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Thesis

Secular and Parochial Education of Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish Children in Montreal: A Study in Ethnicity

by

© Jack Jacob Hirschberg

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to determine whether the type of primary school that children attend has an impact on the their level of ethnicity. The study involved one hundred Jewish children from Montreal and its surroundings who were completing grade six. Half the children had received their full education in private, parochial schools, while the other half had attended public, secular schools. Furthermore, half the children were of Ashkenazi descent and half were of Sephardi descent. The children and their parents were measured on a series of instruments designed to evaluate their levels of ethnicity. The data were subjected to a multivariate analysis of covariance wherein the variance attributable to the parents was partialled out. The results indicated that, while the type of school the children attended did affect their level of ethnicity, parochial education did not increase the level. In fact, the children who attended the secular schools had

higher levels of ethnicity. Furthermore, the results indicated that parental and community factors were more important determinants of a child's ethnic identity. The results also demonstrated that the Sephardi children, despite their affinity to the Jewish people, have a less positive image of the Jewish community when compared to the Ashkenazi majority. The Conflict Theory model, which views the school as a mirror of the forces in society at large, was seen as the best explanation of the data.

Résumé

Cette étude était mise en marche au but de découvrir l'effet du type de l'éducation sur l'identité ethnique chez les enfants Une série d'instruments, conçue pour mesurer le niveau d'identité ethnique, fut donnée à cent enfants juifs, tous en sixième classe à l'école, et à ses parents L'echantillon était formé de deux moitiés La première partie fut les enfants qui ont eu une éducation privée et paroissiale L'autre partie des étudiants ont reçu une éducation publique et laique Chaque partie de l'enchatillon fut divisée en plus pour que chaque groupe ait eu 25 enfants d'origine ashkénaze et 25 d'origine sépharade Les données furent soumis à une analyze multiple de variance en contrôlant les effets qui n'ont pas tenu des écoles Les résultats de l'étude ont demontré qu'il y avait une différence d'identité ethnique entre les enfants qui ont eu une éducation paroissiale et ceux qui ont eu une éducation laique, mais l'éducation paroissiale n'aboutit pas à un

niveau enlevé d'identité ethnique En fait, les enfants qui ont eu une éducation laique eurent le niveau d'identité ethnique enlevé En plus, les influences parentales et communautaires étaient de la plus haute importance pour le développement de l'identité ethnique Les résultats démontrerent aussi que les enfants sépharades, meme qu'ils ont des affinités avec les Juifs, portent un stéréotype des Juifs moins favorable que celui qui se trouve chez les Ashkénazes La théorie que les écoles seulement reflètent les besoins et les conflits dans le milieu social explique les résultats

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to the victims of the Holocaust, who died for the sake of their heritage, and to my children, Alana, Bram, and Heidi, to whom that heritage now belongs. This dissertation is also dedicated to the memory of Michel Laferrière, a great teacher and friend.

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Synopsis

Introduction

An ethnic group is distinguished from other social groups on the basis of cultural patterns and/or national origin. The internalized identification with the group and its cultural patterns by an individual is termed ethnic identity or ethnicity. Ethnicity furnishes the individual group members with a psychological boundary which serves to organize their relations with each other and with non-members of the ethnic group. It is a part of the complex mosaic of personality, and as such, it permits the individual to more fully identify the self, and to differentiate the self from others. It also serves to satisfy many of the emotional and motivational needs of the individual (Isaacs, 1975), including the needs for affiliation, security, and esteem (Maslow, 1970). Thus it aids people to perceive the self, and it allows them a wider grasp on selfhood, their place in their

community, and their place in the world outside that community.

Further to this point, Taylor (1981) points out that a secure ethnic identity on the part of an individual is a prerequisite for effective inter-group relations. Self-identity, whose development is a determinant of independent, mature, socially skilled, and reality oriented behaviour, encompasses ethnicity as one of its key elements (Gordon, 1975). Ethnic identification is one of the most essential elements used to differentiate other groups from one's own. The parallel to the figure-ground perceptual processes envisioned in Gestalt psychology is useful in illustrating this point: an object is given cognitive form by determining what are the elements of the object as opposed to what are not the elements of the object, rather than comparing the properties of the object to those of other objects. Thus a person may identify as being a member of an ethnic group and see himself or herself as a member with certain attributes common

to the group, while all others are outside: i.e. a Jew sees himself as a Jew, while others are non-Jews, rather than perceiving himself to be a Jew because he is not Black, Christian, Hispanic, Arab, etc. In this way, ethnicity provides a psychological boundary within which live the members of the group to which the perceiver belongs. The boundary delineates the background which is the rest of the world.

The capacity of an ethnic group to instill and maintain ethnicity in its members is associated with the degree to which the group can infuse the individual with the cultural attachments, structural arrangements, and institutional ties that lie within its boundaries. Wilson and Dahlie (1975) state that "boundary maintenance", or the capacity of group members to hold on to their cultural and social practices, is related to the reinforcement of social exclusiveness of the group both from within and without.

Education is thought to be an important element in the set of internal variables involved in boundary maintenance and ethnicity. According to Worsely (1972), the school, by transmitting social skills and values as well as technical skills, is the bridge between the subjective perceptions of the individual and the social organizational patterns. Many other researchers have argued that the school is at the focal point of a complex interplay of major social forces that function to maintain social structure through the formation of identity (Creighton, et al., 1969; Jencks, 1972; Katz, 1971; Spring, 1972; Lasch, 1973, Banks, 1977, 1981; Gay, 1982, 1983, 1985; Becker, 1985).

The Jewish people have historically given high regard in public to the efficacy of parochial education to promote Jewish identity in their children (Sack, 1945; Zborowski and Herzog, 1952; United Talmud Torahs, 1966; Castle, 1967; Rosenberg, 1970). However, the literature relating parochial Jewish education to its effects on Jewish ethnic identity is ambiguous in its support

of the Jewish community's conviction that education is central to the maintenance of their distinctiveness. Thus, by corollary, the literature places in doubt the theoretical position in educational research that professes a material relationship between education and ethnicity.

The confusion results from a number of methodological and conceptual flaws in the research. A comparative study is needed to look at ethnicity among children who have received parochial education and those that have received a secular education. The research needs to be carried out on children who are developmentally at the point of crystallizing their identity so as to avoid the confusion of later confounding variables. Covariates must also be assessed and controlled; thus the true effects of education can be determined.

Objective of the Study

This study examined the validity of the school as an independent variable in the development of ethnicity. It did so by comparing the level of ethnic identity development among Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish children enrolled full-time in parochial Jewish day schools in Montreal to the level of ethnic identity of similar Jewish children attending public, secular schools in Montreal.

Significance of the Study

The significance of studying ethnic education in Canada transcends theoretical concerns. The official Canadian government policy of promoting multiculturalism augments the importance of ethnicity in social research in this country. The multicultural view of Canadian society proposes the preservation of most aspects of ethnic identity, culture, and communal life within the context of political and economic integration into Canadian society (Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, 1978). The foregoing concurs

with Elkin's (1983) assessment that ethnicity is a crucial concept in Canadian ethnic studies and analysis. Both he, and Driedger and his colleagues (1982), indicate that far too little research has been carried out on this variable.

Further to this, one must add the importance of studying the relationship of education to the promotion of ethnicity. The proportion of state budgets allocated to education is staggering; in Quebec alone the 1984-85 educational system cost $6.7 billion. Furthermore, the level of personal investment by many ethnic families in parochial education, ostensibly to maintain ethnic identity, is also overwhelming. In some communities, such as the Jewish communities of Quebec and Ontario, over half the school-age children are enrolled full-time in Jewish private schools and the number is increasing (Jewish Education Council of Montreal, 1987). Of those attending non-parochial schools, a large proportion are enrolled in supplemental ethnic schooling. The costs incurred by the families ($2000 or more per child in

full-time elementary level studies in Montreal) are in addition to normal federal, provincial, and local school taxes.

The urgency of studying the effects of education on ethnicity is further reflected in Canada by the constant controversies regarding the public funding of schools that purportedly promote ethnic group identity. Of recent note are the conflicts surrounding the funding of Jewish and Catholic parochial schools in Ontario, and the support of a confessional school system in Quebec which involves additional funding for private ethnic parochial schools. These crises in education are inextricably related to the dialectical movements of power among the various ethnic elements that comprise the Canadian mosaic, but, at least superficially, they also represent the attempt by the various groups to maintain and promote their ethnic distinctiveness.

Jews appear to be among the ethnic groups that are strongly committed to the idea of formal parochial

education as a means of maintaining ethnicity. For almost two millennia they have allocated massive communal efforts, resources, and time to this venture. Despite these efforts, the efficacy of Jewish parochial schools in promoting ethnicity has not been established.

The salience of this issue increases when we note that most of the social science research on this issue has focused on the Jewish community in the context of the United States. Although the Jewish communities of Canada and the United States have very close ties to each other, the Canadian group is sufficiently different to warrant suspicion when applying American based conclusions on the Canadian situation. The Canadian Jewish community is much younger than its American cousin. Although Jews first came to Canada over 200 years ago, forty percent of today's Canadian Jews were not born here; only 20% of the U.S. Jewish community are first generation immigrants. Also, the host nations are quite different in the two countries. The American fascination with the melting-pot

ideal promotes assimilation to a common "American ethnicity". On the other hand, the promotion of multiculturalism in Canada fosters ethnic lifestyles and sub-cultures. As only one consequence, Rosenberg (1985) points out that Canadian Jews were free to identify with their Jewishness and live "the folk-culture of the Jewish national spirit," while remaining respectable Canadians (pg. 237). They did not turn to religiosity and synagogue affiliation as their primary means for achieving community status: the latter was the experience of the American Jew. Paradoxically, it is the Canadian Jews' heightened consciousness of their ethnic ties that reduces the impact of the popular reforming religious streams, such as the Conservative and Reform movements, compared to their influence in the U.S. Jews in Canada prefer to view themselves as Orthodox regardless of their level of religious observance because they perceive religious reform as the breakup of their ethnic and cultural symbolic world (Rosenberg, 1985).

Another difference between the Canadian Jewish community and its American counterpart is the large number of Sephardi Jews in Canada compared to the United States. The data derived from American Jewry is essentially data on the Ashkenazi sub-group. There is a paucity of information on the ethnicity of the Sephardi, especially of the role of formal education in the maintenance of ethnicity in this sub-group.

Some research carried out on the Jewish communities of the United States suggests that "formal school experience is not the best vehicle for identity formation by comparison with programs of family education, communal service, or planned Jewish experience (Task Force Report on the Future of the Jewish Community in America, 1972)". The question of this study is whether the level of ethnicity engendered by the schools in a Canadian setting is sufficient to justify the populace's confidence that the schools can fulfill their mandate to promote ethnicity.

Ethnicity Defined

Early attempts to conceptualize the terms "ethnic group" and "ethnicity" resulted in amorphous and ubiquitous abstractions. The two diffuse constructs were used to explain a myriad of social interactions without much regard to a consensus on the meaning of the terms, and the theorists did not examine the validity of the constructs as used in sociological and psychological theory. In the words of Pareto:

> "The term 'ethnic' is one of the vaguest known in sociology. We used it merely to designate a state of fact, going in no sense into the question of explaining the fact" (1978, pg. 1837).

Adding to the confusion was the constant substitutive use of the terms "ethnicity" and "ethnic group". This unfortunate tradition can still be found in the recent literature. A 1982 study by Burns, which examined the influence of "ethnicity" and other social factors on social distance, clearly uses the term ethnicity to refer to ethnic group. Even more recently, Brown and

Saks (1985) exemplify this lack of definitional rigour in a study that examines the influence of ethnic group membership, race, and social class on school expenditures.

In those early studies, where ethnicity was perceived as an entity different from ethnic group, it was usually only alluded to as an ill-defined, pervading substrata that somehow bound the members of an ethnic group. The last twenty-five years have seen attempts at a more systematic analysis of the construct of ethnicity. An ethnic group is defined as a "collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements" (Schermerhorn, 1970). Francis (1976) states that ethnic groups emerge when readily distinguishable differences exist between the ethnic group and the host society. The differences are the concatenation of symbols such as language, habitat, racial appearance, and religion, each of

which serves to indicate the fundamental fact of imputed common descent.

The question of an ethnic group's survival seems closely linked, at least in some respects, to the importance that identification with the ethnic group has for its members. An ethnic group only exists where members consider themselves to belong to the group (Patterson, 1975). The identification by the aggregates of an ethnic group with the symbolic overlay of the group is termed ethnicity. Gordon (1964) explained ethnicity as the idea that an ethnic group's members <u>believe</u> that they have a common ancestry, though that may not be objectively true. He further stated that the members have certain badges of a physical and/or cultural nature which they uphold symbolically as identifiers of group membership. Thus, to Gordon, ethnicity was a cognitive-conceptual state of mind discernable from the empirical-structural entity called ethnic group. This interpretation was widely accepted and ethnicity came to be equated largely with ethnic identity (Aboud, 1981).

As a working definition, Wendell Bell (1974) suggests that ethnicity: (1) involves a past-oriented group identification emphasizing origins; (2) includes some conception of cultural and social distinctiveness; and (3) relates to a unit of social behaviour within a complex system of social relations. Most social science researchers have confined the meaning of ethnicity to self-identification. Reitz (1980) equates ethnicity to "self-definition" as a member, or a "feeling of belonging." This is what Steinberg (1945) called "peoplehood." This social psychological view of ethnicity was summarized by the Canadian Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as:

> "What counts most in our concept of an 'ethnic group' is not one's ethnic origin or even one's mother tongue, but one's sense of belonging to a group, and the group's collective will to exist" (1969, pg. 7).

Ethnicity is a psycho-social concept that involves both affective and effective components. Feelings of common ancestry, culture, and history are

coupled with characteristic behaviour and particularism in economic and social structures (Driedger, 1978b). Each component of the construct may be composed of real and mythical aspects in any combination of the two.

The multifaceted structure of the ethnicity creates a myriad of possibilites when faced with creating operational definitions. A series of dimensions, drawn from the interpersonal, intrapsychic, and behavioural spheres, are possible, and the possibilities must be restricted if investigation is to be feasible. Due to the nature of the question in this study, only the intrapsychic variables were examined; the remaining components were left to subsequent investigation.

Thus, for the purposes of this study, ethnicity or ethnic identity is defined as a cognitive state of integrated ascriptive social variables (Horowitz, 1975) that have become internalized and may translate into the individual's manifest

behaviour. Although ethnicity is generally understood to be a part of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as a part of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders (Giles, 1977), in this study, it is taken to be an only the self-recognition aspects were examined; prescriptive variables such as the perceptions that non-members of the ethnic group have of charter members of the group are not taken into account.

The multi-dimensionality of the ethnic identity construct presents a problem for its operationalization. Embodying psychological and social characteristics, emotive and cognitive variables, and subsisting on rational as well as extra-rational components, ethnicity is a complex mosaic of dimensions from which emerges a gestalt by which the individuals' weltanschauung, sense of self, and perception of reality are arrived at (Erikson, 1963). A multivariate approach is most appropriate: the dimensions involved must be delineated and a measure for each is required.

Multivariate analysis of the concatenated set of measures could then provide a picture of ethnicity.

The following three spheres of dimensions were identified from the literature as being germane to the operationalization of the construct of ethnicity:

(1) Cognitive Sphere: The belief in a common biological origin (Fishman, 1977). According to Isajiw (1975), "the minimum symbolism (in ethnicity) would be simply acknowledgement of common ancestry". Whether real or putative, a belief in common blood is core to ethnicity, and statements of common kinship will be infused with "the overtones of a deeply moral obligation" to group members (Fishman, 1977, pg. 18);

(2) Cultural Identification Sphere: Identification with the culture of the ethnic group (Driedger, 1975). This may include a preference for endogamy, religious faith, and acceptance of a major ideology of the group. In the case of the Jewish people, an example of the latter is the notion of the importance of the State of Israel as a haven for the Jews and the "in-gathering of the exiles" to their ancient homeland (Bensimon-Donath, 1971);

(3) Affective Sphere: Pride in one's group and acknowledgement of one's membership in the group (Driedger, 1978a). This relates to the relevance that group membership has to the individual's consciousness, what Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1984) call "salience", and to an integral set of positive images about one's group.

Definitions of being Jewish: Ethnic Group, Religious Group, Ashkenazi Jew, and Sephardi Jew

To the outside world the single most distinguishing characteristic of the Jewish people is their Judaic religion. When examining the concept of Jewish ethnicity, we must consider the question of whether Jews, in the Canadian context, can legitimately be treated as an ethnic group, whether they should be considered a religious body, or both.

A religious group is defined in such a way as to focus attention on shared religious beliefs and practices. Although it has a common religious orientation, it is not necessarily linked with a societal unit - a people or nation. Indeed, in cases where people professing a particular religion also constitute a subgroup within a society, they usually define themselves, and are defined by others, as a societal unit tied together on dimensions of social life beyond the religion (Francis, 1976). The issue, then. is whether Jews form a heterogeneous religious group,

or whether they constitute a societal unit based upon non-religious factors as well.

As stated above, an ethnic group is essentially a group bound together by putative common descent. The sense of peoplehood "seen empirically, appears to be little more than the extension of the kinship principle of status assignment to a wider population whose precise geneological nexus is unknown or disregarded" (Francis, 1976, pg. 39).

The Jews have maintained a sense of peoplehood which has transcended thousands of years and the vastly different locales in which they have lived throughout the world. The sense of kinship has survived in the face of internal dissention along linguistic, ideological, and behavioural lines. Even religious observance is fragmented into three main streams and a plethora of small sects. The three main movements in Judaism are: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. Together, they represent a sequence of lessened observance of the legalistic and ritualistic elements of the

religion and greater acculturation to Western mores and styles. The small sects represent the gamut of political and religious ideologies including agnosis and aetheism, fealty to traditions adopted in their country of origin, and social class differences.

Nothwithstanding the complexity of the group, Jews are seen from within and without the group as a collectivity. The social unit is marked by the fact that the Jews see themselves as a people descended from a common ancestry rather than just believers in one religion, regardless of the veracity of that belief.

A semiotic analysis (1) of Jewish symbols demonstrates the strong sense of kinship that marks the Jewish collectivity, even though physical and social manifestations of that kinship may not exist. David Schneider characterized

(1) Semiology was coined by De Saussure (1966) for the study of the symbolic world of social groups. The reader is referred to Leach (1969) and Douglas (1966) for further theoretical background.

American kinship as a cultural system based on ties of "blood" or "law" (Schneider, 1968). Blood refers to relationships based on the outcome of sexual intercourse; i.e. the birth of a child. The child has a "blood" relationship with each parent, as illustrated by the statement "the same flesh and blood". This type of relationship contrasts with that based on "law" - relationships based on a code of conduct. This is exemplified by the mother-in-law that does not have a "blood" relationship with her child-in-law. These concepts, in the greater perspective, mean that there is an order of "substance" and an order of "code". Substance is an objective fact of nature while code is imposed by man and consists of rules and customs. Code may be altered or terminated, but substance endures till death.

In his analysis, Schneider demonstrated that the Jewish symbolic world differs from non-Jewish culture in North America in that substance and code are intimately joined in defining Jewish kinship; it is this difference that is a part of

the identity of the Jew. In the Jewish symbolic world, all Jews are bound together both by "law" and by genetics.

This is further manifested in the Jewish conception of geneology. All peoples can trace their family ties back several generations. Jewish tradition has it that all Jews can trace their biogenic lineages to the prophet Abraham and the twelve tribes of ancient Israel that derived from his grandson, Jacob. Thus, according to the symbolic world of the Jews, they are all related by the fact that they are the "blood" remnants of their past ancestors, fulfilling the promise of God to Jacob to make of him "a nation and a company of nations" (Genesis 35: 10).

