



Southern African Jews in Toronto: Tradition and Adaptation

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Southern African Jews in Toronto: Tradition and Adaptation

While the early settlement of Jews in Southern Africa began in the first decade of the nineteenth century, it was the large waves of immigration of Eastern European Jews, the majority of them from Lithuania, from 1881 to 1920 which dramatically increased the Jewish presence in the region. By 1926 it is estimated that 71,000 Jews lived in South Africa, and at its peak in the 1970's there were almost 120,000 Jews in the country (DellaPergola and Dubb, 1988; Mendelsohn and Shain, 2008). The immigration histories of the Jews of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), Zambia and Zaire are similar, although the population figures are considerably smaller. Starting in the late 1950s, and accelerating quickly through subsequent decades, Southern African Jews began to leave the region for other parts of the world. Today there are approximately 70,000-75,000 Jews remaining in Southern Africa (Raijman, 2015).

The Jewish communities of Southern Africa are known for their very high levels of social cohesion characterized by high residential and occupational concentration combined with high levels of friendship networks and endogamy (in-marriage). Jewish tradition is strong with high levels of synagogue affiliation and participation in communal organizations including Jewish schools and Zionist youth groups (Schoenfeld, 2007).

This study seeks to describe the immigrant experience of Southern African Jews in Toronto, including both a demographic profile and their attitudes regarding their current status and conditions. Of particular interest is their adaptation to life in Canada, both in terms of their economic and social integration. Other topics look at their levels of Jewish identification and engagement with the local Jewish community, the strength of their ties to Israel, and the intensity of their connections to their Southern African origins. Finally, the study examines whether key attitudes or behaviors of Southern African Jews have changed since their arrival to this country.

There is limited academic research of the Jewish Southern African population in Canada or Toronto. Sociologist Stuart Schoenfeld and associates produced some research ten to twenty years ago which was drawn from data of a modest sample of 243 Jewish Southern Africans in Toronto (McCabe et al, 1999; Schoenfeld et al, 1999; Schoenfeld et al, 2007). The core

demographic findings of this past research closely resemble the findings of this study and allow us to build upon their work.

There is some uncertainty regarding the actual size of the Southern African Jewish population in Greater Toronto. For instance, the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) indicated that there were 4,725 Jews born in South Africa residing in the Toronto Metropolitan Area (no figures were available for Jews born in other Southern African countries, such as Zimbabwe, Zambia or Zaire). Community organizations who deal with this group generally consider this figure to be an underestimate of the actual number. It is not clear whether the methodology of the NHS (it was a survey rather than a census) inadequately sampled this group and therefore failed to arrive at an accurate count. However, what is important to note is that this 2011 NHS figure only included Jews with a South African birthplace, and did not include people who were born elsewhere, resided in South Africa, and then migrated to Canada. Nor did it include the descendants of Jewish South Africans who were born elsewhere.

There have been a number of studies looking at the integration of South African Jews in other countries. For instance, an extensive investigation of this population was implemented in the United Kingdom (London), in 2011¹ (Caplan). Other studies were also conducted in Australia / New Zealand (Tatz et al., 2007) and Israel (Raijman, 2015). The current investigation utilized many of the questions employed in the London survey of South African Jews, with some alterations to take into account differences in location, and different references to community organizations, etc.

Two methodologies were employed in this investigation: A quantitative survey and qualitative interviews of Jewish Southern African immigrants and key informants. The two methods were designed to complement one another so that a comprehensive picture of Toronto's Southern African Jews could be developed.

¹ The London, UK study had a sample size of 314 respondents.

Part 1A: The Quantitative Methodology

Persons who were on the Southern African Jewish Association of Canada's (SAJAC) contact list were sent an email with a link and encouraged to fill out an online survey. The list consisted of 850 contact persons. Another contact list that included about 200 individuals of Southern African origins was supplied by the Ontario Jewish Archives and also used in the sample derivation. There was overlap between these two lists.

Respondents were also garnered by word-of-mouth, and through private postings on social media, particularly Facebook. Individuals were encouraged to tell others about the study. This type of sample generation is known as “snowballing”, where small numbers of informants (existing study subjects, survey organizers) recruit future respondents from among their acquaintances.

The survey garnered responses from April 25th to June 19th 2017. Respondents were screened along two lines. They had to be of Jewish faith or ancestry, and at least 18 years of age. Only 6 individuals did not fulfill these criteria, and they were eliminated from participation. A total of 523 individuals began the questionnaire. However, only those who completed at least a third of the survey questions were considered as legitimate respondents, namely 477 persons. Another 9 individuals were eliminated from the sample pool because their postal code indicated that they did not reside in the Greater Toronto Area, but rather in locations such as Kingston, Ottawa, Vancouver, etc.

The overall sample size for the study was therefore 468. The questionnaire itself was rather lengthy, comprising more than 117 questions, although it depended on how respondents were “piped” through sections, given their various life circumstances. It is possible that “response fatigue” set in for some people, since only about 400 ended up completing the survey in its entirety. Response fatigue may have also been a factor if these individuals were interviewed by telephone, but perhaps the rate of attrition would have been lower in the latter case.

A number of sampling and response biases likely operated in this study. For instance, the SAJAC list consisted mostly of Southern African Jews who, just by virtue of their inclusion in this list, could be considered as somehow affiliated with the community. Unaffiliated Southern African

Jews were thus likely under-represented in the overall sample. This is a common limitation of surveys of this type, whether completed online or through a telephone interview. Only a random-digit dialling approach would have corrected for this type of skewed sampling, but the cost of such a methodology would have been prohibitive.

Beyond the prescribed community lists, it is also possible that those who were more affiliated were more likely to answer the questionnaire than those who were less affiliated with the Southern African Jewish community or perhaps with the Jewish community generally. They would be more motivated and enthusiastic to make their opinions known, and to support the community. As such, this additional sampling bias may have also been operating in the study. This is not an uncommon issue with surveys of this type.

Given these two important sampling limitations, the question then is whether these results are generalizable to the entire community of Southern African Jews living in the Greater Toronto Area. With regards to unaffiliated Jews, this question raises important philosophical issues as to who should be considered as members of a community. For instance, if an individual is only tenuously affiliated with a community, if at all, should they still be considered as belonging to it?

Previous studies have shown that lists which are derived from community organizations generally represent individuals who are more Jewishly-affiliated, older and more conservative in their attitudes, than those derived through other methods. Indeed, the SAJAC list was less inclusive of young adults, who the organizers described as less likely to be engaged.

On the other hand, the “snowballing” technique may have in a small measure increased the chances of participation among unaffiliated and younger Southern African Jews. The fact that the current methodology did not rely on community lists entirely, certainly improved the likelihood of participation of more difficult to reach subjects.

A response bias that is common in surveys of this type is the “Halo Effect”, where respondents wish to please the survey organizers by responding to questions in a positive or optimistic fashion, even though their true feelings might be different. There were certain questions related to social acceptance of certain ethnic / religious groups that respondents may have wanted to answer in a politically correct fashion. However, it is also the case that participants were given

the option to maintain full anonymity, so it is not clear whether the Halo Effect impacted on their overall response orientation, if at all.

It should be noted that it was possible for more than one representative of a given household to answer the survey. This is because some of the SAJAC contacts lived with one another, and no attempt was made to separate them on the basis of household affiliation. How much overlap was there? An analysis of IP addresses involving the current sample suggested that there were 35 identical IP addresses involving two respondents, and 5 involving 3 respondents. It is not clear to what extent such overlap influenced the results.

The results presented in this report are roughly divided into the major headings employed in the actual survey. For some questions, comparisons will be presented with a survey conducted in 2011 of London's Southern African Jewish community. Many of the questions used in the latter study were incorporated into the current one, representing an excellent opportunity to get a measure of whether the local Southern African Jewish population has adapted more or less successfully than a similar group living in another country.

Other comparisons will be made with a 2006 survey of the Greater Toronto Jewish community, to determine whether the status and conditions of the current sample differ significantly from those of the local Jewish population. Although the 2006 study is somewhat dated, there are certain indicators that show stable patterns over time. For instance, comparisons of synagogue attendance and denominational affiliation of Toronto's Jews between 1990 and 2006 showed little or no changes across the intervening years.

Finally, five demographic indicators were cross-tabulated with certain key questions in the analysis that follows. These types of breakdowns show how different groups within the Southern African Jewish community score on important questions related to adaptation, Jewish identity, and so on. The five demographic factors were: age, year of immigration, denomination, level of education and household income. Note that although gender was initially included as a comparison variable, no significant differences were found between male and female respondents for any of the variables that were examined.

Part 1B: The Qualitative Methodology

A separate stream of data gathering was implemented that was of a qualitative rather than quantitative nature. Twelve in-depth interviews were conducted with Southern African Jewish immigrants as well as key informants to gauge their feelings and thoughts regarding several questions related to Jewish Southern African immigration and life in Toronto. These respondents were identified strategically in order to hear from the voices of respondents that were not highly represented in the survey data. This included younger respondents (under age 45), those that did not live in the more common areas of Toronto where most Southern African Jews live, and those who immigrated to Canada in the last ten years. In addition to this, key informants were specifically identified who could speak knowledgeably about particular occupational niches of Jewish Southern Africans, such as accountancy / finance, medicine and law. Finally, additional key informants who were not Jewish Southern Africans themselves, but were particularly knowledgeable of the community, were solicited to offer their “outsider's” perspective on the unique characteristics of the community in question.

The qualitative interviews took place from June 13th to October 25th 2017. Interviews were conducted at a location of convenience to the respondents, usually at their home or office. The interviews were typically of 45 – 60 minutes in duration. The respondents were explained the purpose of the study and signed a consent form to indicate their willingness to be interviewed. Interviews were either recorded digitally or careful notes were taken of the ideas discussed. These interview data were then analyzed to draw out prominent themes which came to the surface.

Throughout the following analysis, the results from the interviews will be used to offer additional elaboration and clarity to the quantitative results. The advantage of qualitative research is that it reflects the feelings of respondents in a more nuanced manner, in ways that a limited multiple choice format cannot. Although the interview sample is not large, by “free-associating” interviewees can uncover important insights and emotions that would otherwise not be expressed when forced to choose between a limited list of response options.

Part 2: Demographic Characteristics of the Survey Sample

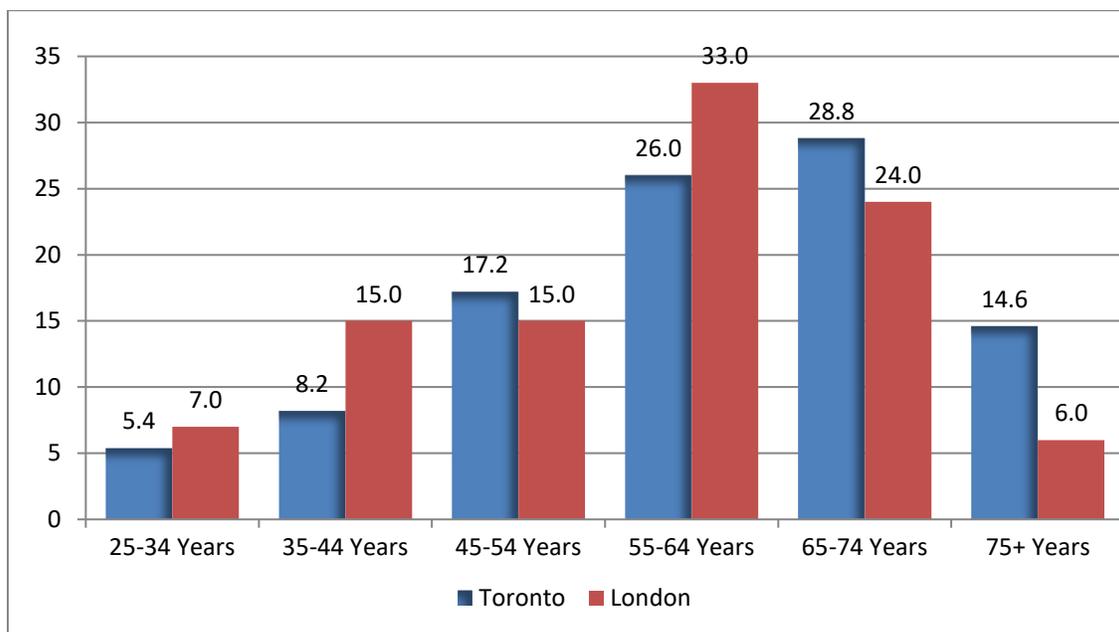
Of a total 468 respondents, 48.3% were females and 51.7% were males. Six individuals did not answer this question and were thus not included in the percentage base. It is interesting that in most surveys of this type, females usually outnumber males. This was not the case for the Southern African sample. It is also noteworthy that the London sample likewise had a greater percentage of males than females, and that the discrepancy was even larger (59% and 41% respectively). According to the researchers of the UK study women often deferred to their husbands / partners to answer for the household.

In terms of age cohorts of the current sample, 5.4% were 18-35 years of age, 8.2% were 35-44 years, 17.2% were 45-54 years, 26% 55-64 years, 28.8% 65-74 years, and 14.6% 75+ years (Figure 1). Two persons did not answer this question and were not included in the percentage base. *The median age of the sample was 62.4 years.*

The current study had a higher percentage of respondents between 45 and 54 years, and 65+ years; whereas the London study had a higher percentage of respondents less than 45 years and 55-64 years. Both samples were over-represented in the 55-74 year range. See Figure 1 for a more complete comparison of the two samples.

Compared to the London survey of Southern African Jews, the median age of the current study was a little older (59 and 62.4 years respectively). However, it is interesting that the London study relied purely on “snowballing” (word of mouth) sampling techniques, as there were no community lists of Southern African Jews available. Despite the differences in sampling methodologies, the median age of the two samples did not turn out to be significantly different, suggesting that younger Southern Africans are difficult to recruit no matter what the methodology employed. Indeed, the interview data suggested that younger Southern Africans (under age 45) were less likely to feel that they were the appropriate target group to complete the survey. Many of this younger group migrated as children, thus they had spent a relatively smaller part of their lives in Southern Africa. They were therefore less likely to see “Southern African” as a central component of their identities.

Figure 1
Ages of Respondents (%)
Comparisons of Toronto & London Surveys of Southern African Jews



*Note that the for the London study investigators rounded figures to the nearest whole number.

Where in the Toronto Metropolitan Area did respondents reside? A little more than half (52.5%) lived in York Region: specifically 47.1% in Thornhill, 2.2% in Richmond Hill, and 3.2% in other areas of York Region (Table 1). A little less than half (46.6%) lived in the City of Toronto proper: including 25.3% in North York, 12.9% in Central Toronto, 3.5% in the Downtown core, and 5% in other areas of the city. Less than 1% resided in miscellaneous other areas within the GTA, such as Etobicoke or Scarborough. *In short, almost half (47.1%) of the entire sample lived in Thornhill.*

Interview data helped to shed more light on the history of the residential settlement patterns of Southern African Jews. As will be discussed later in this report, approximately two thirds of respondents arrived in Toronto during the 1970s and 1980s. It was in these decades that Toronto’s Jewish community began to expand its institutions and population eastward from the central Bathurst corridor to the Bayview and Leslie area. Participating in this trend, and in their attempt to find more affordable housing, many Southern Africans originally settled in this Bayview/Leslie corridor. Respondents identified two specific townhouse complexes that were very popular among Southern African Jewish immigrants in these decades: the *Bayview Mills*

complex at the corner of Bayview Avenue and York Mills Road, and the *Willow Wood* complex on Leslie Street just north of Sheppard Avenue². Other areas of early settlement of Southern African Jews in this north-east region of Toronto were the Bayview Avenue and John Street area as well as Steeles Avenue and Don Mills Street area. In the late 1980s and into the 1990s many Southern African Jews, like other Jews in Toronto, re-located to the growing area of Thornhill.

Table 1
Areas of Residence of Respondents (%)

	#	%
City of Toronto	214	46.6
North York	116	25.3
Central Toronto	59	12.9
Downtown Toronto	16	3.5
York	13	2.8
Other City of Toronto	10	2.2
York Region		
Thornhill	216	47.1
Richmond Hill	10	2.2
Maple	7	1.5
Other York Region	8	1.7
Rest of GTA		
	4	0.9
Total		
	459	100.0

The great majority of respondents (91.8%) were born in South Africa, 3.6% were born in Sub-Saharan Africa (including Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, etc.), 1.5% were born in Canada, and 2.8% in other regions or countries (Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Israel, the United States, etc.) (Figure 2). *In short, 95.4% of the sample was born in Southern Africa.*

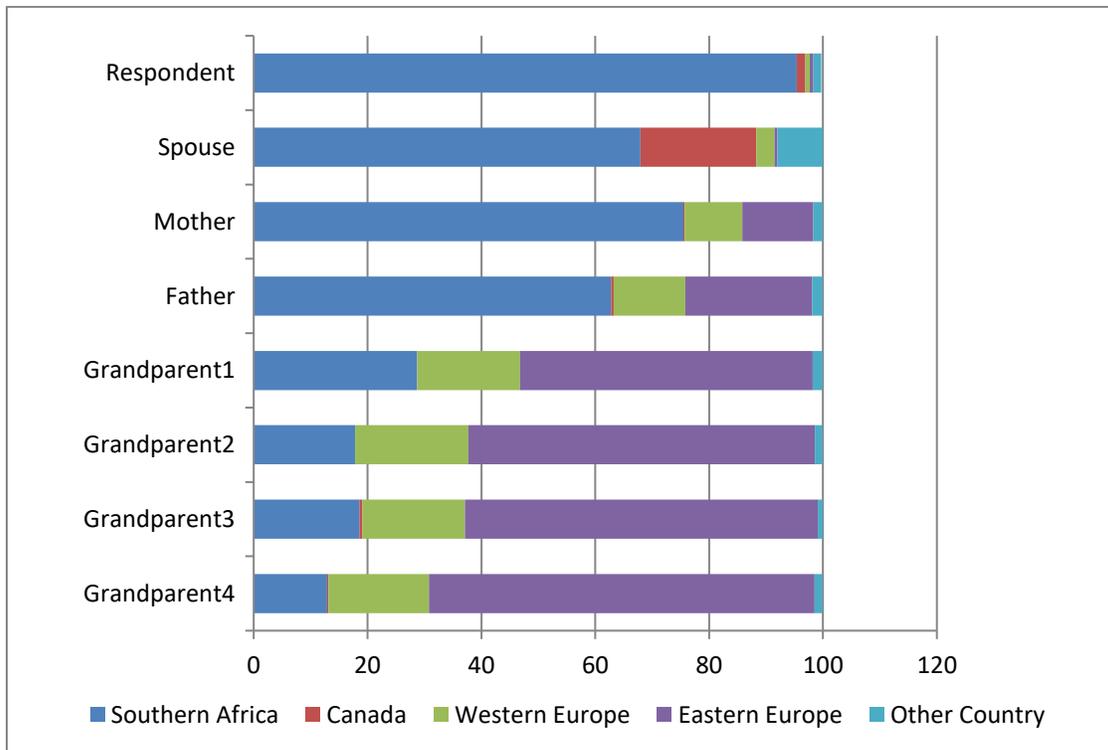
The majority 62.8% had a father who was born in Southern Africa, and 75.5% had a mother originating in the same region. *The percentage of respondents who were fully second-generation Southern Africans (both their parents were born in that region) was 55.1%.*

² One respondent went so far as to say that the *Bayview Mills* complex tended to house immigrants that were of relatively higher incomes (primarily from Johannesburg) and the *Willow Wood* complex tended to house those of relatively lower incomes (primarily from Cape Town). More research would be needed to verify these claims.

Of the entire sample pool, 6.6% had both grandfathers who were born in Southern Africa, and 11.1% had both grandmothers who were born in Southern African. *Only 4.3% were fully third-generation Southern Africans, in that all their grandparents were born in that region.*

Figure 2 is a detailed summary of the places of birth of respondents, their parents, and grandparents. The place of birth of the spouse was included for comparison purposes. It is clear that the place of birth profile is different depending on the group involved. For instance, respondents were most likely to be born in Southern Africa (95.4%) compared to spouses (67.9%), parents (62.8%-75.5%) or grandparents (12.9%-28.7%). Spouses were more likely to be born in Canada (20.4%) than the other groups.

Figure 2
Place of Birth of Respondents & Family Members (%)



Grandparents were much more likely to be born in Eastern Europe (51.4%-67.7%) than respondents (0.6%), spouses (0.5%), or parents (12.5%-22.3%). Finally, grandparents were also more likely to be born in Western Europe (17.7%-19.9%) than respondents (0.8%), spouses

(3.2%), or parents (10.1%-12.6%). These trends reflect two major waves of migration of Diaspora Jews arriving in Southern Africa from Lithuania from 1881 to 1920, and from Germany in the two decades prior to the Second World War. Those who are middle-aged or older in this study likely had grandparents or even parents who were part of these migration waves.

The great majority (81.5%) of respondents were married, 2.8% lived in a common law relationship, 7.5% were divorced or separated, 3.9% were never married, and 4.3% were widowed.

How does this breakdown compare to that of London's Southern African Jews? The Toronto sample was more likely to be married or living with a partner than the London group (84.3% and 79.3% respectively), there was about an equal percentage of divorced or separated individuals (7.5% and 8% respectively), a slightly lower percentage of widowed persons (4.3% and 5% respectively), and a significantly smaller proportion of single / never married individuals (3.9% and 8% respectively).

