

# The Jews of Canada: A Profile from the Census

**T**HE NATURE AND SHAPE of the Canadian Jewish community have changed significantly in the past decade. A stream of immigration caused Canadian Jewry to grow more quickly than the Canadian population as a whole, with certain local Jewish communities increasing in size by as much as 30 percent. And while some Jewish communities marginally lost population in the past ten years, these losses are far less substantial than has been previously reported. On the negative side, the communities that lost population have higher percentages of older and poorer persons, and the communities that mushroomed in the last decade do not necessarily possess the institutional resources and infrastructure needed to absorb their new constituents and respond to their varied needs.

This study is based on data obtained almost entirely from the 1991 Canadian census, with comparative data from the 1981 census. The data base was developed through a unique partnership between the Council of Jewish Federations, Statistics Canada, and the McGill University Consortium for Ethnicity and Strategic Social Planning and is housed at the McGill University School of Social Work. The Canadian census includes the largest sample of Jews to be surveyed outside the State of Israel and contains data on the most comprehensive set of characteristics, including religious and ethnic identity, immigration, family structure, intermarriage, education, occupation, and income status.

Overall, Canadian Jews continue to be better educated, more professional, and more urban and to have higher incomes than Canadians as a whole. As in 1981, husband-wife families remain the principal living arrangement of Canadian Jews, and children make up a higher percentage of the Jewish community in 1991 than they did in 1981.

Several disconcerting social trends in the Jewish community that were already quite marked in 1981 have persisted and intensified during this last decade. The Jewish poverty rate is now almost indistinguishable from that of all Canadians. Women continue to be underrepresented in higher occupations and overrepresented among the poor. The number of single-parent families, the intermarriage rate, and the proportion of Jewish elderly all continue to rise.

## *Historic Growth*

The earliest reports of Jewish life in Canada appeared around 1738. In 1768, five years after France ceded its holdings to Britain in the Treaty of Paris, a handful of Montreal Jews, organized as the Corporation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, established the Shearith Israel Synagogue. This initiated what was to become an

uninterrupted and continuous process of institution building. Until the middle of the 19th century, Jewish life in Canada was almost exclusively based in Quebec, primarily Montreal.<sup>1</sup>

Jewish life west of Quebec began to develop a century after its first expressions in Montreal. By 1834, the newly incorporated city of Toronto had a population of approximately 9,000 residents, one known Jew among them. The Jewish community of Toronto was officially organized in 1849, when it purchased land for a cemetery. In 1856, Toronto Jewry established its first synagogue — the Toronto Hebrew Congregation, later renamed “Holy Blossom.”

Further west, Jewish life began to emerge in the late 19th century. A Jewish benevolent society was established in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1859. In 1881, 215 Jews lived in Winnipeg; ten years later, the Jewish population had increased by 300 percent to 645 persons (largely due to the efforts of the Jewish Colonization Association, established for the purpose of assisting Jews to settle in the Canadian west).

By 1900, the Jewish community in Canada numbered 16,000 persons, approximately 45 percent living in Montreal (7,000) and 20 percent in Toronto (3,000). Many of them were recently arrived immigrants who had fled the pogroms of Eastern Europe and sought mutual support through association. In Montreal, 50 percent of the Jewish community lived within a one-square-mile area; they established three more synagogues, a Zionist organization, a Yiddish newspaper, and a Jewish day school in less than 20 years.

The Jewish community increased more than seven and a half times during the first two decades of the 20th century, bringing the number of Jews in Canada in 1921 to 126,196. With a Jewish population of 46,000, Montreal accounted for 36 percent of all Jews and Toronto for 28 percent, having increased its Jewish population 11 times during the period to 35,000. By 1941, 168,367 Jews lived in Canada: approximately 65,000 in Montreal and almost 53,000 in Toronto.

Few Jews were able to find safe haven in Canada during the period of the Holocaust, but in 1947 Canada's gates reopened, and 4,500 Jewish survivors settled in Montreal. They were followed by almost 36,000 Jews who entered Canada between 1951 and 1956 — the largest five-year immigration total for any period in Canadian Jewish history.

By 1961, 275,000 Jews lived in Canada: 102,725 in Montreal, 85,000 in Toronto, almost 20,000 in Winnipeg, and approximately 67,000 elsewhere in Canada.

Until it began to decline in numbers in the 1960s, Winnipeg was the important “third city” in Canadian Jewish life. By 1991, Vancouver had replaced Winnipeg as the third largest Jewish population center.

Montreal remained the population center of Canadian Jewry until 1981. Between

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel J. Elazar and Harold M. Waller, *Maintaining Consensus: Canadian Jewish Polity in the Postwar World* (Lanham, Md., 1990) and Robert J. Brym, William Shaffir, and Morton Weinfeld, *The Jews in Canada* (New York, 1993) are useful background sources.

1971 and 1981, the Jewish community in Montreal experienced a net loss of about 7,000 persons. This was due to the combined effect of uncertainty over the political future of Quebec in Canada — because of separatist agitation — and a robust economy in Ontario. By 1981, Toronto had become the largest Jewish center. (See table 1.)

In relation to other countries, Canada had the fifth largest Jewish community in the world in 1991.

### *Methodology*

For the purposes of this study, there is no need to enter into the often intense and passionate debate over the definition of “Jewish,” of who is to be counted. The criteria for Jewish membership in this work derive from the methodology of the data source, the Canadian census, which asks two separate questions: “To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did your ancestors belong?” and “To which religion or denomination do you belong?” Respondents to the census are permitted to choose only one religion but they may choose up to four ethnic affiliations. Because the ethnic responses are not reported in order of priority, however, one can only make note of the number of persons who selected Jewish as their ethnicity along with other ethnic choices which they may have indicated.

In both 1981 and 1991 census analyses published by the Council of Jewish Federations–Canada, the definition of “Jew” that is used is as follows: “A Jew is someone who identifies him/herself as being ‘Jewish by religion,’ or ‘Jewish by religion and Jewish by ethnic origin’ or ‘Jewish by ethnic origin with no religion.’” This definition represents the highest degree of consensus among Jewish decision makers. The only group excluded from this analysis are those persons who identified themselves as Jewish by ethnic origin but with a religion other than Jewish.

In addition to the basic identification data, the Canadian census provides a 20-percent sample of 71,200 Jews who provide responses on a wide range of socioeconomic and demographic variables.

Because our data base is the census, analysis is limited to those questions that the census asks. Information regarding attitudes, beliefs, Jewish practices, and Jewish antecedents are not available; therefore, we can provide no information with regard to these important dimensions of Jewish life. However, census data have and will continue to shape more qualitative studies carried out by local federations, which in turn will enhance understanding of the dynamics of Canadian Jewry as it enters its fourth century in North America.

## CENSUS FINDINGS

*Population Size (1981–1991)*

According to the definition provided above, the Jewish population of Canada stood at 356,315 persons in 1991. This figure represents 281,680 persons identified as Jewish by religion and Jewish by ethnic origin; 36,390 persons identified as Jewish by religion with some other ethnic origin; and 38,245 persons who were Jewish by ethnic origin with no listed religion. (See table 2.)

The 1991 total represents an actual growth rate of 14.2 percent and a numerical increase of 44,255 Jews since 1981. This substantial growth did not take place uniformly across Canada. Vancouver experienced the largest percentage increase in its Jewish population (31 percent), while Toronto outdistanced all other Jewish communities in terms of its actual gain in numbers (34,000). Between 1981 and 1991, Toronto's Jewish population increased by 26.4 percent, its population growing from 128,605 to 162,650, which accounted for nearly half (45.6 percent) of Canadian Jewry. In the same period, Montreal's population dropped by 2 percent, from 103,425 to 101,210. Smaller Jewish centers such as Ottawa and Halifax increased in size by more than 20 percent. Only a few Jewish communities experienced a net loss in population (Montreal, Winnipeg, and Windsor), and the losses for Montreal and Winnipeg were far less than what had been expected or previously reported (2.1 percent and 6.2 percent, respectively).

Generally speaking, changes in Jewish community size follow general population trends. Urban centers such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Ottawa, which experienced growth rates of between 28 percent and 31 percent in the past ten years, experienced comparable increases within their Jewish communities. Cities with relatively low growth rates — Montreal, Windsor, and Winnipeg — lost Jewish population in the same period. (See table 1.)