The liturgical and colloquial expressions used by modern Jews also reflects the symbolic kinship that Jews feel for each other. They refer to themselves as a "people"; the terms used include: "the Jewish soul", "the Jewish nation", "the house of Zion", and "the Jewish family".

The above promotes the conclusion that in the symbolic world, the Jews see themselves as a large extended family joined together by "blood" ties. From a semiological point of view, the Jews are best conceived of as an ethnic group.

A sociological analysis of Canadian census data furthers this conclusion. From the 1921 to the 1951 census, wherein people identified their race and religion, the Jewish "race" was listed as "Hebrew," and the Jewish religion was listed as "Jewish." The number of Jews who identified themselves as members of the ethnic group and those that identified themselves as members of the Jewish religion was almost identical (1). This was also noted by Seidel (1939) in her analysis of the

(1) Listing of Canadian Jews by ethnic affiliation and religious denomination, 1921-1971 (data from Census of Canada, 1971, vol. 1, parts 3 & 4):

DATE	JEWS/ETHNIC	JEWS/RELIGIOUS	% DIFF
1921	126,196	125,445	0.60
1931	156,726	155,766	0.61
1941	170,241	168,585	0.97
1951	181,670	204,836	12.75
1961	173,344	254,368	46.74
1971	296,945	276,025	7.10

1939 census data. According to her calculations, only 1375 of those in Canada who specified they were of the Hebrew "race" were not listed as professing the Jewish faith, and only 263 adherents to Judaism were not counted as being Hebrews. This pattern was not altered except for the 1961 census when ethnic identification was defined in a way that implied "nationality". It is clear from this data that the overwhelming majority of Jews identify themselves ethnically. Indeed, this principle was accepted by Statistics Canada; for the 1971 census all those that professed Judaism were automatically included as Jewish in the category of ethnic affiliation.

Habitat is an important element in ethnicity. Logan and Stearns (1981) demonstrated that ethnic groups segregate themselves in urban areas as a result of the need for social solidarity and community development. Jews are highly segregated both residentially and socially in North American cities (Weinfeld, 1981a; Weinfeld, et al., 1981b). For example, the 1971 census data for Quebec shows

that, of 115,990 Jews in the province, 113,880 or 97.8% live on the Islands of Montreal and Jesus. A breakdown of the Jewish population by incorporated city or town on the Islands of Montreal and Jesus further illustrates the ghetto formation by the Jews; of all the towns and cities in the area, only four account for 82% of the total Jewish population (1).

An ethnic collectivity is taken to possess a common categorical status which translates itself into some form of group consciousness and becomes internalized into the self. The symbolism of this consciousness revolves around alleged kinship ties. Social manifestation of this consciousness is marked by a fair degree of social and

(1) Population of Jews by incorporated town or city (data from Census of Canada, 1971, vol. 1, parts 3 & 4):

TOWN/CITY	# JEWS	% OF TOTAL
Cote St. Luc	18,280	16.12
Laval	12,000	10.58
Montreal	52,505	46.30
St. Laurent	10,270	9.06

residential segregation. Given the data, we may conclude that Canadian Jews, whether they derive from a population that at one time may or may not have been defined on the basis of religion, are today most appropriately treated as an ethnic group as opposed to a religious group. It is, therefore valid to examine to what degree education plays a role in maintaining Jewish ethnicity among people who claim to be Jewish.

The question of who is Jewish is complicated further by the existence of major sub-groups of the overall ethnic group. When segments of a social unit migrate to new locations, each branch may evolve along different social and cultural lines. The differences derive from the unique economic, social, environmental, cultural, and political factors that each segment encounters. If there are sufficient opportunities for communication between the dispersed ethnics, and if common exigencies are encountered, the resulting variation may be relatively minor; it

may be insufficient by itself to produce major divisions in ethnic identity.

Occasionally a situation may arise where two or more ethnic segments live in different locales from each other for an extended period of time, and the conditions one segment encounters differs vastly from the other. Their respective social and cultural evolution may be so differentiated as to significantly reduce their common cultural practices and group loyalty. Later, their social interaction may resemble that of separate ethnic groups. Although they may still adhere to a putative common kinship and sufficient communalities may remain between them to indicate, to themselves and others, that they are of one ethnic unit, they might differ on many of the factors that determine ethnicity.

Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews form two such ethnic sub-groups. To the outside world, the Jews appear to form a homogeneous social entity. Yet the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews have vast differences

between them - differences that have led to friction between the two subgroups (Ben-Rafael, 1982; Eaton, et al., 1979; Horowitz, 1980; Laferriere, 1978; Lasry, 1980; Lewis, 1979; Ouaknine, et al., 1980; Shuval, 1956, 1962). Samples of each ethnic sub-group were included in this study.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

The theoretical literature bearing on the social consequences of formal education can be subsumed under two major conceptual models: (1) the functionalist-structuralist approach, and (2) the conflict theory approach. The former derives from an intellectual stream developed in the late 19th century and its objective was to relate "the parts of society to the whole, and to relate one part to another" (Davis, 1959). The basic tenets of this model include:

> 1. A social system is structured in a way that maintains equilibrium among its elements. Social change is seen as slight adjustments to meet imbalances within the system without disturbing the overall structure (Parsons, 1975);

2. Stability and order are perceived as normal, while conflict and disorder are seen as pathological phenomena and evidence that something is seriously wrong in the system (Tumin, 1967);

3. Education is an institution producing social consensus through methodological socialization of children. The function of education is to socialize the child to the political society as a whole and to his or her position in the society for which the person is destined (Riches, 1976);

4. While the manifest function of the school is to promote technological growth through the acquisition of skills, a latent curriculum is to maintain the on-going social stratification through a variety of means that may include intervention in the child's development of identity (Ogbu, 1978).

Thus, from the functionalist-structuralist perspective, the school is a causal interventionist force in the genesis and maintenance of social structures. The assimilationist ideology of education prevalent in the first half of 20th century United States history exemplifies this perspective; the public schools were charged with teaching ethnic minority children the dominant culture with the assumption

that they would then assimilate to the "national identity".

Conflict theory rejects the functionalist-structuralist view of society as a system in static equilibrium (Paulston, 1977). This model, derived from Marxist philosophy, sees social structures as a temporary pause in the continual process of change (Dahrendorf, 1969). Conflict and the struggle for limited resources among the various elements of the society results in the constant re-adjustment of the balance of power between groups. Ethnic groups are formed and maintained when group membership is based on common interest and the group's bonds are internalized in the political sphere (Cohen, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975).

The study of education from this perspective focuses on the school as a microcosm of the society at large. The school reflects the struggles of minorities trying to wrest power from the elites. Ethnic minorities may use the

establishment of parochial schools, ostensibly created to promote their ethnicity in their children, as both a symbol of power and a means of attaining resources normally under the control of the elite.

The theoretical position on which this study was based represents the functionalist-structuralist model. It follows from the writings of Banks (1977, 1981) and Gay (1978, 1982, 1983, 1985) that promote the hypothesis that the formal educational system is effective in directly mediating the development of ethnic identity in children. This literature is detailed below.

Review of the Literature Regarding Ethnicity Development

Psychological theories of identity and identity formation were incorporated into the concept of ethnicity begining with the seminal writings of Erikson (1966, 1968). He argued that identity was a personal sense of continuity and social integrity that transcended an individual's

immediate experience. It was the person's recognition of himself and his reconciliation of his self-perception and the community's perception of him that resulted in identity.

Coopersmith (1967) partitioned identity into its cognitive and affective components. The former, also called self-concept, is the image the individual has formed of himself out of his personal experiences. His evaluation of that image is the affective side of identity and was termed self-esteem.

That identity is acquired through experience subsumes a link between a person's ethnic identity and his ego identity. Indeed, Erikson states that identity is:

> "a matter of growth, both personal and communal. For a mature psychosocial identity presupposes a community of people whose traditional values have become significant to the growing person even as his growth and his gifts assume relevance for them (...) We may speak, then, of a complementarity of an inner synthesis of the individual and of role integration in his group" (1966, pg. 231).

The conclusion derived from the above is that self-identity is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that contains ethnicity as a part of itself, and that identity has cognitive as well as affective components. Erikson argued that the integrity of identity is essential for effective psychological and social functioning. Hence it may be stated that ethnicity is also necessary in this regard.

Having established ethnicity as an attitudinal and cognitive state, the theorists turned to the question of ethnicity development. Once again the Erikson model played a central role. Within his paradigm, identity formation results from a synthesis of a maturational stage in the life of the individual and his life experiences. The synthesis involves the resolution of a "psychosocial crises"; the person must decide between polarities of existence that have both personal and social attributes, such as accepting to trust his social environment or remain sceptical of it.

Identity formation proceeds through eight perceivable stages in the life-cycle, each with its own unique psychosocial crises. In the fifth stage, which begins at the transition from late childhood to early adolescence, the pubescent individual must choose between "identity and role diffusion." The person either internalizes a set of role expectations as a part of the self, or succumbs to playing out roles without any sense of personal integration with those roles. Thus we may say that identity, if it is formed, begins to crystallize sometime around puberty and early adolescence. As stated above, this conclusion is supported by other researchers (Piaget and Weil, 1951; Lambert & Klineberg, 1967; Taylor, 1972; Meilman, 1979).

Stage Theories of Ethnicity Formation

Erikson's stage model of identity formation involving a synthesis of maturation and life experiences was eventually adopted as the explanation of ethnicity development. Initially, the theories dealt solely with the delineation of the stages of ethnicity and emphasized

inter-ethnic confrontation as the crisis that elicited ethnic identity. These formularies characterized the authors of the 1960's and early 1970's. Their ideas derived mainly from the evolution of ethnicity experienced by the Blacks in the United States during the civil rights confrontations, and they reflected the combative zeitgeist of that period.

Wallace (1956) was one of the first initiators of a stage model in ethnicity development. Using an anthropological perspective, he examined cultural changes that occur in very short time spans; what he called "microtemporal changes" or "revitalization movements." A revitalization movement involves an organized, conscious effort of the members of a group to restructure their culture. The individuals in the group perceive their sociocultural system to be deficient and synthesize a new one using different relationships, different traits, and different symbols. The process of microtemporal change flows through five stages: (1) Steady State; (2) Stage

of Individual Stress; (3) Period of Cultural Distortion; (4) Revitalization Stage; and (5) New Steady State. In the Steady State, an equilibrium exists between satiation of the needs of the group and its members, and the needs of the out-group society. When the procedures for satisfying the individual needs of the in-group members fail to effect the desired results, the increased stress and anxiety felt by in-group members comprises the second stage. The manifest indications of this stage include declarations of ethnic pride, adoption of highly visible signs of ethnic membership, such as characteristic clothing, and active promotion of the ethnic group's power within the wider social network. During the Period of Cultural Distortion, conflict arises between those group members who wish to maintain the structural relationships both within the group and between the group and outsiders, and those who feel that the group would be better served by adopting new strategies for acquiring their demands. Furthermore, the promotion of different

strategies by different power blocs within the group further splinters the ethnics into a morass of ideologies and political units. The ensuing confusion elicits mass disillusionment with the values of the group, and group individuals determine to reconstruct the cultural system using new priorities and goals, thereby starting the Revitalization Stage. When the group has reformulated the norms for the cultural system, when it has developed new organizations and techniques for solving needs, and when it has inculcated these new approaches and norms in its members, a New Steady State is achieved and the revitalization process is complete.

Gordon's (1971) stage model for ethnicity formation evolved from his historical analysis of political communities that underwent transition from colonized entities to self-determination. In stage 1, the colonized are resigned to the negative views, promulgated by the colonizers, of their culture, history, and behaviour. Stage 2 is marked by resentment on the part of the colonized

for their inferior social and economic status. The colonized actively and consciously replace the stereotypes of the colonizer with those of their own, and they seek a reunion with an idealized pre-colonial heritage. The colonized may emphasize the superiority of their own ethnic stereotypes, and they reject any hint of assimilation or acculturation. When the colonized are faced with the choice between technological modernity and the material poverty of their group's traditional lifestyle, they enter the third stage. The cognitive dissonance aroused by the dilemma is temporarily resolved through boundless rationalization. The colonized seek out proof from their past that acceptance of the new lifestyles are rooted in tradition and they are being true to those values. The emotional upheaval that results from this conflict leads to stage 4, where the colonized resolve the polarities of their existence through amalgamation of their traditional culture with the new. They accept the need for evolution and are able to retain that

part of their tradition that is compatible with the modern world, without feeling guilt for abandoning the impractical. Their new found sense of identity permits them to be more open to the values and experiences of others.

Sherif and Sherif (1970) propose a two stage theory of ethnicity development that is somewhat similar to Gordon's. They too postulate that an ethnic group needs to repudiate the negative views held of them by the majority group if ethnic identity is to evolve. In the first stage the old stereotypes are rejected, and the formulators of those stereotypes are themselves pictured in malevolent terms by the ethnics. The second phase of the process has the ethnics turning toward the traditional values and perspectives of their origins to replace those that have been rejected.

A theory put forward by Thomas (1970; 1971) reflects the models described above, but takes a more intrapsychic perspective of the process of ethnicity development. Identity transformation is

effected through a five stage progression begining with the Withdrawal Stage. This phase is marked by increasing social distance between the ethnic group and the majority. Pejorative attitudes toward the majority are frequent, and serve to augment solidarity among ethnic group members as they move to change. When they are occupied with sharing thoughts and feelings about their past, present, and future, the group members are in stage 2, or the "Testifying Stage". The individual has a cathartic experience through the interactive participation of the group's collective exploration of the anxieties and tensions of their past, and through the sharing of feelings aroused by the need to face new psychosocial realities. In the third stage the individual is engrossed with learning about the group's heritage. This leads the individual to stage 4, in which he seeks out and participates in public ethnic activities, such as marches and voter registration drives, so as to achieve a greater link to a common communal experience. Thus his emerging ethnicity is

reinforced by feeling that he is a part of something that is greater than himself and that will endure beyond his mortality. As the person's new sense of ethnic self is increasingly internalized, he becomes less self-conscious of his ethnic membership, becomes more self-confident and self-evaluative, and develops a more realistic and flexible outlook of life experiences. When ethnicity has matured and is fully incorporated into the self, the person enters the final stage. He abandons his self-imposed isolation and establishes healthy and functional egalitarian relationships with people outside his ethnic group.

The intrapsychic model was also used by Cross (1976; 1978). His five stage theory begins with the Pre-encounter Stage. As in Gordon's Stage 1, the pre-encounter ethnic's referent value system is that of the majority and he denigrates his own ethnic heritage. The Encounter Stage or Stage 2 involves an experience on the part of the ethnic that abrogates his cognitive and affective

constructs about himself and his ethnic group. The ensuing loss of identity forces the individual to reconstruct his interpretation of the self and reality. He then enters the third stage where he actively withdraws from the old identity and formulates the new. He distances himself from anything non-ethnic, immerses himself in his historic and cultural roots, cloaks himself in ethnic trappings such as in hair styles and clothing, and testifies vociferously as to the superiority of his idealized ethnic background. As the new identity replaces the old, he becomes less egocentric and ethnocentric. He then enters the Internalization Stage. He experiences greater psychological congruency as his ethnic identity merges with his ego-identity. Psychologically liberated from his past turmoil, he can now face life stresses and interpersonal relations with increased confidence and tolerance. In the fifth stage of Cross' theory, the individual whose, ethnicity has synthesized, now seeks to engage in

activities that will assist others in the group to achieve similar personal growth.

Ethnicity Development and Education

Banks (1977; 1981) has formulated a typology for ethnicity development that is independent of any particular ethnic group's experiences. Although his six stage theory is substantially the same as Cross' and Thomas' formulations, he emphasizes the need for positive ethnicity as a part of a positive self image. Both are considered necessary for effective functioning in a pluralistic society. Since ethnicity is perceived to be an acquired phenomenon, he promotes the idea that it is subject to management in a formal educational setting, and he proposes his theory as a way of stimulating thought and research into pedagogical methods and goals for teaching ethnicity.

Gay (1978; 1982; 1983; 1985) goes further in this direction by proposing a maturational model of ethnicity and relating it to the "readiness" concept so prevalent in education. Her model

involves three stages: (1) Pre-encounter; (2) Encounter; and (3) Post-encounter. The first two stages are identical to the corresponding first two stages in the Cross paradigm. Her third stage is an amalgam of the last three stages of the Cross model. According to Gay, the process of ethnicity development involves a movement from strict conformity to externally determined values and self-concept, through a period of emotional turmoil and psychological re-evaluation of the ego-self and the ethnic-self, toward a set of self-determined identities coupled with a positive feeling about being ethnically different. Progression of the individual through the process is a function of maturation and the psychosocial dialectics predicated by the theories cited above. At each stage of development the person is "ready" for a pedagogical intervention that will promote his ethnicity formation. In this way Gay's formula parallels the educational concept of readiness as it is applied, along with its pedagogical

implications, to the mental, moral and social development of the child.

Gay concludes that curriculum development and classroom pedagogy must take into account the stages of ethnicity development. Since students who are at the Encounter Stage are preoccupied with reconstructing their ethnic feelings and value system and are seeking out information on their roots, she argues that the indicated educational intervention is to ensure that the child has been exposed to the resources and experiences of his ethnic culture and heritage. Her conviction of the effectiveness of formal education to have impact on the development of ethnicity is clear from the following:

> "Educational experiences should be deliberately designed to help students better process whatever ethnic identity stage they are in at any given point, and to assist them in moving from one stage to another" (Gay, 1983, pg. 33).

Critical to this undertaking, according to Gay, is that the teachers be in an advanced state of ethnic identification for them to work effectively

with students in a less advanced stage. She reiterates Banks proposal that positive ethnicity is essential for adaptable functioning in life. She further emphasizes that the teaching of ethnicity will help stabilize the individual's self-concept and, thus, facilitate his ability to relate to the ethnicity of others, and to permit his pursuit of social and academic goals with a greater degree of success.

Efforts to empirically verify the theoretical positions outlined above have met with conflicting results. Liebman (1973) states that current findings show that the school does not affect basic attitudes toward the community or religious practice. On the other hand, Dashefsky and Shapiro's (1974) study of the Jews in Saint Paul, Minnesota, concludes that the Jewish school is a major agent in inculcating the cognitive and social factors that are the basis of Jewish ethnicity. Their conclusions were based on a significant correlation between the amount of Jewish education attained and the score on a

Jewish identity scale. Yaacov Glickman's (1977) attempt to resolve the issue in a Canadian context found that the Jews of Toronto who had had parochial Jewish education did not feel that this education shaped their identity. He concluded that the investment in Jewish education by the community was the effect of their ethnicity rather than the determinant.

The ambiguity of the research results derives from conceptual and methodological flaws. Most of the studies are correlational and examine the delayed effects of childhood education within an adult population. It should be apparent that the intervening years between the end of schooling and adulthood may have produced a myriad of variables that can alter identity. In addition, since identity is an internalized cognitive state, the developmental process by which it was attained should become invisible to the individual once internalized. To ask an adult to indicate whether a particular entity in childhood shaped his or her

ethnicity (as did Glickman) should produce vague and ambivalent data.

Furthermore, ethnic identity is not determined by a single factor such as education. Several other covariates such as ethnic subgroupings, parental ethnicity, residential location, interpersonal contacts, and ethnic resources in the home and the community must be considered. Due to the possible intercorrelations of the various factors, any correlational study that does not partial out the covariates cannot yield reliable conclusions.

In summary, this study is based on a few basic premises derived from the above review of the literature:

(1) Ethnicity results from a developmental process that reflects maturational and social dialectic variables;

(2) Ethnicity is not a natavistic property of the individual's personality, but is a cognitive-affective state acquired through social learning;

(3) Ethnicity formation involves a series of discernable stages with the exact number not yet ascertained;

(4) Progression through the stages of ethnicity development is sequential;

(5) A critical stage takes place wherein the individual psychologically encounters his ethnic status and begins to crystallize his ethnic identity. The chronological age at which this happens would appear to be early adolescence given the psychological data on cognitive and ego-identity development;

(6) Formal education can and should influence ethnicity development in the same way as it promotes the social, mental, and moral evolution of the child;

(7) Education can best help the child develop his ethnicity by providing him with a solid foundation of the historical and cultural traditions of the ethnic group;

(8) The teachers should have a high level of ethnicity if they are to effectively promote ethnicity development in the students.