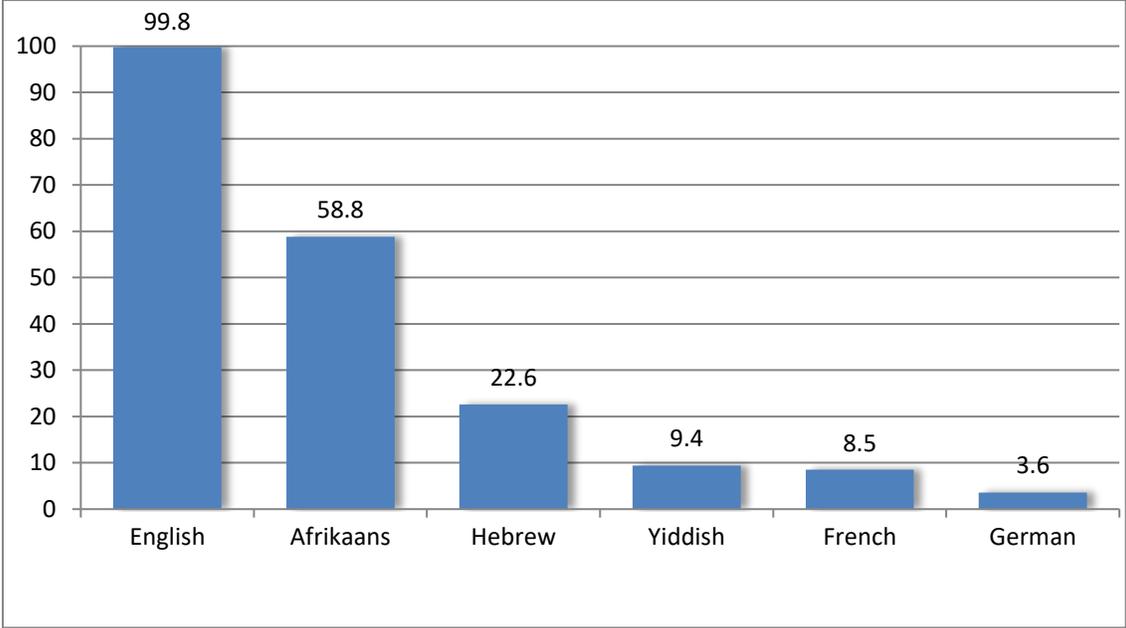
The great majority (92.7%) of Toronto respondents likewise had children, irrespective of whether or not the latter lived with their parents, and 7.3% said they never had children. Of those who said they had children, 7.4% said they had one, 42.1% had two, 40.7% had three, 8.1% had four, and 1.6% had five or more.

Examining only the number of children that females have had, it is possible to calculate the fertility rate of the Southern African Jewish community. *The rate is 2.28 children.* Note that those women who did not have any children were also counted in this analysis. This figure is considered just above replacement levels. The 2006 survey of the Greater Toronto Jewish community found a fertility rate of 2.17, slightly lower than the current finding. According to the 2011 National Household Survey, the fertility rate of Toronto's Jewish community is 1.93, again lower than the current rate for local Southern African Jews.

In terms of their language skills, almost all respondents (99.8%) said they were capable of speaking English. More than half (58.8%) spoke Afrikaans, 22.6% spoke Hebrew, 9.4% spoke Yiddish, and 15.8% spoke other languages. Some of the other languages they spoke included

French (8.5%), German (3.6%), Spanish (1.7%), and Zulu (1.5%) (Figure 3). A limitation of this question is that it did not ascertain the level of proficiency of respondents regarding the various spoken languages. Some may have had only a rudimentary proficiency, whereas others may have spoken them more fluently.

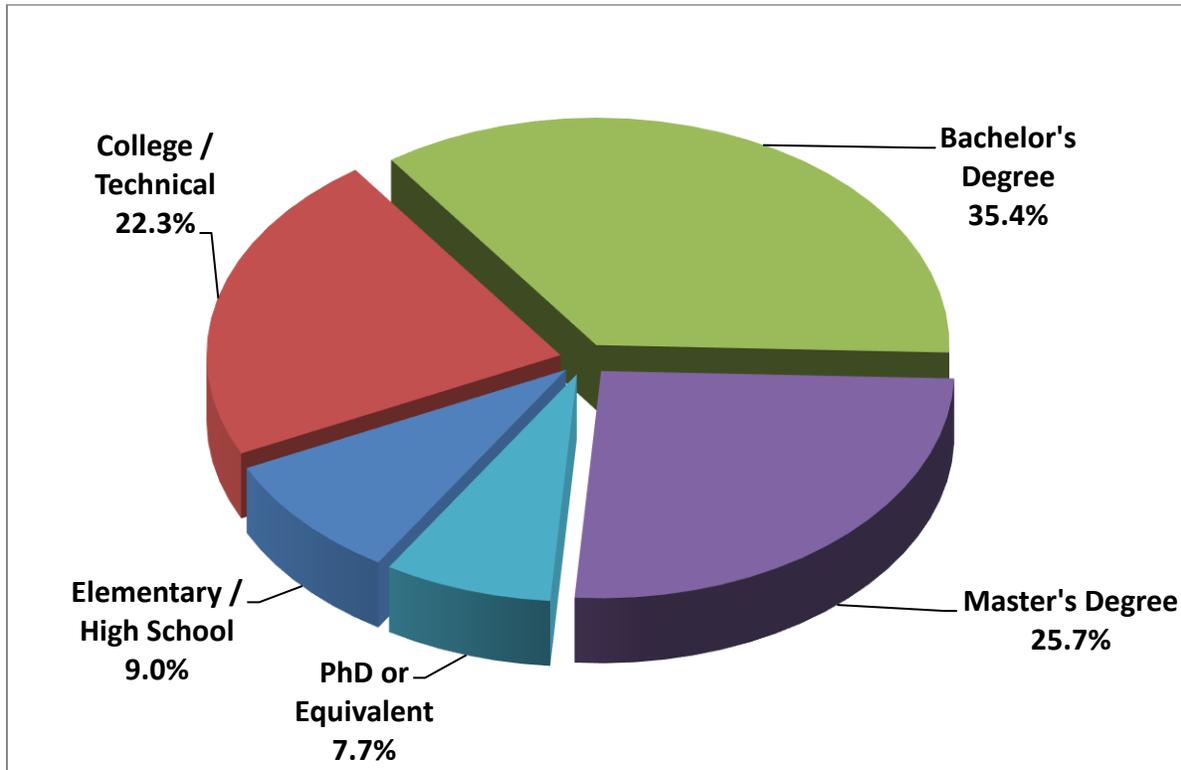
Figure 3
Spoken Languages of Respondents (%)



Given the above findings regarding spoken languages it is not surprising that many respondents mention in a later section that they chose to immigrate to Canada because it was an English-speaking country. Their level of Hebrew-proficiency likely reflects their close ties with Israel, which is another finding that will be revealed later.

Respondents were also asked to specify their highest level of education. Only 0.2% (one person) said their highest level of education was elementary school, 8.8% said high school, 22.3% said it was a college or technical school diploma, 35.4% said a Bachelor’s Degree, 25.7% said a Master’s Degree, and 7.7% said a PhD or equivalent degree (M.D., etc.) (Figure 4). In short, more than two-thirds (68.8%) had received a university degree, and about a third (33.4%) a graduate degree.

Figure 4
Education Level of Respondents (%)



The percentage of respondents who received at least a university degree (68.8%) is higher than that of the Greater Toronto Jewish population (25+ years) as indicated by the 2011 National Household Survey (61.6%). The percentage of the current sample that received a university graduate degree (33.4%) is likewise higher than that of the Toronto Jewish community (27.8%). The current sample of Southern Africans therefore appears to be more highly educated, on average, than the Jewish community of Toronto as a whole.

Almost two-thirds (63.4%) of the sample received their highest education in Southern Africa, 26.9% in Canada, 4.9% in the United States, and 4.8% in other countries (such as Israel or Australia).

In terms of the subject or discipline representing the highest qualification of respondents, 36.2% said it was accountancy / business studies / management, 12.2% said education, 6.3% said medicine, 4.7% said humanities / the arts, 4.5% said law, 4.2% said engineering, and the rest

(31.9%) offered a wide variety of other responses. A discussion of the prevalence of Southern African accountants and business professionals will appear later in this report.

In summary, the current sample appeared to be almost evenly split among males and females, and consisted mostly of middle-aged and senior members of the community. Moreover, the great majority were born in South Africa, were married, had children, and were highly educated. Almost half of the sample lived in the Thornhill district of Toronto.

Part 3: The Immigrant Experience

As mentioned, starting in the 1950s, and in increased volumes from the 1970s onwards, many South Africans chose to leave their home country for other parts of the world. Five primary destinations have shown to be the most popular areas of re-settlement. These include Israel, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia/New Zealand and Canada. Table 2 offers a useful breakdown of the proportions of immigrants re-settling to these countries by time period. As we can see, Canada has not been one of the more common choices for South African emigrants compared to these other countries; yet, from the 1970s onwards a steady stream of South African Jews have settled in this country, mostly in Toronto. Although this table does not indicate it, small numbers have also come to Canada from 2000 to the present.

Table 2 Jewish Emigration from South Africa, 1970-2000³

Years	Total Number	Israel	USA	UK	Aust / N.Z.	Canada
1970-79	21,000	37.5%	23.7%	15.2%	12.9%	9.4%
1980-91	18,000	22.6%	26.9%	13.5%	22.7%	12.6%
1992-2000	Approx. 10,000	15.0%	20.0%	10.0%	40.0%	10.0%

The interview data certainly highlighted this phenomenon of Southern Africans immigrating to several different locations. Indeed it was quite common for respondents to report, for example,

³ This table was adapted from Tatz et al. (2007). It was originally developed by Horowitz and Kaplan (2001).

that they had one sibling in Sydney, one in Chicago and one in Tel-Aviv. Interestingly, respondents also reported a phenomenon where Johannesburg Jews sometimes first moved to Cape Town (which was considered safer), and then later moved abroad.

What is unique about the Southern African Jewish immigrant experience is that these Jews were generally financially well-off and well-educated. Unlike the standard Jewish immigrant narrative, Southern African Jews were not refugees fleeing anti-Semitism, nor were they the direct targets of violence. This situation is sometimes referred to as “reverse immigration.” The immigrants in this case were not desperately seeking a better financial situation or religious freedoms. In fact, in many cases Southern African immigrants were set back economically when they re-settled in a new country. As a rabbi familiar with the Southern African Jewish experience in Toronto remarked:

South African Jews should be admired for the great sacrifices they made. They were not the typical immigrant of low income with a ‘rags to riches’ story. South African immigrants often had it very good financially back home (with a maid, etc.) and had to take a demotion to move. Through hard work they built themselves back up.

It should be noted here that the absence of a maid to take care of household matters once arriving in a new country can be a particularly challenging adjustment for immigrant women, who, following standard gender roles, often find themselves taking on the responsibilities of the home (McCabe et al., 1999). As one female respondent in her early 40s commented, “In South Africa I went to shul every Friday night and the maid made the dinner for the family. It is different here. There are no maids and I have more work to do and less time for other things.” More reflections on this important issue of gender differences will be found in a subsequent section of this report on ‘Economic Adaptation’.

Turning specifically to the survey data on immigration to Canada, this section will focus first on the immigrant experiences of individuals who were born and lived in Southern Africa before moving to Canada; and then will examine the experiences of those who were born in Southern Africa but came to Canada from other countries.

Two key questions will be examined in this section. The first looks at the reasons that led to their departure from their home country; the factors which “pushed” them to emigrate from Southern

Africa. The other question investigates why they chose Canada as their eventual destination; the factors that “pulled” them to immigrate to this specific country. The latter responses will also reveal some of the expectations that Southern Africans might have had about life in Canada, and the level of idealism they might have felt about their impending life here.

Where in Southern Africa did respondents reside before leaving? The majority (71.4%) said they lived in Johannesburg, 17.7% said Cape Town, and 3.2% said Durban. The rest (7.6%) specified another city or town, such as Pretoria, Benoni, Bloemfontein, Germiston and Harare (Zimbabwe).

Only 1.2% of respondents arrived in Canada before 1970, 25.8% came between 1970 and 1979, 41.2% between 1980 and 1989, 21.6% between 1990 and 1999, and 10.2% between 2000 and the present. In short, the peak period of immigration to Canada of Southern African Jews participating in this study (and who came directly from this region) occurred between 1980 and 1989. Two thirds (67%) came between 1970 and 1989.

The period of 1980-1989, along with the decade which preceded it, represented significant uncertainty and turmoil in South African history, involving widespread civil unrest, international sanctions imposed on South Africa, forced resettlement and the Township revolts. The interview data confirmed that the general feelings of insecurity and anxiety that Jews experienced during this period in South Africa had a profound effect on their decision to leave. As one female interview respondent in her early seventies explained, “I could see smoke rising in the Alexandra Township. The rioting accelerated quickly. I panicked . . . and we left the country very shortly thereafter.”

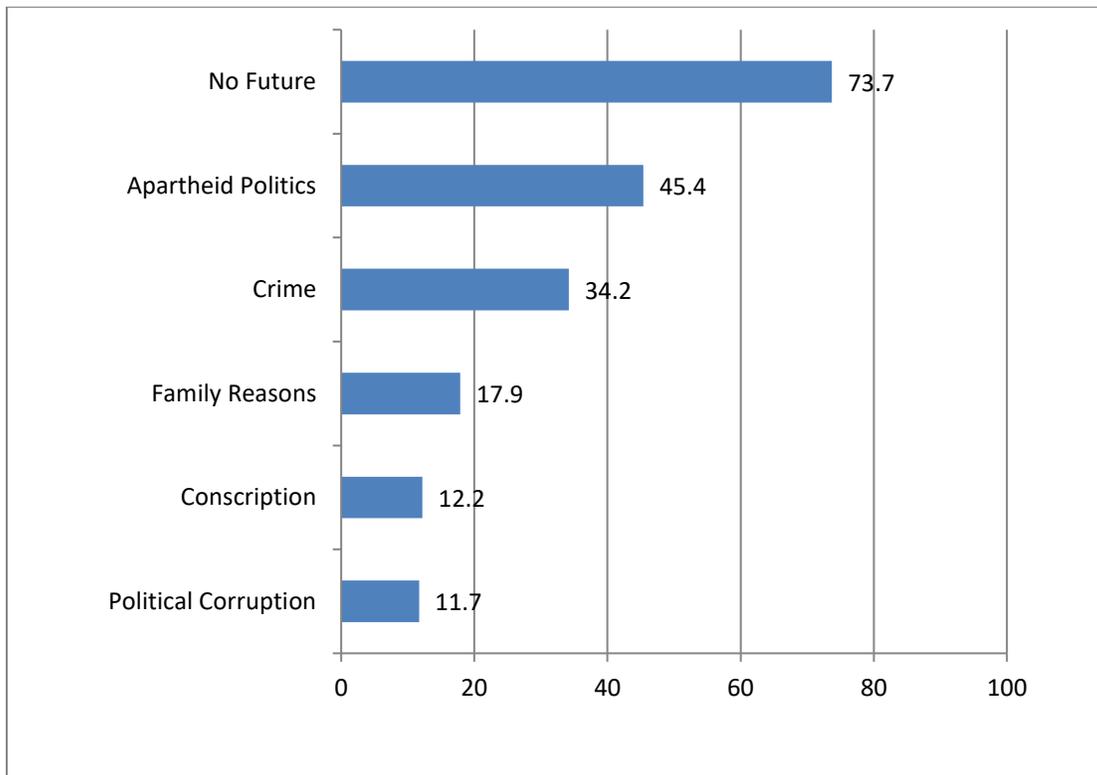
In terms of how old respondents were when they left Southern Africa, 16.2% were less than 18 years, 49.1% were 18-34 years, 26.9% were 35-49 years, and 7.7% were at least 50 years of age. In short, about half the respondents were young adults under the age of 35 years when they left Southern Africa.

The great majority (80.5%) of respondents came to Canada with their family, 10.5% came alone, 5% with a spouse, and the rest (4%) with other individuals, including a child, other relatives or

friends. The migration to Canada therefore was generally a family experience, with only about 1 in 10 persons coming alone.

Respondents cited numerous reasons for leaving Southern Africa (Figure 5). The most often mentioned reason was that there was "no future" (73.7%), followed by "Apartheid politics" (45.4%). Mentioned next most prominently were "crime" (34.2%) and "family reasons" (17.9%). Other reasons mentioned were "conscription" (12.2%) and "political corruption" (11.7%).

Figure 5
Reasons for Leaving Southern Africa (%)
(The "Push" Factors)



Hence, two major reasons were most prominent in "pushing" respondents to leave Southern Africa: they could not see themselves (and presumably their children) having a safe or comfortable future existence in South Africa; and they experienced feelings ranging from discomfort to revulsion regarding Apartheid oppression. For instance, one individual remarked: "Apartheid was unbearable. I did not want my children to grow up in such a racist country. I felt

alienated from my family and others who believed otherwise." In their important book on South African emigration to Australia, Colin Tatz and associates (Tatz et al., 2007, 134-6) reflect critically on the extent to which Jews ideologically opposed apartheid, suggesting that in some cases it was the danger and violence which caused the Jews to leave, rather than actual "moral repugnance" for the apartheid system. We were not in a position in this study to closely examine respondents' views on the nature of apartheid, but clearly this is a complex issue with a variety of perspectives.

A number of other reasons for leaving the country were given as open-ended remarks in the survey, although many of these overlapped with the categories above. The most common themes mentioned were uncertainty, better opportunities for children, business opportunities, post-graduate education, and serious concerns about personal safety. Some of the more striking comments included:

- We believed that, with the imminent demise of apartheid, the country would be plunged into a civil war.
- Concerns that my brother being a white male wouldn't find a job. Concerns that my parents couldn't send us to university overseas (if earning in Rands).
- Learn from history - danger signs ahead.
- My mother-in-law was car-jacked and killed outside her house.
- My youngest son was shot and killed.
- Violent environment.
- The winds of change were blowing. We were young and confident.

Why did respondents specifically choose Canada as a country to emigrate to (Figure 6)? More than half (55.3%) said because it was an "English-speaking country", 54.1% because they had "family living in Canada", 47.4% because it is a "peaceful country", 45.4% for "job / economic opportunities", 39.7% for "better opportunities for children (e.g. education, not army)", 32.5% because it "has a good reputation abroad", 29.8% because they "liked the lifestyle / culture", 22.8% because they had "friends living in Canada", 7.4% for "academic opportunities", 3% because there was "no other alternative / refused by first choice", and 2% said because of "familiarity with Canadian culture (e.g. previous residence)".

Respondents were also asked to indicate other reasons for immigrating to Canada in an open-ended response format. Some themes mentioned included: easier immigration process than the

United States, Toronto has a large and established Jewish community, Canada recognized their qualifications, desirable healthcare system, anti-apartheid stance, liberal values, spouse or parents chose Canada, requested transfer with employer, and Canadian Jews are more traditional, thus more similar to Southern African Jews than American Jews.

In many ways, conditions in Canada represented the opposite of those in Southern Africa: political stability, low crime rates, liberal values, favorable economic opportunities, a thriving and growing Jewish community, and an excellent international reputation. In other ways, there was also a sense of continuity: Canada was an English speaking country, and the local Jewish community had cultural elements in common with the community in Southern Africa.

Figure 6 compares the reasons given by respondents to immigrate to Canada with the reasons given by London's Southern African Jews to immigrate to Great Britain. Some items (such as "peaceful country", "good reputation abroad" and "like lifestyle / culture") were only included in the current study; whereas the item "family origins here" was only included in the London study.

The graph suggests that "English-speaking country", "family living here", "better opportunities for children", and "friends living here" were more important factors for those who immigrated to Canada. On the other hand, "family origins here", "familiarity with culture", and "academic opportunities" were more important reasons for the London sample. The item of "job / economic opportunities" was about equally important for both groups of respondents.

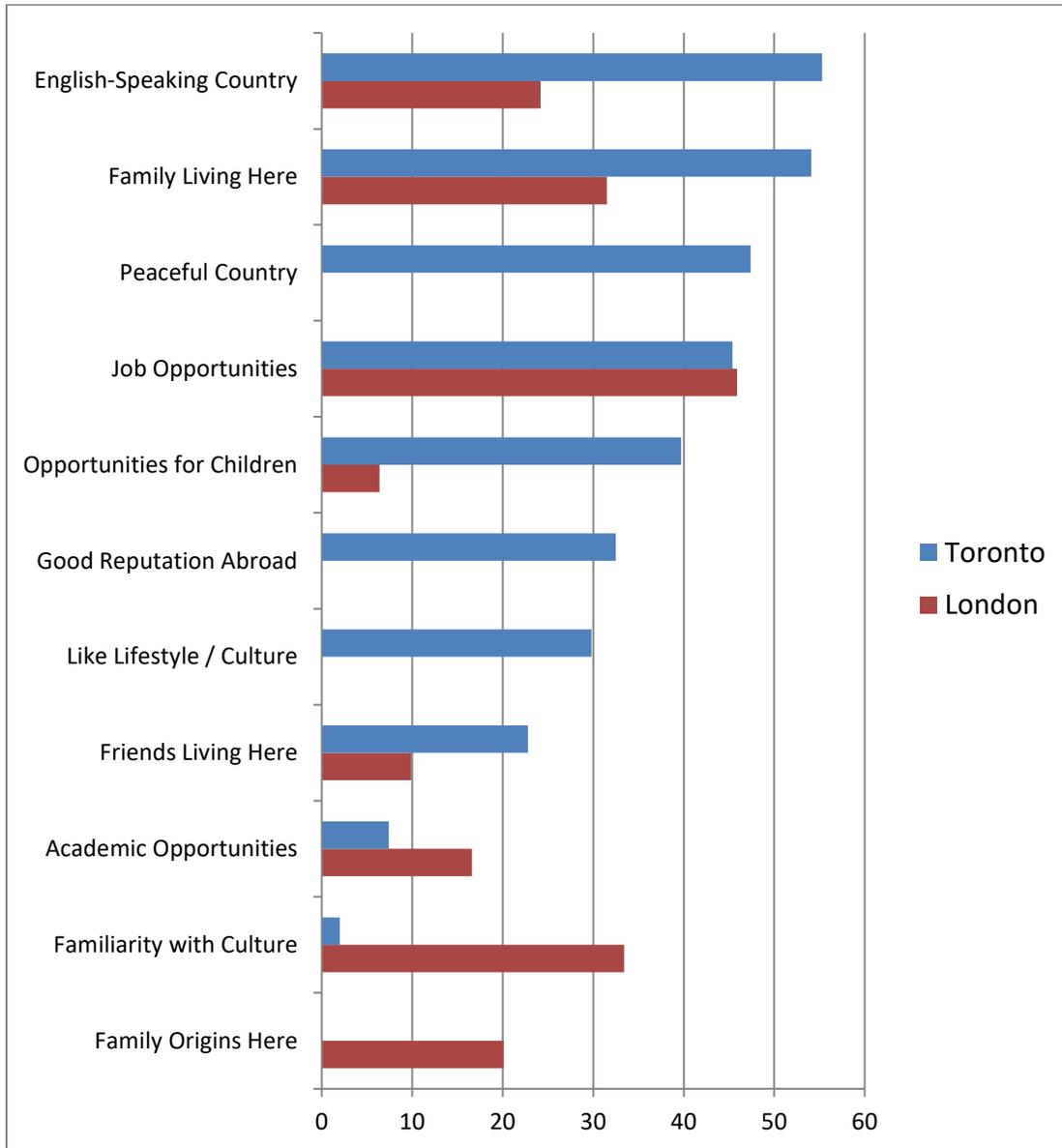
A separate analysis related to the immigrant experience was implemented for respondents who were born in Southern Africa but immigrated to Canada from other countries or regions. This sample was considerably smaller (n=57) than the one related to those who came to Canada directly from Southern Africa (n=403). A few individuals (n=8) were born in Canada and were therefore not considered in this section on the immigrant experience.