Variations in the size of specific Jewish communities are functions of complex and often competing processes. Immigration, migration within Canada, natural increase, conversion to Judaism, and renewal of Jewish identification by individual Jews account for most gains in population. Outmigration, emigration, death, marrying out, or ceasing to identify as a Jew account for most population losses. Of those factors measured by the census, two of the most significant are immigration and migration.

## IMMIGRANTS AND MIGRANTS

Nostalgic portrayals of Jewish immigrant life along the Main in Montreal, on Spadina in Toronto, and in the North End of Winnipeg a half-century ago are staples of popular culture. There is less awareness, however, of the significant role that immigration still plays in the Jewish community and the extent to which Jews remain a community of immigrants. More than 30,000 Jews immigrated to Canada in the past ten years, representing 8.5 percent of the Canadian Jewish population.

More than 15 percent of all Jews in Canada today arrived in the past 20 years, which is almost twice the percentage of immigrants in the Canadian population as a whole (8.9 percent).

Close to 80 percent of the most recent Jewish immigrants settled in Toronto (16,855) or Montreal (6,785). In Toronto, immigrants account for close to half the Jewish growth rate in the past decade. In Montreal, immigrants counteracted what would otherwise have been a more drastic population loss. (See table 3.)

Smaller Jewish centers vary in the number of immigrants they absorbed. Halifax, Hamilton, and Ottawa received fewer than 500 immigrants each in the last decade, accounting for less than 5 percent of the Jewish community in each of these cities. In Edmonton and Calgary, one out of eight Jews arrived in Canada in the past decade.

One in four Jews who immigrated to Canada between 1981 and 1991 was born in the former Soviet Union, one in five in Israel. Together, Jews born in the Soviet Union or Israel account for almost half of all Jewish immigrants to Canada in the past decade. Jews born in the United States or in South Africa together account for a quarter of Jewish immigrants (14 percent and 11 percent, respectively). (See table 4.)

In French-speaking Quebec, where two out of three Jews speak both English and French, the sources of immigration are somewhat different. Half of all Jews who immigrated to Canada during the past ten years and lived in Montreal in 1991 were born either in Morocco or Israel. Morocco is the most frequently cited place of birth of those Jews born outside of Canada and living in Montreal in 1991. Jews identified as Sephardim — many of them Moroccan-born — accounted for between 15.8 percent and 20.2 percent of Montreal's 101,000-strong Jewish community. (See below for further discussion of this subset of the community.)

Jews who immigrated to Canada between 1981 and 1991 are considerably younger than the Jewish community as a whole. In Montreal, for example, only 8.8 percent were over the age of 65, compared to 22.4 percent of all Jews. One out of four were between the ages of 20 and 34, over 5 percent more than in the Canadian Jewish community as a whole. Similarly, almost 25 percent of Jewish immigrants were between the ages of 35 and 44, compared with 17 percent for all Canadian Jewry.

Migration within Canada is another source of changing demographics. The degree of Jewish mobility is determined from the census question asking respondents where they lived five years ago (1986). (See table 3.) Although Jews have higher rates of immigration than the Canadian population as a whole, they have lower rates of internal migration: 75 percent of all Jews had not moved within that period, compared with 71 percent of all Canadians. In actual numbers, Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal received the largest influx of Jews from other provinces (2,830, 1,065, and 1,025 respectively). To sum up: immigration continues to have a profound impact on the growth rate of the Canadian Jewish community. Interprovincial migration has less of an effect but is significant in certain communities.

## *Demography*

### AGE STRUCTURE

Changes in age composition over the decade 1981–1991 have also contributed to the changing profile of the community. One in five Jews was under the age of 14 in 1991, an increase for that age range of 2.3 percent over the decade. During the same period, the 15–34 age group declined by more than 7 percent, and the 35–54 age group grew comparably larger (6 percent).

The Jewish community continues to age, but this trend may level off temporarily at the turn of the century. Although 17.3 percent of all Jews were over the age of 65 in 1991 — an increase of 1.5 percent — the 55–64 age group dropped from 11.8 percent of the Jewish population in 1981 to 8.4 percent in 1991. This “preretirement” age group now commands a smaller percentage of the Jewish community than it does of the Canadian population as a whole.

At the youngest age levels, the Jewish community increasingly resembles the Canadian population as a whole. Jews have experienced an increase in the percentage of children, while the Canadian population as a whole experienced reductions in this age group. The net effect is that in 1991, 21 percent of all persons in both the Jewish and Canadian populations were in the 0–14 age range. (See table 5.)

Although the Canadian population as a whole is becoming more middle-aged, it remains significantly younger than the Jewish community: 53 percent of all Canadians were under the age of 35, compared to 46 percent among Jews. Similarly, while the percentage of persons in the Canadian population aged 65 and over grew from 8.9 percent in 1981 to 10.8 percent in 1991, that proportion is 17.3 percent for Jews.

The Jewish elderly population aged 75 plus has grown dramatically in the past decade and forms a substantially larger proportion of the Jewish community in 1991 than it did in 1981 (7.7 percent and 5.1 percent, respectively). The elderly are more likely to be women than men (54.2 percent vs. 45.8 percent). This tendency becomes stronger with advancing years: 51.4 percent of all Jews aged 55–64, 53 percent of the 65–74 age group, and 55.6 percent of those aged 75-plus were women.

The changes in age structure affect Jewish communities across Canada differently. Communities that lost population in the past ten years have fewer people below the age of 14, communities gaining in population have more. Certain cities tend to attract young families. In London, Edmonton, Calgary, and Ottawa, almost one in four Jews were under the age of 14.

The opposite relationship seems to apply for older persons. Jewish communities that are losing population have a higher percentage of older persons. Winnipeg, Montreal, and Windsor, the three Jewish communities that lost population in the last decade, had higher than average percentages of persons over the age of 65: 23.9 percent, 22.4 percent, and 18.6 percent, respectively.

## FERTILITY

The birthrate of Canadian women as a whole is higher than that of Jewish women. For example, 10 percent of women aged 35–44 in Canada as a whole had 4-plus children, compared to 5.9 percent of Jewish women in the same age group. For those aged 45–64, 27.7 percent of all women had 4-plus kids, compared with only 13 percent of Jewish women. Only for women aged 15–34 are the figures more equal, with 1.2 percent of all women having 4-plus kids, compared to 1.5 percent of Jewish women. (See table 6.)

The opposite is true in Quebec. Montreal Jewish women have substantially higher birthrates than Montreal women overall. For the 15–34-year-old group, for example, Jewish women have four or more children four times as often as non-Jewish women. The higher Jewish fertility rates may be attributable to higher percentages of Sephardic, immigrant, and older women, all of whom have or had more children than Montreal women in general.

## MARITAL STATUS

Marriage is the preferred relationship among Jews. Almost half of all Jews in Canada (of all ages) — 172,220 individuals — were married in 1991. Another 5.0 percent were divorced or separated; 5.6 percent were widowed; and 41 percent were single and had never been married (this figure includes all Jewish children as well). (See table 7.)

Among Jews aged 20–34 and living in families, 42 percent were single and had never been married, while 56 percent were married.

## HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

As a result of changing values, opportunities, and social and economic pressures, Jews in Canada have made room for and sanctioned a broader variety of relationships than in previous generations. Still, the predominant living arrangement remains the husband-wife family. In 1991, 85 percent of all Canadian Jews lived in families; over 75 percent were in traditional husband-wife families, and 7 percent lived in single-parent families, 81 percent of which were headed by women. Altogether, single-parent families accounted for more than 25,000 Jewish persons in Canada in 1991. Fourteen percent of all Jews lived alone. (See table 8.)

The size of Jewish husband-wife families rose slightly in the period between censuses due to increased numbers of children. As noted above, since Canadian families as a whole became a bit smaller, Canadian and Jewish families have almost the same number of children.

Similarly, the number of single-parent families is on the rise in both the Jewish and Canadian populations. Single-parent households form a larger percentage of the Canadian population than of the Jewish population: 10.4 percent vs. 8.5 percent.

This pattern is consistent across Canada with the exception of Vancouver, which has a slightly higher percentage of Jewish persons in single-parent families than in the Vancouver population as a whole (10.5 percent vs. 9.7 percent).