The ethnic parochial school would appear to be the ideal candidate to implement the goal of ethnicity education as outlined. It would provide an encompassing setting for transmitting ethnic values and history, for imparting a positive ethnic image, and for exposing the child to a set of highly committed ethnic teachers imbued with a strong sense of ethnic identity. The parochial

school thus offers an opportunity to evaluate the veracity of the premises derived from the literature.

Statement of the Problem

The main purpose of the study was to ascertain whether the school is a significant variable in the development of ethnicity in children. It was hypothesized that Jewish children who had completed their primary education in a parochial Jewish school would have a higher level of ethnic identity than Jewish children who attended secular public schools. Verification of the hypothesis would support the functionalist-structuralist perspective that education is a significant factor in ethnicity development. Alternatively, failure to substantiate the hypothesis would lend weight to the conflict theory interpretation that the school reflects the efforts of minorities to attain power and resources in the society. Concurrently, another question is whether the Ashkenazi and Sephardi children have the same levels of ethnicity, and whether the type of

schooling the child receives and the ethnic sub-group it to which it belongs interact in determining the level of ethnicity in children.

Chapter 2

Background to the Issues

Introduction

Two main issues were involved in the conceptualization of this study: (1) the inclusion in the sample of subjects from the Ashkenazi and Sephardi sub-groups, and (2) the selection of the Jewish people and their parochial schools as the means to test the hypothesis of this study. This chapter briefly outlines the background to these issues.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to offer a definitive account of Jewish history and pedagogy. The objectives of this chapter are:

> (1) to indicate the importance of including Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews in any study of the Jewish commmunity of Montreal;
>
> (2) to demonstrate that Jews have traditionally focused on education as a means of preserving their ethnicity;
>
> (3) to examine how the Jews' emphasis on parochial education led to the development of Jewish parochial education in Montreal;

The Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish Communities

The origins of the sub-groups go back to the years following the exile of the Jews from their ancient homeland in 70 A.D. The Jews were dispersed over vast territories and their descendants make up the mosaic that is modern Jewry. One of the early settlements was in the Christian lands of Central Europe. These Jews are called Ashkenazi Jews. Another group of Jews settled in the Moslem territories of Spain, and have been labeled Sephardi Jews. Ashkenaz is the medeival term for the area of central Europe situated east of the Rhine; Sepharad is the parallel term for the Iberian peninsula. Ashkenazi and Sephardi are terms that denote the geo-historical background of the people.

The degree to which an immigrant might acculturate to the native culture is determined, in part, by the occupational status accorded the immigrant by the host society (Weinstock, 1963), and the ease with which the immigrant may enter the majority milieu (Rinder, 1970). Zimmels (1958) states that

the Sephardi Jews met favourable conditions among their Moslem hosts, and as a result, by the Middle Ages, they interacted well with the majority and they became highly acculturated to Arabic lifestyles. On the other hand, the Jews of Ashkenaz found themselves in a more impoverished society where there was mutual antagonism between them and their Christian hosts (Katz, 1961). As a result, they developed a lifestyle that was more ascetic and segregationist (Zimmels, 1958). When acculturation did occur, the Ashkenazi Jews adopted the styles and mores of their Christian hosts, which differed from the Arabic lifestyle.

Exceptions to these generalizations do not diminish the fact that broad cultural differences developed between the two Jewish communities. Political turmoil in Europe and Spain during late fourteenth to fifteenth centuries resulted in limited communication between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish communities over a period of one hundred years (Zimmels, 1958). Thus, differences between the two communities became more

pronounced. Eventually the differences became permanent and today "there is almost no department in which they do not differ" (Zimmels, 1958, pg. B).

Over the centuries that followed, both the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi Jews migrated to various parts of the world. A large centre of Sephardi Jewry developed in and around the coastal areas of Morrocco. A major Ashkenazi community grew up in the Slavonic countries of East Europe and Russia. The Sephardi Jews of the coastal areas were highly acculturated to the lifestyles they had acquired while in Spain. They spoke Spanish, valued secular culture, and were outward looking. Apart from a relatively short period during the eighteenth century, the social and economic conditions of these Jews remained fairly advantageous (Zafrani, 1972). When French colonial rule took over in North Africa, the highly acculturated Sephardi Jews quickly joined the French colonial economy. They acculturated to western styles and adopted the French language.

The Ashkerazi Jews in the Slavonic countries encountered vastly different conditions. Political, social, and cultural development progressed more slowly. Feudalism was officially retained until 1861. Economic conditions were poor and the Jews experienced periods of persecution from the majority. As a result, the Ashkenazi Jews in the Slavonic countries acculturated more slowly, and their acculturation was to a society that was very different from the French western life adopted by the Sephardı Jews on the coast of North Africa.

The Sephardı Jews from the coastal areas of Morrocco and the Ashkenazı Jews from the Slavonic countries are of special note to researchers of modern Canadian Jewry because the Canadian Jewish population derives mainly from the descendants of these two groups (Friedman, 1987; Moldofsky, 1968; Rosenberg, 1970, 1985). Large numbers of the Ashkenazı Jews came to Canada in the late nineteenth century. This century also saw several waves of the Ashkenazi Jews from the Slavonic

countries come to Canada. Most settled in Montreal and Toronto. Since the end of the Second World War, there has been a large migration of the Sephardi Jews from the coastal areas of North Africa to Canada. Most of them settled in Montreal because of the French language.

One can hypothesize that the Ashkenazi Jews who, compared to the Sephardi Jews, were far less acculturated to western lifestyles when they came here, might still lag behind in their level of acculturation. It is to be expected that the time-lag in acculturation would reflect in communal differences between the Sephardi Jews and Ashkenazi Jews of Quebec. Some confirmation of the differences between these Quebec ethnic sub-groups has been provided (Lasry 1980, 1981; Lasry and Bloomfield, 1975). Sephardi Jews manifest much weaker ethnic boundaries and their exogamic marriage rate is over 50%. This is significantly higher than the 17% rate for Ashkenazi Jews. Indeed, the rate of exogamic marriage for both groups is much higher than the rate of intermarriage between the two ethnic

sub-groups. Each sub-group prefers to socialize with members of their own group, or with a Gentile group over the other ethnic sub-group, and each sub-group is developing its own institutions.

Any attempt to study the Jewry of modern Montreal must take into account the fact that there exist two distinct ethnic sub-groups that may differ in their degree of acculturation to the Quebec society. Thus the important research questions for this study are: (1) to determine the relative strengths of ethnic identity among Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jewish children, and (2) to examine whether the child's level of ethnicity is determined by the ethnic sub-group the child belongs to, the type of education the child receives, or both.

Jews and Education

Many modern lay and religious Jewish leaders promote the idea that, throughout history, the Jews maintained their ethnicity, to a certain extent, as a result of Jewish education. To be sure, modern Jewry appears to be committed to the

maintenance of parochial Jewish education; Jewish schools have been established in many Jewish centers around the world. Whether the schools are germane to the maintenance of the ethnic boundary, however, requires further review and analysis.

Jewish Education in the Period Prior to the Babylonian Exile

Little is known of Jewish education in Biblical times. Most of our information of this period is derived from documents written much later during the rise of Rabbinic Judaism in the first two centuries A.D. (Lightstone, 1987). Although there are many alternate interpretations of the lifestyles of ancient Judea, the view of events as provided by the early Rabbis is the framework adopted in this review.

The ancient Israelites produced a wealth of national literature, yet there is no official record of a single formal elementary school until the first century B.C. (Castle, 1967). To be sure, some basic education in reading and writing had to be provided; the conversion of oral traditions,

philosophies, and laws into the written form made capable educated scribes indispensable. However, the format of this education is not discernible.

Education, such as it was, appears to have been the province of the priesthood, the sages, and the prophets. It consisted mainly of public pronouncements. The home, most likely, was also a focal point for education; there are several passages in the Bible that enjoin a father to teach certain religious practices and beliefs to his children.

The passages of the Bible outline the goals and pedagogy of the emerging pattern of Jewish education. This outline can be found in the noble verses of the "Shema", the prayer of confession of the faith which is still recited by the modern practicing Jew:

> "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One. And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart; and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and thou shalt talk

> of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates" (Deuteronomy 6: 4-9). (1)

These injunctions indicate that the Law and the teaching of the Law were to be intimately interwoven with daily life, both structurally and functionally. Ethnic identity, daily behaviour, and religion were conceived of as an indivisible unity; a package to be inculcated by adults and transmitted to the children. Thus education was the arena for structural integration of religion, morality, and national identity. Its function appears to have been to ensure a high degree of ethnicity through an internalized synthesis of national identity, morality, religion, and personal conduct. The educational process was both a public and private responsibility.

(1) Quoted from Hertz (1979).

Exile and the Development of Formal Jewish Education

The exile or Diaspora of the Jews to Babylon in 586 B.C.E. meant that the Jews were deprived of their Temple services and their traditional way of life. Their dilemma of how to maintain their ethnicity in a strange land was creatively solved by focusing on the synagogue, which Morris (1937) describes as the greatest practical achievement of the Jewish people. There is some controversy regarding the genesis of the synagogue, but during the exile it became a centre for social and religious life. Within its walls also arose a new class of teachers, learned men who were experts on interpretation of the sacred texts and who taught the law to the people so that they would know how to apply it to daily life and maintain their uniqueness. This semi-formal education was, however, directed to the adults; education of the children was still viewed primarily as a family affair (Castle, 1967).

The Diaspora took its toll on Jewish particularism despite the educational innovations. Young people were drawn to the gay and sporting life of Greek culture that permeated the world at that time. To the horror of the community leaders, many young men took to the Hellenistic practice of partaking in sporting games completely naked. As Hellenistic culture continued to erode Jewish culture and Jewish ethnicity, the leaders of the Jews saw a need for schools for the young in addition to adult classes. After the Maccabean revolt against the Greco-Roman world in 168 B.C.E., the Jewish educational innovator Simon ben Shetah founded a school for boys sixteen and seventeen (Castle, 1967). Within the following, century the continuing battle to fight acculturation was expanded by creating schools for successively younger children. After the destruction of the second Temple and the dispersal of the Jews from Palestine, formal education became universal for Jewish children everywhere.

Expansion of Jewish Education in the Diaspora

During the Middle Ages, yeshivot (houses of study) were established wherever the Jews settled. Education came to be regarded by the Jew as divine historical will; part of a cosmic design for the preservation of the people in their exile and their eventual resurrection in their ancient homeland:

> "Therefore the Holy and Blessed One set up two 'yeshivot' for Israel, wherein Torah is studied night and day...in order that Israel should not go astray in matters of Torah" (Tanhumah, quoted in Ben-Sasson, 1976, pg. 440).

This ideology sanctified study; indeed study and prayer were symbolized as substitutes for the Temple worship that was no longer possible, and places of study and prayer were seen as substitutes for the Temple itself (Ben-Sasson, 1976).

Scholars of the community acquired a special status befitting men destined by God to lead the Jews to knowledge and redemption. They were given preferential treatment in several aspects of life

so as to free them for devotion to study and teaching. The eleventh century Jewish leader, Rabbenu Gershom ben Judah, ordered "that the community has to make provision for this scholar whose craft is the labour of heaven...in order that he should not be disturbed in his study" (Ben-Sasson, 1976, pg. 459).

Scholars acquired a leadership status that often placed them on an equal footing with the spiritual, political, and financial leaders of the Jewish community. Although, with time, the operational leadership of Jewish communities fell into the hands of the religious and political leaders, the scholars were usually still accorded the status of titular head of the community.

Social structure came to be based on economic and educational dimensions. The richer you were, the greater was your political influence. Yet the more educated you were, the greater was your status, esteem, and moral suasion in the community. Learning was of primary value; wealth was seen as a derivative and secondary value. A man of great

learning was accorded immediate status. A man of great wealth was accorded status and esteem if he studied, acted as a learned man, and supported the education of others. A Jew who did not interest himself in learning was an incomplete Jew; an ignoramus who was one of the most avoided members of the group.

The social structure was clearly reflected in the assignment of seats in the synagogue. Those of little learning who did not support education were relegated to the back. Those who sat successively closer to the pulpit were increasingly learned. The seats bordering the wall on which the ark holding the Torah was situated were reserved for those of eminent scholarship. The rabbi, the most learned man of all, had the most honored seat directly beside the ark, as he still does today.

Besides having a prime seat in the synagogue, the scholar was valued at social gatherings. The host often insisted on seating the learned guest at the head of the table at family feasts and having him served first. When the scholar spoke, he was

listened to with deference and never interrupted. His advice was sought on matters of importance by all individuals in the community. He was asked to pronounce on political, economic, and personal matters. He was sought out as the arbiter in business disputes regardless of whether he had any expertise in this domain. He was entrusted with secrets, money, and jewels.

Parents dreamt of marrying their daughter to a learned man; they sought a daughter of a learned man as the bride for a son. The dowry for a girl was proportional to the wealth of her father and the scholarship of the bridegroom. If the prospective bride's parents were wealthy and the future groom was an eminent scholar, he was housed in the home of his fiance at no cost until he had completed his studies.

From infancy, the child was guided toward learning. If the child did well, the parents were proud because they were bringing up a "learned potential leader of the Jewish community." Each new step in educational achievement was cause for

joy and celebration. If the child was indifferent to his books, the parents would reproach him, cajole him, and use threats and beatings to promote further study. Nothing was permitted to interfere with schooling. Food and shelter costs were pared to the limit, family possessions sold, and health and safety endangered to afford the education of the child.

The schooling system evolved into a plethora of forms. At the most basic level there was melamed education or private education of a child by a teacher on a one to one basis. The melamed, or teacher, was charged with introducing the child to the aleph-beth (the ABC's of Hebrew) and to some of the basic skills of reading, writing, and comprehension. Education of this type was afforded only by those families of some financial means. For the less wealthy, or as a second step for those that already had had a melamed, there was the school or cheder. The cheder usually consisted of classes of ten to a teacher and its goals were mainly reading Hebrew and the inculcation of

knowledge about the traditional holidays, rituals in personal life, and proper public religious behaviour.

The degree to which secular subjects were taught, the relative importance of religion, Hebrew, and tradition in the curriculum, and the degree of association between the synagogue and the school all served to determine the style and process of education in each school. The highest institution of education was the yeshiva - the rabbinical academy. Arduous, demanding of great intellectual prowess and physical stamina, the yeshiva taught exhaustive analysis of the Talmud and other Jewish texts.

These schools did not form a school board - an organized body of schools sharing resources and a common curriculum. They were independent and diverse; their only common factor being the goal of providing Jewish education.

Learning was never seen as a stage in the life cycle. Continuing education was the immutable goal

throughout the Jew's life. The synagogue acted as a centre for continuous education. Usually one of the learned men in the synagogue adopted the role of "teacher" for further study by the adult members of the community. More of a facilitator than a didactic person, he helped people develop an individualized course of study (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952).

Having invested so heavily in education, the Jews harvested great knowledge of both divine and secular subjects. They became learned men in the medical arts, in the sciences, and in cartography. So expert were their map-making and map-reading skills that a Jewish cartographer was often an important member of the crew on maritime voyages to unknown territories. On Columbus' maiden voyage to the Americas, his cartographer is believed to have been a practicing Jew, and a group of Jews followed on the subsequent voyage (Rosenberg, 1970).

When Jews encountered the new world, they settled there and brought to it their identity, culture,

and religion. Jews may have been present in New France from the time Samuel de Champlain sailed up the St. Laurent river to found Port Royal. Common belief has it that Henri de Levy, Viceroy of New France, was of Jewish descent (Rosenberg, 1970). A Joseph de Silva, a name as easily recognized in eighteenth century Europe as being Jewish as the name Goldberg would be in our times, was a well known merchant residing in Montreal in the early 1700's. These assertions must remain conjectures since the fiercely Catholic French monarchy did not officially permit non-Catholics to move to the colonies and did not record such individuals in official documents.

The first documented Jewish presence in Canada came with the Seven Years War. Sir Alexander Schomberg, descendant of a prominent family of Jewish scholars and physicians in Britain, was the captain in charge of a frigate that participated in the conquest of Quebec by General Wolfe. The captain fought many other battles in the New World

before he returned to Great Britain, and his presence paved the way for more Jews to follow.

The Evolution of Jewish Education in Montreal

By 1760, a small band of Jews led by Aaron Hart, a lieutenant in the English army, accompanied Sir Geoffrey Amherst in the conquest of Montreal. Subsequently, somewhat over a dozen of the Jews, led by Aaron Hart and Samuel Jacobs, settled in Montreal and Trois Rivières and became successful businessmen. Immediately, the fledgling community was faced with the problem of acculturation. The Jewish population was miniscule and the choice of marriage partners was severely limited. Intermarriage with the local French Catholics became common, and the tiny Jewish group was faced with annihilation through assimilation.

The Jews turned their attention to two traditional needs: synagogue and education. December 30, 1768, saw the creation in Montreal of the first synagogue, Shearith Israel (which translates as Remnant of Israel). This could be interpreted as the fledgling Jewish community's attempt to stave

off assimilation, but that is not certain. The following year, Reverend Jacob Cohen was brought from England to be the shochet (ritual slaughterer) and melamed (Sack, 1945). He founded and maintained the first congregational cheder in Quebec until 1781. The next sixty-six years saw a whole miscellany of successors to Reverend Cohen. However, there never was more than one melamed at a time and only a handful of students. In addition, the facilities and resources were meagre in the extreme, and the institution barely merited the term "school."

In 1847, Reverend Abraham de Sola was named Rabbi of Shearith Israel. He immediately formulated a plan to enhance Jewish education by creating a school with a set curriculum, recognized pedagogical procedures, and adequate resources. At about the same time the newly formed German-Polish Congregation also established a school. Both the Shearith Israel and the German-Polish congregational schools offered well developed programs of Sunday and weekly afternoon elementary

education, and, by 1874, they had a substantial enrollment.

There was a large flow of Jewish immigrants to Montreal from 1880 onwards; by 1896 the Jewish population of Montreal numbered some 4000 people. The existing congregational schools could no longer service the demand, so in 1890 the Baron de Hirsch Institute created the Free School for Jewish poor children. On inauguration day, the enrollment in the Free School numbered 227 children. Shortly thereafter, Rabbi Aaron Ashinsky of B'Nai Jacob Congregation opened Canada's first Talmud Torah school. Starting with twenty children in a small building on Montreal's de Bullion street, it rapidly grew to 150 pupils in three years and had to move to larger facilities at 401 Lagauchetière street.

Hereafter, the growth of Jewish schooling in Montreal was astronomical. The Free School grew to 450 students by 1902 and was offering both day and evening classes. The original Talmud Torah, under the guidance of Rabbi Hirsch Cohen, who replaced

Rabbi Ashinsky in 1900, moved again to larger quarters on St. Urbain street. Soon after, five additional Talmud Torah schools were created.

During the First World War, the Yiddish Peretz School and the Jewish People's School were born. In 1917 the independent Talmud Torah schools merged to form the United Talmud Torah School System. In the midst of the depression of the 1930's, the United Talmud Torah Schools successfully initiated full day schools, a feat quickly matched by the Peretz School. In 1935, the Montreal Hebrew Academy opened its doors. It was the first full day Jewish school to boast a complete secular as well as parochial education. It had some of the finest facilities including assembly hall, library, teacher's room, and kitchen. On opening day it had nineteen classrooms (United Talmud Torahs, 1966).