The majority (68.4%) of those Southern Africans who immigrated to Canada from a third country initially lived in Johannesburg, 15.8% in Cape Town, and 5.3% in Pretoria. The rest (8.8%) came from various other cities such as Germiston and Harare.

Only 12.3% initially left Southern Africa before 1970, 47.4% between 1970 and 1979, 22.8% between 1980 and 1989, 12.3% between 1990 and 1999, and 5.3% between 2000 and the

present. The peak period therefore was between 1970 and 1979, somewhat earlier than those who came directly from Southern Africa.

Figure 6
Reasons for Immigrating to Canada / Great Britain (%)
Comparisons of Toronto & London Surveys of Southern African Jews



When they left Southern Africa, 7.2% were less than 18 years, 80.4% were 18-34 years, 8.9% were 35-49 years, and 3.6% were at least 50 years of age. The great majority therefore were young adults under the age of 35 years.

Why did they leave Southern Africa? In other words, what were the "push" factors? More than half (52.6%) said it was because there was "no future in Southern Africa", 45.6% because of "Apartheid politics", 14% because of "conscription", and 7% because of the prevalence of "crime". Other reasons given were "political corruption", to "make aliyah", "professional advancement", and "to see the world".

About a third (38.6%) of respondents lived in Israel before they settled in Canada, 31.8% resided in the United States, 22.7% in Great Britain, 4.5% in Australia, and 2.3% in France.

In terms of the year when they finally immigrated to Canada, 8.8% arrived before 1970, 21.1% between 1970 and 1979, 38.6% between 1980 and 1989, 17.5% between 1990 and 1999, and 14% between 2000 and the present.

When they came to Canada, 1.8% were less than 18 years, 70.2% were 18-34 years, 24.6% were 35-49 years, and 3.5% were at least 50 years of age.

Almost two-thirds (64.9%) came to Canada with family, 24.6% came alone, and 10.5% arrived with a spouse or other relative.

In terms of their reasons for coming to Canada (the "pull" factors), about half (49.1%) said it was because they have "family living in Canada", 42.1% for "job / economic opportunities", 40.4% because it is an "English-speaking country", 40.4% because it is a "peaceful country", 31.6% for "better opportunities for children", 24.6% because it has a good reputation abroad, 17.5% for "academic opportunities", 14% "like the lifestyle / culture", 10.5% because they have "friends living in Canada", and 3.5% because of their "familiarity with Canadian culture". Other reasons were also given for immigrating to Canada, including marrying a Canadian, and because it was a stepping stone to the United States.

Are there differences in reasons for immigrating to Canada between those who came directly from Southern Africa, and those who came through a different country? Putting aside the

discrepancy in the sample sizes of the two groups, the percentages indicating specific reasons are similar, and hence the motivations involved are quite compatible.

The interview data added additional insights into the immigration process in terms of how difficult it can be to uproot oneself from familiar surroundings in order to move to a different country, as well as the types of skills and strategies that are necessary for a successful transition. One well-established Jewish South African business professional in the community remarked that “Emigration is an extraordinary thing! In order to succeed you need to be educated, motivated, energetic, hard-working, and entrepreneurial.” He went on to say that it is the “best and brightest” which have these qualities and actually act on their desire to leave a country. As a result of these highly skilled individuals leaving South Africa, a disproportionate amount of them Jewish, he argued that the result is a “brain drain” for South Africa.

A middle-aged Jewish South African business woman reported that before they move, “South African Jews are always keeping one eye on immigration.” She explained that she was quite methodical in how she chose her career in accounting in South Africa. She purposely worked at an accounting firm that was very recognizable in Canada because one “needs internationally transferable skills.” She added that she also purposely lived in a small house and drove an inexpensive car, so that she would find it less difficult to leave these things behind when it was time to emigrate.

While approximately two thirds of the current sample arrived in Canada in the 1970s and 1980s, through interviews we were able to learn more about those outlier cases of those who arrived to Canada quite recently. The case of one woman in her fifties was quite interesting in this regard. Nancy (not her real name) described how she and her husband were very close on two occasions to moving from Johannesburg to Australia when their children were quite young. Due to the challenges and anxieties of moving to a new country, at the last minute Nancy changed her mind both times about the moves. It was not until 2013, at the urging of her now teenage children, that the family finally moved to Toronto. As Nancy explained, this was her last chance: “the kids were likely to leave South Africa soon anyway; so let’s see if we can leave with them while we are still young enough to make it work in terms of our careers.”

Some respondents who moved in the late 1990s or later, spoke about the concept of “post-apartheid guilt” where leaving the country might be seen as desertion because some South African Jews argued that now that apartheid is over one has the responsibility to stay and help rebuild the country. Interestingly, Nancy reported that she experienced no “post-apartheid guilt.” She argued that many believed that dismantling apartheid would bring peace to the country, but in her opinion with the incompetency of the African National Congress things had gotten worse.

Part 4: Social Integration & Affiliation

Social integration takes place on a number of different levels. It can include formal venues such as workplaces, synagogues, and schools; or it may involve informal networks of friends and acquaintances. To some extent it has to do with how welcome immigrants feel in their new country. Positive social experiences can mitigate some of the stresses immigrants naturally experience when adapting to a new milieu. On a wider scale, civic engagement, citizenship participation and political engagement are more likely to result as the immigrant feels more encouraged, secure and valued through his / her interactions with peers and colleagues.

In the case of Southern African Jews, it should be noted that their transition might have been facilitated by the fact that many of them were fairly financially secure, significant percentages had family or friends living in Canada prior to their arrival and also by the fact that they spoke the language of their host country (see previous section). On another level, their social integration also related to the extent to which they felt accepted by the local Jewish community, not only in formal settings such as schools, synagogues and cultural organizations, but also in more personal or informal ways.

In the current section, we examine the “visibility” of Southern Africans, which groups they gravitate towards in terms of their friendship patterns, and whether the number of years since their immigration to Canada has impacted on such affiliations. One key indicator of social integration, for instance, is the extent that immigrants socialize with members of groups other than their own.

How visible are respondents as Southern Africans to the general Canadian public? About half (49.8%) of respondents believe that on first acquaintance, most Canadian people regard them as Southern African, 18.2% said as Canadians, 25% as both, and 2.8% as other (Israeli, British or Australian).

It is apparently the accent which either causes them to be identified as Southern African, or actually confuses people who are not acquainted with it. For instance, a couple of comments related to this question included:

- The accent keeps me South African
- They detect my accent and realize that I am from somewhere like South Africa, England, Australia, etc.

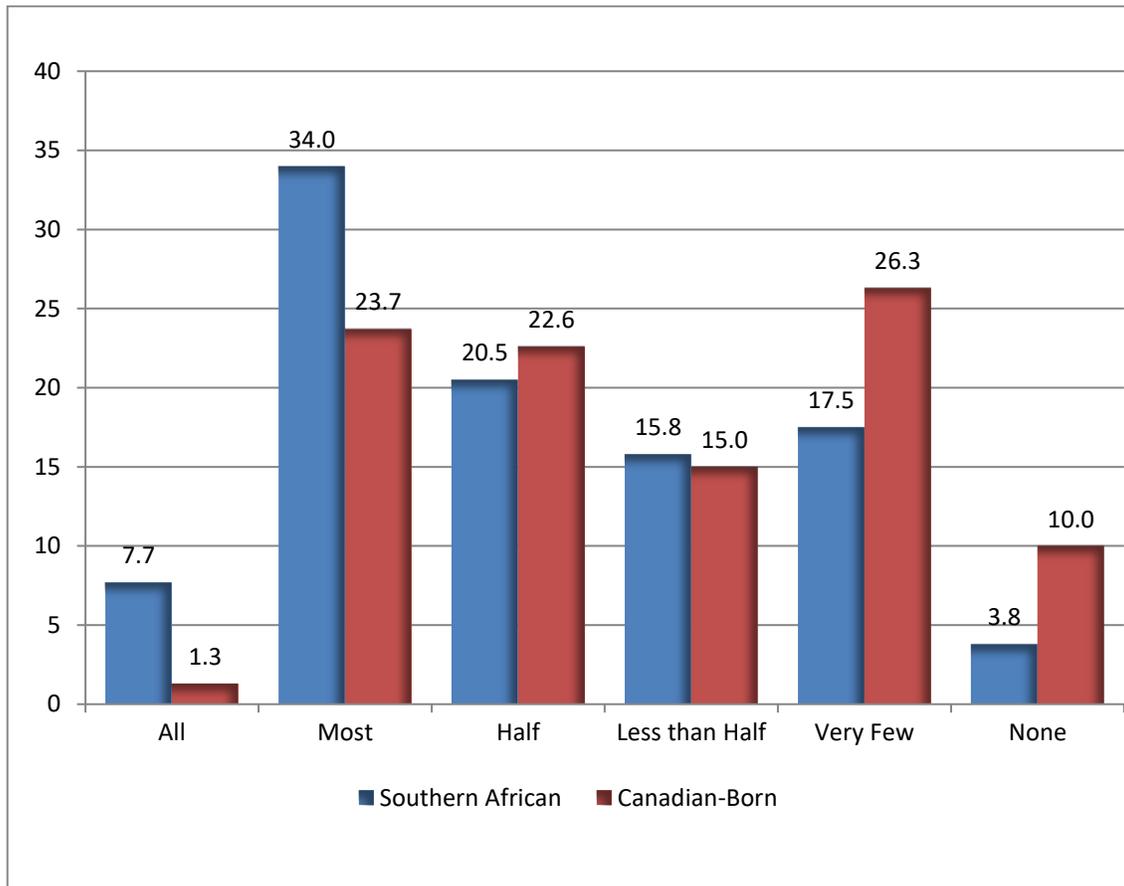
In the London study, 72.2% of respondents said that most British people regard them as South Africans, 8.9% as British, and 15% as both equally. They thus appear to be more recognizable as Southern Africans in Great Britain than they are here. It may be that the British are more familiar with the South African accent than are Canadians. In fact, as mentioned, it appears that some Canadians mistake Southern African accents for British or Australian ones.

Respondents were asked to specify the proportion of their close friends in Canada that are Southern African. 7.7% said that "all" of their close friends are Southern African, 34% said "most", 20.5% said "half", 15.8% said "less than half", 17.5% said "very few", 3.8% said "none", and 0.6% were not sure. In short, the most common response was that "most" of their friends are of Southern African origin, and over 62% of respondents reported that at least half their friends are of Southern African origin.

In terms of the proportion of their close friends that were born in Canada, 1.3% said "all", 23.7% said "most", 22.6% said "half", 15% said "less than half", 26.3% said "very few", 10% said "none", and 1.1% were not sure. This is a "bi-modal" distribution, suggesting that one group of respondents has a fairly large contingent of Canadian-born friends whereas the other only very few. Note also that at one extreme of the distribution, more than a third (36.3%) of the sample said that "very few" or "none" of their friends were Canadian-born.

Figure 7 clearly shows the differences in the proportions of respondents with Southern African and Canadian-born friends. Respondents were much more likely to say that "all" or "most" of their friends are Southern African rather than Canadian-born. They were also much more likely to say that "very few" or "none" of their friends are Canadian-born.

Figure 7
Socialization Patterns
% of Close Friends in Canada who are
Southern African versus Canadian-Born



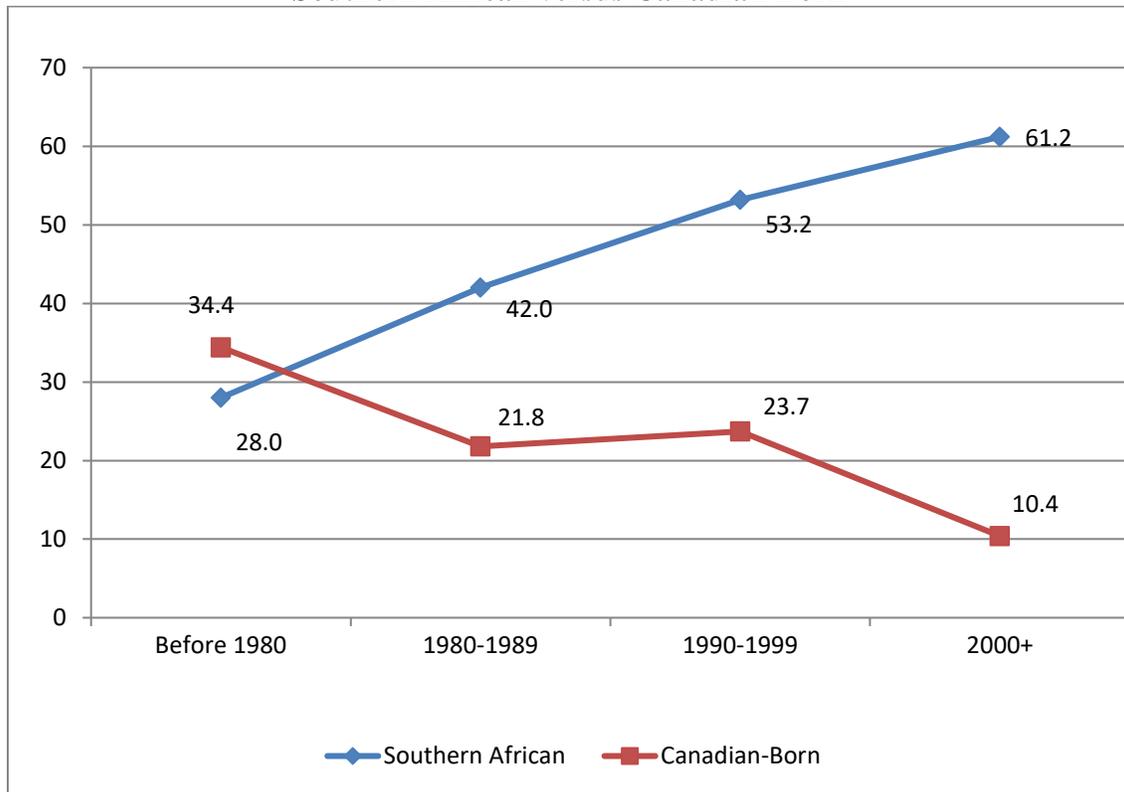
A relevant question here is whether year of immigration is associated with the socialization patterns of Southern African Jews. Figure 8 provides a clear illustration of how social affiliations change over time. For instance, only 28% of Southern Africans who immigrated before 1980 said that all or most of their friends were Southern Africans. This figure increases steadily the more recent the immigration year. Thus, 42% who immigrated between 1980 and 1989 said that all / most of their friends were Southern Africans, compared to 53.2% of those who came

between 1990 and 1999 and 61.2% of those who arrived in the year 2000 or later. The correlation between these two variables is very clear.

The reverse pattern is evident when considering the percentage of respondents who said all / most of their friends were Canadian-born (Figure 8). Only 10.4% of those who immigrated in 2000 or later said all / most of their friends were Canadian-born, compared to 23.7% who came between 1990 and 1999, 21.8% of those who arrived between 1980 and 1989, and 34.4% who came before 1980.

Note that the point in Figure 8 where the two curves intersect can be taken as a very rough measure of when the social integration of Southern Africans becomes most firmly rooted; that is, respondents have more friends who are Canadian rather than Southern African born. Unfortunately, since dates of immigration are measured in ranges for this graph, it is not possible to specify a particular year.

Figure 8
Socialization Patterns by Year of Immigration
% All / Most Close Friends in Canada who are
Southern African versus Canadian-Born



Aside from year of immigration, other demographic indicators are associated with whether all / most of close friendships are with Southern African or Canadian-born individuals. For instance, high levels of having Southern African friends are found among those with only an elementary / high school education (57.5%), Traditional respondents (53.3%) and those living in households earning less than \$75K (53.2%); whereas the lowest levels are found among those under 45 years (17.5%), secular respondents (27.5%) and those that identify as Reform / Reconstructionist (28.5%).

Higher levels of Canadian-born friends are found among those less than 45 years of age (54%) and those with a graduate university degree (37.9%); whereas the lowest levels are found among those with an elementary / high school education (7.5%), and those living in households earning less than \$75K (16.1%). In short, higher social integration appears to be evident among younger adults, the higher educated, the less traditional, and the more affluent respondents. In the case of younger adults, they likely arrived in their youth, and made Canadian friends through exposure at school, and therefore had more opportunities for such contacts.

Respondents have different levels of association with other Southern African immigrants, depending on the venue. For instance, looking only at those who said “very often” or “quite often”, 63.1% have a high level of association with Southern Africans on social occasions, 42% at a synagogue, 33.9% in their neighborhood, 20.5% at their workplace, and 4.7% in their studies.

It appears that other Southern African immigrants form an important component of the social affiliations of respondents across a variety of different venues. However, the association with Southern Africans diminishes as one moves away from the private sphere of home / friends / acquaintances to the public sphere of work. The synagogue, representing a public space with a restricted population, more closely resembles the proportions of home and neighbourhood.

Part 5: Satisfaction with Life in Canada

The perception of whether one is “satisfied” or “dissatisfied” with living in a certain country is obviously subjective and is likely influenced not only by any long-term feelings or attitudes, but

more transitory moods or dispositions as well. Nonetheless, a question such as whether the person feels at home in Canada or not can be informative in gauging their overall sense of comfort and contentment with life in their host country.

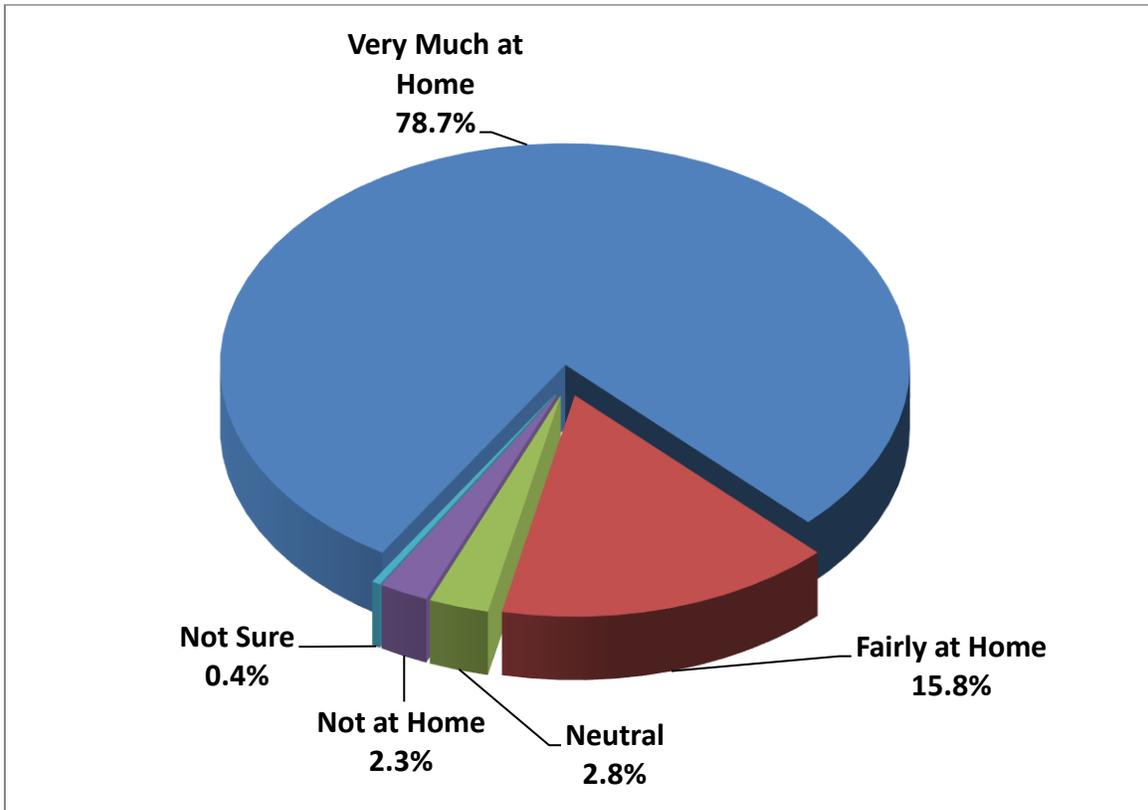
It is also informative that in 2017 Canada was ranked as the second best country to live in the world by the “Best Countries” survey from U.S. News & World Report. While this is not a scientific study, it adds to the perception that Canada is a desirable and attractive destination for immigrants. The question is whether this positive image of Canada is reflected in the experiences of Jewish Southern African immigrants who have settled here.

More than three quarters (78.7%) feel "very much at home" in Canada, 15.8% feel "fairly at home", 2.8% feel "neither at home nor not at home", 1.7% "not really quite at home" and 0.6% "not at all at home" (Figure 9). Two people (0.4%) were not sure. This is a very positive finding related to the general adaptation of Jewish Southern Africans. They apparently have a very high comfort level living in Canada.

How do these findings compare with those of the London study? About two-thirds (69%) of the London sample said they feel "very much at home" in Great Britain, and 23% "fairly at home". If we examine only those who said they feel "very much at home" the comfort level appears to be higher among Canadian Jews of Southern African origins (78.6%) than it is for the British group (69%).

Those who felt most at home were those who immigrated before 1980 (84%), and those who felt least at home were those who immigrated since the year 2000 (52.3%). It is not surprising that the more recent immigrants felt least at home, as they were still in the process of adapting to Canadian life.