Single-parent families have fewer children than husband-wife families. Half of all single-parent families had only one child — compared with 16.0 percent of all husband-wife families. Fourteen percent of all Jewish single-parent families had three or more children, compared to 23 percent of Jewish husband-wife families. More than 10,000 children lived with only one parent in the Jewish community in 1991, and these represented more than one out of ten young persons under the age of 19.

Very few Canadian Jewish women have children out of wedlock: 0.5 percent of all Jewish single/never-married women 15 and over had given birth to at least one child in 1991. In Canada as a whole, the comparable figure is 2.3 percent.

Living arrangements for divorced persons vary considerably by gender, with over 50 percent of all Jewish divorced women — who are most likely to be custodial parents — living in families, compared to only 9.7 percent of divorced men.

The 50,000 Jews in Canada who lived alone in 1991 represented 14.2 percent of the Jewish population. This is higher than the overall Canadian rate of 12.3 percent and is probably attributable to the higher percentage of elderly persons in the Jewish community. Of the 61,000 elderly Canadian Jews in 1991, 18,505 lived alone. Thus, while persons over the age of 65 represented 17.3 percent of all Jews, twice this percentage — 37 percent — of all Jews who lived alone were elderly.

The situation of elderly women is particularly striking. While elderly Jewish women account for only 3.9 percent of all Jewish persons in Canada, they make up over 25 percent of Jewish persons living alone. And while elderly Jewish women make up 54.3 percent of the total elderly, they comprise 75 percent of all elderly persons living alone. Elderly men are more likely to live with family members, while elderly women are more likely to be unattached.

Winnipeg, which had the second highest rate of persons living alone (15.8 percent compared to Vancouver's 19.7 percent), had the highest percentage of Jewish elderly (23.9 percent). In Vancouver, only 20 percent of Jews who lived alone were elderly. The remainder represent a larger, young, single population — many of whom recently migrated to Vancouver (15 percent of all Jews who live alone arrived in Vancouver during the past five years).

Of the 34,645 Canadian Jews aged 20–34 who were single, almost two out of three (63.2 percent) lived in families. This high percentage is related to difficult economic circumstances as well as to the strength of traditional family values that may influence young persons to live with their families.

### *Socioeconomic Characteristics*

Generally speaking, Canadian Jews have attained astonishingly high levels of education, are increasingly entering professional occupations, and have higher incomes than Canadians overall. As in the United States, this pattern is an outgrowth



of earlier developments. Immigrant Jews worked long, arduous hours to create opportunities for their children. At the end of World War II — in part as a result of legislation enabling veterans to attend universities — quotas limiting Jewish enrollment came to an end, and large numbers of Jews were able to enroll in universities. The result of this process is the remarkably high level of educational achievement among Jews and their increasing representation in the professions.

## EDUCATION

Half of all Jews (48 percent) aged 15 and over were either enrolled in university or had completed a B.A. degree or higher; 16 percent of all Jews had obtained M.A., M.D., or Ph.D. degrees. The corresponding figures for the Canadian population as a whole were 21 percent and less than 4 percent. (See table 9.)

For the 35–44-year-old age group, levels of educational attainment rise substantially for both Jews and Canadians as a whole. Two-thirds of all Jews between the ages of 35 and 44 were either enrolled in university or had completed at least a B.A. degree, compared to slightly more than one in four among Canadians as a whole.

*Bilingualism in Quebec:* For Jews in Quebec, bilingualism (knowledge of English and French), which is deemed necessary to economic success, is related to education and age. Bilingualism increases with educational level: more than four out of five Montreal Jews in university or having completed a university degree are fluent in both English and French; only half that rate (40 percent) of Jews without a high-school diploma are bilingual.

## INCOME

Canadian Jews are better off economically than are Canadians as a whole, with fewer Jews falling into the lowest income levels. For example, two out of three Canadians (65.2 percent) aged 15 and over in 1991 earned less than \$25,000, compared to 52.6 percent of Jews. Differences in income between Jews and Canadians generally are most noticeable at the upper levels. The proportion of Jews earning over \$75,000 in 1991 was close to four times that in the Canadian population as a whole (10.2 percent vs. 2.6 percent). (See table 10.)

Income levels are related to age; that is, earnings were lower for people in the lowest and highest age ranges (15–34 and 65-plus), the periods in which many individuals have not yet entered, or have retired from, the workforce. Nearly half of all Jews under the age of 35 and almost one in five Jews (18.6 percent) over the age of 65 had incomes of less than \$10,000.

The highest income earners were in the 35–44 and 45–64 age groups. One out of eight Jews between the ages of 35 and 44 earned more than \$75,000 in 1991. Three out of ten earned more than \$45,000, while slightly more than one in ten Jews (11 percent) under the age of 35 earned more than \$45,000. Only two in ten Jews over the age of 65 earned more than \$45,000.

Income and education are positively related. Thus, 26.5 percent of Jews with

master's or higher degrees earned \$75,000 or more in 1991, compared to 11.1 percent of Canadian Jews who were enrolled in university or had completed a bachelor's degree and 5 percent who had not completed high school. The data are equally striking at lower income levels. Three out of four Jews (73.4 percent) aged 15 plus who had not completed high school had incomes below \$25,000 in 1991, compared to 47 percent of Jews currently attending university or having completed a bachelor's degree.

#### OCCUPATIONS

A total of 172,605 Jews listed an occupation in the 1991 census, representing 61.6 percent of all Jews aged 15 and over. (This compared to 63.4 percent of all Canadians.) A much higher percentage of Jews than of the Canadian population as a whole are employed in professional and management positions. Three out of ten Jews aged 15 plus held management and professional positions in 1991, compared to a little more than two out of ten Canadians overall. Jewish professionals include architects and engineers (3.1 percent), human-services workers and teachers (14.1 percent), accountants, notaries, and lawyers (4.5 percent), and physicians, dentists, and surgeons (2.4 percent).

Jews are three times more likely than Canadians as a whole to pursue professional careers in medicine, law, and accounting. Almost one in ten Canadian doctors and dentists were Jewish in 1991. Jews were twice as likely to be managers and administrators and substantially more likely to be employed in the human-services field and in sales. Only in architecture and engineering were Jews and Canadians represented more or less equally.

While Jews comprised 1.3 percent of the total Canadian population in 1991, they accounted for 9.3 percent of all doctors and surgeons; 4.1 percent of accountants, lawyers, and notaries; 2.3 percent of managers and administrators; 2.2 percent of people in sales; and 2.0 percent of human-services professionals. By contrast, the percentage of clerical workers in the Canadian population as a whole was higher than among Jews (13.5 vs. 12), and while 41 percent of all Canadians listed manual labor as their occupation, only 13 percent of Jews did so.

There is a strong relationship between age distribution and occupational trends, with an increasing tendency among younger persons to enter management and the professions. In the 35–44 age group, more than half of all Jews were in management and professional occupations (19.4 percent and 36.9 percent, respectively), compared to 40.4 percent among those aged 45–64. In the 15–34 age group—a population not as far along on its career and educational path—36 percent were so engaged.

Doctors and dentists had the highest incomes in the occupational categories available in this data base: 34 percent earning more than \$125,000 and another 28 percent with incomes in the \$75,000–\$124,000 range. Lawyers, accountants, and notaries had the second highest incomes among Jews in 1991. Persons in manual

and clerical occupations earned the least: 35 percent of manual workers and 26 percent of clerical workers had incomes below \$10,000 in 1991. (See table 11.)

## INDUSTRIES

An analysis of the economic sectors in which Jews and all Canadians are employed reveals significant differences. Jews were three times as likely as the Canadian population as a whole to work in the business services, clothing, and jewelry industries. A higher percentage of Jews were also found in education and human services. Jews were less likely than the Canadian population as a whole to be employed in the food/hotel, construction, and transportation sectors or in government services (3.5 percent of Jews vs. 6.1 percent of all Canadians).

The industry profile is different in different cities. A higher percentage of Montreal Jews worked in industries such as clothing, jewelry, and manufacturing, compared to Jews elsewhere, whereas Toronto Jews were more likely to work in finance and insurance, business services, construction, and retail industries. Education and human services employ substantial numbers of Jews in both the Montreal and Toronto Jewish communities, though these sectors accounted for a much larger percentage of all Jews in Toronto than in Montreal (19.4 percent vs. 14.3 percent).