Montreal's Jewish Schools and the Confessional School Structure of Quebec

The expansion of the Jewish day school system was facilitated by the confessional structure of

education enforced in Quebec under the Canadian Constitution. When Jewish parents could not send their children to a Jewish school, either because there were no places left for them or for financial reasons, they faced a choice of enrolling them in a Catholic or Protestant school. In 1886, an agreement had been signed between the Jewish community and the Catholic School Commission whereby the Commission would collect taxes from Jewish landowners and remit 80% of the total collected for the maintenance of private Jewish schools. At the time the demand by Jews for entrance into Catholic schools was negligible and the Commission accepted what appeared to be an excellent financial acquisition. However, when the Jewish schools could no longer adequately cope with the needs of their constituency, and more Jewish children required entrance into the Catholic schools, problems arose. The Catholic schools were not anxious to admit large numbers of Jewish children into their midsts, and Jewish parents were disturbed by the curriculum of these schools which required all children without

exception to follow a course of Catholic catechetic instruction. As a result, more and more Jewish parents turned to the more flexible Protestant schools, even though the Catholic Commission continued to receive the tax dollars.

The Protestant School Commission reacted by petitioning the Quebec government to declare all non-Catholics as Protestant for the purpose of taxation. In 1894, the Jewish community formally agreed to adhere to the Protestant School Commission and to direct its taxes there. This agreement was expanded and given legal status in 1903, when the Quebec legislature adopted Bill 3. Article 1 of the bill states that:

> "those persons adhering to the Jewish religion will be treated, for educational purposes, as Protestants, and, to this end, will be assigned the same obligations, rights, and privileges as Protestants" (translated from the French quote in Audet, 1971, pg. 240).

The number of Jewish children in the Protestant school system increased dramatically after the signing of Bill 3. By 1924, twelve thousand out of a total of 30,000 children in Protestant schools

were Jewish. As the proportion of Jewish children increased, Jewish leaders demanded a say in the development of curriculum for the Protestant schools. Furthermore, although Jews were employed as teachers in the Protestant schools, the schools' policy explicitly denied Jews any position of authority such as principal or commissioner. When the Jewish community sought to change the situation, the Protestant Commission rebelled against this threat to their autonomy, and a series of legal and political battles ensued.

A major milestone in the conflict occurred with the famous Hirsch lawsuit that went all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada and had to eventually be sent to the Privy Council in London, England, for resolution (1). The outcome of this case stunned both the Jewish and Gentile communities

(1) Hirsch and Cohen versus The Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal and the Protestant Committee of the Council of Quebec Instruction of the Province of Quebec, 1928.

when it was ruled that Jews had no rights in either the Protestant or Catholic school systems, but that the Provincial Legislature had the authority to create an independent Jewish school system supported by taxes gathered from Jewish property owners - taxes that had hitherto gone to the Protestant or Catholic Commissions.

Reaction to the decision was immediate. Two Jewish members of the Provincial Legislature, Peter Bercovitch and Joseph Cohen, initiated procedures to establish the third school system. The Jewish leaders were jubilant; the protection of Je sh group identity seemed guaranteed by a legal and credible formal Jewish School system. Howe.er, the Protestant and Catholic Boards were wary of the effect the decision might have on their financial and enrollment situation should other minorities follow the lead of the burgeoning Jewish day schools and form their own school systems. In order to preempt this possibility, the Protestant Board entered into a concordat with the newly established Jewish Commission in 1930. The

agreement established the right of Jewish children to attend Protestant schools, prohibited their segregation, prohibited discrimination against them for absences on Jewish holidays, excused them from the study of the New Testament, and pledged no discrimination against Jewish teachers in hiring and promotion.

In 1931 the concordat was passed into law and, shortly thereafter, the Jewish Commission was disbanded. However, many Jewish parents continued to perceive a negative attitude by the non-Jewish school boards toward their Jewish students and teachers. As a result, more and more Jews sought out Jewish day schools for their children. Thus the number of Jewish children in the Protestant system dropped from a high of about 14,000 in 1924 to 8,590 in 1942 despite a large increase in the Jewish population during that period and a concomitant increase in Jewish day school enrollment (Rosenberg, 1970).

After the Second World War, the Jewish schools were inundated by the thousands of children of

survivors of the Holocaust who immigrated to Canada and settled mainly in Montreal and Toronto. Another factor added to the burden of the Jewish schools. The sheer horror of the Holocaust led to a "kindling of the spirit" among native Canadian Jews. Many sought to reaffirm their Jewish roots by sending their children for a Jewish education instead of only a secular one. So great a need for Jewish teachers developed that in 1946 two seminaries for the training of teachers were opened. Three years later they merged to form the Canadian Jewish Teachers Seminary.

By 1962, four thousand children were receiving Jewish day schooling in a variety of community and congregational schools. After some lobbying by Jewish leaders, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal entered into a second concordat with the Jewish day schools in 1968. Stimulated by the reorganization of Quebec education envisioned by Bill 37 of the Quebec Legislature, the agreement gave the Jewish schools "associate status" whereby the PSBGM would turn over to the

Jewish schools 60% of the cost of educating each child in a Jewish day school provided that school met or surpassed the curriculum criteria of the PSBGM. Less than a year later, the Premier of Quebec, Daniel Johnson, enacted Bill 56, which accorded private schools (including Jewish day schools) government grants of up to 80% of the equivalent cost of educating a child in the public schools at the same level. Thus the nature of the structure of the educational system in Quebec led to the subsidization of Jewish education by the state and the fortuitous result that tuition fees for Jewish education in Quebec are among the lowest in North America.

The synthesis of Jewish demand for education and its affordability allows the Jewish day school system in Montreal to flourish. Today about 75% of all elementary school age Jewish children in the region of Montreal receive some form of Jewish education, whether it be day school, weekly afternoon school, or Sunday school (Jewish Education Council of Montreal, 1987). Furthermore,

Rabbi Dr. M. Zeitz, former President of the Jewish Education Council of Montreal, which is the body that acts as a resource centre and information exchange for the Jewish community when it comes to matters of education, has indicated recently in a private conversation that as of March, 1987, approximately 63% of all Jewish children in and around Montreal attend full time elementary studies at a Jewish parochial school.

Jewish Ethnicity and Jewish Education: Paradoxical Considerations

The conclusion derived from the above review is that since at least the earliest years of the Diaspora, the Jewish school appears to have had the overt mandate to preserve Jewish identity. The development and vitality of the Jewish day school system in Montreal is witness to the apparent commitment this community has to Jewish education. It remains to be seen, however, whether the Jewish day school actually functions to fulfill the goal of inculcating Jewish ethnic identity in its young charges. Although it is taken on faith that this

is what they do, little evidence exists to confirm that faith nor to deny it.

The debate becomes enhanced when one observes that there is an odd paradox in the way Jews dichotomize their feelings about Jewish elementary schools as an institution and Jewish primary education as a process. While they support, both morally and financially, the idea of Jewish scholarship and the establishment of Jewish schools, the respect accorded to those that teach in the elementary schools and the process of teaching was, and still is, very low.

While in the past a child who studied merited great esteem in the community, the teacher did not. The melamed was chronically underpaid; he barely managed to live on the meager tuition fees he received. His family was sometimes reduced to stealing the food of his charges for their survival (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952). The teacher of children was looked down upon by the whole community. His status was even lower than an ignoramus; a man who taught children was

considered a chronic failure. "One who can't even tie a cat's tail becomes a melamed" (Zborowski and Herzog, 1952, pg. 89). Freely sharing knowledge was a blessed deed; to receive payment for teaching was despicable.

This paradoxical division between learning and teaching has permeated Jewish education to this very day. It has been pointed out that, although the Jewish community of Montreal and other Jewish communities have invested heavily in the erection of Jewish primary schools, the funding of Jewish teacher training and the compensation for Jewish teachers in many parochial schools is very restricted compared to secular teachers in either the public or private school milieu (1). Indeed, the Jewish Education Council of Montreal report (1987) indicates that although most Jewish teachers in the Jewish day school system are working under a collective agreement and are paid

(1) Personal communication with Dr. B. Levy of the Department of Jewish Studies at McGill University, Montreal, September, 1987.

according to the same norms as the provincial public school teachers, many are paid only 55% to 85% of the norms. Although the report does not differentiate between rabbis and lay people who teach at the elementary level, it also alludes to the poor esteem in which the community generally holds the teacher when it states that: "We should explore means of raising the status of the teacher in the community, such as a Jewish Education Week and better use of the media" (pg. 28).

What are we to make of this dichotomy between structure and process in the Jewish schools of Montreal? It may be that what happens in the schools is not the significant factor in the maintenance of Jewish education, but that the existence of the schools is, in and of itself, the covert goal for most of the Jewish community. In other words, it may well be that the Jewish schools do not actually produce Jewish identity in children, but are a significant symbol of the global social forces that reinforce ethnicity in the community.

This is the conclusion reached by Yaacov Glickman in his 1977 study of parochial Jewish education in Toronto. He surveyed adults who had had a parochial Jewish education and asked them to what degree they felt that education determined their adult attitudes towards several factors considered indicative of Jewish identity. He found that, although most of the subjects felt that giving a child a Jewish education was important, they did not feel that their personal parochial education had a significant impact on their own attitudes. Glickman concludes that the Jewish schools are a dependent variable in relation to ethnicity rather than the independent variable.

However, this report is far from conclusive. Glickman used the "perceived influence" of Jewish day schooling as the dependent measure; that is to say, adult subjects were asked whether they felt that their elementary Jewish schooling had an effect on their present ethnicity. This approach suffers from the intuitive flaw that, had the school achieved its aim of creating an

internalized cognitive state we call ethnic identity, the process would most likely no longer be at a high level of awareness and, hence, may not be reportable.

Therefore, the methodology in this study used a comparative research approach that is far more effective in clarifying the issue. Juxtaposition of the ethnicity of Jewish children attending parochial day schools against a control group attending secular schools is used to illustrate the effectiveness of Jewish schools in promoting ethnicity.

The Ashkenazi-Sephardi time-lag difference in acculturation in Quebec offers a unique opportunity when trying to ascertain the validity of the school as an independent variable in the development of ethnicity. A comparison of Sephardi children attending and not attending full-time parochial Jewish schools to similar Ashkenazi children has, to some extent, its own built-in control for cultural and communal effects. If the schools play a significant role in the development

of ethnic boundaries, we may see a greater difference in ethnicity between Sephardi children who attend parochial Jewish schools, whose curriculum promotes a traditional set of Jewish values based on the Ashkenazi model, and their parental ethnicity, than we might see among Ashkenazi Jews. Furthermore, a study of the differences between Ashkenazi and Sephardi ethnicity has value in its own right to further the work begun by Lasry.

This study, therefore, examined the ethnic identity of Jewish children from both the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities. A comparison of their ethnicity was made between those children attending full-time studies in Jewish Day schools offering a traditional Jewish curriculum and those attending secular schools. The findings were refered to the ethnicity of their respective parents to ascertain the extent of communal and formal education effects on ethnic boundary formation and maintenance.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The Sample

The sample consisted of 100 children living on the Island of Montreal and Jesus. Potential candidates for the study were acquired by word of mouth in the Jewish community and with the assistance of Jewish community leaders. The sample pool was constricted by the application of a series of criteria. All the children had to be in their final month of full-time attendance at the grade 6 level of day school. This period was stipulated as it most closely corresponds to the age at which identity begins to coalesce (Piaget, 1951; Erikson, 1966, 1968; Lambert, 1967; Taylor, 1972; Meilman, 1979). The children selected had to be living with both natural parents who both declared themselves to be of the same ethnic subgroup. For those children attending Jewish day schools, selection was further restricted to those in schools where the primary languages of instruction are French (a minimum of 14 hours per week) and

Hebrew, and where the curriculum emphasizes secular studies as well as religion, Jewish history and traditions, and loyalty to the state of Israel. Although it is impossible to totally control for the myriad of differences between Jewish schools as a result of ideological, curricular, and pedagogical policies, the above restrictions might decrease the variance induced by differential intra-school variables and simplify subsequent statistical analysis and interpretation.

The subject pool consisted of 187 children divided into four cells: 60 were Ashkenazi children attending secular schools, 45 were Ashkenazi children in parochial schools, 45 were Sephardi children attending secular schools, and 37 were Sephardi children in parochial schools. Twenty-five children from each cell of the subject pool were randomly selected for this study. Visually, the resultant 2x2 factorial design appears as follows:

ETHNIC SUBGROUP	EDUCATION: PAROCHIAL	EDUCATION: SECULAR
ASHKENAZI	25	25
SEPHARDI	25	25

Procedures

The parents of each child were contacted to acquire permission to question them and the child. The importance of the study to the Jewish community as well as to basic research was emphasized; the subjects' commitment to the study was maximized by providing them with letters of introduction from McGill University and Dr. Rabbi Mordechai Zeitz, an influential leader of the Jewish community (appendix A). None of the children or parents contacted refused to participate in this study.

A questionnaire (appendix B) was administered orally to each parent and the child in their home. Subjects were not in each other's presence when asked questions related to the predictor or dependent variables.

Subsequent to each interview, the data were immediately transferred to a micro-computer for collation and preliminary analysis using version 5.0 of the Statistical Processing System developed at North Carolina State University (Buyoff, 1985). In order to ensure accuracy of transcription of the data, a frequency distribution was generated by the computer for each variable from the combined data. The frequency distributions were subsequently compared to identical ones generated by hand from the original data. The data set was subsequently transmitted to the computing facilities at McGill University for final analysis using the SPSS-X version of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Norusis, 1985).

Construction of the Instrument and Analysis of the Data

As stated in chapter 1 the concept of ethnicity embodies cognitive, emotional, and social characteristics. Each characteristic may subsist on rational as well as extra-rational components. The multidimensionality of the construct presents

a problem for the construction of an instrument to measure it. A multivariate approach is most appropriate: the dimensions involved in each of the cognitive, emotional, and social spheres must be delineated and a measure for each is required. Multivariate analysis of the concatenated set of measures could then provide a picture of ethnicity.

In developing such a set of variables, a balance has to be struck between comprehensiveness and parsimony. An overinclusive instrument would result in so great a demand on the subjects' patience that it would mitigate against full cooperation. Furthermore, the data analysis could become too complex for meaningful interpretation. In contrast, too selective a set of variables may not accurately represent the full gestalt.

Given the nature of the research questions in this study, only the "within subject" aspects of ethnicity were measured; that is, only the variables related to self-recognition were used as

outcome measures. Three spheres of such outcome measures were identified from the literature as being germane to the construct of ethnicity. These measures were adopted and modified so as to relate to the Jewish community under study. For example, all references to the identity of the ethnic group were changed to "Jews".

Three spheres of outcome measures were tested:

> (1) Cognitive Sphere: the belief in a common biological origin, regardless of whether this belief is based on real or putative facts. The childrens' responses to questions 15 and 17 on the childrens' interview form (appendix B), were used to assess this dimension;
>
> (2) Cultural Identification Sphere: identification with the culture of the ethnic group. Included in this sphere are a preference for endogamy, religious faith, and acceptance of a major ideology of the group, such as the importance of the State of Israel as a haven for the Jews and the "ingathering of the exiles" to their ancient homeland. The childrens' responses on a Likert scale to questions 12, 14, 16, and 18 on their interview form were used to examine these issues;
>
> (3) Affective Sphere: pride in one's group and acknowledgement of one's membership in the group. This relates to the relevance that group membership has

to the individual's consciousness (what Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1984) call "salience"), and to an integral set of positive images about one's group. Question 13 on the childrens' interview form was used to measure this dimension. To further refine the intrapsychic notion of ethnicity relevance, the projective procedure known as the "Twenty Questions Test" (Fideres and Goldenberg, 1977 ;Mackie, 1978) was employed. The subject was asked to respond with twenty statements to the question "Who am I?". The position of the response "I am a Jew" or some statement to that effect was recorded. The order of the responses was then reversed and the position of the response was taken as the measure of this variable, with a "0" indicating no statement of Jewish affiliation or no relevance while "20" represented high relevance. The images individuals might have of their group was assessed by an "image" or "likeability" scale developed from, and described in, the "Adjective Checklist" (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965). The Adjective Checklist (ACL) Manual contains tables that indicate which of the three hundred adjectives on the checklist are associated with a positive image of the item or event being described, and which of those adjectives are pejorative. The subjects were given the list of adjectives and asked to check those that described the "average Jewish person". The total number of positive and negative adjectives were referred to the normative tables to arrive at scaled scores, and the positive score was divided by the total of positive and negative scores combined to arrive at the "image" score. This image score represented the degree to

which the subject ascribed a positive image to the ethnic group.

The same outcome measures gathered from the children were also derived from the parents. In addition, some other factors that are thought to determine the level of ethnicity in children were measured. These included: the proportion of the parents' and of the child's friends that were Jewish, the proportion of Jews to non-Jews in the neighbourhood as seen by the parents, the number of ethnic symbols found in the home (Jewish magazines, artifacts, etc.), the number of Jewish organizations with which the family affiliates, the religious affiliation declared by the parents, the level of religiosity of the parents, and the level of Jewish parochial education acquired by the parents. Questions 14 to 18 on the mothers' interview form, and identical questions 12 to 16 on the fathers' form (appendix B) dealt with religious affiliation. An approximate measure of religiosity was arrived at by asking the subjects how often they had gone to synagogue in the past 12 months for religious purposes.The parental

level of religious orthodoxy was assessed as the total of the scores attained on questions 15 to 18 on the mothers' interview form (questions 13 to 16 on the fathers' version). Since the score on any single question ranged from a maximum of 4 (representing a high level of orthodoxy) to a minimum of 1 (representing a low level of orthodoxy), the maximum possible total of 16 indicated high orthodoxy while the minimumm total of 4 showed low orthodoxy. Jewish educational attainment involved two aspects: the intensity or type of schooling the person had received, and its duration. The school type was weighted as follows:

0 no formal Jewish parochial education;
1 Sunday school or tutor (1 time per week);
2 Afternoon school or tutor (more than once a week);
3 Day school (full-time).

The weights were multiplied by the number of years of duration to arrive at a "Jewish education score". The full set of variables and their labels are listed in appendix C.

All measures acquired in the study were transformed to normal T-scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 prior to final statistical analysis. The predictor variables were categorized into three sets: those deriving from the mother, those variables that were acquired from the father, and the remaining variables that were labeled as general environment variables (see appendix C). In order to reduce the number of predictor variables, each of the three set of predictor variables was factor analyzed using the Principal Components procedure and a Varimax rotation to extract the factors. The data were subsequently subjected to a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) in which there were: (1) two independant variables (Jewish parochial education versus secular education, and Ashkenazi versus Sephardi ethnic sub-group), (2) the exact factor scores derived from the factor analysis as covariates, and (3) nine outcome measures derived from the child. Following the multivariate analysis, two

discriminant analysis procedures were carried out: one to examine the differences between the two types of schooling, and the other to examine the differences between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi sub-groups.

Limitations to the Study

The sample pool of this study was limited to those children attending schools in the Montreal region. The parochial students attended Jewish schools where the curriculum emphasized secular subjects and a traditional orientation toward Jewish history, culture, and religion. None of the parochial schools in this study focused strongly on orthodox religiosity or ethnic segregation in the curriculum. It should also be apparent that, given the method of subject selection in this study, the subjects were not randomly assigned to their cells. They had been self-selected by virtue of the ethnic sub-group to which the parents belonged and the type of school the parents had chosen for them.

Chapter 4

Results

Introduction

Three sets of results are provided below: the sample profiles, the multivariate analysis, and the discriminant analysis. The sample profiles outline the descriptive statistics derived from the four cells of the design: (1) Ashkenazi Jews whose children attend secular schools, (2) Ashkenazi Jews whose children attend parochial schools, (3) Sephardi Jews whose children attend secular schools, and (4) Sephardi Jews whose children attend parochial schools. A few simple analyses of data that are relevant to later discussion were included here.