Figure 9
Extent to which Respondents Feel at Home in Canada (%)



The great majority (88.8%) of respondents said it is “very likely” that they will continue to live in Canada in the next 5 years, 8.4% said it is “fairly likely” that they will stay, 1.7% said it is “fairly likely” that they will leave Canada to live elsewhere, and 1.1% said it is “very likely” that they will leave. In fact, only 13 of 464 respondents (2.8%) said it was “fairly” or “very” likely that they will leave. The “push” factors for leaving this country appear to be minimal.

A larger percentage of the London sample said they will “fairly” or “very” likely leave Great Britain (7%) in the next five years, compared to the current Canadian sample (2.8%). This again attests to the high level of satisfaction respondents have with living in Canada. One might also speculate that Southern Africans in London perceive a higher level of anti-semitism and/or anti-Israel sentiment in their country, than do Southern Africans in Canada.

Of 13 respondents who said they would “fairly” or “very” likely leave Canada, the reasons they offered for leaving were instructive. The most often mentioned reason was “better climate” (53.8%), followed by “wanting to be with family already living elsewhere” (38.5%), “work opportunities abroad” (15.4%), and “worsening social situation in Canada” (15.4%). Note that the latter reason was only mentioned by 2 individuals and hence does not in any way reflect a pervasive attitude.

The country respondents would most likely move to in five years is the United States (66.6%), followed by Israel (16.7%). One respondent (8.3%) mentioned Australia, and another was not sure to which country they will likely move.

A final note about questions asking respondents if they intend to stay or leave this country: Their answers reflect their current attitudes, which are not only changeable, but may not even indicate serious intentions, much less follow-through with actual behaviors. In short, they should be interpreted only as a snapshot of current feelings, rather than a true indicator of future mobility.

Part 6: Economic Adaptation

The question of the economic adaptation of Southern African immigrants is a critical one. While Southern African immigrants did not face the difficulty of having to learn a new language, and, as mentioned earlier in the report, were generally well-educated and mostly professionals or entrepreneurs, they did share some other challenges generally common with immigrants. For instance, a lack of Canadian work experience and the fact that academic credentials were not always recognized in this country, represented potential obstacles to economic integration.

For those immigrants who were able to persevere, the chances of upward economic mobility were excellent; but for immigrants who experienced difficulties, say finding work, the psychological and familial stresses were likely significant, and the process of successfully adapting to mainstream Canadian life was hindered. The question is, how did Southern Africans fare as a group in terms of their economic integration, and how long did it take them to achieve economic security? In addition, what differences did gender make in this adaptation?

Respondents were asked to specify their major occupation or activity in the last 12 months. Almost two-thirds (63%) were working, 1.8% were studying, 2.4% were working and studying, 0.7% were unemployed and looking for work, 6.6% were homemakers, 3.1% were volunteers, 0.4% were travelling abroad as tourists, 0.7% were ill or disabled, and 21.4% were retired. In short, approximately two thirds (65.4%) were in the labour force, and the rest (34.6%) were inactive or looking for work.

In terms of their yearly household income, only a very small percentage (1.7%) earned less than \$25,000, 6% between \$25,000 and \$49,999, 7.2% between \$50,000 and \$74,999, 12% between \$75,000 and \$99,999, 19.3% between \$100,000 and \$149,999, 12.5% between \$150,000 and \$199,999, 21.4% between \$200,000 and \$349,999, and 19.8% more than \$350,000. On the basis simply of this question, the majority of the sample appeared to be fairly affluent.

Were respondents able to cover all their household expenses and bills (including groceries, electricity, telephone, rental, car expenses, etc.) with their current income? This is a key indicator of economic adaptation. According to Figure 10, 73.5% of the sample was able to cover all their household expenses without difficulty, 19.8% were just about able to cover all their expenses, 4.7% were not really able to cover all their expenses, 0.9% were not able to cover their expenses at all, and 1.1% were not sure. These findings suggested that almost three-quarters of the sample were not experiencing any financial difficulties, at least as far as covering their household expenses was concerned.

Another indicator of economic adaptation related to whether respondents were satisfied with their general economic situation at the moment. 41.6% said they were “totally satisfied”, 37.4% were “somewhat satisfied”, 5.4% were “neither satisfied nor dissatisfied”, 10.7% were “somewhat dissatisfied”, 3.6% were “totally dissatisfied”, and 1.3% were not sure. In short, more than three-quarters (79%) of the sample were satisfied with their general economic situation.

Was satisfaction with their economic situation related to the year respondents immigrated to Canada? An analysis revealed a strong association between these two variables. For instance, 55% of those who arrived before 1980 said they were “totally satisfied” with their economic situation, compared to 43.3% who came between 1980 and 1989, 26.6% between 1990 and 1999, and 28.3% between 2000 and the present.

Figure 10
Whether Able to Cover All Household Expenses (%)

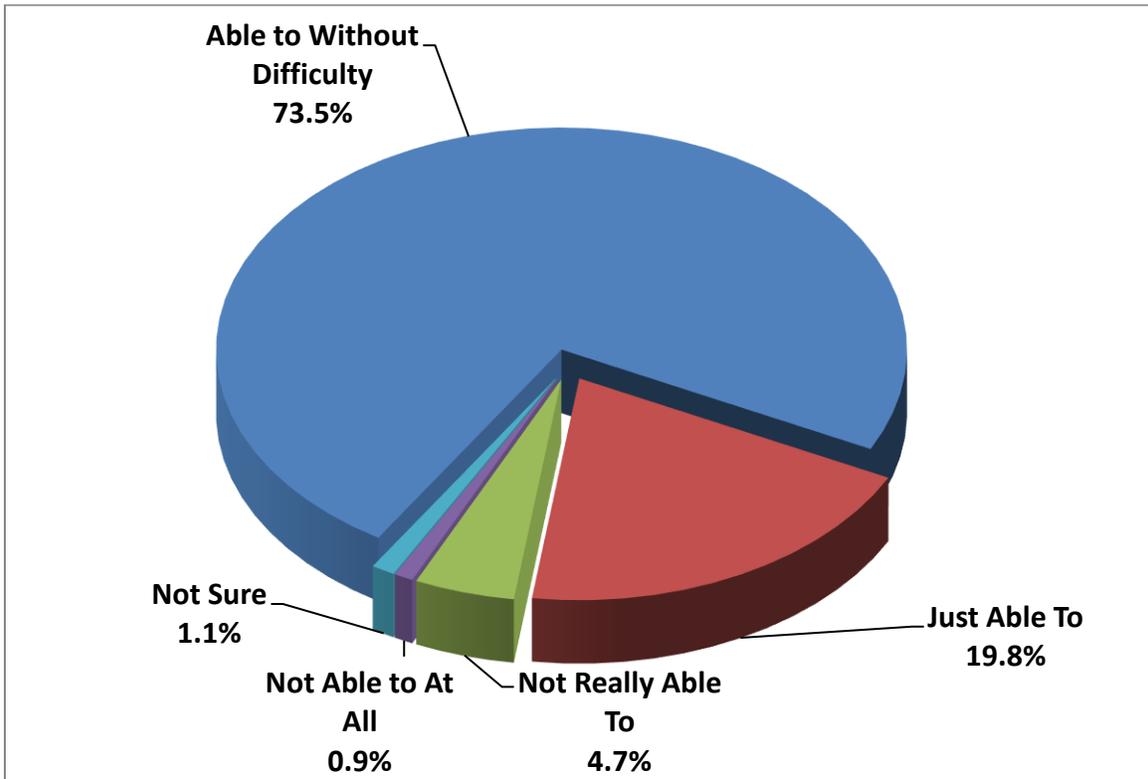
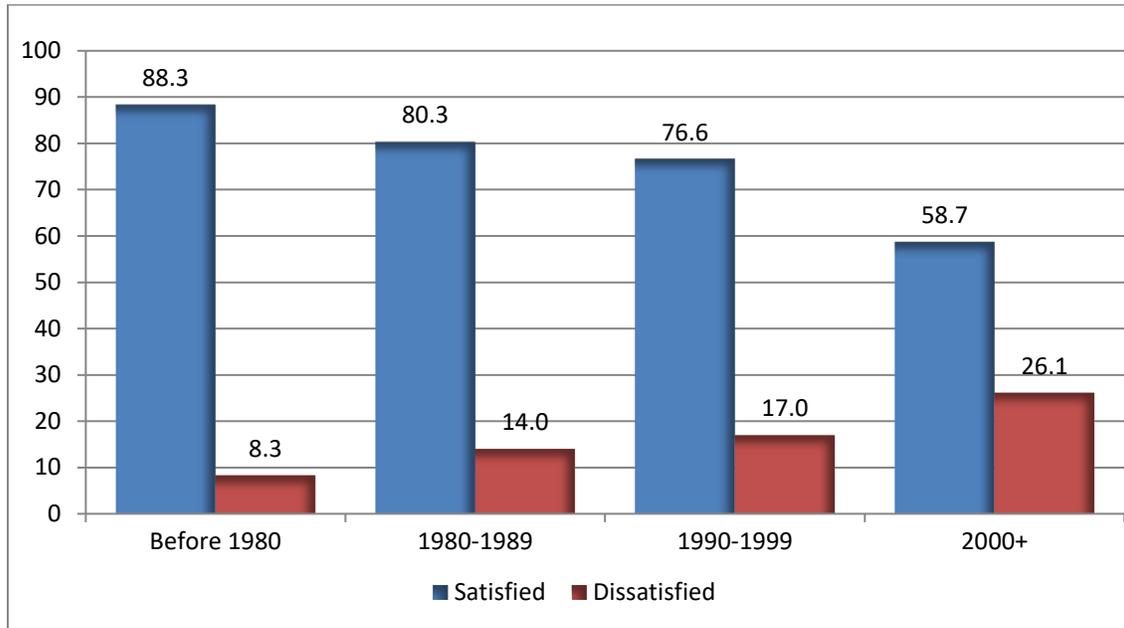


Figure 11 more closely examines the relationship between satisfaction with one's general economic situation and year of immigration. It is evident that the level of satisfaction (total and somewhat) rises the longer the respondent has been living in Canada, and the level of dissatisfaction (somewhat and total) diminishes along the same dimension. It is also noteworthy that even among the more recent immigrants who came after the year 2000, the level of satisfaction is above 50%. Note that the percentages of those satisfied and dissatisfied don't add up to 100% because the "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied" and those who are not sure were not included in the chart.

Figure 11
Satisfaction with General Economic Situation by Year of Immigration



Why have Southern African Jews, in aggregate, done so well in terms of economic adaptation and security? Interviews with “outsider” key informants, that is to say those who themselves were not Jewish Southern Africans, shed some light on this. One Jewish community leader who is not of Southern African background described Southern African Jews as “well-educated professionals who came to Canada with many skills, including high business acumen, which helped them integrate and achieve social mobility quickly.” One particularly interesting interview involved a non-Jewish accountant who grew up in Johannesburg surrounded by many Jewish friends. He married a Jewish woman from Johannesburg and the family moved to Toronto. In response to a question on what he sees as the distinctive characteristics of Southern African Jews in Toronto, he replied that he observes “a vibrant and well-established community with a high emphasis on education.” More specifically, he went on to say that he finds Southern African Jews to “have an affinity to business and a culture of entrepreneurial spirit which allows them to venture out to form their own businesses. They are willing to take that leap to go out on their own.”

A more detailed profile of the employment situation of respondents was gleaned in order to better assess their work experiences and conditions. For instance, almost half (47.8%) of

respondents were employees (wage-earners), 6.4% were an employer or business owner with one or two paid employees, 25.3% were an employer or business owner with three or more paid employees, 19.9% were self-employed (with no employees), and 0.7% were working for a family member without receiving a salary.

In short, there were a large percentage of entrepreneurs (51.6%) among the current sample. This was similar to the London figure for entrepreneurs among Southern African respondents (46%).

Of those who were employees earning wages, 78.3% were working full-time and 21.7% were working part-time.

Regarding their occupations, the great majority (87%) were in management / professional occupations, 9.2% were in administrative / secretarial jobs, 1.5% were paraprofessionals, 1.5% worked in sales, and 0.8% in services.

Of those in management / professional occupations the most common field was accounting and finance (23.7%). Other areas included the field of education (20.2%), management itself (20.2%), health / medicine (10.5%), and law (4.4%). The remainder were made up a variety of different professional occupations. Of course, as will be shown below, many of those who were entrepreneurs / business owners had expertise in accounting/finance as well.

When examining the occupational patterns of Southern African Jews in Toronto, one of the questions that comes to mind is why there are so many in the fields of accounting or related fields of finance and business? The interviews allowed for an exploration of this question. One respondent explained that accounting was an “easily transferable skill where credentials were accepted easily,” another added that “accounting is a transportable degree that is very versatile so that it can lead to other finance / business opportunities.” Respondents also spoke of the major recruiting waves of accounting firms in the 1970s. For example, the Bank of Montreal actively recruited well trained South Africans in the 1970s. Accountants were needed quickly in Toronto and many South Africans were looking for opportunities to leave the country. Among these were a significant number of Jews. *Laventhal* (which later merged into Price Waterhouse) was a primarily Jewish accounting firm in Toronto which had an affiliate office in Johannesburg called *Horwath & Horwath*. In this way, through informal social and community networks, Laventhal

also actively recruited South African Jews to Toronto. In time, many of these accountants established their own businesses. A final comment by one respondent about the prevalence of accountants was more unexpected: he argued that “accounting is a conservative profession, for a conservative population.”

In terms of the medical field, a number of Southern African doctors came to Toronto in the 1970s and 1980s as well. Respondents recounted that in these decades it was relatively easy to have one’s medical credentials approved. In the last two decades respondents explained that it has become somewhat more difficult for doctors to be accredited in Canada. Many (not all) have chosen the United States as an easier option. As a result, it appears that Southern African Jewish doctors in Toronto tend to be more highly represented in the older age bracket of fifties, sixties and older.

In the field of law, coming to Canada was clearly more difficult. Because Canada imposed much more rigorous conversion requirements on lawyers than other countries like the United Kingdom and Australia, very few Southern African lawyers have immigrated here.

In the current sample there were a number of principals and teachers of various types, but only three professors / lecturers. Interestingly, one respondent remarked that there are relatively few Southern African Jewish university academics who immigrated to Canada. She explained that “Ph.D. studies are not that practical because they are hard to transfer to a new country.” In relation to this, Tatz and associates (2007, 108-9) make the intriguing claim that:

South African Jews, unlike American Jews, were never seriously attracted to academe . . . the general social ‘wisdom’ among Jews was that if you taught at a university you must, somehow, have failed in private enterprise and you were not quite successful.

Turning back to the survey data, how did these wage-earners find their current employment? The most common response was “through a Canadian friend or acquaintance” (31%), followed by “through a South African friend or acquaintance” (15.9%), “a job listing on the internet” (12.4%), “a head hunter” (9.7%), “through progression or promotion” (8.8%), “a newspaper advertisement” (8.8%), “family connections” (8%), “a neighborhood notice board” (2.7%), and

“an employment agency” (1.8%). A few other answers were given, including "applied for the job", "cold calling", "contact from ex-employer", and "volunteering".

In terms of their current work or professional contacts, 15.9% of wage-earners said that "all or almost all" were Jewish, 9.4% said "most" were Jewish, 23.9% said "some" were Jewish, 43.5% said "a few" were Jewish, and 7.2% said "none" were Jewish. The most mentioned response was therefore that "a few" were Jewish. However, about half of Southern African workers work in places where at least some of their fellow employees are Jewish.

Only 1.4% of wage-earners said "all or almost all" of their current work or professional contacts were South African, 1.4% said "most" were South African, 11.6% said "some" were South African, 47.8% said "a few" were South African, 37% said "none" were South African, and 0.7% said the question was not applicable. The most mentioned response was therefore that "a few" were South African.

Those respondents who had South African work contacts were asked a few questions related to the nature of their relationship with the latter individuals. Almost a third (32.5%) said they knew these contacts before their current work or professional situation, whereas more than half (55.8%) said they knew these contacts only after they became established in their current work situation.

Regarding their South African contacts, 19% of wage-earners said the latter group "very much" helped them find their present work, or helped them get established in it, 9.5% said "somewhat", 10.7% said "a little", 54.8% said "not at all", and 6% were not sure. In short, about one of five wage-earners received significant help from their South African contacts to find their present employment.

Moreover, 4.9% said their South African contacts were "very much" helping them in terms of their present work situation, 6.2% said "somewhat", 12.3% "a little", 60.5% "not at all", and 16% were not sure. The Southern African contacts therefore seemed to be more instrumental in helping respondents find employment than helping them with their current work situation.

In terms of business owners, the 10 most common mentions regarding the main activity of their enterprise included: medical practice (8.3%), accounting (7.6%), investment (6.9%), real-estate

(6.3%), health care (5.6%), finance (5.2%), manufacturing (4.2%), sales (4.2%), consulting (unspecified) (3.5%) and marketing / advertising (3.5%).

What percentage of business owners said their current contacts, customers, or clients were Jewish? Only 0.7% said "all or almost all" were Jewish, 12.2% said "most", 41.9% said "some", 37.8% said "a few", 4.1% said "none", and 3.4% said the question was not applicable. The most mentioned response was therefore that "some" were Jewish.

Only 0.7% said "all or almost all" of their current contacts, customers or clients were South African, 26.4% said "some", 46.6% said "a few", 23% said "none", and 3.4% said the question was not applicable. The most mentioned response was therefore that "a few" were South African.

More than a quarter (29.3%) knew these South African contacts before their current business situation, whereas about two-thirds (62.2%) knew these contacts only after they became established in their present business.

7.6% of business owners said South African contacts "very much" helped them get established in their present business, 12.2% said "somewhat", 26% said "a little", 45% said "not at all", and 9.2% were not sure.

In terms of whether they were currently getting help from South African contacts with their business activities, 2.4% said "very much", 12% said "somewhat", 30.4% said "a little", 44% said "not at all", and 11.2% were not sure.

Finally, it is important to take a step back and look at these issues of economic adaptation through the lense of gender. It is interesting to observe that more than one third (38%) of self-employed business people and entrepreneurs in the current sample were women. Although we do not have precise comparable employment data for Southern African Jewish woman before their arrival to Canada, McCabe and her colleagues (1999) indicate that rigid gender roles usually predominated in Southern African Jewish families, which meant that men were the main breadwinners and women held smaller, lower paying jobs, or no jobs outside the home at all. Emigration to Canada disrupted this patriarchal model of household economics. The transformation of the women's role in the household was dramatic as not only did women often take on the sole responsibility of running the household without the help of a maid, as discussed

earlier in this report, they were also expected to enter the work force to support a standard Canadian middle-class lifestyle. The considerable achievement of women in the labour force gave them a new sense of empowerment and independence, but the double duty of work and caring for the home also significantly curtailed their leisure time. Clearly, then, the necessary economic adaptations for women were unique. They significantly extended themselves in paid labour while also taking on the important role of maintaining the home and equilibrium in the family.

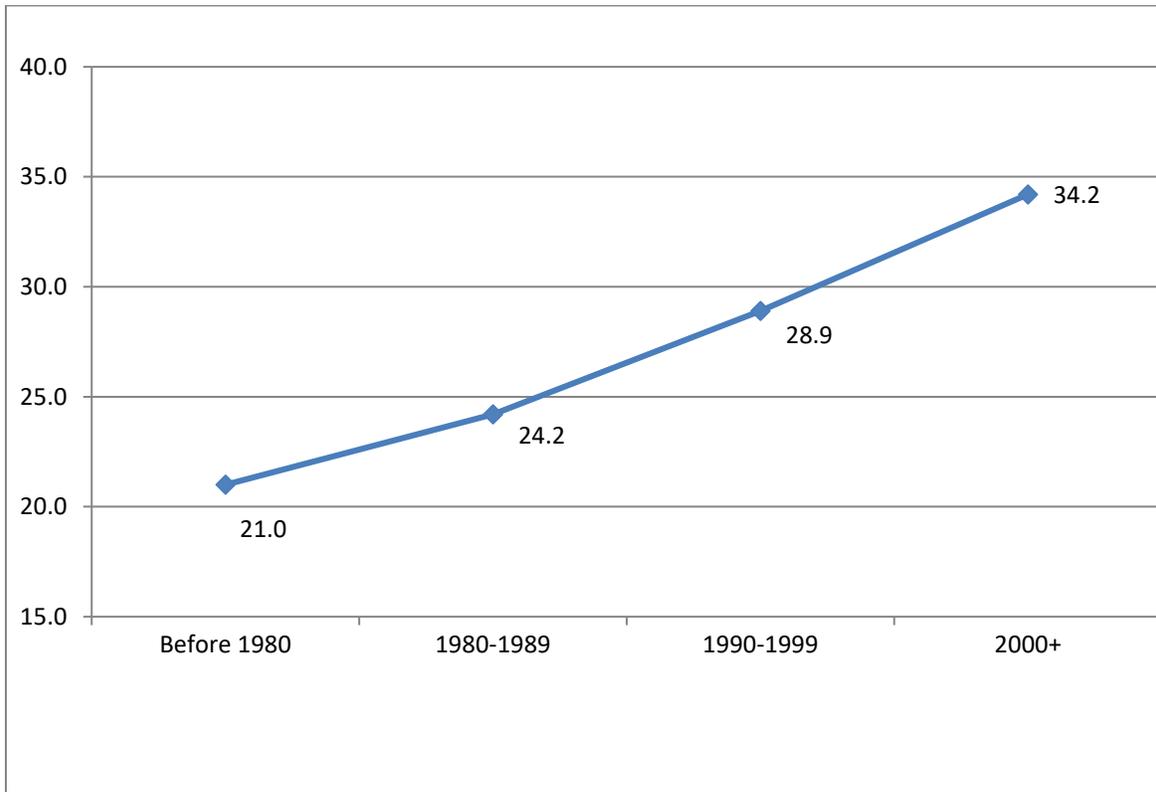
Part 7: Attachment to Southern Africa

How attached are Southern African respondents to their country of origin, and does the strength of this attachment change over time? What aspects do they miss the most? Such attachments may be intensified if they have family or friends who have stayed behind, or perhaps they still have profound ties to the Southern African lifestyle or environment. In some ways, such sentiments may be reflected in a desire to keep in touch with ex-Southern Africans, here or abroad.

