. Roger Singer</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G31/2 TO born child of Jewish/Anglo-Canadian intermarriage</td>
<td>Pat origin: EE Js. Long line of NA Js. Father was a TO Jew who went to the States for uni and returned several years later TO for wk. Mat origin: Anglo-Canadian non-practicing Christian. Raised w/ dual cultural identity.</td>
<td>Distant from the Holocaust experience but like many is sensitive to J history. Pt of an exploratory, intellectually curious, and seeking generation. R’s dad in contrast esp’d his 20s in the sexually lib and anti-authoritarian 60s-rejected religious prescriptions and parochial attachment.</td>
<td>At the time of interview, unmarried. Update: married to a J woman and had to his anti-religious, assimilated father’s surprise a J wedding.</td>
<td>Ed: doctoral student Occ: teaching assistant Father’s Occ-academic professional Mother’s O- professional (government) Paternal grandfather: medical professional Paternal great-grandfather: garment industry</td>
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<td>97. Greg Rand</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>G2 1/2 TO born J.</td>
<td>Lives in a remarried household with his 3rd wife and 6 yr old daughter from the union.</td>
<td>Pat origin: father was born in Poland but came as a young boy to TO w/ his parents in the 1910s. Mat origin: Russian and Romanian Jews (came to TO also a young child).</td>
<td>Post-holocaust G. Baby boom child. Post-war prop. Raised as a cultural J where a primary J signifier was your social circles, enterprising initiatives, ingrp competitiveness, food and material focus.</td>
<td>In-married (3rd narr). The 1st was w/ a J woman and lasted a yr. His 2nd was w/ a non-J and lasted 7 yrs. An inter-gen pattern passed on is serial monogamy (his father married 4 times and his brother also 4 times).</td>
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<td>98. Maya Rand</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>G3 1/2 Toronto born</td>
<td>Jewish/French Canadian union</td>
<td>Pat origin is J (says she is J before even considers mentioning Pol. Mat origin: Catholic Can whose ancestors stem to the original Fr settlers in NB. Identifies as “half-Jewish”. “My stepmother annoys me, so I don’t really consider her family’.</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Ed: completed her 1st year in a BA university program P-t wk: wks at a family owned Italian “very Catholic” bakery. JJ disclosure to her boss was impt because the Catholic clientele readily made anti-Semitic jokes. M’s mother left high sch (1 OAC credit short) and went to wk. She met M’s father working in the same office. She is currently doing temp wk</td>
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<td>“Another thing I associate with Jewish people, they make you eat. It’s either shouldn’t you be eating or shouldn’t you be on a diet”.</td>
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<td>Harold Roberts</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>G2 Toronto born J</td>
<td>Lives in an apt w/ his wife in a mixed J area not far from where he grew up and the Reform temple that his family belongs to.</td>
<td>“My parents lived through the war so their ideas are a lot different than mine. Their idea is togetherness, grrps supporting people”.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage to</td>
<td>Occ-accountant</td>
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<td>“Sundays are an easy day for my family to get together”.</td>
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<td>H is part of the individualistic, ‘choosing’ G. e. Unlike prev Gs whose ethnic repertoire reflected their survival mode adaptive strategy, H’s G concerned w/ satiating more abstract needs like “happiness” “personal” needs.</td>
<td>a late G Lutheran</td>
<td>Ed-2 Bachelor degrees (Bachelor of Commerce)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Dad’s Occ- academic</td>
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<td>Mum’s Occ-travel agent</td>
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<td>“Going to temple, Sunday school, Hebrew school, bar mitzvah. I would say the majority of my growing up had a J background associated with it”.</td>
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<td>100. Barbara</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Late G Lutheran</td>
<td>Canadian. Born in a small N. ON city. R hsehold J symbols incl a menorah that she likes from an artistic standpoint.</td>
<td>Several Gs Canadian. Anglo descent. Doesn’t want to be J but wants to expose their future ch to their J heritage and enjoys the hols. Also wants to share some of her traditions.</td>
<td>Mixed marriage (just over 2 years).</td>
<td>Occ- teaching assistant</td>
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<td>Roberts</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian</td>
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<td>Ed- Ph.D. student. As a social science student B was a very communicative subject, has been through interviews before, an articulate, experienced interviewee: used categories and formal social research responses.</td>
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</table>
REFERENCES


Rumack, Leah. 1999. “Rabbi rouser: She’s a rebel, she’s a conservative—what do lesbian grrrls and Orthodox scholars see in her?” NOW, June 10-16, 23.