Should more details be required while reviewing the descriptive data, the reader is referred to Tables 1-12 and Figures 1-11, all in appendix D. Tables 1-4 show the years in which the parents and grandparents of the children were born, while Figure 1 shows their place of birth. Figures 2-5

present the mother tongues of the parents and the languages used most often by the child in the home and with its friends. The oral proficiency of the parents and children in the languages that are specifically identified with the ethnic group is shown graphically in Figures 6-8. Figures 9-11 refer to the proficiency of the parents and children in reading the written ethnic languages. No differentiation was made between reading with or without comprehension. Data on parental education, and the level of formal parochial education the child received, are given in Tables 6-12.

The second set of results were derived from the multivariate analysis of covariance. The MANCOVA procedure sought to answer the three main research questions of this study: after adjustment for non-educational influences, (1) were there any differences in the level of ethnicity between children who attended secular schools and children who attended parochial schools, (2) were there any differences between Ashkenazi students and

Sephardi students in the level of ethnicity, and (3) was there an interaction in the level of ethnicity between sub-group membership and the type of education the child received?

The discriminant analysis sought to clarify any significant differences among the groups that emerged from the MANCOVA procedure. Discriminant analysis has the advantages of simplifying interpretation of data involving many measures that may be correlated, and of providing a better gestalt of the differences than could be attained solely from an examination of a series of univariate statistics.

Profile of the Ashkenazi Group with Children Attending Secular School

The mean age of the mothers of the Ashkenazi children enrolled in secular school was 40. The fathers were an average two years older. The overwhelming majority of the children in this group were at least the second generation to be born in Canada; all but one of the mothers and all

but two of the fathers were born in Canada. The proportion of the grandparents born in Canada ranged from 40% of the maternal grandfathers to a high of 60% in the case of the paternal grandfathers.

The language used at home by all the children was English and they all used this language with their friends. English was the mother tongue for almost 100% of their parents. Approximately half the children rated their fluency in spoken Hebrew and Yiddish as fairly good. Eighty-eight percent of them also gave the same rating to their reading skills in Hebrew, while 32% claimed they could do as well in written Yiddish. In contrast, none of the mothers and only 13% of the fathers could claim fairly good ability in oral Hebrew; the corresponding data for Yiddish was 16% for mothers and 32% for fathers. As for the written word, 88% of the mothers and 52% of the fathers could not read Hebrew at all or only poorly, while 100% of both parents said their ability to read Yiddish

was poor or non-existent. Neither the parents, nor the children, could speak or read any Ladino.

A vast majority of the children had had some Jewish parochial education, almost entirely either in afternoon schools following their regular secular school attendance or from a private tutor. Almost half of their parents stopped their formal education at the end of high school. Thirty-two percent of the mothers continued their studies and achieved a Bachelor's degree, while another 24% completed a certificate or diploma program. Of the men who went beyond high school, 24% had a Bachelor's degree, 12% had completed postgraduate studies, 12% had a professional degree (e.g. MD, engineering, accounting), and 8% had a certificate or diploma.

Profile of the Ashkenazi Group with Children Attending Parochial School

The parents of the children attending full-time studies in a Jewish parochial school had the same mean age as the group described above. Similarly,

the children were at least the second generation to be born in Canada. Of the 24% of the mothers born outside Canada, 3 were from Western Europe, 1 from Eastern Europe, 1 from the United States, and 1 from Israel. Twelve percent of the fathers immigrated to Canada; 2 from Western Europe and 1 from the United States. As in the previous Ashkenazi group, 32-60% of the grandparents were born in Canada, depending on which grandparents we are talking about.

Only 1 child (4%) spoke mostly Hebrew at home. The language used in the home for the others was English. All the children spoke English with their friends. English was the first language for 80% of the mothers and for 92% of the fathers. Ninety-two percent of the children claimed they could speak Hebrew fairly well or better; 100% claimed the same for reading Hebrew. As for Yiddish, 32% of the children said they could speak it at least fairly well and 60% rated their reading skills at the same level. Only 28% of mothers and 40% of fathers rated their oral Hebrew at the same level,

while 56% of mothers and 76% of fathers said they could read Hebrew fairly well or better. The figures for parental skills in Yiddish were 24% of mothers and 20% of fathers in oral ability, and 20% and 4% for reading skill. No member of this group could speak or read Ladino.

If we compare the number of parents in this group who had a post-secondary education to the corresponding number in the previous group, we find that the Ashkenazi parents who sent their children for a parochial education had achieved a significantly higher level of education than the parents of Ashkenazi children attending secular school (Chi-square = 12.988, df=1, $p<.001$). Only 4% of women stopped their education at high school; 48% acquired a Bachelor's degree, 8% had a professional degree, 16% completed post-graduate studies, and 24% had a certificate or diploma. Eighty-four percent of fathers continued their studies beyond high school; 24% completed undergraduate studies, 32% went on to a

professional degree, 4% had post-graduate degrees, and 12% had a diploma or certificate.

Profile of the Sephardi Group with Children Attending Secular School

The Sephardi Jews who sent their children to secular schools had about the same mean ages as the previous two groups. In contrast with those groups, most of the Sephardi children attending secular schools were the first generation to be born in Canada; 88% of the mothers and fathers came to Canada from North Africa and the Middle East. None of the grandparents were born in Canada.

English was the main language used at home by 48% of the children, French for another 44%, and 8% spoke Spanish, Arabic, or another language other than Hebrew, Ladino, or Yiddish. The anglicization of the group is reflected in the fact that only 4% of the parents reported their mother tongue as English. French was the first language for 48% of mothers and 32% of fathers, while the remainder

spoke mostly Spanish or Arabic at birth. The trend toward English is further manifested by the fact that 80% of the children in this group report that they use this language with their friends.

The children of this group report much weaker skills in their ethnic languages than all other groups. Only 24% claimed they could speak Hebrew while 40% said they could read it with at least fair ability. None had any fluency in Yiddish and only 4% had any ability in oral or written Ladino. About half these children had some part-time Jewish parochial education; none completed a full elementary school program in Jewish studies.

Sixty-eight percent of their mothers spoke Hebrew fairly well or better; the same level of Hebrew ability was claimed by 72% of the men. Their ability to read Hebrew was rated as fairly well or better by 88% of the women and 92% of the men. While none of the women and only one of the men had at least fair ability with Yiddish, 16% of the mothers could speak Ladino and 8% could read it.

Of the men, 28% could converse in Ladino and 12% could read it moderately well.

Education stopped at high school for 48% of these Sephardi mothers; 4% had only completed elementary school. Another 8% acquired a junior college degree, 4% had a professional degree, 32% graduated from a certificate or diploma program, and 4% had post-graduate degrees. Twenty percent of the fathers went no further than secondary schooling. Another 24% had an undergraduate degree, 32% a certificate or diploma, 4% a professional degree, and 8% a post-graduate degree.

Profile of the Sephardi Group with Children Attending Parochial School

Sephardi parents who sent their children to parochial schools were older than those of the other groups. An analysis of variance, to test the significance of the differences between the mean ages for the four groups of mothers, showed the differences to be significant ($F=6.462$, $df=3/96$,

$p<.01$). Comparisons of the mean age of the Sephardi mothers, whose children went to parochial school, and the mean ages of the mothers in the other three groups, using the t-test to test for significance, showed that these Sephardi mothers were significantly older than: (1) the Sephardi mothers whose children were in secular school ($t=3.324$, $df=48$, $p<.01$), (2) the Ashkenazi mothers with children in secular school ($t=2.952$, $df=48$, $p<.01$), and (3) the Ashkenazi mothers who gave their children a parochial education ($t=2.797$, $df=48$, $p<.01$). An analysis of variance carried out on the mean ages of the fathers also resulted in significant differences ($F=2.723$, $df=3/96$, $p<.05$). The Sephardi fathers in this group were found to be significantly older than the fathers of Sephardi children in secular schools ($t=2.645$, $df=48$, $p<.02$). They were also significantly older than the Ashkenazi fathers whose children were in secular schools ($t=3.034$, $df=48$, $p<.01$), and the fathers of Ashkenazi children in parochial schools ($t=2.944$, $df=48$, $p<.01$). Eighty-eight percent of

the fathers and mothers, as well as all the grandparents, were born in North Africa or the Middle East; the remaining 12% of the parents were born in Canada.

While 56% of the children in this group use mainly English in the home and 44% used French, 72% of the mothers', and 80% of the fathers', maternal tongues were not English, French, Hebrew, Yiddish, or Ladino. Arabic and Spanish predominated. As seen in the previous groups, there is a strong tendency toward anglicization of the group. This is further highlighted by the assertion by 60% of the children in this group that they use English with their friends; the remainder said they used French.

Oral fluency in Hebrew was claimed by 96% of the children; 100% said they could read it at least fairly well. Only 8% had fair ability to speak Yiddish, while 20% reported a fairly good ability in speaking Ladino. Only 8% said they could read

Ladino fairly well, and 12% could read Yiddish fairly well.

Ninety-two percent of the mothers of this group had no oral skills in Yiddish; 96% could not read it. Twenty-four percent could converse in Hebrew and 60% could read it at least fairly well. Ladino was spoken and read with some fluency by 44% of them. The same degree of ability in Hebrew conversation was claimed by 84% of the fathers; 96% of them said they could read Hebrew fairly well or better. Of the men, 64% could not speak Yiddish and 80% could not read it. Thirty-six percent could speak Ladino well and 32% could read it well.

While 44% of the Sephardi mothers of children in parochial school stopped their education at the elementary or high school levels, 12% went on to junior college, 16% had an undergraduate degree, and 28% had a diploma or certificate. Only 16% of the fathers did not continue their studies beyond high school. Twelve percent had a junior college

degree, 44% an undergraduate degree, 12% a post-graduate or professional degree, and 16% had a certificate or diploma.

Multivariate Analysis of the Data

A multivariate ANCOVA was carried out. There were two factors (school type and ethnic sub-group), nine outcome variables derived from the children, and the nine exact factor scores, derived from the factor analysis of the parental and environmental data, that were used as covariates. The two factors and their labels were: (1) the type of elementary school the child attended (TECH), secular or parochial, and (2) the ethnic sub-group from which the child came (EDMO), whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi. The outcome measures and their labels, based on the data from the children, were:

(1) the importance placed on support of the State of Israel (EIC1.ISR),

(2) the importance of being Jewish stated by the subject (EIC2.IMP),

(3) the importance placed on endogamy (EIC3.MAR),

(4) the degree to which the subject agrees that all Jews have things in common (EIC4.COM),

(5) the level of agreement with the idea that all Jewish children should receive a Jewish education (EIC5.EDU),

(6) the level of agreement with the statement, "All Jews are related to each one another" (EIC6.KIN),

(7) the "salience" or level of awareness of being Jewish (EIC7.SAL),

(8) the level of positive image the subject has of the Jews as measured by the Adjective Checklist (EIC8.ACL),

(9) the level of agreement with the idea that God hears our prayers (RIC1.GOD).

The results of the multivariate analysis are presented in tables 13 and 14. Table 13 (page 118) shows the group means on each outcome variable for the two factors, and it provides the means for the outcome variables within each cell of the design. These means have been adjusted for the variance due to the parental and environmental factors. Table 14 gives the results of the multivariate tests of significance and the results for the

TABLE 13

Means Adjusted for Variance Accounted for by Covariates

Ethnic Subgroups	Variable	Type of School: Secular	Type of School: Parochial	Mean
				Ashkenazi
Ashkenazi	EIC1.ISR	49.515	46.551	48.033
	EIC2.IMP	46.237	52.302	49.270
	EIC3.MAR	51.274	52.677	51.976
	EIC4.COM	52.078	49.128	50.603
	EIC5.EDU	48.742	50.483	49.613
	EIC6.KIN	50.945	48.393	49.669
	EIC7.SAL	48.702	46.421	47.562
	EIC8.ACL	54.576	53.742	54.159
	RIC1.GOD	51.180	49.916	50.548
				Mean
				Sephardi
Sephardi	EIC1.ISR	51.074	54.348	52.711
	EIC2.IMP	48.105	55.109	51.607
	EIC3.MAR	47.630	49.612	48.621
	EIC4.COM	51.784	47.578	49.681
	EIC5.EDU	49.393	52.359	50.876
	EIC6.KIN	48.155	53.146	50.651
	EIC7.SAL	53.303	50.172	51.738
	EIC8.ACL	41.965	49.718	45.842
	RIC1.GOD	45.354	54.231	49.793

	Mean Secular	Mean Parochial
EIC1.ISR	50.295	50.450
EIC2.IMP	47.171	53.706
EIC3.MAR	49.452	51.145
EIC4.COM	51.931	48.353
EIC5.EDU	49.068	51.421
EIC6.KIN	49.550	50.770
EIC7.SAL	51.003	48.297
EIC8.ACL	48.271	51.730
RIC1.GOD	48.267	52.073

LEGEND OF VARIABLES:

EIC1.ISR - Importance child places on supporting Israel.
EIC2.IMP - Importance child places on being Jewish.
EIC3.MAR - Importance child places on endogamy.
EIC4.COM - Degree of child's perception Jews have things in common.
EIC5.EDU - Degree of child's belief children need Jewish education.
EIC6.KIN - Degree of child's belief that all Jews are related.
EIC7.SAL - Prominence being Jewish holds in child's conscious.
EIC8.ACL - Chil's image of ethnic group (Adjective Checklist).
RIC1.GOD - Child's belief that God hears our prayers.

univariate tests of significance for each outcome measure.

As can been seen in Table 14 (page 120), the multivariate regression analysis was highly significant ($p<.001$). The univariate regression breakdown shows highly significant results on all variables except on the question, "All Jews are related to one another", and on the Twenty Questions Test. Since the multivariate regression is indicative of the relationship between the parental ethnicity scores and the environmental measures on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the ethnicity scores of the children, the strong link between parental and environmental factors, and the ethnicity of the child is apparent. This verifies the necessity of excising parental effects in any research paradigm that attempts to assess the effects of the educational system on children's ethnic identity.

No significant multivariate interaction between the type of schooling and ethnic sub-group was

TABLE 14

Tests of Significance

Source		VARIABLE	df	MS	F	p
REGRESSION	MULTIVARIATE		108,756	——	1.978	.000
	UNIVARIATE	EIC1.ISR	12	140.038	3.091	.001
		EIC2.IMP	12	85.796	2.086	.026
		EIC3.MAR	12	141.946	2.560	.006
		EIC4.COM	12	141.204	2.504	.007
		EIC5.EDU	12	222.028	5.141	.000
		EIC6.KIN	12	80.762	1.140	.340
		EIC7.SAL	12	79.371	.954	.499
		EIC8.ACL	12	278.025	3.820	.000
		RIC1.GOD	12	126.293	2.527	.007
TECH	MULTIVARIATE		9,76	——	2.702	.009
	UNIVARIATE	EIC1.ISR	1	.302	.007	.935
		EIC2.IMP	1	537.663	13.077	.001
		EIC3.MAR	1	36.074	.651	.422
		EIC4.COM	1	161.179	2.857	.095
		EIC5.EDU	1	69.732	1.615	.207
		EIC6.KIN	1	18.776	.264	.609
		EIC7.SAL	1	92.208	1.108	.296
		EIC8.ACL	1	150.710	2.071	.154
		RIC1.GOD	1	182.436	3.650	.059
EDMO	MULTIVARIATE		9,76	——	2.158	.034
	UNIVARIATE	EIC1.ISR	1	170.851	3.771	.056
		EIC2.IMP	1	42.651	1.037	.311
		EIC3.MAR	1	87.860	1.584	.212
		EIC4.COM	1	6.635	.118	.732
		EIC5.EDU	1	12.453	.288	.593
		EIC6.KIN	1	7.519	.106	.745
		EIC7.SAL	1	136.169	1.636	.204
		EIC8.ACL	1	540.171	7.422	.008
		RIC1.GOD	1	4.452	.891	.766
TECH BY EDMO	MULTIVARIATE		9,76	——	1.761	.090
	UNIVARIATE	EIC1.ISR	1	124.369	2.745	.101
		EIC2.IMP	1	2.823	.069	.794
		EIC3.MAR	1	1.070	.019	.890
		EIC4.COM	1	5.045	.089	.766
		EIC5.EDU	1	4.793	.111	.740
		EIC6.KIN	1	181.841	2.566	.113
		EIC7.SAL	1	2.306	.028	.868
		EIC8.ACL	1	235.580	3.237	.076
		RIC1.GOD	1	328.655	6.575	.012
ERROR	UNIVARIATE	EIC1.ISR	84	45.311		
		EIC2.IMP	84	41.115		
		EIC3.MAR	84	55.455		
		EIC4.COM	84	56.396		
		EIC5.EDU	84	43.184		
		EIC6.KIN	84	70.865		
		EIC7.SAL	84	83.233		
		EIC8.ACL	84	72.783		
		RIC1.GOD	84	49.984		

LEGEND OF VARIABLES:

EIC1.ISR - Importance child places on supporting Israel.
EIC2.IMP - Importance child places on being Jewish.
EIC3.MAR - Importance child places on endogamy
EIC4.COM - Degree of child's perception Jews have things in common.
EIC5.EDU - Degree of child's belief children need Jewish education.
EIC6.KIN - Degree of child's belief that all Jews are related.
EIC7.SAL - Prominence being Jewish holds in child's conscious.
EIC8.ACL - Child's image of ethnic group (Adjective Checklist).
RIC1.GOD - Child's belief that God hears our prayers.

found. However, significant differences were obtained when a comparison was made between secular and parochial education ($p<.01$), and when the Ashkenazi ethnic sub-group was compared to the Sephardi sub-group ($p<.05$).

Discriminant Analysis of the Data

The two discriminant analysis procedures resulted in one discriminant function for the differences between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi groups, and another discriminant function to distinguish between the group of children who had a parochial education and the group that had a secular education. As can be seen in table 15 (page 122), the discriminant functions are highly significant and the vectors are bipolar. Looking at the function that discriminates between secular and parochial students, we can see that the secular children's assertion that being Jewish is very important to them is the variable most heavily weighted on the discriminant function. The parochial students' stronger agreement with the idea that children should receive a Jewish

education made the second strongest contribution to the function. Other variables that made

Table 15

Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

	Criterion			
	Ethnic Group		School Type	
	Sephardi	Ashkenazi	Parochial	Secular
Centroids	-1.206	+1.206	-2.019	+2.019
Canonical correlation	.772		.897	
Wilks' Lambda	.402		.195	
Chi-square	85.095		152.760	
Df	9		9	
Significance	<.000		<.000	
Variable:				
EIC1.ISR	- .091		1.760	
EIC2.IMP	.498		-3.112	
EIC3.MAR	.632		- .341	
EIC4.COM	.868		- .289	
EIC5.EDU	- .395		2.781	
EIC6.KIN	.501		1.051	
EIC7.SAL	- .328		- .470	
EIC8.ACL	.953		1.438	
RIC1.GOD	-1.014		-1.526	

an important contribution to the discriminant fuction were: (1) the tendency for the secular students to have higher scores on the Adjective Checklist and to agree more with the statement that God hears our prayers, and (2) the parochial students tendency to be more supportive of the

State of Israel, and to agree more with the idea that all Jews are related.

If we examine the function that discriminates between the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi sub-groups, we find that what most distinguishes the two is that the Ashkenazi students have a higher score on the Adjective Checklist, and that they are in greater agreement that God hears our prayers. The Ashkenazi children are also more supportive of giving Jewish children a parochial education. On the other hand, the Sephardi students tend to emphasize endogamy, communality among Jews, Jewish kinship, and the importance of being Jewish.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusions

Overview of the Study

The aim of this study was to determine whether formal Jewish parochial education was effective in inculcating Jewish ethnicity in children. It was hypothesized, based on the structuralist-functionalist model of education, that the level of ethnicity would be higher for those children who received a parochial education compared to children who went to secular schools. The study also compared the level of ethnicity among Ashkenazi children to the level of ethnicity among Sephardi children, and determined whether the level of ethnicity was simultaneously effected by both the type of education received and ethnic sub-group membership, or whether the two factors were independant of each other.