Regarding the level of attachment respondents currently feel towards Southern Africa, 25.3% said they have "a strong attachment", 39.3% said a "moderate attachment", 12.4% experience "ambivalence", 18.7% have "no special attachment", and 4.2% have "negative feelings" toward Southern Africa.

How does year of immigration impact on the level of attachment respondents feel toward Southern Africa? Figure 12 shows a very clear correlation between these two variables; in fact, the relationship is almost linear. Perhaps not surprisingly, more recent immigrants display a stronger attachment to Southern Africa than those who arrived earlier. For instance, 34.2% of those who arrived in 2000 or after said they have a "strong attachment" to Southern Africa, compared to 28.9% of those who came between 1990 and 1999, 24.2% between 1980 and 1989, and 21% before 1980. However, about a fifth of the earliest immigrants are still strongly attached, even though they had left Southern Africa at least 35 years from the present time.

Figure 12
Level of Attachment to Southern Africa by Year of Immigration
% Who Are Strongly Attached



The London study had a similar question regarding attachment to Southern Africa. 42% of their sample felt a strong attachment to Southern Africa, compared to only 25.3% of the Toronto sample. This difference is striking. Moreover, 12% of the London sample had either no special attachment or negative feelings toward Southern Africa, compared to 22.9% of the current sample. It appears that London's Southern African Jews are significantly more attached to Southern Africa than is the local community. This is a particularly interesting finding considering the fact that, on average, the Southern African respondents in the London study had lived longer in the UK than the Toronto respondents had lived in Canada.

Regarding the current sample, a strong attachment to Southern Africa was registered most among those who immigrated in 2000 or after (34.2%), and among Traditional respondents (33.6%). Among the least inclined to say they had a strong attachment to Southern Africa were Reform / Reconstructionist respondents (16.3%).

Those who still felt a strong or moderate attachment to Southern Africa were asked to what they felt attached. Three-quarters (75%) said "nostalgia / roots were there / was born there", 71.4% said "family", 61.6% said "environment: weather / landscape / scenery", 59.1% said "friends", 39.1% said "the people in general", 33.7% said "lifestyle / quality of life", and 22.8% said "sports".

It is obvious that a sentimentality regarding Southern Africa is still deeply engrained in the psyche of some respondents. This is not surprising since they experienced their formative years there; it was the setting that molded them as a person, which was most familiar to them, and where they had (at least initially) felt they most belonged. The fact that so many respondents said that they still had family and friends living in South Africa also added to their feelings of connection.

In the comments section in the survey, some respondents elaborated on their responses:

- I have contact with an organization for underprivileged children.
- I read the South African newspapers each day online to keep abreast of daily life.
- I have a time-share for visiting my parents' grave.
- We had it good ... but no more.
- We owe a lot of our success to what we got from Southern Africa.

The interview data highlighted some of the pride respondents still have for South Africa. Nancy, the woman in her fifties who strongly considered Australia twice before coming to Canada in 2013, admitted "My heart resonates with the country and its people and land." Interestingly, such a declaration of pride was also demonstrated by a respondent in his early thirties who had been living in Toronto for over fifteen years. He reported that "my wife is a refugee from the USSR and doesn't want to go back, but I am proud to be South African and I go back every year. There is no reason to renew my South African passport annually, but I do it out of pride."

In terms of how many times respondents have visited Southern Africa since they moved to Canada, there was a wide variability of answers: 7.5% said none, 16.9% said once or twice, 20.9% said three or four times, 16.4% said five or six times, 15.7% said seven to ten times, and 22.5% said more than ten times. In short, about half (54.6%) the sample have made at least five trips back to Southern Africa.

It is interesting that among the London sample of Southern African Jews, 68% said that they had visited Southern Africa more than ten times since moving to the UK, compared to 22.5% of Toronto respondents. It is clear that the former sample had a lot more contact with their originating country than the local sample. It should be noted, of course, that Southern Africa is geographically closer to the United Kingdom than it is to Canada, thus somewhat easier to visit.

How important was it for current respondents to follow news from Southern Africa? Only 5.4% followed it on a "very regular" basis, 19.2% on a "fairly regular" basis, 44.4% "occasionally" followed it, 23.2% "hardly ever" followed it, and 7.7% never followed it. In short, about a quarter followed it on a regular basis.

Only 3.8% of respondents said they were "very interested" in Southern African popular culture, such as sports, music, theatre, arts, etc., 27% said "fairly interested", 23% were "neither interested nor uninterested", 19.5% "fairly uninterested", and 26.8% "not interested at all". In short, almost half (46.3%) of the sample declared that they were not interested in Southern African popular culture. However, about a third continued to be interested in Southern African popular culture.

Irrespective of whether respondents had children or not, they were asked how important it was for them that the children of Southern African immigrants in Canada be familiar with Southern African culture and customs? Only 8% said "very important", 27.6% said "fairly important", 26.2% "neither important nor unimportant", 18.5% "fairly unimportant", and 19.7% "not important at all". Again, about a third thought it was important. Interestingly, in comparison, almost half (48%) of the London sample thought it was important. We see here another indicator that suggests that the London sample is more attached to Southern Africa than is the Toronto community.

As Southern Africans, how important was it for respondents to keep in touch with other ex-Southern Africans? There was a wide variability of answers. 12.7% said "very important", 27.9% said "fairly important", 28.6% "neither important nor unimportant", 14.3% "fairly unimportant", and 16.4% "not important at all". In short, 40.6% thought it was important.

Only 0.2% of the sample said they "very frequently" participated in organized activities for ex-Southern Africans, 1.4% said "quite frequently", 18.8% said "sometimes", 36.6% said "very rarely", and 43% said "never". Clearly it is not primarily organized community activities which bring Southern Africans together.

41.7% of respondents "very frequently" keep in contact with family and/or friends who remained in Southern Africa, 26.7% said "quite frequently", 16.4% said "sometimes", 9.4% said "very rarely", and 2.6% said "never". A further 3.3% said they have very few or no relatives / friends left in Southern Africa. It appears that the connection with family and/or friends left in Southern Africa is still quite strong for a significant percentage of the sample, and represents an important reason for their continued interest in "keeping in touch" with the country.

Finally, 35.1% of respondents said they "very frequently" keep in contact with Southern African family and / or friends who live abroad in countries / regions other than Southern Africa, 31.4% said "quite frequently", 22% said "sometimes", 8.7% said "very rarely", 1.4% said "never", and 1.4% have very few or no relatives / friends left in countries / regions other than Southern Africa.

Part 8: Jewish Identity

The survey asked respondents a number of questions that examined the depth of their identification with Judaism. Some of these questions were straightforward, such as inquiring about their denominational affiliation, whereas others were more abstract in nature, and required a more thoughtful or philosophical consideration.

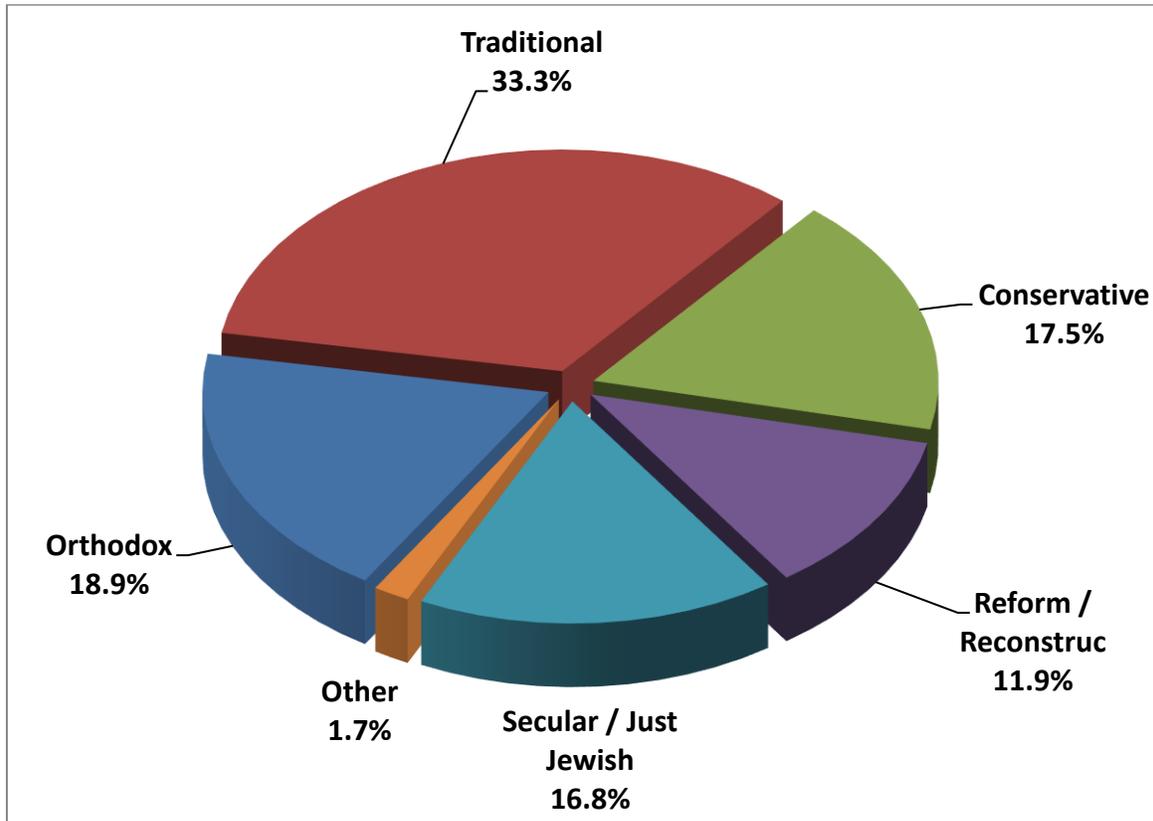
The issue of Jewish identification is a difficult one to measure, simply because it involves a multitude of dimensions: including behavioural, emotional, attitudinal and spiritual facets. For some individuals their adherence to religious traditions is what defines their Jewishness, for others it is their love and abiding support of Israel, and still for others it is a more personal or individualistic understanding of their Jewish identity.

Increasingly, research on determining the strength of Jewish identity has relied on a broader definition of "Jewish behavior", taking a more subtle approach than strictly relying on measures

involving adherence to specific religious rituals or synagogue attendance; but rather reflecting a wider cultural understanding. This study likewise took a broad approach so as gain insights into the dynamics of the different types of identity related to being a Jewish Southern African in Canada.

In terms of specifying their denomination there was a wide variability of responses (Figure 13). The most often mentioned affiliation was "Traditional" (33.3%), followed by "Orthodox" (18.9%), "Conservative" (17.5%), "Reform" (10.9%), "Secular" (7.3%), "Just Jewish" (7.3%), "Humanist / Progressive" (2.2%), and "Reconstructionist" (1%). A very small percentage (1.7%) had other affiliations, such as "Conservative Egalitarian" or "Traditional Egalitarian". If we add the percentages for "Secular", "Just Jewish" and "Humanist / Progressive", the proportion of Southern Africans unaffiliated (from mainstream denominations) was 16.8%.

Figure 13
Denomination of Respondents (%)



A comparison with the 2006 survey of the Greater Toronto Jewish community reveals that Southern African Jews had a significantly lower percentage of unaffiliated members than the Toronto Jewish population as a whole (16.8% and 28.6% respectively). There was also a significantly lower percentage of Southern African Jews who identified as Reform / Reconstructionist compared to the general Toronto Jewish population (11.9% and 20.4%).

The other affiliations were more difficult to compare since "Traditional" was not included as a category of affiliation in the 2006 survey, whereas it was quite a popular choice in the current investigation. Some of those who said they were "Conservative" or "Orthodox" in the wider study might have chosen to describe themselves as "Traditional" if they would have been given the opportunity.

It should be noted here that Southern African Jews appeared to have a different conception of what being “Orthodox” entails. Several interview respondents recounted situations where upon arrival to Canada their identification as “Orthodox” was questioned because they did not keep all the laws of the Sabbath or strictly observe Jewish dietary laws. Southern African Orthodoxy appears to connote a Jewish traditionalism more akin to what Toronto Jews identify as “Conservative Judaism.” Schoenfeld and associates (1999) arrived at the same conclusion about this difference of interpretation of Orthodoxy. Interestingly, one interview respondent described Southern African Jews as “NOOJ’s” (Non-observant Orthodox Jews)! On the other hand, some Southern African immigrants decided to become more observant in keeping with the standards of Toronto Orthodoxy.

Respondents in the current study were asked to choose from a number of statements which best described their feelings about their Jewishness. This can be considered as a key Jewish identity variable. More than a third of the sample (39.3%) said they felt "very conscious of being Jewish and it was the most important thing in their identity", about half (53.7%) said they felt "quite strongly Jewish, but they were equally conscious of other aspects of their life", 4.4% said they were "aware of their Jewishness, but did not practice it in any way", and 2.7% said they were "aware of their Jewishness, but did not think about it very often". None said "although they were born Jewish (or converted to Judaism) they did not think of themselves as being Jewish in any way". It appears that the great majority of Southern African Jews considered their Jewishness as a primary or very strong part of their identity.

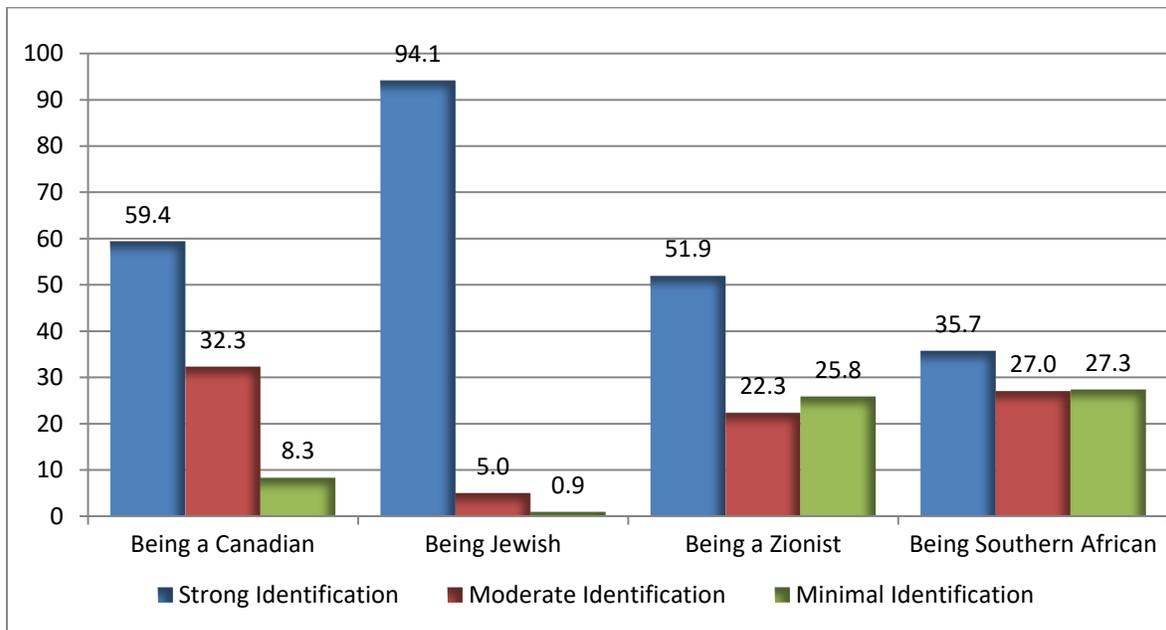
Not surprisingly, the Orthodox were the most inclined to say that being Jewish was the most important element of their identity (79.2%); whereas the least inclined to say it was their primary identification were Secular (11.6%) and Reform / Reconstructionist (12.5%) respondents.

How strong was the Jewish identification of respondents relative to other aspects of their identity (Figure 14)? For example, which was more important: being Jewish or being Canadian? Examining only those who said "very much" to the question of what extent they felt the following was part of their identity, 59.4% said they "very much" felt Canadian, 94.1% said they "very much" felt Jewish, 51.9% said they "very much" felt like a Zionist, and 35.7% said they "very much" felt Southern African.

Conversely, in terms of those who had minimal identification with the following identity-related categories (they said "a little", "very little" or "not at all"), 8.3% said they had minimal identification with being Canadian, 0.9% had minimal identification with being Jewish, 25.8% had minimal identification with being a Zionist, and 27.3% had minimal identification with being a Southern African.

In short, in terms of how respondents defined their identity: they felt Jewish first, Canadian second, Zionist third and Southern African fourth. Interestingly, in the case of the London survey, the sample felt Jewish first, Zionist second, Southern African third, and British fourth. It appears that the current sample felt stronger nationalist feelings about being a Canadian relative to their sentiments about Zionism or Southern Africa; but in the case of both samples, being Jewish was still the paramount aspect of their identity.

Figure 14
The Identity of Jewish Southern Africans
Levels of Identification with Various Aspects (%)

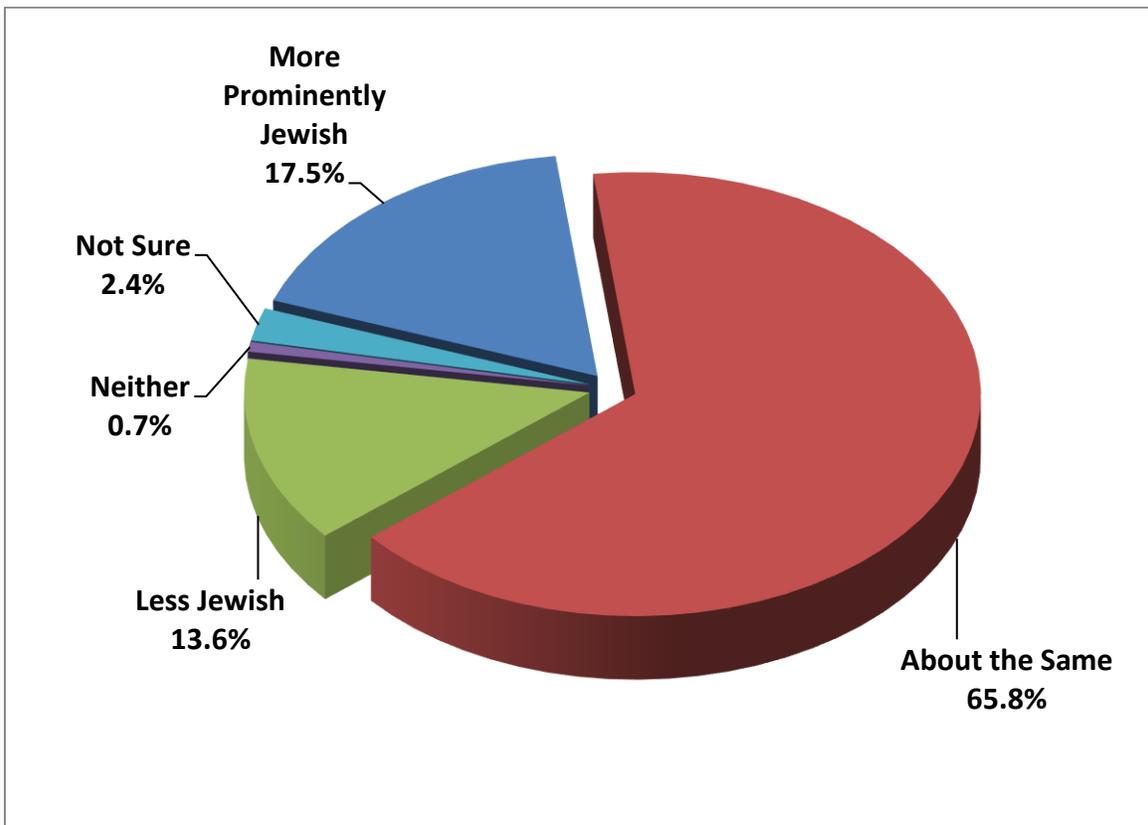


Since their settlement in Canada, did Southern African Jews feel their Jewish identity has become stronger, or has it lessened (Figure 15)? 17.5% felt "more prominently Jewish" than in Southern Africa, 13.6% said "less Jewish", 65.8% said "about the same", 0.7% said "neither",

and 2.4% were not sure. On average, the level of Jewish identity of Southern Africans has strengthened slightly since arrival from Southern Africa, although the majority believes it has remained the same. In short, the strength of the Jewish identity of Southern Africans has not eroded since their arrival to Canada; and in fact, more respondents felt that it has increased rather than decreased.

These findings were reversed in the case of the London study, where 15% said they felt more Jewish since they immigrated to the United Kingdom, 19% less Jewish and 65% felt about the same. In other words, while for the majority of the London sample Jewish identity remained the same, overall the sample showed more erosion of Jewish identity than the Canadian sample did.

Figure 15
Whether Jewish Identity of Respondents has Strengthened or Lessened
Since Arriving From Southern Africa (%)



Indirectly related to Jewish identity is the question of informal affiliations of respondents. Do they tend to form friendships with other Jews, or form friendships outside the community? 39.1% of respondents said "all or almost all" their friends were Jewish, 45.1% said "most" of their friends were Jewish, 10.4% said 'about half", 4.1% said 'a few", and 1.2% said 'almost none". In short, there is a high level of Jewish association in the friendship patterns of respondents.

These findings show a fairly comparable level of Jewish associations to the general Toronto Jewish population. In the latter study 44.6% said "all or almost all" of their friends were Jewish, and 34.2% said "most" were Jewish.

Part 9: Synagogue Attendance & Ritual Observance

The synagogue plays a central role in Jewish communal life. It remains a common meeting place for Jews of all denominations. It has traditionally been a place of spiritual communion, although now it can be said to be as much a focal point for social and educational, as well as spiritual, activities. The importance of the synagogue for Southern African Jews is no different, and reflects their strong ties to their community and to Jewish life in general.

There was a very wide range of responses in terms of the frequency of synagogue attendance among the current sample. About a third (37.3%) attended synagogue during "High Holidays and a few times a year", 11.7% "only on High Holidays", 10% "only on special occasions", and 5.4% "not at all". In short, about two-thirds of the sample (64.4%) did not attend synagogue regularly.

That being said, 3.9% of the sample attended synagogue "every day or almost every day", 13.9% "at least once a week", 10% "two or three times a month", and 7.8% "about once a month". Thus, 35.6% of the sample attended synagogue on a regular basis.