## LABOR-FORCE ACTIVITY

The overall employment patterns of Jews and the Canadian population as a whole are similar. In 1991, 68 percent of all Canadians and all Jews aged 15 plus were in the labor force. There are important differences, however, in age structure. Jews tend to enter the labor force at the same rate as the Canadian population as a whole: roughly 80 percent of all Canadians and of all Jews between the ages of 15 and 39 were employed in 1991. Jews, however, tend to remain in the labor force longer: 22 percent of all Jews over the age of 65 were still employed in 1991, compared to 9 percent of all Canadians. (See table 12.)

The unemployment rate for Canadians generally was 6.9 percent and for Canadian Jews 5.0 percent. Another 32.0 percent of Canadians and 32.2 percent of Jews were considered to be "not in the labor force."<sup>2</sup> In Montreal, Jews had higher percentages of persons not in the labor force: 38.9 percent compared to 33.1 percent for Montrealers generally. Thus, a substantially smaller portion of the Jewish community in Montreal was employed in 1991 than in the Montreal population generally or in the Jewish and Canadian communities nationally.

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<sup>2</sup>The census defined as unemployed those persons who were on temporary lay-off, who were starting a job within four weeks, or who were looking for work at the time of the census. In a different category, persons "not in the labor force" were defined as people who were not looking for work or who had never worked outside the home. Women homemakers are included in this category.

These figures undoubtedly reflect both the high percentage of elderly persons in the Montreal Jewish community who have retired from the workforce and the significantly larger percentage of Jewish youth who are full-time students. One consequence of this phenomenon is the increased pressure on persons in the workforce to support both their children and their parents and the resulting economic strain on middle-class Jewish families. (In fact, a higher percentage of Jewish women and Jewish elderly men were employed in Montreal in 1991 than were their counterparts in the entire Montreal population.) This economic pressure is likely to increase in the next decade as the 75-plus age cohort grows and Jewish birthrates and rates of university attendance continue to rise.

#### STATUS OF WOMEN

Despite social and economic changes over the last 20 years that have improved the status of women in the labor force, women in general and Jewish women in particular have not achieved equality either in educational attainment or in the workplace. Although roughly the same proportions of Jewish women as Jewish men were enrolled in university or had completed at least a B.A. degree (31.6 percent and 33.1 percent), there was a noticeable gap in the post-B.A. levels of educational attainment: 20 percent of all Jewish men had obtained a graduate degree, compared to 12 percent of Jewish women. Jewish women, however, had higher levels of educational attainment than either Canadian men or women overall, whose own rates of educational attainment were similar. (See table 13.)

Both Jewish women and Canadian women as a whole are underrepresented in the professions. Jewish men were almost twice as likely as Jewish women to be managers, three times as likely to be accountants and lawyers, and four times as likely to be doctors or dentists. Women, on the other hand, were almost twice as likely as men to be teachers or to work in human services. (See table 14.)

Women in both the Jewish community and the Canadian population as a whole have lower rates of labor-force participation than men: 76 percent for men, 60 percent for women. Despite the overall similarity in women's labor-force participation rates for Jewish women and Canadian women as a whole, there are notable differences in the 40-64 age group: 75 percent of Jewish women compared to 63 percent of all Canadian women. Similarly, 12 percent of all Jewish women aged 65 plus were in the labor force, compared to 5 percent of all Canadian women.

Given the differences in levels of education and employment in the professions, women's incomes are predictably lower than those of men. The gaps, however, are far greater than one would expect. Jewish men in Canada were more than four times as likely as Jewish women to earn \$75,000 or over and seven times more likely to earn \$125,000 or higher. Among all Jewish men nationally, 17.3 percent had incomes of \$75,000-plus, compared to only 4 percent of Jewish women. This trend is evident at lower income levels as well. Almost two out of three (63.1 percent) Jewish women aged 15 and over in Canada had incomes below \$25,000, compared to 41.6 percent of Jewish men. (See table 15.)

Although the gaps between men and women have been narrowing, they are still wide. Women remain the primary family caretakers and therefore appear less frequently than men in the paid workforce. When they do, they are less educated, are less likely to have professional jobs, and earn less money. Women are poorer than men and are substantially more likely to live below the poverty line.

#### INVISIBLE POVERTY

The economic success of Canadian Jews as a whole coupled with their long history of support for a broad network of communal, including social-welfare, institutions, tends to mask the presence of persistent poverty in the Jewish community.

The poverty rate for Jews has become virtually indistinguishable from that for all Canadians. One out of six Jews (15.7 percent) lived below the Statistics Canada poverty line or were marginal to it in 1991.<sup>3</sup> The corresponding figure for all Canadians was 18.6 percent. In both communities, a substantially higher percentage of the poor are women, people who live alone, single-parent families, and the elderly. A large percentage of men and women who are poor in both communities are employed.

Poverty among Jews is particularly prevalent at the higher age levels. Although the elderly (65-plus) comprised only 17 percent of the total Jewish population in 1991, they accounted for one out of three Jewish poor persons. In the youngest age group, 13 percent of all Jewish children under 14 lived in poverty. This age group constituted 21 percent of all Jews but only 18 percent of all the Jewish poor. (See table 16.)

Poverty continues to affect women more than men: 56 percent of all the Jewish poor in 1991 were women. This trend intensifies among the elderly. One out of three elderly Jewish women lived below the poverty line in 1991, compared to one out of five Jewish men.

Single-parent families and persons who live alone are at much greater risk of being poor. Among the Canadian population as a whole, almost half of these two groups lived below the poverty line. Among Jews, three out of ten persons in single-parent families and almost four out of ten persons who lived alone in 1991 were poor. This pattern is intensified among women who are elderly: 52 percent of all Jewish women aged 65 and over who lived alone in 1991 lived in poverty. The corresponding figure for Canadians as a whole was 60 percent.

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<sup>3</sup>Data were obtained by utilizing the Statistics Canada poverty line in both 1981 and 1991. The marginal line adds about 2 percent to the Jewish poverty rate as well as to the poverty rate for the entire population. This marginal line was first introduced in 1975 and has been utilized to analyze poverty among Jews in the 1971, 1981, and 1991 censuses. It was developed from a consensus among Jewish federation decision makers that the additional costs related to maintaining a Jewish life-style (e.g., keeping a kosher home) needed to be added to the Statistics Canada poverty line. The marginal line has been utilized in both the 1981 and 1991 demographic series.

## *Two Significant Subgroups*

### HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS

Holocaust survivors have played a pivotal role in the institutional and cultural development of the Canadian Jewish community. In contrast to the portrayal of Holocaust survivors primarily as victims overwhelmed by physical and psychological traumas, they have in fact shown great resiliency as they rebuilt their lives in Canada, demonstrating strong love of family and community. They revived or created organizations and became integral members of already existing organizations, such as the Canadian Jewish Congress, bringing to them a richness of "belief, tradition and culture" derived from their countries of origin.<sup>4</sup>

In census terms, Holocaust survivors are defined as persons who were born prior to 1945, in countries that were occupied by the Nazis, and who immigrated to Canada after 1939. To identify those individuals, three sets of census data were analyzed: age, year of immigration, and place of birth. For example, if a person was 75 in 1991, had entered Canada in 1949, and was born in Poland, we assume that she or he is a Holocaust survivor. Further, child survivors are defined as persons who were 16 or under at the end of World War II in 1945, or between the ages of 46 and 62 in 1991.

There are some obvious limitations to the definition. It includes persons who left the subsequent Nazi zone before the war and lived in other safe countries before arriving in Canada. For example, persons whose place of birth was Germany, but who went to the United States in 1928 and arrived in Canada in 1951 are still considered Holocaust survivors by our definition. Also, in order to retrieve uniform information, we defined the earliest year of immigration to Canada as 1939. This results in omitting from our count those few Austrian and German Jews who managed to escape Nazi terror and to enter Canada between 1933 and 1939. Despite these limitations, we feel that the present definition is sufficiently encompassing to allow us to provide the first census-based demographic profile of Canadian Holocaust survivors.

Overall, there are more than 27,000 Holocaust survivors in Canada, representing 7.7 percent of the total Jewish population. Montreal initially received the largest number of survivors, but in line with the mobility patterns characterizing all Canadian Jews, population shifts occurred.<sup>5</sup> In 1991, 46.8 percent of all survivors lived in Toronto and close to one-third in Montreal.