Ethnicity was defined as an intrapsychic set of internalized social variables falling into three spheres: (1) Cognitive: the belief, warranted or

not, in a common kinship with other members of the group to which the subject allegedly belongs; (2) Cultural Identification: the subject's self-identification with the culture of the ethnic group; and (3) Affective: the subject's acknowledgement of membership in the ethnic group and the subject's perception of a positive image of that group. The level of ethnicity in the kinship domain was assessed by subject responses, on a Likert-type scale, to questions related to common ancestry and the perception of a common set of characteristics ubiquitous in the ethnic group. Cultural identification was determined through the degree to which the subject concurred with statements espousing endogamy, parochial education for Jewish children, religious faith, and support for the State of Israel. Assessment of the affective domain involved the level of subject agreement with a direct statement that being a member of the ethnic group was important to him or her, as well as the subject's responses on the Adjective Checklist and the projective Twenty

Questions Test. The measures resulted in nine outcome variables derived from the children.

The subjects of the research were children in their final year of primary education. Subject selection resulted in four groups: Ashkenazi Jewish children who attended public secular schools, Ashkenazi children who received a full-time Jewish parochial education, Sephardi Jewish children enrolled in public secular schools, and Sephardi children with a parochial education. The ethnicity measures were applied to the children as well as their parents. Additional data thought to be predictor variables for ethnicity, such as ethnic population density in the child's neighbourhood, the number of ethnic symbols found in the home, family affiliation with the institutions belonging to the ethnic group, and the level of religiosity of the parents, were also evaluated. The predictor variables were factor analyzed to reduce their number, and exact factor scores were calculated and used as covariates. The two independent variables,

education type and ethnic sub-group membership, the nine outcome variables, and the covariate variables, were subjected to a multivariate analysis of covariance in order to determine whether there were any differences in mean values between the four groups of children on any of the outcome variables after the influence of the parental and environmental measures were excised.

Interpretation of the Results

The following discussion deals with three main topics: (1) what the data shows regarding the ability of the school to effect ethnicity, (2) the conclusions that can be deduced from the data regarding the reactions of the Jewish community to its minority status in relation to the non-Jewish majority, and (3) the conclusions that may be deduced from the data regarding the Sephardi Jews' reactions to their position as a minority group within the Jewish minority itself. The theoretical implications of the interpretations are also discussed.

The multivariate regression results were highly significant. Furthermore, significant regression results were found for almost all the univariate outcome variables. On almost all measures, the most significant predictors of the children's ethnicity were the parental and environmental factors, rather than the schools.

The multivariate analysis indicated that after the outcome measures were adjusted for the effects of parental ethnicity and other factors outside the schools, there was a significant difference between the children who attended parochial schools and those from secular schools. The discriminant vector shows that the most notable differences between the two is that the secular children emphatically agree that being Jewish is important to them, they have a more positive image of the Jewish people, and they are more inclined to believe that God hears their prayers. The first two factors are best conceptualized as emotional or attitudinal components of ethnicity. The results on the question relating to God may be

interpreted to mean that the question elicited an emotional response, such as one based on faith, rather than a cognitive one. In that sense, one can say that the secularly educated children manifest a stronger positive set of emotional responses toward Jewish identity than the children from parochial schools. The psychological literature refers to such emotionally charged responses as attitudes (Kagan and Segal, 1988). Thus we may say that secular Jewish students have a stronger positive attitude toward Jewish identity than their parochial counterparts.

On the other hand, the parochial students are more supportive of parochial education, are more supportive of the State of Israel, and are more in agreement with the idea of Jewish kinship. What these factors appear to have in common is that they represent the ideology of the group. It seems that the parochial students are repeating what they have been taught of the tenets of their culture, without including the appropriate emotional or attitudinal components. In contrast,

the secular students respond with the attitudinal components, even though they may not be as supportive of the group's ideology.

Attitudes are deeply ingrained responses that appear to constitute a basic part of the personality (Kagan and Segal, 1988). They are acquired as part of the socialization process, they tend to influence us throughout life, and they are quite resistant to change. It is the endurance quality of attitudes that distinguishes them from the more superficial and transient cognitive factors. Attitudinal theory suggests that if an ethnic group seeks to ensure its ethnic boundary in the future, it must inculcate in its progeny the appropriate attitudinal components of ethnicity so that the children will commit themselves to preserving the ethnic identity.

It is in light of the above that we may conclude that the product of the parochial Jewish schools are children who are knowledgeable of their culture, but without the emotional committment to

its preservation. On the other hand, secularly educated children show a high level of ethnicity in the sense that they are strongly committed to their ethnic identity - an attitude that should translate into life-long behaviour intended to maintain the ethnic boundary.

The theories of Gay (1978, 1982, 1983, 1985), Banks (1977, 1981) and their predecessor, predict that the parochial school is instrumental in promoting ethnicity in children. The parochial school has the specific mandate to inculcate ethnicity, yet the results of this study indicated that the children in parochial schools appear to have a lower level of ethnicity than those in public secular schools. The consequent conclusion is that the parochial school is not a significant agent in ensuring ethnicity in children. Instead of the parochial school, it appears that it is the home environment, and perhaps the ethnic community as a whole, that inculcates ethnicity in its progeny through immersion in its cultural practices.

There exist several other studies that parallel the conclusion reached in this study. These studies examined the effects of Jewish education on social outcome variables, such as retention of cultural practices, endogamy, and commitment to ethnic institutions, as opposed to the intrapsychic measures used in this study. Their conclusions, supported by this study, are best summarized by the excerpt from the Task Force Report on the Future of the Jewish Community in America, which states that there is evidence that:

> "...formal school experience is not the best vehicle for identity formation by comparison with programs of family education, communal service, or planned Jewish experience" (Glickman, 1977, pg. 20).

The parochial school may serve to impart the cognitive aspects of the group's traditions (i.e. its legends, holidays, rituals, etc.), but this knowledge by itself is not sufficient to produce ethnicity. As Ackerman (1972) points out, we must distinguish between the Jew who is learned in Jewish culture and the Jew who has internalized

the Jewish culture and is then prepared to make a commitment to its maintenance.

However, knowledge of the culture would appear to be a prerequisite for identification. This suggests that both the school and the ethnic community can work in symbiosis to effect ethnicity, but that the school alone is insufficient in this regard. Furthermore, given a community that provides alternatives to formal education as a means of imparting its customs, the school may not even be necessary for the development of ethnicity.

Another function of the parochial school may be to focus ethnic identity in the community. It may act as a symbol of the group's cohesiveness and distinctiveness. In this light, enrolling a child in parochial school might function, for some families, much like ritual behaviour. Such ritual behaviours bring together members of the ethnic group in a common celebration or cause, thereby reinforcing a family's sense of connection with

the larger ethnic community (Bird, 1986). Family attendance at synagogue on the Jewish High Holidays is another example of a ritual behaviour that serves a function similar to what is proposed for the school. A large number of non-observant Jews attend synagogue on these days. They are engaged with their fellow Jews in similar activities, thereby strengthening their sense of connection with the community. Glickman (1977) addresses this conceptualization of the parochial school when he maintains that the school is ethnicity's outcome and not its creator.

On the level of the individual child, the parochial school may offer a more appropriate social support network at the various stages of ethnicity development. Gay (1983) likens this type of intervention to the "readiness" model of education, whereby the school intervenes with an appropriate program when the child is ready to process a transition to a new period in its development. The agenda is grounded in the hypothesis that if timely support is provided for

the child, a heightened level of general self-concept may result, which some research has established as a causal agent in academic achievement (Shavelson, et al., 1980).

In addition to focusing the community's ethnicity and enhancing self-concept in the child, the parochial school may attract clients because enrollment there is identified with higher socio-economic status. Since the parochial school is privately owned, and enrollment involves considerable financial commitment on the part of the family, children may be sent to the school as a way of showing the community that the family is well off financially. This suspicion is corroborated by the fact that the Ashkenazi parents in this study who sent their children to parochial schools were themselves significantly better educated than their confreres who did not, and, hence, may possess a higher standard of living. The Sephardi parents did not show the relationship between parental education and the choice of schooling for their children. This may

indicate that the hypothesis that the choice of parochial education is linked to socio-economic status is not supported. Another explanation might lie in the fact that almost all the Sephardi parents are immigrants to Canada. If they acquired their education in their countries of origin, that education might not accepted on an equal level with a Canadian education. Hence, the level of education acquired by the Sephardi parent might not translate into socio-economic status. Furthermore, the Sephardi parents who did send their children to parochial schools were significantly older than all the other parents. This may indicate that, after immigrating to Canada, they waited to establish a better economic situation for themselves before having their children. If this action translated into higher socio-economic status, it would support the hypothesis that school choice is linked to socio-economic status. This issue requires clarification through further research.

The above discussion leads to the conclusion that the school reflects the general social forces at play in the society at large. Thus, in the case of the Jews in this study, the school may be a mirror of minority-majority group interactions found outside the school. An overview of the theory of minority-majority relations, concurrent with the results of this study, strongly supports such a judgment. Kurt Lewin (Rinder, 1970) conceives of centripetal forces that maintain a person within the ethnic boundary, and centrifugal forces that act to transport that person across the boundary. Lewin's ideas blend with the frameworks generally proposed for minority group reactions to minority status (Rose, 1964; Rinder, 1970). The authors propose that a minority group may relate to the majority by (1) submission to inferior status, (2) withdrawal from their own ethnicity and denigration of their ethnic self-image, (3) avoidance of the majority group, concommitant with increasing defense of the ethnic boundary, and (4) integration with the majority group, with demands

that the majority group accept them as equals. The pattern that will be chosen depends on the ratio of centripetal and centrifugal forces from within the minority acting on the individuals in relation to the same forces generated from the majority.

The Jewish children attending secular schools appear to have a greater level of ethnic identity than those receiving a parochial education, a fact that may indicate a need among the secularly enrolled children to defend the ethnic boundary more fiercely in the face of external stress. Using the terminology of Lewin's theoretical framework, one can say the Jewish children enrolled in secular schools appear to manifest an "avoidance reaction" to their minority status in the public schools. They have increased their defense of the ethnic boundary as a need to react to some subtle, perceived threat to their ethnic identity from the non-Jewish majority combined with the powerful centripetal forces of home, friends, and community.

The reaction pattern of the Sephardi ethnic subgroup is further complicated by the fact that the Sephardi Jews represent a minority group within the overall Jewish minority. Although Sephardi children in public secular schools appear to react to their minority status within the non-Jewish community in the same way as the Ashkenazi children, adult Sephardi Jews have a significantly higher intermarriage rate with non-Jews compared to the Ashkenazi Jews (Lasry, 1975). This would indicate that defense of the ethnic boundary is subordinated later in life to more powerful needs in the Sephardi sub-group.

These needs arise from the fact that the Sepha li face the task of simultaneously accommodating themselves to the Ashkenazi and non-Jewish majorities. Lewin's theory predicts that the members of a group, thwarted in their attempt to assimilate, would develop a poor image of their ethnic group (Rinder, 1970). Furthermore, faced with a reduced group image and an insufficiently gratifying relationship with other members of the

group to which the person believes he or she belongs, Lewin predicts that the defense of the ethnic boundary will be weakened. In such cases, should the entrance into another majority be relatively uncomplicated, the ethnic boundary will be crossed. This is exactly what happens in the case of the Sephardi Jews.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, the Sephardi Jews in Quebec are well equipped to cross the ethnic boundary to the non-Jewish majority. Most were already highly acculturated to the French hosts in their mother countries before they came to Canada. In keeping with Lewin's theory, one can predict that, faced with discrimination from the Ashkenazi Jews and the relative ease of acculturating to the non-Jewish community, Sephardi Jews would have a poorer image of the Jewish community, and that this factor could translate into a higher exogamy rate.

The results of this study conform to this prediction. The desire by the Sephardi to join the

larger Jewish community is manifested by the importance they place on being Jewish, their espousal of endogamy, and their belief in Jewish communality and kinship. The Sephardi Jews' attempt to integrate with the Ashkenazi majority is also apparent from the former group's anglicization. Although very few of the Sephardi parents spoke English at birth, the Sephardi families are rapidly becoming anglicized. This is occurring despite the fact that French is the language used in all the schools attended by the children in this study. Since the Ashkenazi sub-group is overwhelmingly English speaking, the results indicate an attempt by the Sephardi to acculturate to the Ashkenazi majority. The attempt of the Sephardi Jews to integrate with the Ashkenazi Jews is rebuffed by the Ashkenazi Jews; the discrimination the Sephardi Jews experience at the hands of the Ashkenazi Jews is well documented (Directions'80, 1980). As predicted, their rejection by the Ashkenazi majority has been translated into a poorer image of the Jewish

people. These results, along with the high exogamy rate for Sephardi Jews (over 50%), supports Lewin's theory.

The overwhelming gestalt that emerges from the data is of social forces in action that are reflected in the school and best explained by Lewin's theories of centripetal and centrifugal forces related to minority-majority group relationships. This supports the conflict theory model of formal education.

Summary Conclusions

1. Formal parochial education does not appear to effect an enduring increase in children's ethnicity.

2. The significant mediators in ethnicity development are home life and community involvement.

3. Enrollment in parochial schools may serve to signify a group's attempt to be distinctive in the same fashion as a ritual behaviour. It may

reinforce a family's sense of belonging to the ethnic community through shared activities and the common cause of promoting Jewish education.

4. Enrollment in parochial school may reflect class consciousness among the group members. Since the parochial schools are privately owned and expensive, sending a child to such a school may impute increased socio-economic status to the family.

5. Jewish children in public schools are reacting to some subtle threat to their ethnicity by increased defense of their ethnic boundary. They demonstrated this by increasing their positive emotional commitmment to their ethnic identity.

6. Thwarted in their attempt to join the Ashkenazi majority, the Sephardi Jews have adopted the minority group response patterns of a minority group within a minority, in line with the theoretical predictions of Lewin. The Sephardi children show a lower image of the Jewish people,

and Sephardi adults have a higher intermarriage rate compared to Ashkenazi adults.

7. The conflict theory model of relating education to society appears to more adequately explain the results of this study than the functionalist-structuralist perspective.

8. Kurt Lewin's theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces in the maintenance of ethnic boundaries, coupled with the theory proposed by Rose (1964) and Rinder (1970) of four categories of minority group reaction to a majority group, adequately explain the results of this study.

Suggestions for Further Research

This preliminary study needs to be repeated on samples from other Jewish communities, especially those outside of Montreal. Comparison of the results from the various communities might indicate differences that reflect the social settings in which each community finds itself. This would further support the conflict theory

perspective that the school reflects the society at large.

This study suggests that ethnicity can best be inculcated in children by a community that immerses its children in the group's cultural practices, regardless of whether formal education is, or is not, used to teach the culture. Further verification of this thesis could be forthcoming from studies that compare the level of ethnicity in children within ethnic groups that depend mainly on formal education to maintain ethnic identity, to those that depend on group cultural practice, and to those that depend on both.

The possibility exists that enrolling children in a parochial school may serve to focus the family's attachment to the ethnic group in the same fashion as ritual behaviours. This suggests that parochial schools that involve the family unit as a whole in a large variety of activities would augment the level of ethnicity in the members of the family to

a greater extent than those schools that are restricted to educating the young.

Another possibility is that sending a child to parochial school, which is private and expensive, serves as social confirmation of a family's affluence. A study that examines the relationship of parental socio-economic status and their choice of schooling for the children would clarify this point.

The "readiness" theory of ethnicity proposed by Gay (1983, 1985) suggests that proper reinforcement of a child's stages of ethnicity development could result in higher self-esteem and, hence, improved academic achievement. Empirical verification of this hypothesis would have important impacts on curriculum design for the classroom.

Ethnicity, as defined in this study, is an intrapsychic variable that is a part of the person's self-identity. Hence, ethnicity is a part of the personality of the individual. The

conclusion of this study was that the school is not the significant factor in the development of ethnicity. This begs the question of whether the school is able to effect the development of any aspect of personality. For example, if a person's value system is considered to be part of the personality, it would be important to determine whether moral education in primary school increases morality. One need not stress the importance of this issue for educational policies and curriculum design.

APPENDIX A

LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION

McGill
University

ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY STUDIES IN EDUCATION

10 April 1985

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing on behalf of Mr. Jack Hirschberg who is a doctoral student in the Department of Administration and Policy Studies at McGill. Mr. Hirschberg is conducting his doctoral research on parental and children's attitudes toward religious schooling in the Jewish community of Montreal. The dissertation will examine the motivations of parents, and the benefits which their children obtain from such schooling. Much attention is being given to the increasing importance of religious schooling in Montreal and elsewhere in North America. Mr. Hirschberg's dissertation will, I think, make significant contribution to an understanding of how Jewish education is carried out at home and in the school.

My purpose in writing is to ask for your assistance in enabling Mr. Hirschberg to collect information for his dissertation. Mr. Hirschberg is a very able student, one of the best I have taught and supervised in ten years at McGill. He is thoughtful, insightful and has shown the imagination necessary for an outstanding scholarly career.

I would greatly appreciate whatever assistance you might be able to provide to Mr. Hirschberg to facilitate his doctoral research.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Thomas O. Eisemon

Thomas O. Eisemon
Professor

TE:lk

Postal address 3724 McTavish Street, Montreal PQ, Canada H3A 1Y2

CONGREGATION BETH TIKVAH
6 WESTPARK BLVD., DOLLARD DES ORMEAUX H9A 2K2
683-5610

April 17, 1985

To Whom It May Concern:

I am pleased to present Mr. Jack Hirschberg to you as a doctoral student in the Department of Administration and Policy Studies at McGill University. Mr. Hirschberg is presently researching attitudes and other factors which enter into decision-making as to the choice of educational direction for children. The results of this research will hopefully give insight as to the relationship, if any, between the home, its environment, and the actual form of Jewish education.

We urge you to extend to Mr. Hirschberg every possible assistance in gathering the pertinent data whose results could have possible long term ramifications for the direction of Jewish education in our community. Mr. Hirschberg is personally involved in the organized Jewish community and his children have been and still are involved in positive Jewish educational programs. The information he will be gathering will be used professionally and discretely for the sole purpose of a scholarly research doctoral dissertation. This type of professional endeavour is certainly worthy of our total co-operation.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I remain,

Yours very truly,

Rabbi Dr. Mordecai E. Zeitz

APPENDIX B

SECULAR AND PAROCHIAL EDUCATION OF ASHKENAZI AND SEPHARDI JEWISH CHILDREN IN MONTREAL: A STUDY IN ETHNICITY

PARENTAL INTERVIEW FORM -MOTHER

1) MARITAL STATUS:
   1-married 2-other

2) IS THE CHILD YOU HAVE IN GRADE 6 THE NATURAL CHILD OF YOU AND YOUR PRESENT HUSBAND?
   1-yes 2-no

3) ARE YOU ASHKENAZI, SEPHARDI, CONVERTED JEW, OR OTHER (SPECIFY):_____
   1-ashkenazi 2-sephardi 3-other

4) DATE OF BIRTH (MM,DD,YY):_____

5) PLACE OF BIRTH:
   01-canada 02-u.s.a.
   03-israel 04-north africa
   05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
   06-east europe (east of germany)
   07-west europe (germany incl.)
   08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
   10-other

6) IN WHAT YEAR WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN?_____

7) IN WHAT YEAR WAS YOUR FATHER BORN?_____

8) BIRTHPLACE OF YOUR MOTHER:
   01-canada 02-u.s.a.
   03-israel 04-north africa
   05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
   06-east europe (east of germany)
   07-west europe (germany incl.)
   08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
   10-other

9) BIRTHPLACE OF YOUR FATHER:
01-canada 02-u.s.a.
03-israel 04-north africa
05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
06-east europe (east of germany)
07-west europe (germany incl.)
08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
10-other

10) HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION HAVE YOU COMPLETED?_____

11) WHAT IS THE HIGHEST DEGREE YOU ACHIEVED?
1-none 2-elementary/primary
3-high school 4-cegep/junior college
5-bachelor 6-masters
7-doctorate 8-professional (md, etc)
9-technical/certificate/diploma

12) HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE?_____

13) WHAT KIND OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE? (PROMPT: DAY SCHOOL, AFTERNOON, SUNDAY, TUTOR, OTHER-SPECIFY):_____
1-none 2-day school
3-afternoon/tutor (>1/week & not bar/bat prep)
4-sunday (1/week)
5-tutor (only for bar/bat preparation)
6-other

14) HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION? (PROMPT: ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE REFORM, AGNOSTIC, AETHEIST, OTHER-SPECIFY):_____
1-orthodox 2-conservative
3-reform 4-agnostic
5-aetheist 6-other

HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS?