The level of synagogue attendance of Southern African Jews is higher than that of the general Toronto Jewish community. Only 23.7% of the latter population attended a synagogue regularly, whereas 76.3% did not. The level of regular synagogue attendance (at least once per month) varies from 9% to 31% across Jewish communities in North America. The level found for Southern Africans (35.6%) is higher than this range.

Which synagogues did respondents attend? The most frequently mentioned synagogues were: (only those that registered at least 5 mentions are listed here)

	#		#
Chabad Lubavitch of Markham	73	Temple Sinai Congregation	7
Kehillat Shaarei Torah	21	Zichron Yisroel	7
Chabad (unspecified)	17	Beth Sholom Synagogue	6
Adath Israel Congregation	16	Beth Tikvah Synagogue	6
Chabad @ Flamingo	15	Chabad Romano Centre	6
Beth Avraham Yoseph (BAYT)	13	Temple Emanu-El	6
Temple Har Zion	11	Village Shul	6
Aish HaTorah	10	Beth David B'nai Israel Beth Am	5
Beth Emeth Bais Yehuda Synagogue	9	Holy Blossom Temple	5
First Narayever Congregation	7	Temple Kol Ami	5

More than two thirds of these congregations (70%) are Orthodox or Conservative in keeping with the more “traditional” Jewish outlook of most Southern African Jews. The highest proportion is Orthodox. One particular American born rabbi who heads an Orthodox congregation that has a significant number of Southern African congregants was asked in an interview to describe his synagogue. He answered: “Whenever I am asked if we have separate seating at our congregation, I answer, ‘of course . . . one side Johannesburg, one side Cape Town!’” Clearly Southern African Jews have made their mark in certain Toronto synagogues!

Respondents were asked to describe their feelings regarding the Torah. 18.4% believed that "the Torah is the actual word of God", 28% suggested that "the Torah is the inspired word of God, but not everything need be taken literally", 42.8% believed that "the Torah is an ancient book of history and moral precepts recorded by people", and 10.8% were not sure.

The London sample was somewhat less inclined to believe in the absolute sanctity of the Torah than the current sample. For instance, 13% believed the Torah was the actual word of God, 25% that it was the inspired word, 60% that it was recorded by people, and 2.5% were not sure. Thus overall the Toronto sample tended to have a more traditional approach to the sanctity of Torah.

In terms of ritual observance, in North America certain ritual practices are more popularly observed than others. The rituals that more people practice include Passover Seder, Chanukah, and the High Holidays. These rituals occur only once a year and are not as demanding to observe

as many other Jewish requirements. Both Chanukah and the Passover Seder reinforce solidarity through large family gatherings. In addition, both holidays contain aspects of ritual behaviors which directly involve and attract children. This helps parents pass on their Jewish identity to their offspring.

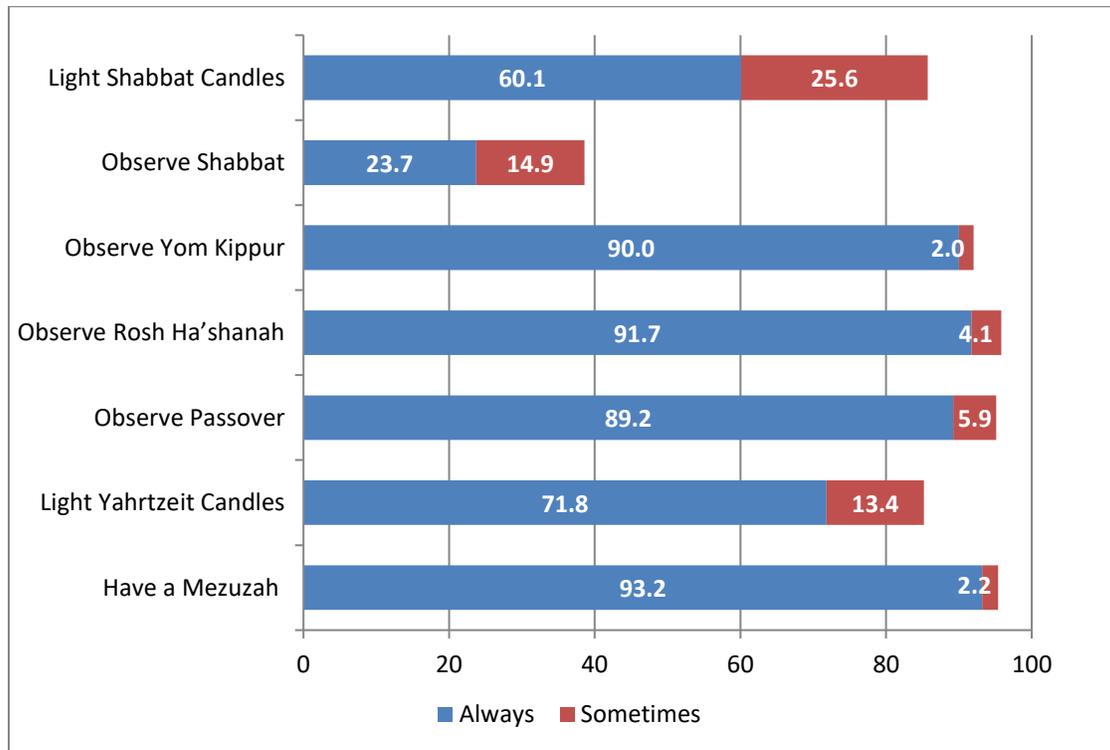
To what extent do Southern Africans observe the various rituals and traditions of the faith? Also, have such patterns of behavior increased or diminished since their arrival here? Research in North America has shown that, in aggregate, with every generation the commitment to uphold traditions has diminished. Jews have increasingly identified themselves along ethnic and cultural lines, rather than according to the strict observance of Jewish law. The question is whether the present sample of Southern Africans has followed the prevailing trends toward decreasing religiosity or not.

Figure 16 presents a summary of the ritual observance patterns of respondents. Looking only at those who said they “always” observe the following rituals or traditions, 60.1% said they always light Sabbath candles in their home; 23.7% said they always observe Shabbat; 90% said they always observe Yom Kippur; 91.7% always observe Rosh Ha’shanah; 89.2% always observe Passover; 62% always light yahrtzeit candles on commemorative occasions; 93.2% always have a Mezuzah on their doorstep; and 29.3% always send Chanukah or ‘Season’s Greetings’ cards to Jewish people.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to compare the above findings on ritual observance to those obtained in the general survey of Toronto’s Jews, since different response choices were offered in the latter study. However, it was possible to make comparisons with London’s Southern Africans along a few of the ritual indicators.

For instance, about 61% of the London sample always lit Shabbat candles, a figure comparable to that of the current sample (60.1%). On the other hand, 81% of the London sample always observed Yom Kippur compared to 90% of the current sample; 83% of London respondents always observed Passover compared to 89.2% of the current sample; and finally, homes were marked with a mezuzah by 81% of London households compared to 93.2% of the current sample. Hence, the rates of ritual observance among Toronto Southern African Jews were generally higher than those shown by the London respondents.

Figure 16
Levels of Ritual Observance of Southern African Jews
Percent Responding “Always” or “Sometimes”



What kind of meat was bought for the households of respondents? More than a third (37.2%) “only bought from a Kosher butcher”, 12.9% “sometimes from a Kosher butcher and sometimes from a non-Kosher butcher, but not pork products”, 36.3% “from a non-Kosher butcher, but not pork products”, 2.4% “sometimes from a Kosher butcher and sometimes from a non-Kosher butcher, including pork products”, 6.8% “from a non-Kosher butcher, including pork products”, and 4.4% were vegetarian households that did not purchase meat at all.

All in all, only 9.2% of the sample admitted to eating pork products, whereas a much larger percentage (23%) of the London sample admitted to the same. Moreover, 28% of London’s Southern African Jews said they only bought meat at a kosher butcher compared to 37.2% of the Toronto sample.

In terms of the type of restaurants respondents frequent to eat a meal, 9.6% “will only eat at a strictly kosher restaurant”, 17.2% “will eat at any restaurant, but avoid eating any unkosher

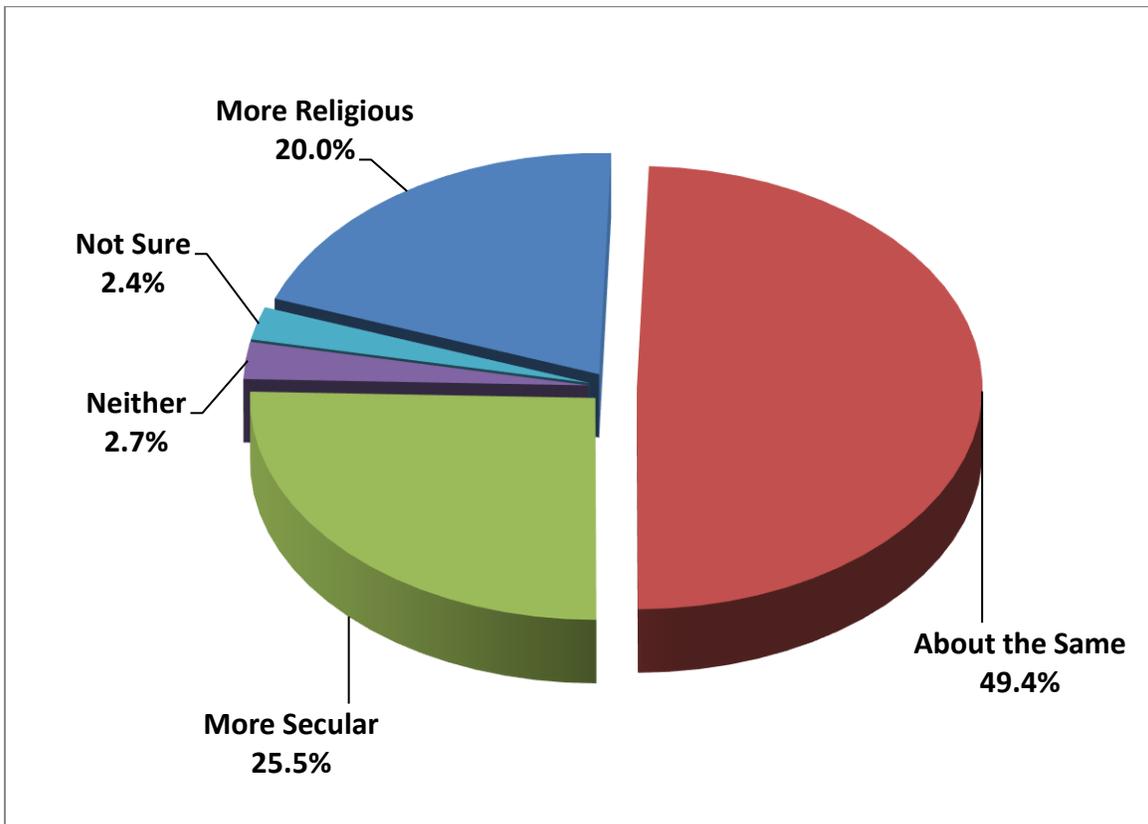
foods”, 15% “will eat at any restaurant, but avoid eating only unkosher meat”, 32.1% “will eat at any restaurant, but with some restrictions that have nothing to do with keeping a kosher diet”, and 26.2% “will eat at any restaurant with no restrictions on the food selections”. In short, only one of ten respondents observed *kashruth* in its most stringent form when eating outside the home.

Since their settlement in Canada, did respondents feel that they were more or less religiously observant than they were in Southern Africa (Figure 17)? One fifth of the sample (20%) said they were "more religiously observant than they were in Southern Africa", 25.5% said they were "more secular than they were in Southern Africa", nearly half (49.4%) said they were "about the same", 2.7% said neither situation applies, and 2.4% were not sure. On average, it seems that respondents have become slightly less religious after immigrating to Canada.

While more respondents reported that they had become more “secular” rather than more “religious,” it is interesting to note that, at the same time, more respondents said that their Jewish identity in general had strengthened rather than weakened since immigrating to Canada. This trend was also observed in the London study. It may be that, on average, Southern Africans had become more identified on a cultural level, rather than a religious one. Their overall identification with Judaism had not lessened, but perhaps their overall commitment to observing traditions had diminished. Again, these trends were not dramatic, but observable nonetheless.

Finally, in terms of culturally-driven Jewish behavior, about a third (33.7%) of respondents “always” read the Canadian Jewish News or other publications, 34.7% said “sometimes”, 18.1% said “rarely” and 13.4% “never” read it.

Figure 17
Whether Level of Religious Observance has Increased or Decreased
Since Arriving From Southern Africa (%)



Part 10: Intermarriage

Related to Jewish identity, at least of the household, is the question of intermarriage. While intermarriage rates are lower for Jews than for most other ethnic groups in Canada, given the particularly low fertility rates among Jews, and the increasing levels of assimilation, intermarriage represents a serious threat for Jewish continuity. An interesting question to examine is whether Southern African Jews have intermarriage rates that are in line with those of the rest of the local Jewish community.

Those who were Jewish by birth and married or living with a partner were asked whether their spouse or partner was likewise Jewish by birth, had converted to Judaism or was not Jewish. The

great majority (92.3%) said their spouse or partner was Jewish by birth, 2.7% said Jewish by conversion, and 4.9% said non-Jewish.

This latter figure (4.9%) can be regarded as a measure of the intermarriage rate among Southern African Jews, at least among the current sample. This figure is considerably lower than that derived from the 2006 survey of the Greater Toronto Jewish community (11.2%) or from the 2011 National Household Survey of the Greater Toronto Jewish population (18%). It is also lower than the figure found among Southern African Jews in the London study (12%).

However, such comparisons may not be entirely valid given that the current sample was under-represented by young adults and unaffiliated Jews, and that both of these groups likely have a larger percentage of intermarried among them. On the other hand, the Toronto Jewish Community Survey had similar methodological limitations regarding its sample derivation, and likely underestimated the intermarriage level as well, as suggested by the higher figure derived from the 2011 National Household Survey. In the case of the London study, it also under-represented young adults.

Respondents were also asked the extent to which they would be pleased or unhappy if their child married someone from a specific group or community. As Table 3 indicates, respondents would be most pleased if their child married a secular Jew (78.5%), followed by a Sephardic Jew (66.1%), a religious Jew (56.3%) and a Jew from the Former Soviet Union (35.5%). They would be most unhappy if their child married a Muslim (89.5%), followed by an Arab (86.7%), and a black person from Africa or the Caribbean (79%).

There was obviously a preference for a Jewish spouse for their children, but even among Jewish groups, there seemed to be a sliding degree of desirability. It is not clear why Jews from the Former Soviet Union were considered the least desirable. Perhaps their cultural orientation was deemed to be the most foreign, or perhaps they were thought to have the most tenuous ties to Judaism. All in all, despite the sensitive nature of this topic it is clear that Southern Africans have strong preferences for who they would like to see their children marry.

Table 3
Whether Pleased or Unhappy to Have as Spouse for their Child
Attitudes Regarding Selected Communities (%)

	Secular Jews	Religious Jews	Sephardic Jews	Arabs	Black African / Caribbean	Jews from FSU	Muslims
Very Pleased	67.6	30.6	45.3	1.1	1.9	17.1	1.1
Somewhat Pleased	10.9	25.7	20.8	0.5	0.5	18.4	0.5
Neither Pleased nor Unhappy	14.0	21.5	29.7	11.7	18.5	40.8	8.9
Somewhat Unhappy	4.7	14.4	3.2	17.3	23.7	18.1	17.9
Very Unhappy	2.8	7.9	1.1	69.4	55.4	5.6	71.6
Total Pleased	78.5	56.3	66.1	1.6	2.4	35.5	1.6
Total Unhappy	7.5	22.3	4.2	86.7	79.0	23.7	89.5

Part 11: Jewish Education of Respondents

Studies in the United States and Canada have shown that a Jewish day school education positively impacts on a person’s adherence to Jewish customs, their level of involvement with Jewish organizations, raising one’s own children Jewishly, resisting intermarriage, and supporting Israel in a variety of ways. In fact, a childhood day school Jewish education has been identified as playing a significant role in terms of instilling the values and beliefs that form essential ingredients of one’s “Jewishness”.

In the case of Southern Africans, their exposure to Jewish education would thus be a key predictor of the strength of their Jewish identity, their commitment to the local community, and to the Jewish world in general.

Respondents were asked if they were ever enrolled in a Jewish day school. About a third (31%) said they were enrolled in Southern Africa, 4.4% in Canada, 1.7% in another country, and 63% never attended a Jewish day school. In short, the rate of Jewish day school attendance was 37.1%.

This rate (37.1%) is higher than that of the general Toronto Jewish population (25.2%), and in fact, is higher than the range for Jewish communities across North America who have conducted such surveys, with the exception of Jews in Montreal (43.9%).

The demographic groups that were most likely to have attended Jewish day schools included those younger than 45 years of age (61.8%), and those who immigrated since the year 2000 (54.3%). Least inclined to have had a Jewish day school education were seniors (14.6%). Clearly Jewish day school in South Africa became a more popular option in recent decades.

More than two-thirds (68%) of respondents had attended supplementary *cheder* / Hebrew / Jewish education classes which were not part of their normal school curriculum, 31.5% had not, and 0.5% were not sure. Moreover, 4.1% had ever attended a Yeshiva or seminary. There was some overlap where some attended both day school and supplementary school.

Overall, what proportion of the current sample of Southern African Jews received some type of Jewish schooling, whether day school or supplementary? The great majority (90.9%) claimed to have some type of Jewish education. This figure is well above that of the Toronto Jewish community (79.2%). The level of Jewish education among the current sample (90.9%) even went beyond the range for communities across North America (65% to 87%). The level of Jewish education among current respondents is therefore exceptionally high.

Almost two thirds (61.2%) of the current sample attended or belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement in Southern Africa, 4.4% in Canada, 2.2% in another country, and 32.2% were never a member of such a movement.

Which specific youth movements did respondents belong to? The following youth movements were mentioned at least five times: Habonim (103), Bnei Akiva (43), Betar (30) and Bnei Zion (11).

Part 12: Jewish Identity & Education of Children

It has long been recognized in the Jewish psyche that the survival of the Jewish people depends on the education of their children: instilling Jewish values, establishing a sense of belonging,

promoting Jewish traditions and an appreciation for the historical experience of the Jews as a people. Given the high level of Jewish schooling among Southern African respondents as mentioned in the previous section, the question arises as to what extent they were committed to preserve that continuity through the Jewish education and exposure of their children.

Respondents were asked whether it was important for their children or grandchildren to have exposure or education about a number of Jewish-related subjects. Only the responses of "very much" will be considered here. The great majority of the sample (89.3%) said it was "very" important for their children or grandchildren to have knowledge about the Holocaust, 80.5% said that it was "very" important for them to have (more than average) knowledge about Israel, 80.3% "very" important to have knowledge about Jewishness (Yiddishkeit), and 52% "very" important to join or attend Jewish organizations in the community or at university.

In terms of whether the children of respondents were currently enrolled, or have been previously enrolled, in a Jewish day school, 49.1% said they had been in Canada, 21.5% said Southern Africa, and 1.6% in another country.

Calculations suggest a very high level of Jewish day school enrolment among the children of Southern African Jews at 61.2% (overlap between countries eliminated). The 2006 survey of Toronto Jews revealed that 47% of respondents reported that their children had received a Jewish day school education, a figure well below that of the current sample. Because participation in Zionist youth groups are not as prevalent in Toronto as they are in Southern Africa, it appears that Southern African Jews, who are highly committed to Jewish education for their children, have thus, to a large extent, transferred this commitment to Jewish day schools.

Which demographic groups in the current sample were most likely to send their children to a Jewish day school? The Orthodox were by far the most likely to have their child enrolled in a Jewish day school (78.9%). The least likely were Reform / Reconstructionist respondents (29.5%), those under 45 years of age (43.2%), Secular respondents (50%), and those living in households earning under \$75K (50%).

In which Jewish schools were the children of respondents currently or previously enrolled? Only those mentioned at least five times were listed here. The following list includes both Toronto and

Southern African schools: Tanenbaum Community Hebrew Academy of Toronto (58), Associated Hebrew Schools (50), King David Schools (29), Bialik (23), United Synagogue Day School / Robbins Hebrew Academy (17), Leo Baeck (14), Herzlia Day School (13), Netivot HaTorah Day School (9), Eitz Chaim (6), Yeshiva College (6), and Toronto Heschel School (5).

Respondents were also asked whether during their school going years, any of their children ever attended *cheder* / Hebrew / Jewish education classes which were not part of their normal school curriculum. Almost half (53.8%) said that their children did attend some form of supplementary Jewish education in Canada, 14.7% said in Southern Africa, and 0.8% in another country.

Have any of the children of respondents ever attended or belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth movement? 24.4% said their children did attend such a movement in Canada, 8.4% in Southern Africa, and 1% in another country. As mentioned above, Jewish day schools are a more common form of Jewish education in Toronto than youth groups.

Which specific Jewish or Zionist youth movements did their children attend? Only movements with at least 5 mentions were included in this list: Habonim (24), Bnei Akiva (17), Canadian Young Judaea (17), National Council of Synagogue Youth (9), and B'nai B'rith Youth Organization (5).

Almost half of respondents (52.5%) said their children attended a Jewish overnight camp in Canada, 6.4% said in Southern Africa, and 4.7% in another country.

Which specific Jewish overnight camp did the children of respondents attend? The most often mentioned were: Camp Northland-B'nai Brith (43), Camp Shalom (30), Camp Biluim (17), Camp Ramah (17), Camp George (15), Camp Solelim (15), Habonim (15), Camp Gesher (13), B'nai Brith (unspecified) (9), and Camp Young Judaea (unspecified) (5).

Finally, what percentage of respondents said that their children did not have any of the Jewish exposure mentioned in this survey, including attending Jewish day schools, Jewish supplementary schools, Jewish or Zionist youth movements or Jewish overnight camps? Calculations reveal that only 3.9% of respondents said that their children had not had any Jewish related exposure of the types mentioned here. This is considered a very low figure, and attests to

the determination of Southern African parents to have at least some Jewish-related exposure for their children.