Montreal's Jewish community included 8,340 survivors, or 8.3 percent of its Jewish population; Toronto had 12,685 survivors, or 7.8 percent of its Jewish population. (See table 17.) The four most frequent countries of birth for Holocaust

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<sup>4</sup>M. Giberovitch, "The Contributions of Montreal Holocaust Survivor Organizations to Jewish Communal Life" (M.A. thesis, McGill University School of Social Work, Montreal, 1988), p. 110. See also J.J. Sigal and M. Weinfeld, *Trauma and Rebirth* (Montreal, 1989).

<sup>5</sup>J. Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving* (Montreal, 1962).

survivors in Canada are Poland (37.5 percent), USSR (20.5 percent), Romania (13.8 percent), and Hungary (12.6 percent). (See table 18.)

Almost 70 percent of Holocaust survivors are over the age of 65; the balance are "child" survivors (aged 46–62 in 1991).

In contrast to the Jewish elderly overall in Canada, there are more elderly male Holocaust survivors in Canada than females. Elderly male survivors made up 34.2 percent of all Jewish elderly males, while elderly female survivors accounted for only 27.5 percent of all elderly Jewish women. This difference may be attributed both to different survival rates of men and women in the Holocaust and to immigration policies in the 1940s and 1950s that limited immigration to persons of specific occupations, generally favoring males.<sup>6</sup>

Fertility rates of elderly survivor women are substantially lower than those of elderly Jewish women in general. Whereas 9.9 percent of all elderly Jewish women in Montreal had four or more children over the course of their lives, only 3.7 percent of elderly women survivors had four or more children. Many factors can account for this lower rate of fertility, including interrupted family life, medical experimentation conducted by the Nazis, and the harsh conditions that may have seriously affected women's reproductive capabilities.

Elderly Holocaust survivors are more likely to live in families than elderly Jews in general: 76.3 percent vs. 70 percent. This difference undoubtedly relates to the strong emphasis survivors place on the nuclear family and the sense of responsibility their children feel, given the great losses their parents experienced. For survivor families and their children, institutionalization or living alone is considered to be a last resort. Among those elderly survivors who did live alone, women outnumbered men: 34.8 percent vs. 13.1 percent.

#### SEPHARDIC JEWS

Jews categorized as "Sephardic" have become a significant minority in the Canadian Jewish community, especially in Montreal. Analysis of this group is complicated by problems of definition, however. Strictly speaking, according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, the term refers to "descendants of Jews who lived in Spain or Portugal before the expulsion of 1492." After their expulsion, these "Sephardim" (from the Hebrew word for Spain) dispersed throughout the Middle East, as well as to France, Holland, England, and Italy, and to Eastern Europe. Bringing their traditions with them, they developed a distinct language (Ladino), literature, and religious customs. In recent times the term has been extended to include, and is most often applied to, Jews from North Africa and the Middle East, though this designation is often erroneous.

Many Sephardim in Canada originated in French-speaking North Africa, Mo-

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<sup>6</sup>Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933–1948* (Toronto, 1982). The authors note that only specific categories of "war orphans" and persons with specialized trades such as furriers were allowed to immigrate.

rocco in particular. With the deterioration of conditions for Jews in Morocco after the creation of the State of Israel, most Jews moved to Israel. Others moved to France, and a smaller number immigrated to Canada, where the largest concentration is in Montreal.

Not all Sephardim, however, are from North Africa, and not all Sephardim speak French. Moreover, there are many Jews whose mother tongue is French but who are Ashkenazi Jews. And, while most Middle Eastern Jews follow Sephardic rituals, an important percentage do not. There is also the question of how to identify children resulting from marriages between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews or children of Sephardim who moved to Israel and then to Canada and who may have lived in other countries, such as the United States.

Since the census does not ask about Sephardi or Ashkenazi origin, Sephardic identity must be inferred from the data. The three items on the census that can be utilized for this purpose are place of birth, mother tongue, and year of immigration. Each of these is problematic, however. Places of birth that are likely to be Sephardic include Middle Eastern countries and North Africa. However, France and Israel, approximately half of whose Jewish populations are Sephardic, should also be taken into account. As noted above, there is also the question of children born in Canada or the United States to North African parents.

Mother tongue may be a second indicator of Sephardic identity. Jews who indicate that their mother tongue is Spanish or Arabic are likely to be Sephardim, but these persons are a small minority in the Canadian Jewish community. French is a better indicator of Sephardic identity, since Morocco is the largest single source of Jewish immigration to Canada, and Moroccan Jews are primarily French-speaking. Jews from France and Belgium, whose mother tongue is French, may or may not be Sephardic. Again, persons whose mother tongue is Hebrew — half of whom may be of Sephardic origin — could conceivably be included.

Period of immigration is the third factor that can be used to approximate who is Sephardic. The major French-speaking Sephardic immigration to Canada occurred between 1958 and the mid-1970s; however, it is harder to pinpoint other population movements before and after that include Sephardic Jews.

How many Sephardic Jews live in Canada? Given the limitations of the data, we have developed an estimated range of between 18,870 and 25,805 Sephardic Jews living in Canada in 1991. The lower figure is based on the place-of-birth variable, and the higher on mother tongue. By either criterion, 75 to 80 percent of all Sephardim in Canada live in Montreal. Because of their numerical strength and their centrality to Montreal Jewish life, the subsequent analysis will be limited to that population.

*Age Structure:* The analysis of age structure is based on mother tongue rather than place of birth, since most persons in the youngest age range were born in Canada and would not otherwise be counted.

Jews with a mother tongue of French or Hebrew are considerably younger than the Montreal Jewish community as a whole. Among Jews whose mother tongue is



French or Hebrew, 22.7 percent and 23.7 percent, respectively, were under the age of 14 in 1991, compared to a 19-percent average for all Jews in Montreal. Similarly, only 10 percent of Jews whose mother tongue is French and only 6 percent whose mother tongue is Hebrew were over the age of 65 in 1991, compared to 22.4 percent for all of Montreal's Jews.

Jews whose mother tongue is Arabic or Spanish are somewhat older than the Jewish community as a whole. These persons in fact represent an older generation, and their mother tongues are not being passed on significantly. Still, Sephardim as a whole are considerably younger than the Jewish community average.

*Household Structure:* Fewer Sephardic Jews live alone than the Montreal Jewish average: 10.1 percent of Moroccan-born Jews lived alone, compared to 14.1 percent of the Jewish community as a whole. Similarly, Moroccan-born Jews tend to have larger families: 44 percent of all households headed by a person born in Morocco consisted of four or more people, compared to 22.1 percent of all Montreal Jewish households. A similar pattern obtains for households headed by persons whose mother tongue is French or Hebrew: 32.6 percent of all French mother-tongue households and 34.2 percent of all Hebrew mother-tongue households consisted of four or more persons.

*Education and Income:* Persons with a mother tongue of French have somewhat lower levels of educational attainment than the Montreal Jewish average. The proportion of all Jews currently enrolled in university or who had completed a bachelor's degree or higher in 1991 was 42 percent, compared to 37 percent of persons whose mother tongue is French. (See table 19.)

Jews whose mother tongue is French have smaller incomes than the Montreal Jewish community as a whole, and these differences are most noticeable at both the high and low ends of the income range. Almost twice as many Jews overall had incomes over \$75,000 as Jews whose mother tongue is French (9.1 percent vs. 5.0 percent). Similarly, 37.8 percent of Jews whose mother tongue is French earned less than \$10,000, compared to 31.3 percent of the entire Montreal Jewish community aged 15 plus and living in families. (See table 20.) Poverty levels are higher as well. One out of four Jews born in Morocco or Israel lived below the poverty line in 1991, compared to one out of five in the community as a whole.

### *Patterns of Jewish Identification and Inter-marriage*

#### INTERMARRIAGE

Information on intermarriage is based on the count of self-reported Jewish persons living in families in which at least one spouse was not Jewish, based on the standard definition utilized throughout this study. (The census data do not allow for distinctions between Jews by birth and converts, those who became Jews by choice.) In 1991, 16.4 percent of all Jewish persons living in married households

reported one non-Jewish spouse.<sup>7</sup> Nationally, 14 percent of all Jews, or nearly 47,000 persons, lived in intermarried families. This represents a substantial increase in the last ten years, when the rate was 9.7 percent.