15) Men and women should be allowed to sit next to each other in the synagogue during services.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

16) Women should be allowed to be rabbis.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

17) Men should be allowed to pray in the synagogue without a head covering if they wish.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

18) A microphone system should be used during services to make the voice of the chazzan louder.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

19) WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE?
1-english 2-french
3-hebrew 4-yiddish
5-ladino 6-arabic
7-spanish 8-other

20) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK HEBREW?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

21) HOW WELL DO YOU READ HEBREW?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

22) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK LADINO?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

23) HOW WELL DO YOU READ LADINO?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

24) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

25) HOW WELL DO YOU READ YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

26) Jews everywhere must do all they can to help Israel survive.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

27) Being Jewish is very important to me.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

28) It is alright for Jews to marry non-Jews.
1-disagree strongly
2-disagree
3-agree
4-agree strongly

29) Jewish people everywhere have a lot in common.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

30) Every Jewish child should have a Jewish education.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

31) All Jews are related to one another.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

32) God hears our prayers.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

33) PLEASE GIVE 20 STATEMENTS TO THE QUESTION: "WHO ARE YOU?"

1.	11.
2.	12.
3.	13.
4.	14.
5.	15.
6.	16.
7.	17.
8.	18.
9.	19.
10.	20.

34) WHAT PROPORTION OF THE PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD ARE JEWISH?

1-none or very few
2-some
3-most
4-all or almost all

35) WHAT PROPORTION OF YOUR HUSBAND'S AND YOUR FRIENDS ARE JEWISH?

1-none or very few
2-some
3-most
4-all or almost all

36) TO WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS DO YOU AND/OR YOUR SPOUSE BELONG?

1. allied jewish community services
2. jewish public library
3. canadian zionist federation
4. synangogue
5. ymha/ywha
6. ort
7. haddasah/wizo
8. mizrachi
9. a jewish philanthropic organization (specify):_____
10. a jewish study group (specify):_____
11. a jewish education advisory association (specify):_____
12. other (specify):_____

TOTAL:_____

37) WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING ITEMS CAN BE FOUND IN YOUR HOME ON A REGULAR BASIS?

1. siddur
2. talmud
3. machzor
4. chumash
5. shulchan aruch
6. jewish calendar
7. books on the history & culture of the Jews
8. books written in hebrew other than holy books
9. books written in yiddish
10. books written in ladino
11. newspaper or magazine written in yiddish
12. newspaper or magazine written in ladino
13. newspaper or magazine written in hebrew
14. english newspapers or magazines devoted to jewish topics

TOTAL:_____

38) APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY TIMES IN THE PAST YEAR HAVE YOU BEEN TO SYNAGOGUE FOR SERVICES OR OTHER RELIGIOUS REASONS?_____

39) ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST:

+adj #:_____ -adj #:_____

PARENTAL INTERVIEW FORM - FATHER

1) ARE YOU ASHKENAZI, SEPHARDI, CONVERTED JEW, OR OTHER (SPECIFY):_____
1-ashkenazi 2-sephardi 3-other

2) DATE OF BIRTH (MM,DD,YY):_____

3) PLACE OF BIRTH:
01-canada 02-u.s.a.
03-israel 04-north africa
05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
06-east europe (east of germany)
07-west europe (germany incl.)
08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
10-other

4) IN WHAT YEAR WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN?_____

5) IN WHAT YEAR WAS YOUR FATHER BORN?_____

6) BIRTHPLACE OF YOUR MOTHER:
01-canada 02-u.s.a.
03-israel 04-north africa
05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
06-east europe (east of germany)
07-west europe (germany incl.)
08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
10-other

7) BIRTHPLACE OF YOUR FATHER:
01-canada 02-u.s.a.
03-israel 04-north africa
05-other mideast nation (north africa excl.)
06-east europe (east of germany)
07-west europe (germany incl.)
08-u.s.s.r. 09-latin & south america
10-other

8) HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION HAVE YOU COMPLETED?_____

9) WHAT IS THE HIGHEST DEGREE YOU ACHIEVED?
1-none 2-elementary/primary
3-high school 4-cegep/junior college
5-bachelor 6-masters
7-doctorate 8-professional (md, etc)
9-technical/certificate/diploma

10) HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE?_____

11) WHAT KIND OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE? (PROMPT: DAY SCHOOL, AFTERNOON, SUNDAY, TUTOR, OTHER-SPECIFY):_____
1-none 2-day school
3-afternoon/tutor (>1/week & not bar/bat prep)
4-sunday (1/week)
5-tutor (only for bar/bat preparation)
6-other

12) HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE YOUR RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION? (PROMPT: ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE, REFORM, AGNOSTIC, AETHEIST, OTHER-SPECIFY):_____
1-orthodox 2-conservative
3-reform 4-agnostic
5-aetheist 6-other

HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS?

13) Men and women should be allowed to sit next to each other in the synagogue during services.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

14) Women should be allowed to be rabbis.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

15) Men should be allowed to pray in the synagogue without a head covering if they wish.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

16) A microphone system should be used during services to make the voice of the chazzan louder.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

17) WHAT IS YOUR MOTHER TONGUE?
1-english 2-french
3-hebrew 4-yiddish
5-ladino 6-arabic
7-spanish 8-other

18) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK HEBREW?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all
19) HOW WELL DO YOU READ HEBREW?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

20) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK LADINO?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all
21) HOW WELL DO YOU READ LADINO?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

22) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all
23) HOW WELL DO YOU READ YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

24) Jews everywhere must do all they can to help Israel survive.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly
25) Being Jewish is very important to me.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

26) It is alright for Jews to marry non-Jews.
1-disagree strongly
2-disagree
3-agree
4-agree strongly

27) Jewish people everywhere have a lot in common.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

28) Every Jewish child should have a Jewish education.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

29) All Jews are related to one another.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

30) God hears our prayers.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

31) APPROXIMATELY HOW MANY TIMES IN THE PAST YEAR HAVE YOU BEEN TO SYNAGOGUE FOR SERVICES OR OTHER RELIGIOUS REASONS?_____

32) PLEASE GIVE 20 STATEMENTS TO THE QUESTION: "WHO ARE YOU?"

1.	11.
2.	12.
3.	13.
4.	14.
5.	15.
6.	16.
7.	17.
8.	18.
9.	19.
10.	20.

33) ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST:
+adj #:_____ -adj #:_____

CHILDREN INTERVIEW FORM

1) WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE MOST OFTEN IN YOUR HOME?
   1-english 2-french
   3-hebrew 4-yiddish
   5-ladino 6-arabic
   7-spanish 8-other

2) WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE MOST OFTEN WHEN PLAYING WITH YOUR FRIENDS?
   1-english 2-french
   3-hebrew 4-yiddish
   5-ladino 6-arabic
   7-spanish 8-other

3) OF ALL YOUR FRIENDS, WHAT PROPORTION ARE JEWISH?
   1-none or almost none
   2-few
   3-most
   4-all or almost all

4) HOW MANY YEARS OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE?_____

5) WHAT KIND OF FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION DID YOU HAVE? (PROMPT: DAY SCHOOL, AFTERNOON, SUNDAY, TUTOR., OTHER-SPECIFY):_____
   1-none 2-day school
   3-afternoon/tutor (>1/week & not bar/bat prep)
   4-sunday (1/week)
   5-tutor (only for bar/bat preparation)
   6-other

6) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK HEBREW?
   1-Very well 2-Fair
   3-Poorly 4-Not at all

7) HOW WELL DO YOU READ HEBREW?
   1-Very well 2-Fair
   3-Poorly 4-Not at all

8) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK LADINO?
   1-Very well 2-Fair
   3-Poorly 4-Not at all

9) HOW WELL DO YOU READ LADINO?
   1-Very well 2-Fair
   3-Poorly 4-Not at all

10) HOW WELL DO YOU SPEAK YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

11) HOW WELL DO YOU READ YIDDISH?
1-Very well 2-Fair
3-Poorly 4-Not at all

HOW WOULD YOU RESPOND TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

12) Jews everywhere must do all they can to help Israel survive.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

13) Being Jewish is very important to me.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

14) It is alright for Jews to marry non-Jews.
1-disagree strongly
2-disagree
3-agree
4-agree strongly

15) Jewish people everywhere have a lot in common.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

16) Every Jewish child should have a Jewish education.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

17) All Jews are related to one another.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

18) God hears our prayers.
1-agree strongly
2-agree
3-disagree
4-disagree strongly

19) PLEASE GIVE 20 STATEMENTS TO THE QUESTION: "WHO ARE YOU?"

1.	11.
2.	12.
3.	13.
4.	14.
5.	15.
6.	16.
7.	17.
8.	18.
9.	19.
10.	20.

20) ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST:

+adj #:_____ -adj #:_____

APPENDIX C

VARIABLE DATA

SORTED BY VARIABLE LABEL

VARIABLE LABEL	VARIABLE TYPE	SUBJECT	VARIABLE
EDJF	COVARIATE	FATHER	Qs:10-11-LEVEL OF JEWISH EDUCATION
EDJM	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Qs:12-13-LEVEL OF JEWISH EDUCATION
EDMO	PREDICTOR	CHILD, MOTHER, FATHER	ETHNIC SUBGROUP
EIC1.ISR	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:12-SUPPORT OF ISRAEL
EIC2.IMP	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:13-BEING JEWISH IMPORTANT
EIC3.MAR	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:14-ENDOGAMY
EIC4.COM	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:15-KINSHIP
EIC5.EDU	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:16-JEWISH EDUCATION IMPORTANT
EIC6.KIN	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:17-KINSHIP
EIC7.SAL	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:19-PROJECTIVE DECLARATION OF JEWISHNESS
EIC8.ACL	OUTCOME	CHILD	ACL-IMAGE SCALE
EIF1.ISR	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:24-SUPPORT OF ISRAEL
EIF2.IMP	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:25-BEING JEWISH IMPORTANT
EIF3.MAR	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:26-ENDOGAMY
EIF4.COM	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:27-KINSHIP
EIF5.EDU	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:28-JEWISH EDUCATION IMPORTANT
EIF6.KIN	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:29-KINSHIP
EIF7.SAL	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:32-PROJECTIVE DECLARATION OF JEWISHNESS
EIF8.ACL	COVARIATE	FATHER	ACL-IMAGE SCALE
EIM1.ISR	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:26-SUPPORT OF ISRAEL
EIM2.IMP	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:27-BEING JEWISH IMPORTANT
EIM3.MAR	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:28-ENDOGAMY
EIM4.COM	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:29-KINSHIP
EIM5.EDU	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:30-JEWISH EDUCATION IMPORTANT
EIM6.KIN	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:31-KINSHIP
EIM7.SAL	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:33-PROJECTIVE DECLARATION OF JEWISHNESS
EIM8.ACL	COVARIATE	MOTHER	ACL-IMAGE SCALE
NJTH	COVARIATE	ENVIRONMENT	NUMBER OF JEWISH CULTURAL ITEMS IN HOUSE
NJOG	COVARIATE	ENVIRONMENT	NO. OF JEWISH ORG. PARENTS JOINED
NTIF	COVARIATE	FATHER	NUMBER OF TIMES IN SYNAGOGUE
NTIM	COVARIATE	MOTHER	NUMBER OF TIMES IN SYNAGOGUE
PJFC	COVARIATE	ENVIRONMENT	JEWISH PROPORTION OF CHILD'S FRIENDS
PJIN	COVARIATE	ENVIRONMENT	PROPORTION OF JEWS IN NEIGHBOURHOOD
PJPF	COVARIATE	ENVIRONMENT	JEWISH PROPORTION OF PARENT'S FRIENDS
RAFA	COVARIATE	FATHER	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION DECLARED BY SUBJECT
RAFI	COVARIATE	FATHER	LEVEL OF RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY (Qs:13-16)

RAMI	COVARIATE	MOTHER	LEVEL OF RELIGIOUS ORTHODOXY (Qs: 15–18)
RAMD	COVARIATE	MOTHER	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION DECLARED BY SUBJECT
RIC1.GOD	OUTCOME	CHILD	Q:18-RELIGIOUS FAITH
RIF1.GOD	COVARIATE	FATHER	Q:30-RELIGIOUS FAITH
RIM1.GOD	COVARIATE	MOTHER	Q:32-RELIGIOUS FAITH
TECH	PREDICTOR	CHILD	PRINCIPLE TYPE OF EDUCATION OF CHILD

APPENDIX D

TABLES AND FIGURES RELATING TO SAMPLE PROFILES

TABLE 1

Year of Birth - Ashkenazi With Child In Secular School

Group	Mean	Median	S.D.	Range	N
Mothers	1946	1946	1.201	1944-1948	25
Fathers	1944	1944	1.234	1941-1947	25
Maternal grandmothers	1917	1917	6.140	1905-1926	22
Maternal grandfathers	1911	1911	5.688	1895-1919	23
Paternal grandmothers	1914	1912	5.800	1904-1928	24
Paternal grandfathers	1911	1911	4.699	1902-1921	24

TABLE 2

Year of Birth - Ashkenazi With Child In Parochial School

Group	Mean	Median	S.D.	Range	N
Mothers	1946	1946	1.656	1943-1949	25
Fathers	1944	1944	1.744	1941-1947	25
Maternal grandmothers	1916	1916	4.840	1909-1928	24
Maternal grandfathers	1913	1914	5.679	1901-1925	24
Paternal grandmothers	1915	1916	4.298	1907-1922	24
Paternal grandfathers	1913	1914	5.069	1902-1922	24

TABLE 3

Year of Birth - Sephardi With Child In Secular School

Group	Mean	Median	S.D.	Range	N
Mothers	1947	1947	3.214	1940-1953	25
Fathers	1944	1944	3.041	1938-1951	25
Maternal grandmothers	1919	1920	8.220	1905-1926	20
Maternal grandfathers	1914	1917	9.657	1896-1928	21
Paternal grandmothers	1916	1916	5.808	1901-1926	17
Paternal grandfathers	1914	1914	6.000	1898-1924	16

TABLE 4

Year of Birth - Sephardi With Child In Parochial School

Group	Mean	Median	S.D.	Range	N
Mothers	1944	1944	3.168	1938-1941	25
Fathers	1941	1942	4.787	1930-1947	25
Maternal grandmothers	1906	1906	3.747	1900-1911	10
Maternal grandfathers	1903	1899	8.745	1896-1920	10
Paternal grandmothers	1907	1906	2.800	1903-1913	12
Paternal grandfathers	1901	1900	3.752	1897-1908	12

TABLE 5

Parental Education – Ashkenazi With Child In Secular School

Degree	Mothers N	Mothers %	Fathers N	Fathers %
None	0	0.0	0	0.0
Primary	0	0.0	0	0.0
Secondary	11	44.0	11	44.0
CEGEP (Junior College)	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bachelor's	8	32.0	6	24.0
Masters	0	0.0	3	12.0
Doctorate	0	0.0	0	0.0
Professional (eg. M.D.)	0	0.0	3	12.0
Certificate/Diploma	6	24.0	2	8.0

TABLE 6

Parental Education – Ashkenazi With Child In Parochial School

Degree	Mothers N	Mothers %	Fathers N	Fathers %
None	0	0.0	0	0.0
Primary	0	0.0	0	0.0
Secondary	1	4.0	4	16.0
CEGEP	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bachelor's	12	48.0	6	24.0
Masters	3	12.0	2	8.0
Doctorate	1	4.0	2	8.0
Professional (eg. M.D.)	2	8.0	8	32.0
Certificate/Diploma	6	24.0	3	12.0

TABLE 7

Parental Education - Sephardi With Child In Secular School

Degree	Mothers N	Mothers %	Fathers N	Fathers %
None	0	0.0	0	0.0
Primary	1	4.0	0	0.0
Secondary	12	48.0	5	20.0
CEGEP(Junior College)	2	8.0	0	0.0
Bachelor's	0	0.0	6	24.0
Masters	0	0.0	2	4.0
Doctorate	1	4.0	2	4.0
Professional (eg. M.D.)	1	4.0	2	4.0
Certificate/Diploma	8	32.0	8	32.0

TABLE 8

Parental Education - Sephardi With Child In Parochial School

Degree	Mothers N	Mothers %	Fathers N	Fathers %
None	0	0.0	0	0.0
Primary	4	16.0	2	8.0
Secondary	7	28.0	2	8.0
CEGEP	3	12.0	3	12.0
Bachelor's	4	16.0	11	44.0
Masters	0	0.0	2	8.0
Doctorate	0	0.0	0	0.0
Professional (eg. M.D.)	0	0.0	1	4.0
Certificate/Diploma	7	28.0	4	16.0

TABLE 9

Child's Formal Parochial Education – Ashkenazi In Secular School

	Type of Schooling					
	None	Full-time	Afternoon (1)	Sunday (2)	Tutor (3)	Other
N	0	0	18	0	7	0
%	0.0	0.0	72.0	0.0	28.0	0.0
Mean number of years	-.-	0.0	6.2	0.0	4.5	0.0
S.D. (number of years)	-.—	0.000	1.003	0.000	1.902	0.000

(1) At least 1 class per week following secular school.
(2) Only one Sunday morning class.
(3) Providing only rudimentary prerequisites for Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah.

TABLE 10

Child's Formal Parochial Education - Ashkenazi In Parochial School

	Type of Schooling					
	None	Full-time	Afternoon (1)	Sunday (2)	Tutor (3)	Other
N	0	25	0	0	0	0
%	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mean number of years	-.-	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
S.D. (number of years)	-.—	0.557	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

(1) At least 1 class per week following secular school.
(2) Only one Sunday morning class.
(3) Providing only rudimentary prerequisites for Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah.

TABLE 11

Child's Formal Parochial Education - Sephardi In Secular School

	Type of Schooling					
	None	Full-time	Afternoon (1)	Sunday (2)	Tutor (3)	Other
N	12	4	9	0	0	0
%	48.0	16.0	36.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mean number of years	-.-	1.3	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
S.D. (number of years)	-.—	0.500	2.088	0.000	0.000	0.000

(1) At least 1 class per week following secular school.
(2) Only one Sunday morning class.
(3) Providing only rudimentary prerequisites for Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah.

TABLE 12

Child's Formal Parochial Education - Sephardi In Parochial School

	Type of Schooling					
	None	Full-time	Afternoon (1)	Sunday (2)	Tutor (3)	Other
N	0	25	0	0	0	0
%	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mean number of years	-.-	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
S.D. (number of years)	-.—	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.577

(1) At least 1 class per week following secular school.
(2) Only one Sunday morning class.
(3) Providing only rudimentary prerequisites for Bar-Mitzvah or Bat-Mitzvah.