Part 13: Philanthropy & Volunteerism

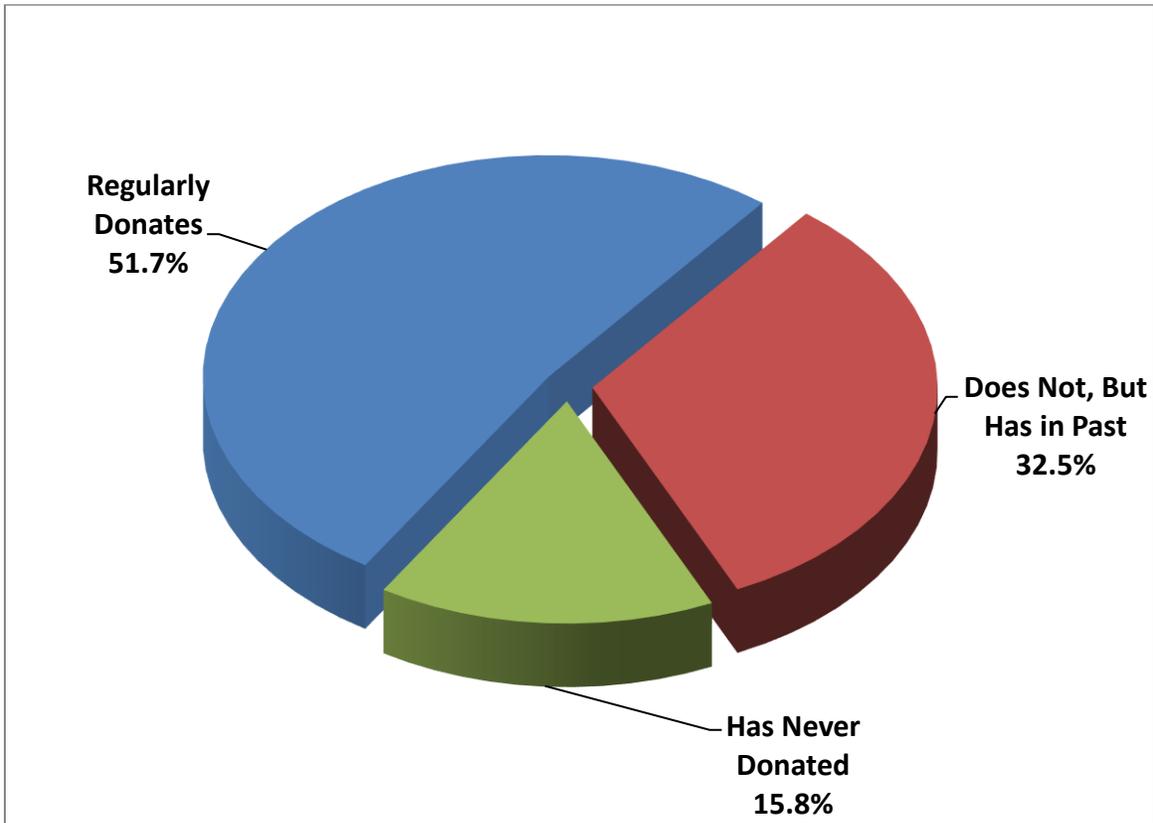
The spirit of “tzedakah” is an integral part of the Jewish way of life. From a traditional point of view, Jews are obligated, both spiritually and morally, to assist fellow Jews who are needy, who cannot look after themselves, or who are experiencing distress in some way. In this sense, giving charity is a duty that cannot be forsaken even by those who are themselves in need. Some sages have said that tzedakah is the highest of all commandments.

The question in this section is whether Southern African Jews donate to charitable causes both within the Jewish community and outside of it. A spirit of generosity reflects both a sense of commitment to community, but is also an indicator of economic success and confidence, especially among immigrant groups. Southern Africans who are generous may wish to “give back something” to a community that has embraced them; and in a more general way, contribute as productive members to a society within which they feel more self-assured and comfortable.

Respondents were asked to specify whether they donate to United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of Greater Toronto. As Figure 18 shows, slightly more than half (51.8%) donate regularly to UJA, 32.5% did not donate last year but have in the past, and 15.8% have never donated to UJA.

Most likely to donate to UJA were those with a Conservative affiliation (72.2%), those living in households earning \$350K+ (72%), and those who immigrated to Canada between 1980 and 1989 (58.7%). Least likely to donate were those who immigrated since the year 2000 (22.7%), secular respondents (26.1%), and those residing in households earning less than \$75K (30.6%). Religious affiliation, household income and year of immigration were thus strong indicators of level of giving to UJA.

Figure 18
Whether or Not Donates to UJA (%)



In terms of whether they have donated to other charities, 82.2% said they donate to other Jewish charities, and 74.3% to non-Jewish charities. Only 2.1% of the sample does not donate to any charity, including UJA, other Jewish charities or non-Jewish charities. In short, the level of general philanthropy among the sample of Southern African Jews is strikingly high.

Of those who donate regularly to UJA, 90.4% donate to other Jewish charities and 76.7% donate to non-Jewish charities. Of those who have never given to UJA, 61.2% give to other Jewish charities and 64.2% to non-Jewish charities. About a third (34.6%) donate to all three levels of charities.

How does the level of philanthropy of the current sample compare to that of other groups? The 2006 study of the Greater Toronto Jewish community found that almost half of the sample (48.2%) said they donated to United Jewish Appeal in the year before the survey, 30% said they

did not donate but had in the past, and 21.8% said they had never donated. These numbers are slightly lower than those of the current sample.

Moreover, 59.6% of the Greater Toronto sample donated to other Jewish charities, and 77.8% to non-Jewish charities. In comparison, the Southern African sample was more inclined to give to other Jewish charities and slightly less inclined to contribute to non-Jewish charities. Finally, 13% of the Greater Toronto sample did not contribute to any charity, a proportion well above the 2.1% of the current sample.

It should be noted, however, that the Toronto community study was implemented more than 10 years ago, and the numbers related to philanthropic giving may have changed in the interim. Also, it is possible that some current respondents thought that "other Jewish charities" included synagogue fees they pay, a distinction the current study failed to make in the questionnaire.

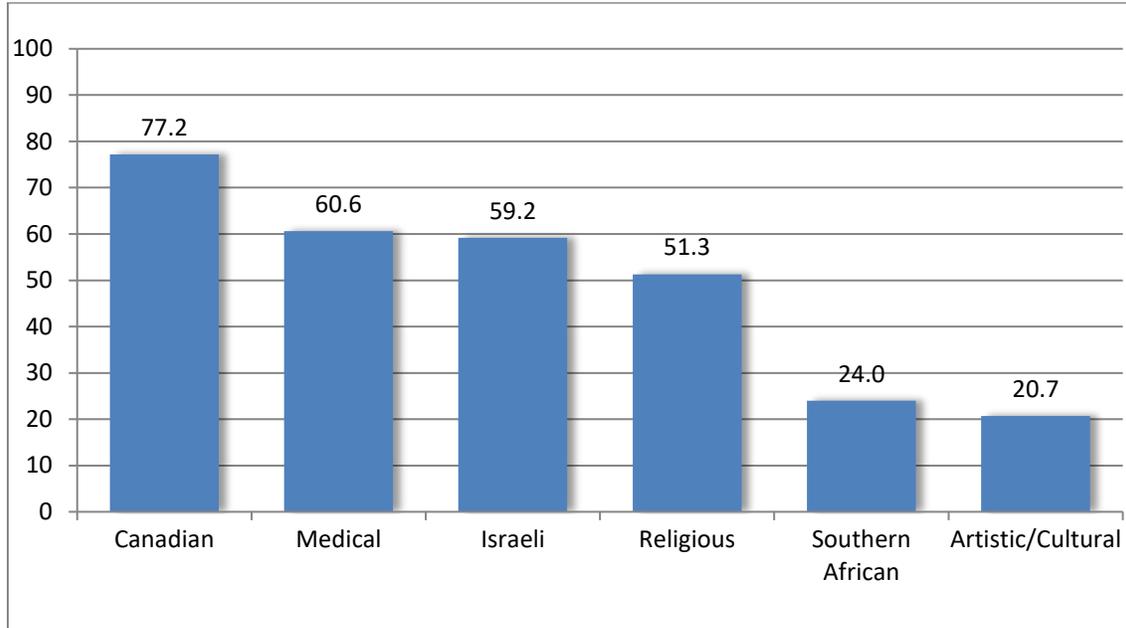
What types of charities do Southern African Jews contribute to? Figure 19 is a summary of the findings. Note that some categories overlap with one another. Almost three-quarters (77.2%) of the sample donated to Canadian charities, 60.6% to medical charities, 59.2% to Israeli charities, 51.3% to religious charities, 24% to Southern African charities, and 20.7% to cultural / artistic charities. Southern Africans seem to have a wide variety of philanthropic interests.

How important is it for respondents to contribute to Jewish charities? Almost half (49.3%) said it was "very important", 31.8% said it was "important", 10.7% said "not really important", 5.6% said "not important at all", and 2.6% were unsure.

Regarding the levels of volunteerism of the current sample, 40.3% volunteered at a Jewish charitable organization and 18.2% at a non-Jewish organization. Almost half the sample (45.9%) did not volunteer at all.

According to the 2006 study of the Greater Toronto Jewish community, 30.6% of respondents volunteered at a Jewish organization and 22.3% at a non-Jewish organization. The Southern African sample was thus more inclined to volunteer for Jewish organizations and the general sample of Toronto Jews was more inclined to volunteer for non-Jewish organizations.

Figure 19
Types of Charities Respondents Donate To (%)



Only 6.1% of the current sample of Southern African said they were active as a lay volunteer on a board or committee for UJA Federation, 13.1% said they were not currently active but had been in the past, and 80.8% had never been active in this capacity.

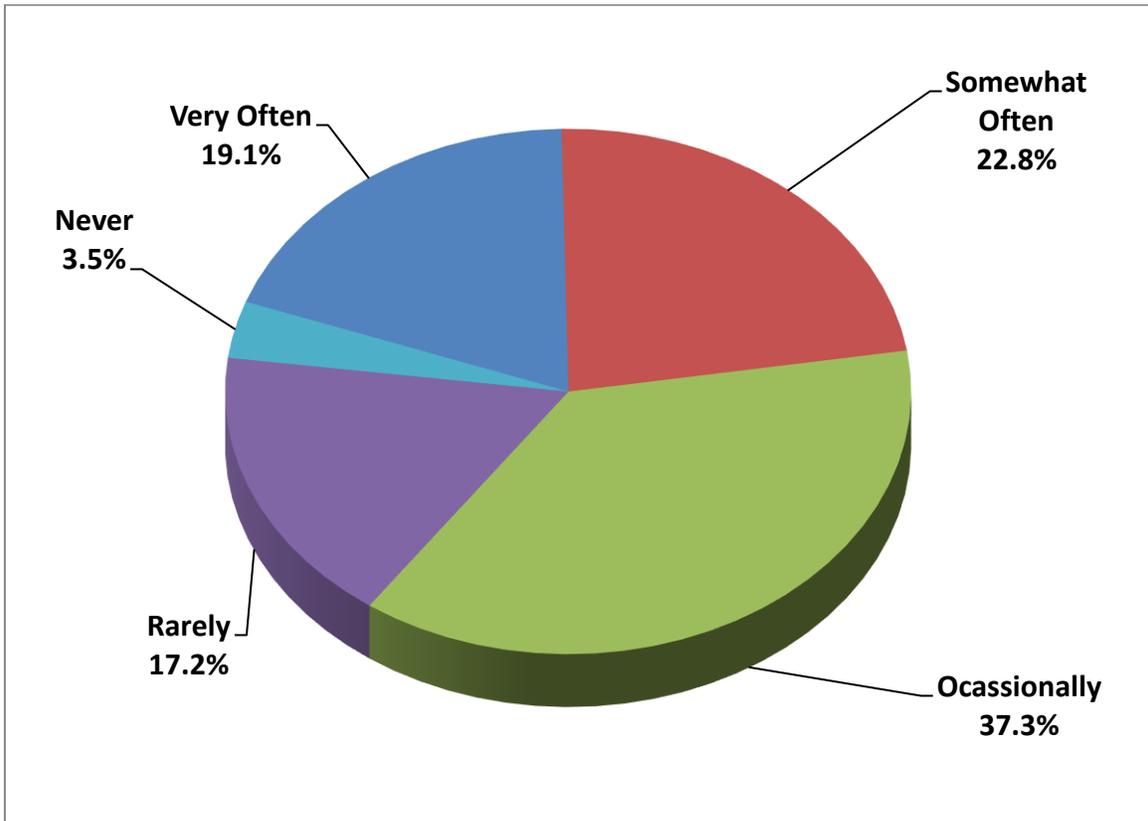
Part 14: Community Engagement

One expression of a community's cohesiveness relates to the involvement of its members in its organizations and institutions. In the case of Southern African Jews, their level of engagement is an indicator of how close they feel to the local Jewish community, and the level of their integration into broader community endeavors. If there are barriers to engagement, are they due to a sense of cultural alienation, or are there other factors preventing Southern Africans from participating more fully?

How often did respondents attend or participate in Jewish community events (Figure 20)? About a fifth (19.1%) of the sample said "very often", 22.8% said "somewhat often", 37.3% said "occasionally", 17.2% said "rarely", and 3.5% said "never".

The most likely to say they "very often" participate were Orthodox respondents (38.5%). Most likely to say they "rarely" or "never" participate were Secular respondents (47.1%).

Figure 20
Frequency of Participation in Jewish Community Events (%)



In terms of the barriers that are preventing respondents from attending or participating more in Jewish community events, 28.7% said they "do not have the time", 9.8% have "no interest in community activities", 9.8% said that "it is too expensive to participate", 9.8% "do not know enough about what is going on", 8.9% said their "spouse is not interested", 7.5% "don't like to be part of a group", 6.3% said "most events are too religious", 3.5% report they are "too different to fit in", 3.3% have "transportation issues or live too far away", 3.3% "feel judged or look down upon", 3.3% have "had a bad experience with a Jewish organization", and 1.2% "don't feel Jewish enough". In short, by far the most common barrier to participation is that people feel too busy or preoccupied. Note that aside from this reason, the percentage levels are quite low.

A few of the comments offered to this question reflected some frustrations with community. These included:

- I did participate and contribute money and time when I could, but now have been denied and excluded from help from UJA and community when it is most needed and I am now abandoned to suffer.
- I am "off" assertive religiosity, which seems to be a creeping force wherever I go. I see no reason for a *Dvar Torah* at the start of board meetings of a social or community charity. In fact I see a need for there not to be one, but this religiosity is hard to challenge.
- My partner is not Jewish and it is hard to be accepted in the community.
- Too many events now held in Thornhill versus downtown.
- UJA is out of touch with the needs of the downtown Jewish community. Too much focus on a ghetto mentality; not progressive enough; supportive of Trump and the Conservative party. Far too focused on families whose children are in Jewish Day School. Not sufficiently supportive of families who choose to put their children in supplementary programs.

Part 15: Connections to Israel

Throughout history, Israel has played a critical role in the collective consciousness of the Jewish people. Research has shown that commitment and support for Israel, whether it is financial or ideological, is a central component of the identity of Jews, regardless of their individual level of religiosity. We can therefore ask to what extent Southern Africans feel attached to Israel, what specific ties they have to the country, and whether their Zionist feelings have changed since they immigrated to Canada.

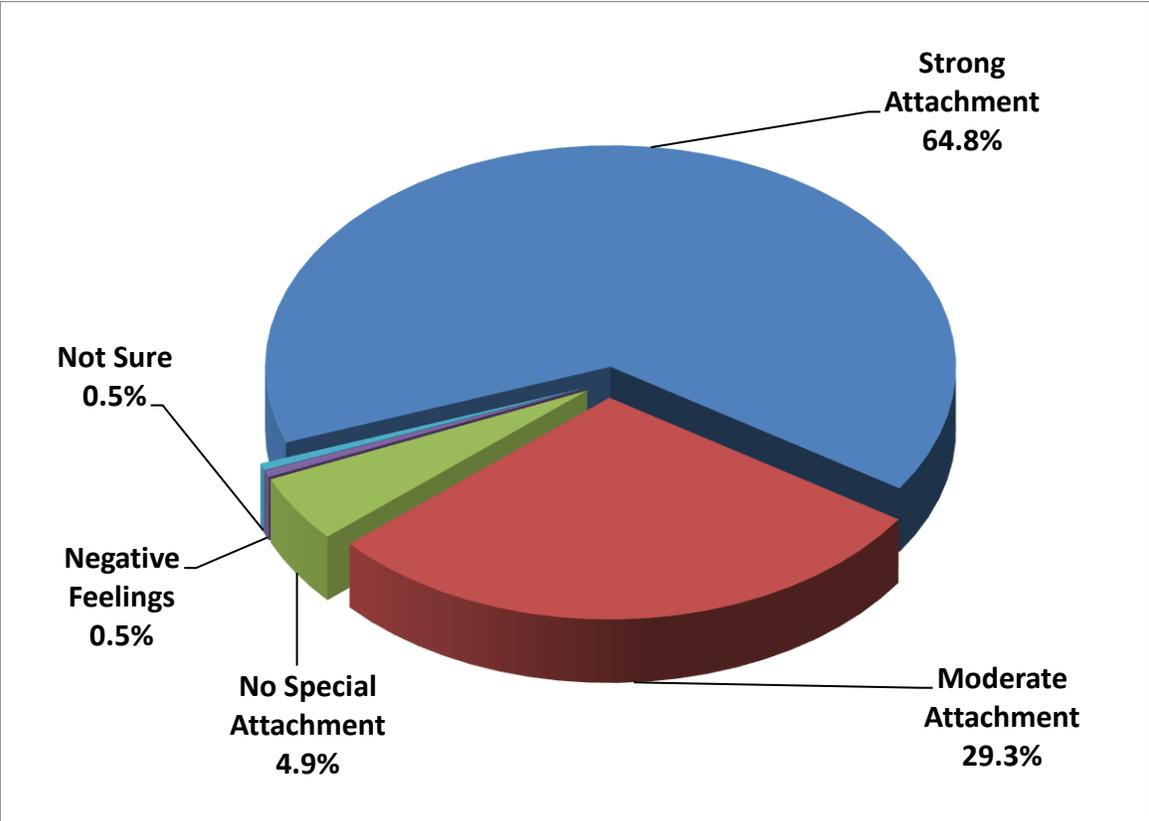
15.8% of the sample had ever lived in Israel, compared to 84.2% who had not. Of those who lived in Israel, about a third (35%) had lived there less than a year, whereas 11.7% had lived there at least 10 years. The remainder had lived somewhere between these durations. About one fifth (19%) of the London sample of Southern African Jews had ever lived in Israel, a figure quite similar to the current finding (15.8%).

The great majority of respondents (95.5%) said they have visited Israel at one time. About a quarter (23.4%) had only visited once, 19.1% had visited twice, 13% had visited 3 times, 10% had visited 4 times, 18.1% 5-9 times, and 16.4% had visited at least 10 times. Overall, therefore, Southern African Jews of Toronto were frequent visitors to Israel.

More than half the sample (53.1%) had extended family living in Israel, 51.2% had close relatives living there, 46.4% had close friends living there, 37.7% had acquaintances living there, and 10.4% had business acquaintances living in Israel. In short, a significant percentage of the sample had connections to Israel. In fact, calculations revealed that 91.9% had some type of connection to Israel, whether family, friends or acquaintances.

Respondents were asked to indicate the level of their attachment to Israel (Figure 21). Almost two-thirds (64.8%) said they had a "strong attachment" to Israel, 29.3% a "moderate attachment", 4.9% "no special attachment", 0.5% "negative feelings towards Israel" (comprising two individuals), and 0.5% were not sure.

Figure 21
Level of Attachment to Israel (%)



Among the London sample of Southern African Jews, 54.1% said they had a strong attachment to Israel, significantly below the figure found in the present study (64.8%). The level of London

respondents with negative feelings toward Israel (1.9%) was slightly above that of the present study (0.5%).

In the current sample, those most likely to say they had a strong attachment to Israel were the Orthodox (78.7%) and those living in households earning at least \$350K (75.3%). Those least likely to say they had a strong attachment to Israel were secular respondents (43.6%), and those under 45 years of age (46.3%). Although note that among the latter younger adults almost half still expressed a strong attachment.

A significant majority of respondents (70%) felt that the state of Israel should be a "state for the Jewish people", 23.8% said a "state for all its citizens", and 6.2% were not sure.

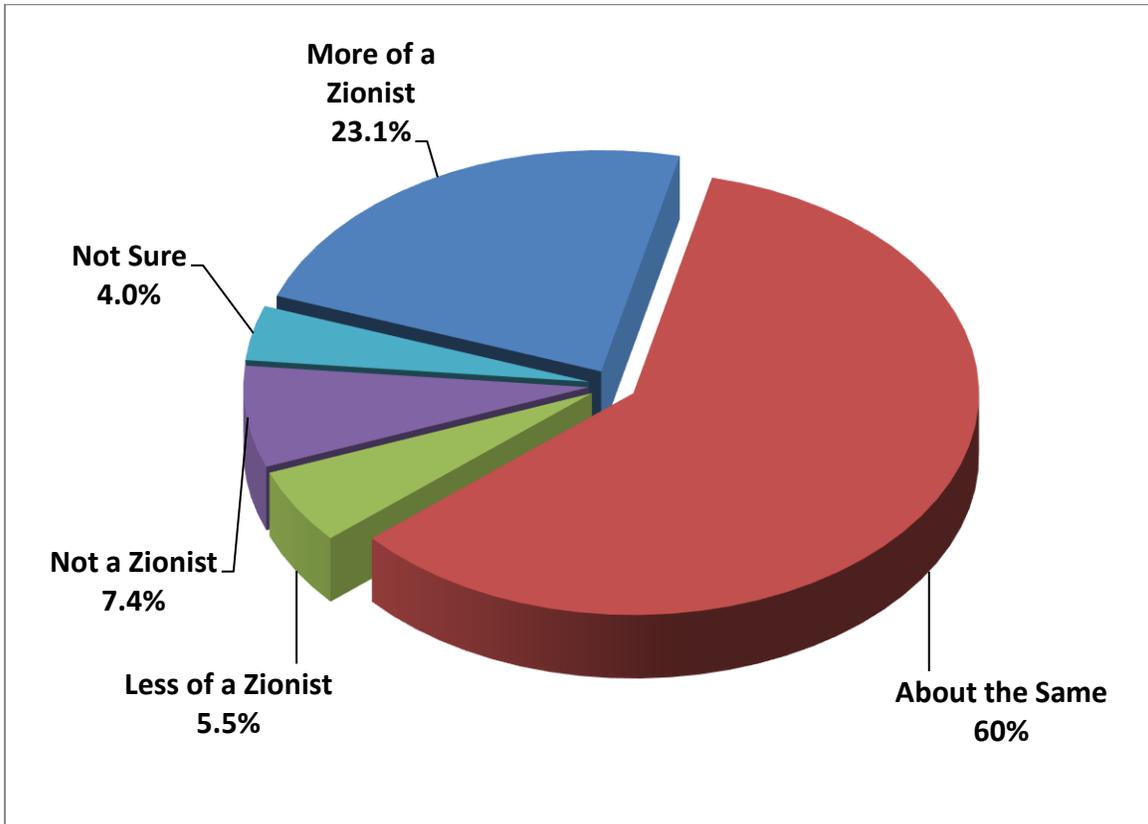
Most inclined to say it should be a state for the Jewish people included the Orthodox (90.7%). Those most inclined to say it should be a state for all its citizens included secular respondents (42.6%).