Younger Jews have higher intermarriage rates than older Jews: 18 percent of all 19–39-year-olds living in married households were part of intermarried families. In the 25–39-year-old age group — the group with the highest likelihood of recent marriages, the intermarriage rate was 20.9 percent, over 7 percentage points higher than the Canadian rate overall. By contrast, 14 percent of all persons aged 40–64 and 5 percent of persons aged 65-plus lived in intermarried families.

As in 1981,<sup>8</sup> Jews who marry non-Jews had higher levels of educational achievement than Jews who marry other Jews: 34.6 percent of all persons over age 19 in Canada in 1991 were either studying at university at the bachelor's level or had already received a B.A. degree, compared to 37 percent of Jews in the same age range living in intermarried families. At the graduate level, 17.3 percent of all Jews over age 19 had completed a graduate degree, compared to 23 percent of that age group in intermarried families.

Similarly, a somewhat higher proportion of Jews who marry non-Jews have incomes of \$45,000 or over: 20.8 percent of all Jewish persons in intermarried families, compared to 19.4 percent of all Jewish persons in families. At lower income levels, 16.6 percent of Jews in intermarried families in Canada had incomes below \$10,000, compared to 21.4 percent of all Jewish families.

In terms of origins, intermarriage is far more common among persons born in Canada and other countries of the West than among persons born elsewhere; Russians and other Eastern Europeans have far lower intermarriage rates than persons born in Canada, the United States, or Western Europe, as do persons born in North Africa (i.e., Morocco).

Substantially more Jewish men than Jewish women marry someone who is not Jewish. Among all intermarried families, 49 percent included Jewish men married to non-Jewish women and 42 percent Jewish women married to non-Jewish men. This despite the fact that the gender mix in the Canadian community is 49.4 percent male and 50.6 percent female. The remaining 9 percent of persons in intermarried families represent Jewish children living in families where the head of the household is a single non-Jewish parent. This situation most likely pertains to children of intermarriage who, upon the divorce of their parents, continued to live with the non-Jewish parent.

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<sup>7</sup>The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey conducted by the Council of Jewish Federations found an intermarriage rate of 28 percent in the United States. The two data sets are not exactly matched. The Canadian data include all persons living in the household, while the U.S. study reports only the religion of the married couple.

<sup>8</sup>J. Torczyner, *The Jewish Family in Canada* (Council of Jewish Federations–Canada, 1985).

## PATTERNS OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

As previously mentioned, the definition of "Jewish" in this study is based on the interplay of the ethnic origin and religion variables. What cannot be determined from the census is what the individual responses (religion alone, religion and ethnic origin, ethnic origin and no religion) mean in terms of the strength or content of the respondent's Jewish identity. Still, an analysis of the data suggests that ethnic identification alone reflects weaker Jewish ties and commitment than ethnic combined with religious identification.

Looking at the data on Jews who identify only on the dimension of ethnic origin, with no religion (approximately one out of ten Jews), an interesting pattern of geographic variation emerges. (See table 2.) Montreal has the lowest rate of "non-religious identification" at 4.4 percent, followed closely by Toronto at 7.1 percent. Vancouver's rate, by contrast, is close to 26 percent, followed by Halifax and Ottawa at 10.9 percent and 14.2 percent, respectively. The same geographic pattern obtains for the close to 50,000 persons who identified with a religion other than Jewish while indicating at least part of their ethnic origin to be Jewish: the lowest proportions were in Montreal and Toronto, the highest in Halifax and Vancouver. When the two ethnically identified groups ("no religion" and "other religion") are combined, they account for 9 percent and 13 percent of the Jewish population in Montreal and Toronto and 48 percent and 44 percent in Halifax and Vancouver.

There is a strong correlation between type of identification and intermarriage rates: those communities in which a higher percentage of Jews identified by ethnic origin without religious affiliation also had higher rates of intermarriage. Montreal had the lowest intermarriage rate (6.6 percent) and Vancouver the highest (24.3 percent). (See table 21.)

The marked differences across Canada in both intermarriage rate and type of identification are associated with both the size and the institutional completeness of the different communities. The two largest Jewish centers have the lowest rates of intermarriage (Montreal, Toronto), while generally speaking, smaller Jewish population centers have higher rates of intermarriage. Data on communities with fewer than one hundred Jews point to intermarriage rates so high that often there is not a single family in which both husband and wife are Jewish.

The situation in small communities reflects two mutually reinforcing phenomena: on the one hand, young Jews who wish to find Jewish partners leave small communities and move to bigger centers — leaving behind those persons who are more assimilated and less concerned about this issue. Simultaneously — leaving aside Toronto for the moment — it has been the smaller communities that have experienced the most rapid growth, often from young people who may also be less concerned about marrying another Jew.

"Institutional completeness" refers to the number, variety, and nature of institutions in a community. Such institutions as schools, synagogues, community centers, and the like serve as important communal reference points and provide opportuni-

ties for persons to meet and interact. Obviously, larger communities have more people and greater resources with which to support institutional life, and communities with a longer history are likely to have a greater repertoire of institutions. Thus, the older community of Winnipeg — despite the fact that it has fewer Jews than Vancouver — has a lower rate of intermarriage than the younger community.

Rapidly developing communities have fewer institutional resources. Existing resources become strained in attempting to identify new members and respond to their needs. As suggested above, communal affiliation may not be a priority for persons who move to cities with small Jewish populations and few institutional resources. At best, there is a considerable time lag before rapidly expanding communities can establish a more elaborate institutional framework. Thus, Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton, which have experienced rapid growth within a relatively short historical period, have high rates of intermarriage. (The fact that intermarriage rates are lower in the upper age ranges also helps to explain the lower rates in cities like Montreal, Windsor, and Winnipeg, which have higher percentages of elderly.)

#### U.S.-CANADA COMPARISON

By whatever method intermarriage rates are calculated, those in Canada are substantially lower than those in the United States. Three factors are suggested to explain the differences. One is immigration. A higher percentage of Canadian Jews are immigrants, and immigrants have lower rates of intermarriage. According to the 1990 U.S. National Jewish Population Study, 92 percent of all American Jews were born in the United States.<sup>9</sup> Only 67 percent of all Canadian Jews were born in Canada. Among Jews who immigrated to Canada between 1981 and 1991, only 8 percent lived in families in which one of the partners was not Jewish. Not only are immigrants less likely to intermarry, they are more likely to live more traditional Jewish life-styles, have larger families, and live in cities with well-developed Jewish institutional networks. In the last ten years, 80 percent of Jewish immigrants to Canada settled in Toronto or Montreal.

A second factor is population density: almost three out of four Canadian Jews live in the major urban centers of Toronto and Montreal (74 percent), and in each of these cities intermarriage rates are substantially lower than the Canadian average. These cities have Jewish populations of over 100,000. In the United States, only half of Jews live in cities with Jewish populations of 100,000 or more persons. As we have already indicated, there is a strong correlation between lower intermarriage rates and communities that have larger Jewish populations and a broader network of Jewish institutional life.

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<sup>9</sup>Barry A. Kosmin et al., *Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey* (New York, Council of Jewish Federations, 1991). See also Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," *AJYB* 1992, vol. 92, pp. 77-173.

The third factor is ethnic identification. In general this is stronger in Canada and not just among the Jews. Canada has distinct French and English cultures and traditions as well as a policy of multiculturalism that encourages expression of ethnic identity. While the census does not provide data on qualitative aspects of Jewish identification, other studies have examined this dimension. In particular, data from the "CRB Study," as analyzed and published by Federation CJA (formerly known as Allied Jewish Community Services),<sup>10</sup> point to demonstrably higher levels of Jewish identity and practice in Montreal, which are in part related to the heightened awareness of ethnic and religious identity in that city. The report states that "the proportion of Orthodox Jews in Montreal is higher than those of other Jewish communities across the continent. For instance, at 24% it is higher than New York (13%), Miami (11%), Toronto (10%). . . ."<sup>11</sup> According to these data, synagogue attendance and membership rates are very high, rates of Jewish education are second only to Dallas in North America, and levels of ritual observance — such as attending a Passover seder, lighting Sabbath candles, and fasting on Yom Kippur — are substantially higher than in Toronto and in the United States overall.