The question of whether Israel should give up some territory in exchange for credible guarantees of peace yielded significant polarization between respondents. 40.1% said that Israel should do so, 42.8% said it should not, and 17.1% were not sure. Interestingly, a large majority (81%) of Southern African Jews in the London study said that Israel should give up some territory in exchange for credible guarantees of peace; 14% said it should not, and 5% were not sure. Toronto Southern African Jews thus demonstrated a more conservative view on Israel as compared to Southern African Jews in London.

Finally, respondents were asked since leaving Southern Africa, whether they thought their feelings for Zionism had increased or decreased (Figure 22). About a quarter (23.1%) said they were more Zionist than before, 5.5% less Zionist than before, 60% about the same, 7.4% did not consider themselves a Zionist, and 4% were not sure.

The current sample seemed to have a slightly larger percentage of those who said they had an increased level of Zionism compared to the London sample (23.1% and 18% respectively).

Figure 22
Whether Level of Zionist Feelings Have Increased or Decreased
Since Arriving From Southern Africa (%)



Part 16: Anti-Semitism in Canada

A measure of a civilized society is often considered to be the level of tolerance displayed to its minorities. Jews in North America have experienced an unprecedented degree of freedoms and privileges that have historically been denied to them in many other parts of the Diaspora. But this does not mean that Jews have not experienced discrimination here due to their religion or ethnicity.

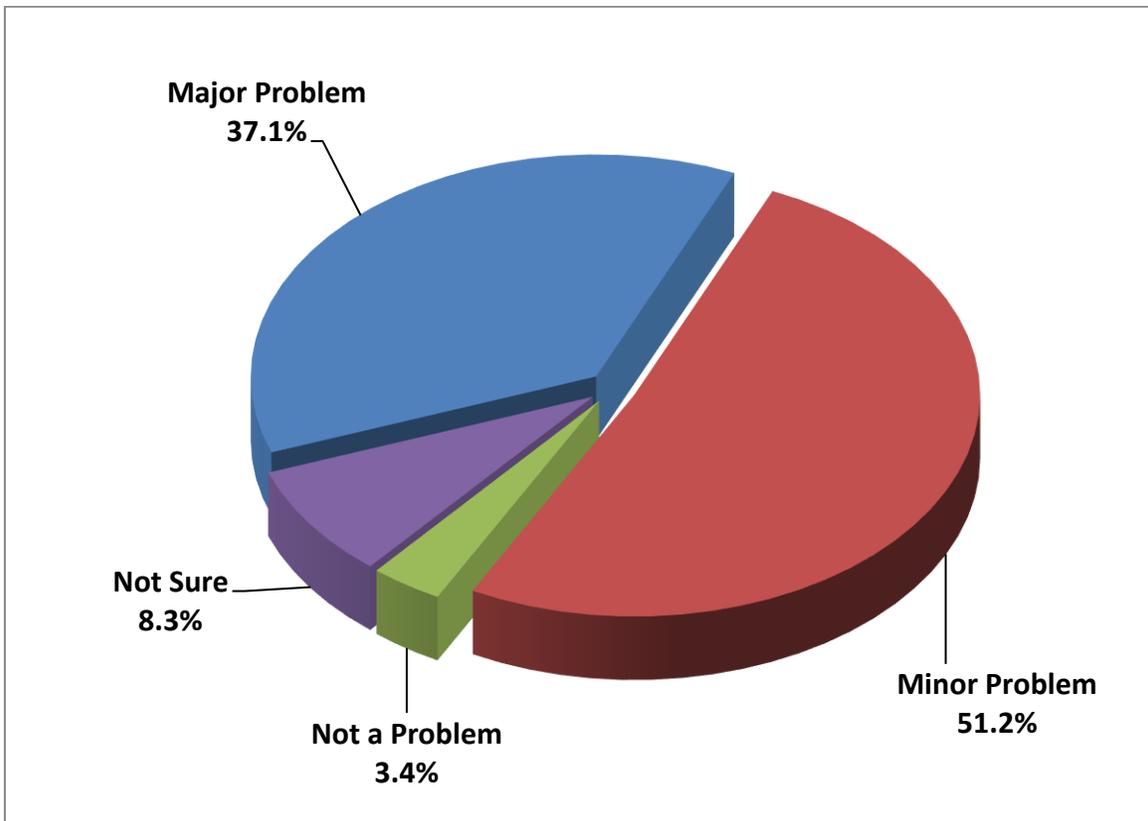
Given the climate of anti-Semitism that is now prevalent in many parts of the world, particularly in Europe, but also related to scattered incidents in Canada and the United States, it is very likely that such occurrences have influenced the reactions of Southern African Jews to anti-Semitism generally, and heightened the feelings of tension and concern they currently feel. The following

responses should therefore be considered in the context of the prevailing atmosphere at the time of the survey.

What did respondents think about the level of anti-Semitism in Canada? The majority (59.7%) thought there was "more anti-Semitism in Canada now than there was 5 years ago", 1.5% believed there was less anti-Semitism in Canada now than there was 5 years ago, 27.2% thought there was "about the same amount as 5 years ago", and 11.7% were not sure. All in all, there seemed to be heightened concerns that the level of anti-Semitism has increased.

More than a third (37.1%) of the current sample believed that at present in Canada, anti-Semitism is a "major problem", 51.2% thought it is a "minor problem", 3.4% believed it is "not a problem at all" and 8.3% were not sure (Figure 23). On average, the great majority (88.3%) of respondents believed that anti-Semitism is a problem, and a significant minority thought it is an issue of major proportions.

Figure 23
Whether Anti-Semitism is a Problem or Not in Canada (%)



The findings of the London study were similar. About a third (34%) said it was a "major problem", 55% said it was a "minor problem", 7% "not a problem at all", and 4% were not sure.

The questions regarding opinions about the level of anti-Semitism in this country are in a sense somewhat abstract and rely on personal interpretations and hearsay, mostly from media sources. No question in our survey asked whether respondents had personally experienced anti-Semitism in the last five years. The emotional impact of anti-Semitism may have been more directly gauged if it related to the experiences of respondents themselves.

Part 17: Life in Toronto

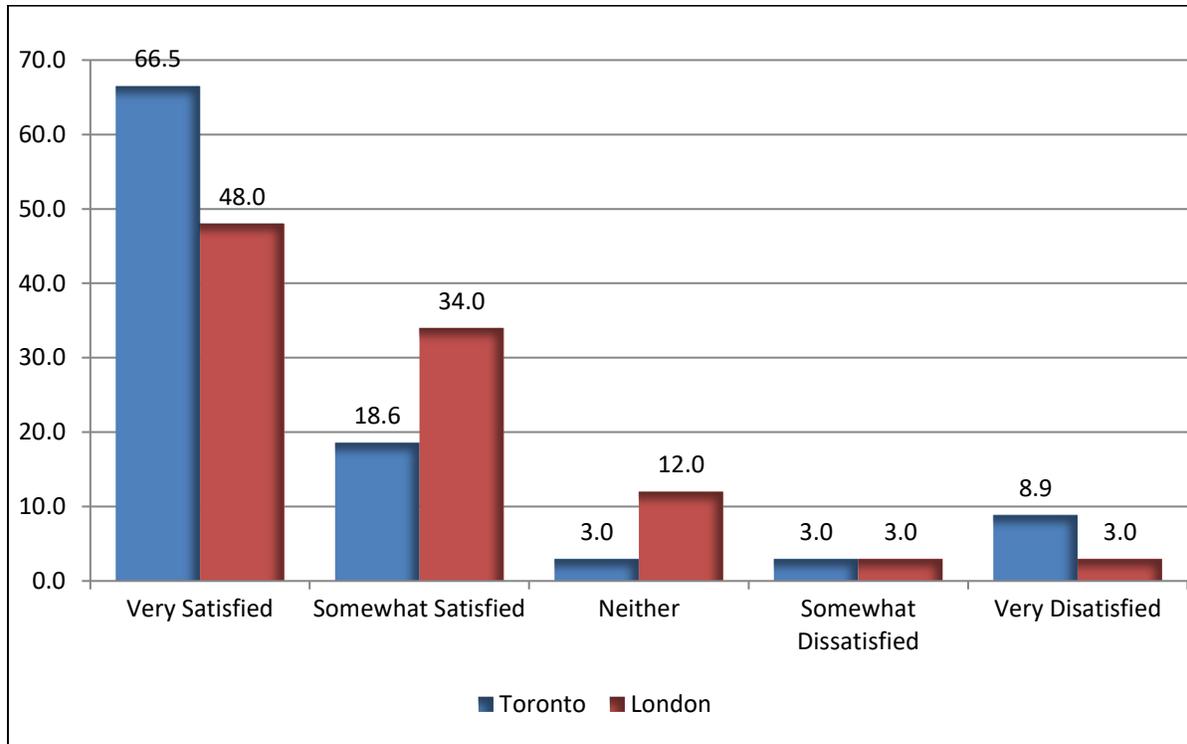
In general terms, are respondents happy living in Toronto? Their level of comfort and satisfaction with their local milieu can be taken as an indirect measure of their adaptation to life in Canada. Also of interest is the type of people they prefer to have living in their midst. Is it important for them to be surrounded by other Southern Africans or Jewish people in general? What are their attitudes towards other cultural or ethnic groups?

Respondents had been living in Toronto for an average of 29.1 years, with a range from 1 to 63 years. Only 3.5% of the sample had lived in Toronto for less than 10 years, and almost three-quarters (71.6%) for at least 25 years.

How satisfied were respondents with living in Toronto? About two-thirds (66.5%) claimed to be "very satisfied", 18.6% "somewhat satisfied", 3% "neither satisfied nor dissatisfied", 3% "somewhat dissatisfied", and 8.9% "very dissatisfied". The levels of satisfaction with life in Toronto were therefore generally quite high, but not dramatically so.

On the other hand, the percentage of those "very satisfied" with living in Toronto was significantly higher than Southern Africans saying they were "very satisfied" with living in London (66.5% and 48% respectively). However, the percentage of those "very dissatisfied" is also higher for the Toronto sample than for the London one (8.9% and 3%) (Figure 24).

Figure 24
Levels of Satisfaction with Life in Current City of Residence
Toronto versus London (%)



The great majority (89.3%) of respondents were owners of their home, 8.5% were renters, and 2.2% had another type of arrangement, such as living with family.

What proportions of ex-Southern Africans were currently living in the respondent's neighborhood? Only 1% said that ex-Southern Africans were the "vast majority" in their area of residence, 35.8% said there were a "substantial number" of ex-Southern Africans, 47.4% said there were a "limited number" of ex-Southern Africans, and 6.4% said their household represented "the only family". Note that more than a third of respondents lived in areas where there were significant numbers of ex-Southern Africans.

For more than half (58.7%) of respondents, the presence of ex-Southern Africans did "not at all" influence them to live in their area; 11.4% said it influenced them "a little", 10.4% "somewhat", 13.9% "to a great extent", 5.2% "to a very great extent", and 0.5% were not sure.

Not surprisingly, those who were most influenced "to a great extent" or "to a very great extent" were respondents who came from 2000 to the present (37.1%). The most recent immigrants felt most comfortable being around those from their country of origin.

To what extent was the desire to be in a Jewish area in Toronto important in choosing a residence initially and now? About two-thirds (63.3%) said it was important initially and important now, 16.1% said it was "important initially, but not important now", 4.5% said it was "not important initially, but important now", 13.4% said it was "not important initially and not important now", and 2.7% said they were not sure. Hence, the majority of respondents emphasized the desirability of living in a Jewish neighborhood and had not changed their mind about it after moving into their current area of residence. Previous data has clearly shown that Southern African Jews are highly residentially concentrated in Jewish areas, with Thornhill being the prime example today.

Toronto is a richly diverse and cosmopolitan city. One question of the current survey asked interviewees to rate their degree of pleasure or displeasure at having a neighbor from certain ethno-religious communities. The items were chosen specifically to bring out certain basic preferences and, perhaps, prejudices. This question was actually criticized by a handful of respondents at the end of the survey who thought it was distasteful. It was similarly criticized in the London study⁴.

Table 4 is a summary of the results. Note that some of these categories overlap. Respondents would be most pleased to have secular Jews as neighbors (77.8%), followed by Sephardic Jews (60%), and religious Jews (51.9%). Russian Jews were the least favorably looked upon among the various Jewish groups included in the choices. Perhaps their culture is deemed the least familiar by respondents.

Respondents would be most unhappy to have Muslim neighbors (39.8%), followed by Arabs (38%). Interestingly, responses to Africans / Caribbean Blacks fell in the middle of the spectrum. In response to similar findings obtained by the London survey, that study's authors suggest that due to their Southern African experience, it is possible that Black people were in general a more known quantity for respondents than Arabs and Muslims, and therefore more acceptable as

⁴ The authors of the London study (Caplan 2011, 96) commented that this was "an admittedly crude tactic, but one that revealed some interesting data."

neighbors. It should also be noted that about half the Toronto sample was indifferent to having neighbors who were Arabs or Muslims.

Table 4
Whether Pleased or Unhappy to Have as Neighbors
Attitudes Regarding Selected Communities (%)

	Secular Jews	Religious Jews	Sephardic Jews	Arabs	Black African / Caribbean	Jews from FSU	Muslims
Very Pleased	65.5	33.5	45.4	6.4	10.1	18.2	6.7
Somewhat Pleased	12.3	18.4	14.6	2.8	5.9	13.8	3.6
Neither Pleased nor Unhappy	21.4	37.1	38.7	52.7	68.2	54.7	49.9
Somewhat Unhappy	0.3	6.9	1.3	25.7	11.9	11.0	24.9
Very Unhappy	0.5	4.1	0.0	12.3	3.9	2.3	14.9
Total Pleased	77.8	51.9	60.0	9.3	16.0	32.0	10.3
Total Unhappy	0.8	11.0	1.3	38.0	15.8	13.3	39.8

Finally, respondents were asked to define themselves politically according to their inclination to vote for a specific Canadian party. Almost two-thirds (63.9%) said they were inclined to vote for the Conservative Party, 22.6% for the Liberal Party, 3.6% for the New Democratic Party (NDP), 0.9% for the Green Party, and 9% were not sure. In short, the majority of individuals had Conservative political leanings, a trend that was also present among respondents of the London study.

Interview data was sought out for Southern African Jews in Toronto who may have different political leanings than the majority. These individuals were more likely to be living outside the main residential areas of Southern African Jewish concentration. One respondent who lives in downtown Toronto, for example, reported that she does not feel connected to the majority of Southern African Jews in the city and purposely has chosen to live in a more liberal area of town. She criticized her community as “too right wing” and “supporters of Trump and Netanyahu.” She reported that she is more comfortable with Cape Town Jews, who she generally finds to be more liberal than Johannesburg Jews. Similarly, another respondent reported that he is critical of “the knee-jerk right-wing conservatism of South African Jews in Toronto who support Israel no matter what, support Donald Trump, and claim that Muslims are people that can’t be trusted.”

Finally, another respondent characterized a number of South African Jews as “opinionated and narrow-minded politically and culturally.” Clearly any sub-community is going to have differences in political leanings. Southern African Jews are no different. While the majority have more conservative political leanings, it is not uncommon for other members to feel differently or see things from a different perspective.

Conclusions

As one reads through the findings there is little doubt that the adaptation of Southern African Jews to life in Canada, both socially and economically, has been impressive. This adaptation has not occurred without difficulties, but on the whole, this group has adjusted remarkably well to its host country. Southern African Jews also seem to have strong ties to the local Jewish community and their levels of observance and engagement have remained quite high, as has their connection to Israel. All these points are brought home when one compares the data with a similar sample of Southern African Jews living in Great Britain, and with the Jewish community of Toronto as a whole.

The majority of the sample arrived in Canada during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. Many felt there was little future in their home region and were seeking a safer and more politically stable place to raise their children. The fact that Canada was an English-speaking country and that respondents had family here prior to arriving were the two major reasons as to why they chose to immigrate to this country. Both likely represented advantages that helped their integration into Canadian life. Interestingly, respondents were much less visible as Southern Africans than their British counterparts likely because their accent was less recognizable to Canadians.

Their level of social integration was very much tied to their year of immigration, in the sense that the longer they stayed in Canada, the more Canadian born friends they had; whereas recent immigrants had mostly Southern African friends. This is not a surprising finding and is likely true of most immigrant groups. There also seems to be a connection with socio-economic factors, specifically that social integration is most successful among more affluent and better educated

respondents. Younger adults, who likely arrived in their youth, also tended to have more Canadian friends, as their exposure to Canadian schools allowed them more opportunities for such contacts.

Perhaps the most telling findings of this report are that Jewish Southern Africans generally felt very much at home in Canada; and the fact that this group felt more comfortable here than London respondents felt in Great Britain. Only 2.3% of the entire Toronto sample reported that they did not feel at home in this country. Moreover, the great majority of the current sample said they will very likely stay in Canada for the next 5 years. Only 2.8% said they will likely leave. This again attests to the fact that respondents were comfortable and happy with life here, and had firmly planted their roots in this country.

From an economic perspective, the sample demonstrated high levels of household income with approximately 40% earning more than \$200,000 per year. The accounting and finance fields were common areas of work among the sample. This included a high proportion of entrepreneurs who had started their own businesses.

About three quarters of the sample were satisfied with their economic situation generally, and a similar percentage was able to cover all their household expenses without difficulty. Not surprisingly, these findings were related to year of immigration, but they also suggested that with time, the great majority of Southern African Jews have achieved economic success and created prosperity for themselves.

Southern African Jews help each other. More than a quarter of wage-earners said they received at least some help from fellow Southern Africans to find employment. About one in five entrepreneurs said that Southern Africans at least somewhat helped them establish their current business.

Only a quarter of the sample said they had a strong attachment to Southern Africa, including about a third of the most recent immigrants. Interestingly, the British sample displayed a much higher level of attachment to Southern Africa than the local sample. This is likely connected to

the finding, reported above, that Jewish Southern Africans in Toronto generally felt very much at home in Canada. Some indications of the higher British attachment to Southern Africa were the higher priority the British sample placed on teaching their children about Southern African culture and customs, as well as the number of visits they made to their country of origin. On the whole, however, both samples made quite a considerable number of visits to Southern Africa, especially to visit family.

The major Jewish denomination of local Southern Africans was “Traditional”. Orthodoxy was the next most commonly reported denomination, although it appears that the understanding of “Orthodoxy” from a Southern African point of view is less rigorous about ritual observance than a Canadian Jewish understanding. Southern Africans had a much lower proportion of those unaffiliated from any major denomination (i.e. secular/Just Jewish) than the Toronto Jewish community as a whole.

Being Jewish was a primary or very strong part of the identity of the local sample, and seemed to define them more than any other aspect. For instance, they felt more Jewish than Canadian, Zionist or Southern African, in that order. They shared this strong Jewish identification with British respondents, although the latter felt more Zionist or Southern African than British. This comparison again confirmed the strong attachment of Southern African Jews to Canada.

One of the key findings of this study is that since moving to Canada, the strength of the samples’ Jewish identity has increased, on average. On the other hand, the British sample showed some slight erosion in this respect. This suggests that one can lead a thriving Jewish life in Canada; and is perhaps also an indication of the supporting role that a strong Toronto Jewish community has in terms of embracing Jewish immigrants into its fold.

The levels of synagogue attendance and ritual observance were generally higher among local Southern Africans than the overall Toronto Jewish community, as well as those of the British sample. However, on average, respondents said they had become slightly more secular since arriving from Southern Africa.

The latter finding represented an apparent contradiction considering that the strength of their Jewish identity had become stronger since their immigration. As mentioned in the report, it may be that Southern Africans had become generally more identified on a cultural level, rather than a religious one. But it should also be mentioned that their level of ritual observance continues to be quite high, and that any diminishment in this direction has not been that remarkable.

The exposure of the sample to Jewish education was strikingly high, not only amongst themselves, but for their children as well. In fact, only 3.9% of respondents said their children did not have any Jewish exposure in terms of schools, camps or other organizations. This augers extremely well for the continuity of Jewish identity, and future resistance to assimilation such exposure will engender for the coming generation.

Southern African Jews are a highly philanthropic group, particularly regarding Jewish causes. Only 2.1% did not donate to any charities, a strikingly low figure that speaks to their generosity. Perhaps this is a way of “giving back” to the country and community that has adopted them. Such generosity is also an expression of economic confidence and security.

The great majority of Southern African Jews have some type of ties or connection to Israel, and more than two-thirds have a strong attachment. In fact, on average, they have become more rather than less Zionist since immigrating to Canada. The sample visits Israel frequently, with over one third reporting that they have visited Israel at least five times.

While the levels of satisfaction with living in Toronto were quite high, the only negative note sounded in the current survey was that the majority felt that anti-Semitism was on the rise in Canada. It should be noted that approximately half the sample thought that it was only a minor problem in this country, while approximately one third considered it a major problem. It is difficult to say to what extent rising anti-Semitism elsewhere in the world figured into their thoughts.

In summary, by any standards, whether economic, social, cultural or religious, the Southern African Jewish community is thriving in Greater Toronto. They are generally very comfortable

living in this milieu, have found ways to prosper, have reinforced their strong Jewish identifications, and have generously given back to the community that has embraced them.

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