### *Some Conclusions and Implications*

Largely as a result of immigration, between 1981 and 1991 the Canadian Jewish community grew by 14 percent — a more rapid growth rate than that of the Canadian population as a whole. As a result of the increase, Canada now has the fifth largest Jewish population in the world. Canadian Jews maintain high levels of Jewish identity and are increasingly well educated, professional, and economically successful. Even though Jewish continuity appears secure, demographic changes confront Canadian Jewry with a number of challenges.

While some communities have grown dramatically, others have lost population. Whereas Toronto and Montreal were in the past of similar size and shared comparable influence, Toronto has grown by 70 percent in the last 20 years and is now home to nearly half of Canadian Jews. Increasingly, national and international Jewish attention and power are focused in Toronto, with Jewish organizations moving to or establishing their headquarters in that city.

Because of Canada's more decentralized governance (compared with the United States) and the delicate relations between English and French Canada, the decline of Jewish population and influence in Montreal has definite political implications. With Jewish numbers and influence more and more concentrated in Ontario, the Jewish community may well have difficulty maintaining equitable representation and relationships in Quebec and other regions.

In the west, Vancouver is the most rapidly expanding Jewish community and is

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<sup>10</sup>*Montreal Jewish Community: Attitudes, Beliefs and Behaviours*. Allied Jewish Community Services, Community Planning Department, Montreal, 1991.

<sup>11</sup>*Montreal Jewish Community*, p. 22.

now the third largest Jewish community in Canada. Vancouver also has the highest rates of intermarriage in Canada, the highest percentage of unaffiliated Jews, and the weakest measures of Jewish identity. As the Jewish population is likely to continue growing, the challenge to the national Jewish agenda is to create institutional resources in that city and an enriched Jewish community that may stimulate increased identification.

The intermarriage rate of Canadian Jews is lower than that of American Jews, but it is increasing. The data do not at present suggest that the Canadian experience will parallel the American one, but communal attention should clearly be directed toward relevant age groups and Jews in particular cities.

Cities with declining Jewish populations like Winnipeg and Montreal have the highest percentages of Jewish elderly. They face issues of youth retention, attracting immigrants, responding to the needs of the elderly, and maintaining necessary institutional infrastructure.

Although the community has been ambivalent in its response to Russian and Israeli immigrants — based on the feeling that Israel should be their home — the fact is that they constitute the majority of Jewish immigrants to Canada. Distinct Russian, Israeli, and North African Jewish communities, for example, are being formed in various parts of Canada, suggesting that the issue of inclusion and representation of these emerging groups needs to be addressed. For the significant minority of Sephardic Jews, maintaining community cohesion and enriching their institutions are priorities.

Communal concern is also needed for the growing number of single parents and their children and for women who are in the workforce and responsible for both children at home and aging parents. Remaining social and economic barriers to women's equality also require advocacy.

One of the most pressing concerns is "invisible" poverty, with one out of six Jews in Canada living below the poverty line — which is comparable to the poverty rate among all Canadians. The Jewish poor are a minority among Jews because they are poor and a minority among the Canadian poor because they are Jews. They have virtually no representation in Jewish communal bodies; yet, with likely cuts in governmental social benefits, their needs will inevitably increase. Project Genesis, funded by the Montreal Federation, is a model program in which volunteers assist the poor to develop new services and advocate for government assistance.

The Jewish community in Canada has undergone a profound and unparalleled demographic transformation in the past two decades. Despite increasing concerns about rising rates of poverty and intermarriage and changes in family status, the prospects for the future of Canadian Jewry remain decidedly positive. The number of Jews has steadily increased, Jewish identity is still relatively strong, and the proportion of children continues to rise. By responding positively and creatively to the changing needs of an increasingly diverse Jewish population, the organized

Jewish community can help to insure a thriving Jewish life in Canada well into the 21st century.

JIM L. TORCZYNER  
SHARI L. BROTMAN

TABLE 1. POPULATION GROWTH, JEWISH AND TOTAL, CANADA AND SELECTED CITIES, 1981-1991

Location	Jewish Population 1981	Jewish Population 1991	% Change	Total Population 1981	Total Population 1991	% Change
Canada	312,060	356,315	+14.2	23,797,380	26,994,045	+13.4
Halifax	1,455	1,755	+20.6	269,890	317,630	+17.7
Montreal	103,425	101,210	- 2.1	2,774,000	3,091,115	+11.4
Ottawa-Hull	9,130	11,555	+26.6	711,915	912,095	+28.1
Toronto	128,650	162,605	+26.4	2,954,910	3,863,110	+30.7
Hamilton	4,650	5,145	+10.6	534,380	593,800	+11.1
London	2,330	2,670	+14.6	277,540	376,720	+35.7
Windsor	2,125	1,785	-16.0	241,600	259,290	+ 7.3
Winnipeg	16,050	15,050	- 6.2	572,210	645,610	+12.8
Calgary	6,065	7,155	+18.0	580,585	748,210	+28.9
Edmonton	4,665	5,430	+16.4	643,795	832,160	+29.3
Vancouver	14,795	19,375	+31.0	1,235,855	1,584,115	+28.2



TABLE 2. CANADIAN JEWS BY IDENTITY DEFINITION, CANADA AND SELECTED CITIES, 1991

Location	JROE	%	JRJE	%	NRJE	%	Total	%
Canada	36,390	10.2	281,680	79.1	38,245	10.7	356,315	100.0
Halifax	90	6.3	1,175	82.7	155	10.9	1,420	100.0
Montreal	9,980	9.9	86,735	85.7	4,500	4.4	101,210	100.0
Ottawa-Hull	1,200	10.4	8,710	75.4	1,645	14.2	11,555	100.0
Toronto	17,370	10.7	133,745	82.3	11,485	7.1	162,605	100.0
Hamilton	625	12.1	3,830	74.4	685	13.3	5,145	100.0
London	375	14.0	1,815	68.0	475	17.8	2,670	100.0
Windsor	240	13.4	1,325	74.2	225	12.6	1,785	100.0
Winnipeg	645	4.3	12,685	84.3	1,720	11.4	15,050	100.0
Calgary	650	9.1	4,805	67.2	1,695	23.7	7,155	100.0
Edmonton	445	8.2	3,595	66.2	1,385	25.5	5,430	100.0
Vancouver	1,965	10.1	12,400	64.0	5,015	25.9	19,375	100.0

JROE Jewish religion, other than Jewish ethnic origin

JRJE Jewish religion, Jewish ethnic origin

NRJE No religion, Jewish ethnic origin

TABLE 3. IMMIGRANTS AND INTERPROVINCIAL MOVERS, CANADA AND SELECTED CITIES, 1991

Location	Percentage of Immigrants	Percentage of Movers
Canada overall	8.5	13.0
Halifax	1.7	3.3
Montreal	7.5	1.0
Ottawa-Hull	3.8	3.8
Toronto	10.6	2.0
Hamilton	4.0	.7
London	5.0	0.0
Windsor	7.2	0.0
Winnipeg	2.2	1.1
Calgary	12.2	3.0
Edmonton	13.5	2.5
Vancouver	6.0	6.0

TABLE 4. BIRTHPLACE OF JEWISH IMMIGRANTS, 1981-1991

Birthplace	Percentage
USA	14.0
West, North, South Europe, Scandinavia	9.4
East Europe excl. USSR	7.2
USSR	24.2
Middle East excl. Israel	2.0
Israel	19.2
South Africa	11.0
Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia	7.3
Asia	1.2
South America	2.3
Other	1.2
Total	100.0

TABLE 5. AGE DISTRIBUTION, CANADIAN JEWS, 1981 AND 1991

	1981	1991	% Change
All Ages	312,060	356,325	+14.2
0-4	19,795	25,895	+2.3
5-9	18,785	25,925	
10-14	19,145	23,035	
15-19	20,640	22,180	-2.0
20-24	23,330	20,560	
25-29	27,015	21,735	
30-34	29,700	25,305	-5.0
35-39	21,165	30,460	
40-44	15,275	31,975	
45-49	15,110	22,205	+5.7
50-54	15,935	15,715	+7
55-59	19,125	14,335	
60-64	17,760	15,665	
65-69	18,275	18,335	-1.2
70-74	15,160	15,910	
75-79	9,090	13,715	
80-84	4,675	8,760	+1.9
85-89	1,610	3,515	+7
90+	460	1,100	

TABLE 6. FERTILITY RATES, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, BY AGE, 1991

	15-34				35-44			
	<u>Number of children</u>							
	1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4+
Canadian Jews	10.6	10.6	3.2	1.5	14.6	40.8	18.1	5.9
All Canadians	11.1	11.3	4.0	1.2	15.3	39.6	19.3	10.0

  

	45-64				65+			
	<u>Number of children</u>							
	1	2	3	4+	1	2	3	4+
Canadian Jews	10.6	38.0	28.2	13.0	17.1	38.1	21.8	9.9
All Canadians	10.2	27.2	22.2	27.7	12.1	20.4	16.8	33.6

TABLE 7. MARITAL STATUS, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Marital Status	Jews	All Canadians
Married	48.6	48.8
Divorced/separated	5.0	5.2
Widowed	5.6	4.4
Single	40.9	41.6
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 8. FAMILY STATUS, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Family Status	Canadian Jews	All Canadians
Husband-wife families	76.1	74.3
Single-parent females	5.8	7.5
Single-parent males	1.4	1.5
All other families	1.9	3.6
Unattached persons	14.2	12.3
Total persons	100.0	100.0

TABLE 9. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, AGED 15+, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Education	Jews	All Canadians
Less than high school	23.8	38.1
High school	11.9	14.8
Trade certif.	16.4	26.3
Univ. to B.A.	32.3	16.8
Above B.A.	15.5	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 10. INCOME, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Income Ranges	Jews	All Canadians
< \$10,000	26.4	34.0
\$10,000–\$24,999	26.2	31.0
\$25,000–\$44,999	23.0	24.0
\$45,000–\$74,999	14.5	8.6
\$75,000–\$124,999	6.2	2.1
\$125,000+	4.0	.6

TABLE 11. INCOME OF CANADIAN JEWS, BY OCCUPATION, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	\$10,000– \$25,000– \$45,000– \$75,000–						Total
	< \$10,000	\$24,999	\$44,999	\$74,999	\$124,999	\$125,000+	
Manager	6.1	14.1	28.6	27.0	14.1	10.1	100.0
Architect, engineer	10.0	14.9	30.4	34.6	8.5	1.5	100.0
Human services	19.0	24.2	27.4	21.9	5.9	1.6	100.0
Clerical	25.8	36.5	28.7	7.0	1.5	.3	100.0
Sales	22.7	23.7	26.9	15.1	7.8	3.6	100.0
Manual	35.0	30.1	23.5	9.2	1.5	.6	100.0
Accountant, notary, lawyer	5.4	11.1	24.1	25.7	18.4	15.3	100.0
Doctor, dentist	3.2	5.5	11.3	17.9	27.9	34.2	100.0

TABLE 12. LABOR-FORCE STATUS, BY AGE, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

	15-39	40-64	65+
		<u>Canadian Jews</u>	
In labor force	77.9	83.6	21.9
Out of labor force	22.1	16.4	78.1
		<u>All Canadians</u>	
In labor force	79.6	73.9	9.2
Out of labor force	20.4	26.1	90.8

TABLE 13. EDUCATION BY GENDER, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Education	Jewish Women	Jewish Men	Canadian Women	Canadian Men
Less than high school	24.9	22.6	38.5	37.7
High school	14.0	9.8	16.4	13.1
Trade certif.	17.8	15.0	25.5	27.2
Univ. to B.A.	31.6	33.1	16.7	17.0
Above B.A.	11.6	19.5	2.9	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 14. OCCUPATION BY GENDER, AGES 15-64, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Occupation	Jewish Women	Jewish Men	Canadian Women	Canadian Men
Manager	11.0	19.2	6.2	10.6
Architect, engineer	1.7	5.8	1.3	5.1
Human services/teaching	22.0	12.5	14.4	6.4
Clerical	22.2	6.5	23.8	6.5
Sales	11.0	16.3	7.3	8.0
Manual	7.2	16.3	18.8	47.3
Acct., notary, lawyer	2.7	8.1	1.5	1.8
Doctor, dentist	1.1	4.6	.2	.5

TABLE 15. INCOME BY GENDER, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

Income Range	Jewish Men	Jewish Women	Canadian Men	Canadian Women
< \$10,000	20.9	31.7	23.7	43.7
\$10,000-\$24,999	20.7	31.4	27.5	34.7
\$25,000-\$44,999	22.2	22.8	30.3	17.0
\$45,000-\$74,999	18.9	10.0	14.6	3.7
\$75,000-\$124,999	10.1	2.9	2.9	.5
\$125,000+	7.2	1.1	1.1	.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 16. POVERTY RATES BY AGE AND GENDER, CANADIAN JEWS AND ALL CANADIANS, 1991

Age & Gender	Canadian Jews				All Canadians			
	Number	% of Entire Pop.	% of Poor Age Group	% of Entire Poor	Number	% of Entire Pop.	% of Poor Age Group	% of Entire Poor
0-14	74,345	21.0	13.4	17.9	5,615,405	21.0	19.8	22.4
15-34	89,040	25.1	15.6	25.0	8,556,365	32.0	19.1	32.9
35-54	99,885	28.2	10.7	19.2	7,259,040	27.2	13.1	18.9
55-64	29,890	8.4	12.6	6.7	2,364,075	8.9	18.6	8.9
65-74	34,075	9.6	22.0	13.5	1,830,805	6.9	23.6	8.7
75+	27,130	7.7	36.3	17.7	1,082,280	4.1	36.6	8.0
Male	175,140	49.4	14.0	43.9	13,160,835	49.3	16.7	44.1
Female	179,225	50.6	17.4	56.1	13,547,135	50.7	20.5	55.9
M 65+	28,045	7.9	22.1	11.1	1,244,630	4.7	21.4	5.3
F 65+	33,160	9.4	33.6	20.0	1,668,455	6.2	33.7	11.3

TABLE 17. HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS, NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL JEWS (MONTREAL, TORONTO, CANADA), 1991

Location		Number of Survivors	Number of All Jews	% Survivors of All Jewish Persons
Montreal	Male	4,485	48,705	9.2
	Female	3,855	52,050	7.4
	Total	8,340	100,755	8.3
Toronto	Male	6,760	79,700	8.5
	Female	5,925	82,145	7.2
	Total	12,685	161,845	7.8
Canada	Male	14,185	175,140	8.1
	Female	12,945	179,225	7.2
	Total	27,130	354,365	7.6



TABLE 18. HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1991

Place of Birth	Number	Percentage
Austria	610	2.3
Belgium	260	1.0
France	495	1.8
Netherlands	100	.4
Germany	1,055	3.9
Albania & Greece	15	.06
Italy	45	.2
Yugoslavia	110	.4
Czechoslovakia	1,535	5.7
Hungary	3,415	12.6
Poland	10,180	37.5
Romania	3,750	13.8
USSR	5,560	20.5
Total	27,130	100.0

TABLE 19. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, FRENCH-SPEAKING JEWS AND ALL JEWS IN FAMILIES, MONTREAL, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

	Less Than High School	High School	Trade Certificate	University to B.A.	Above B.A.
French- speaking	21.0	17.0	25.0	26.8	10.3
All Jews	25.0	15.0	17.2	29.6	12.3

TABLE 20. INCOME, FRENCH-SPEAKING JEWS AND ALL JEWS IN FAMILIES, MONTREAL, 1991 (PERCENTAGES)

	< \$10,000	\$10,000– \$24,999	\$25,000– \$44,999	\$45,000– \$74,999	\$75,000+
French-speaking	37.8	25.6	21.1	11.4	5.0
All Jews	31.3	26.0	20.1	14.1	9.1

TABLE 21. INTERMARRIAGE RATES, CANADA AND SELECTED CITIES, 1991

Location	Percentage Intermarried
Canada overall	12.9
Calgary	20.3
Edmonton	22.9
Halifax	19.1
Hamilton	16.3
London	17.4
Montreal	6.6
Ottawa-Hull	17.1
Toronto	9.0
Vancouver	24.3
Windsor	12.0
Winnipeg	12.0