FIGURE 1

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF CHILD'S PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS

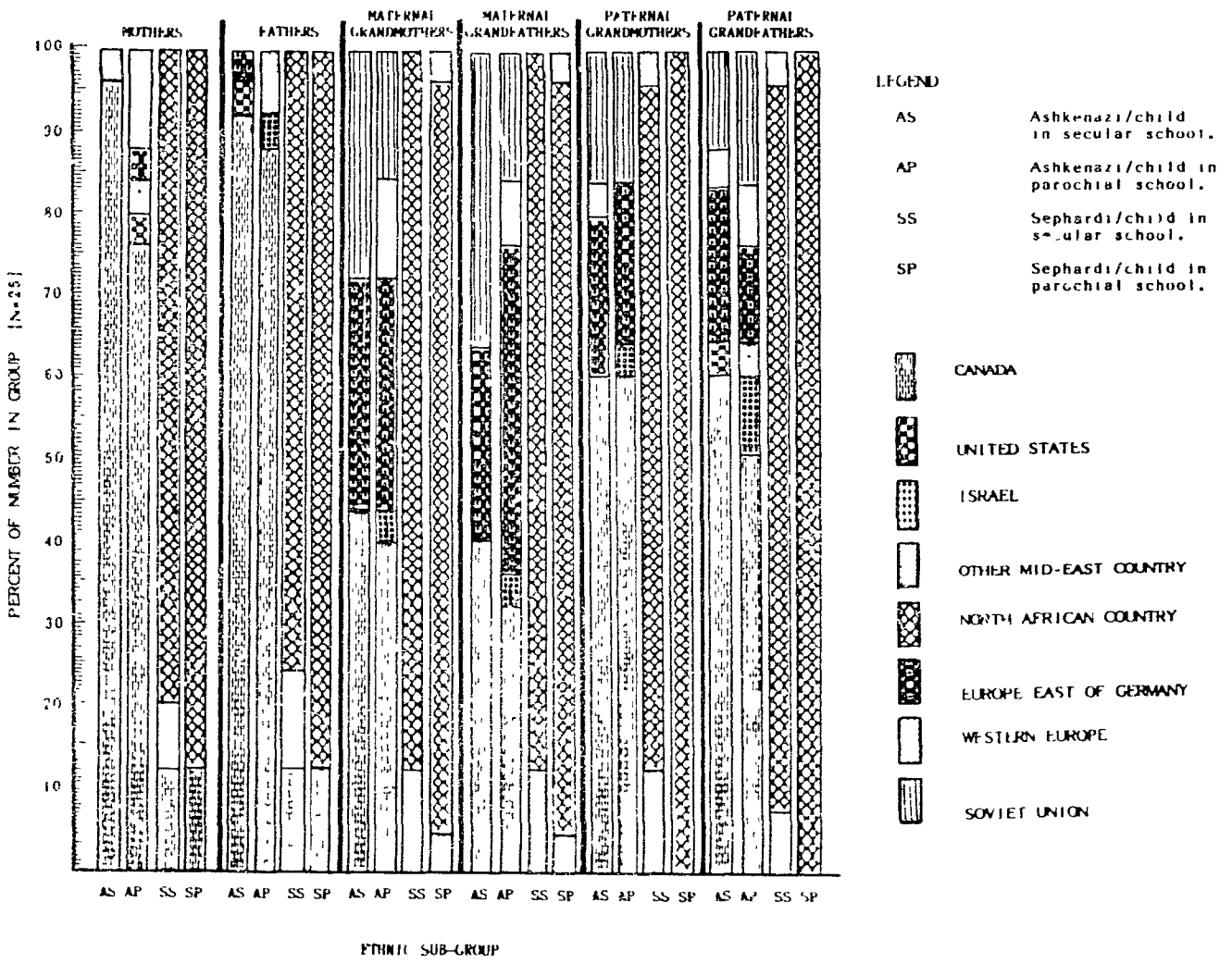


FIGURE 2

LANGUAGE USE OF ASHKENAZI - CHILD IN SECULAR SCHOOLS

FIGURE 3

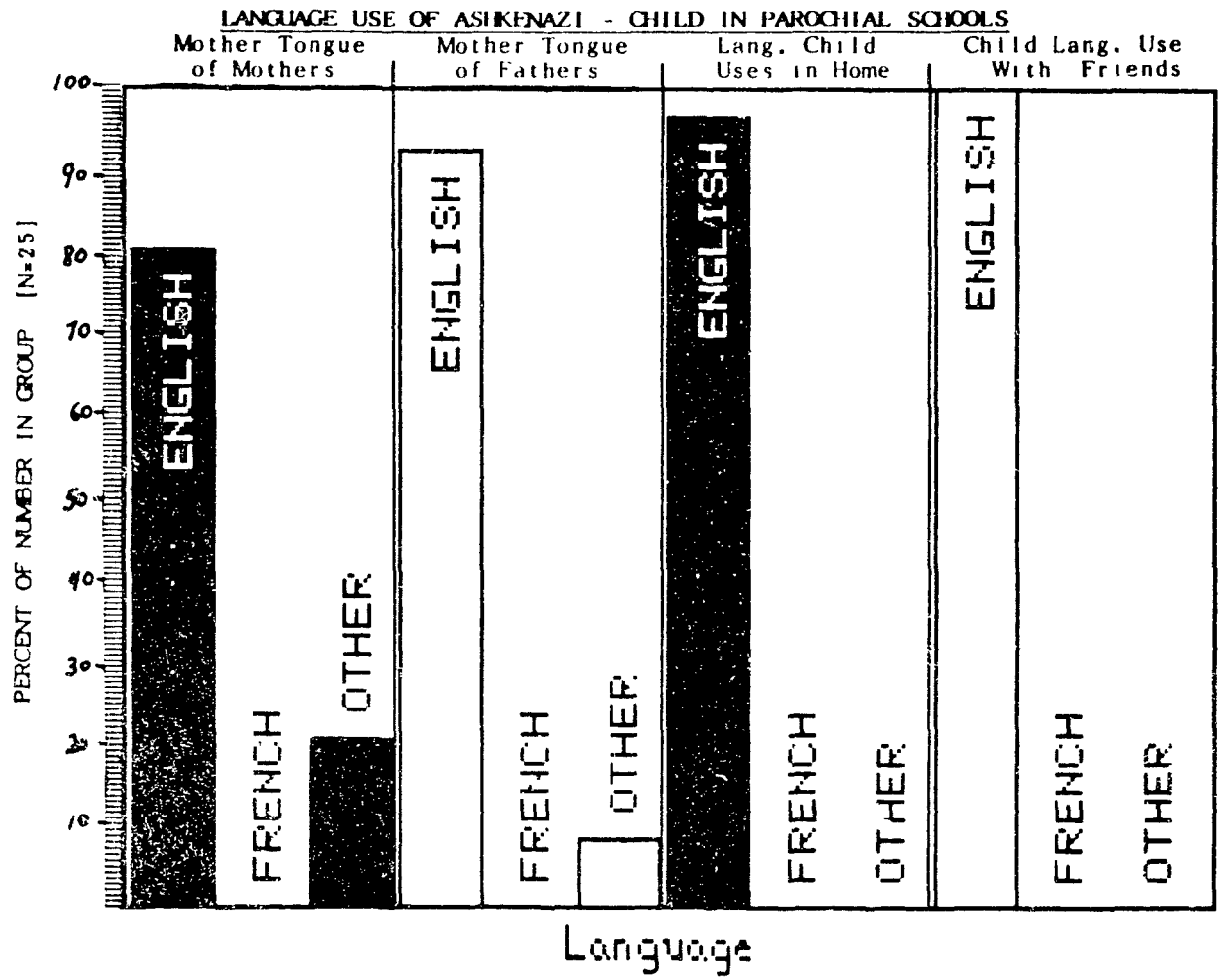

LANGUAGE USE OF ASHKENAZI - CHILD IN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS
Mother Tongue of Mothers
Mother Tongue of Fathers
Lang. Child Uses in Home
Child Lang. Use With Friends
PERCENT OF NUMBER IN GROUP [N=25]
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
Language

FIGURE 4

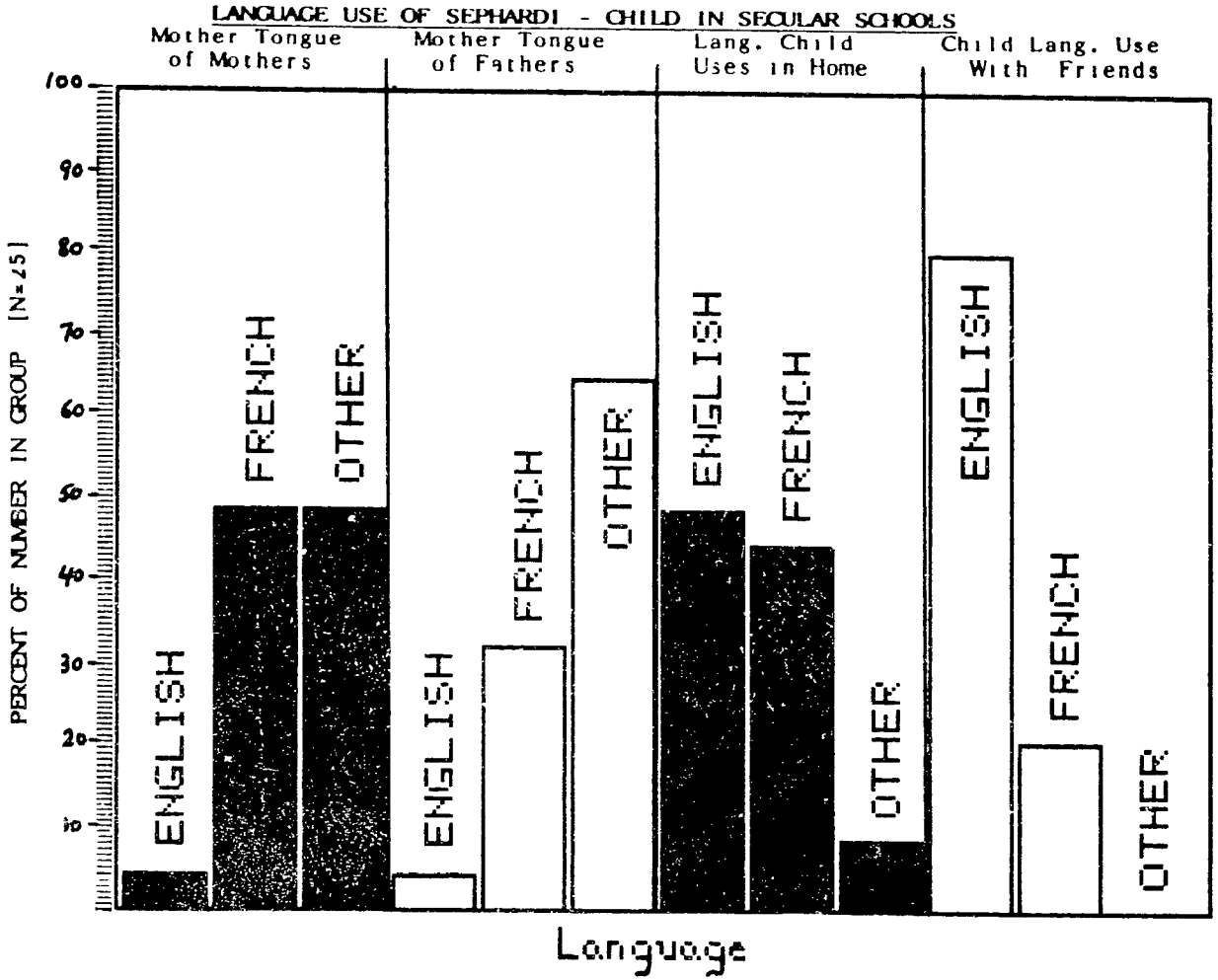

LANGUAGE USE OF SEPHARDI - CHILD IN SECULAR SCHOOLS
Mother Tongue of Mothers
Mother Tongue of Fathers
Lang. Child Uses in Home
Child Lang. Use With Friends
PERCENT OF NUMBER IN GROUP [N=45]
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
Language

FIGURE 5

LANGUAGE USE OF SEPHARDI - CHILD IN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS
Mother Tongue of Mothers
Mother Tongue of Fathers
Lang. Child Uses in Home
Child Lang. Use With Friends
PERCENT OF NUMBER IN GROUP (N=25)
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
ENGLISH
FRENCH
OTHER
Language

FIGURE 6

ORAL PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - MOTHERS

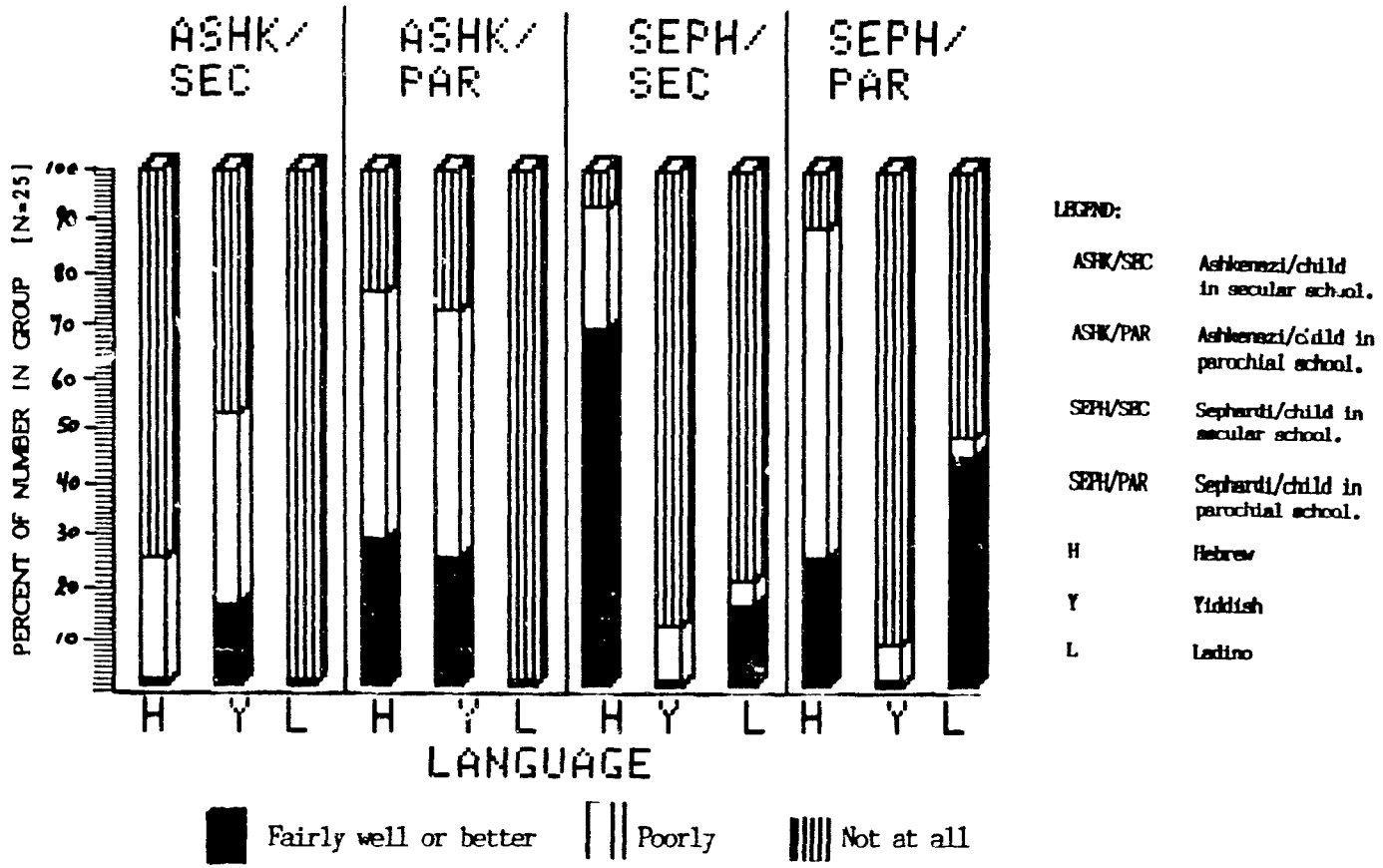


FIGURE 7

ORAL PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - FATHERS

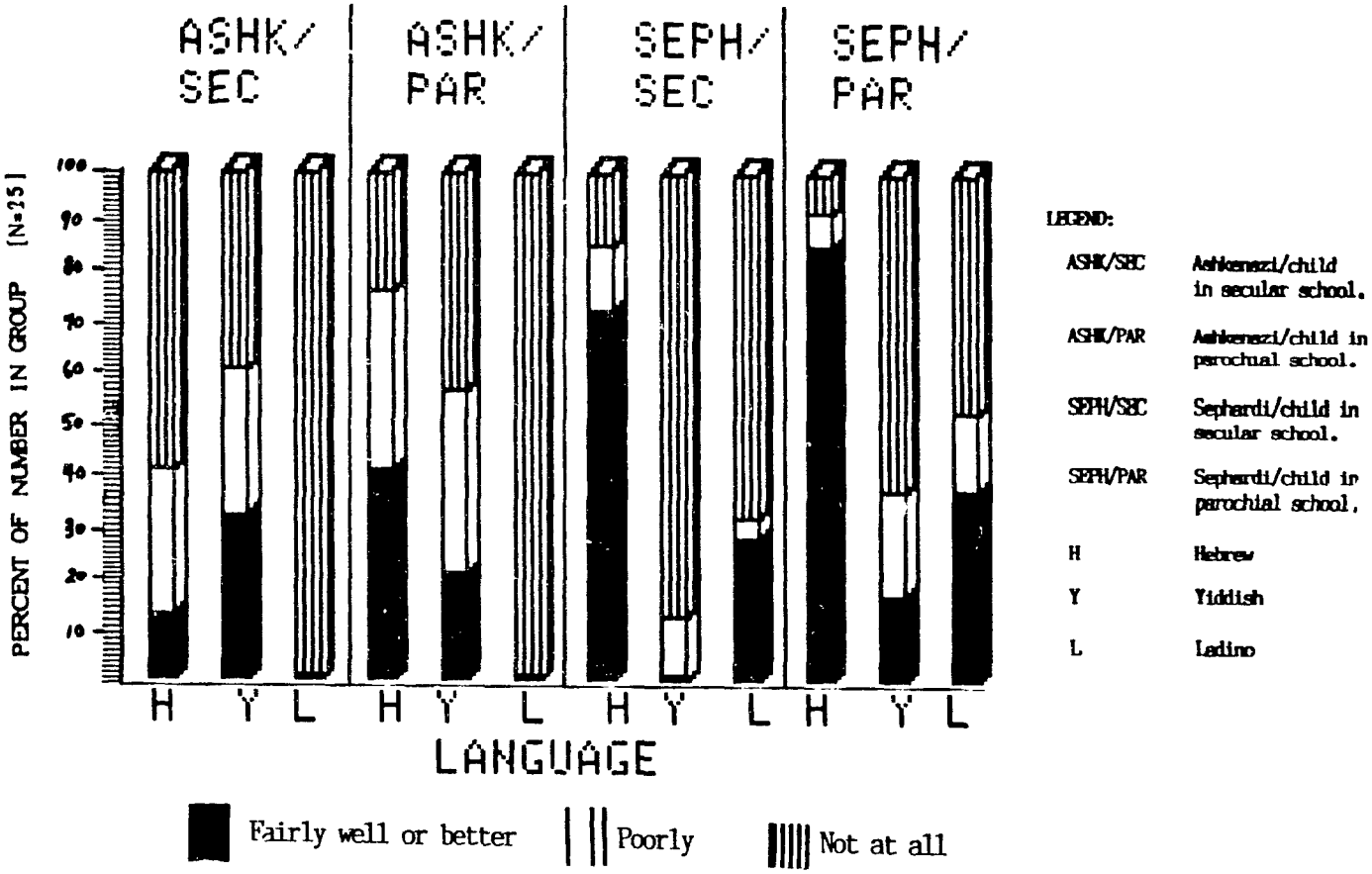
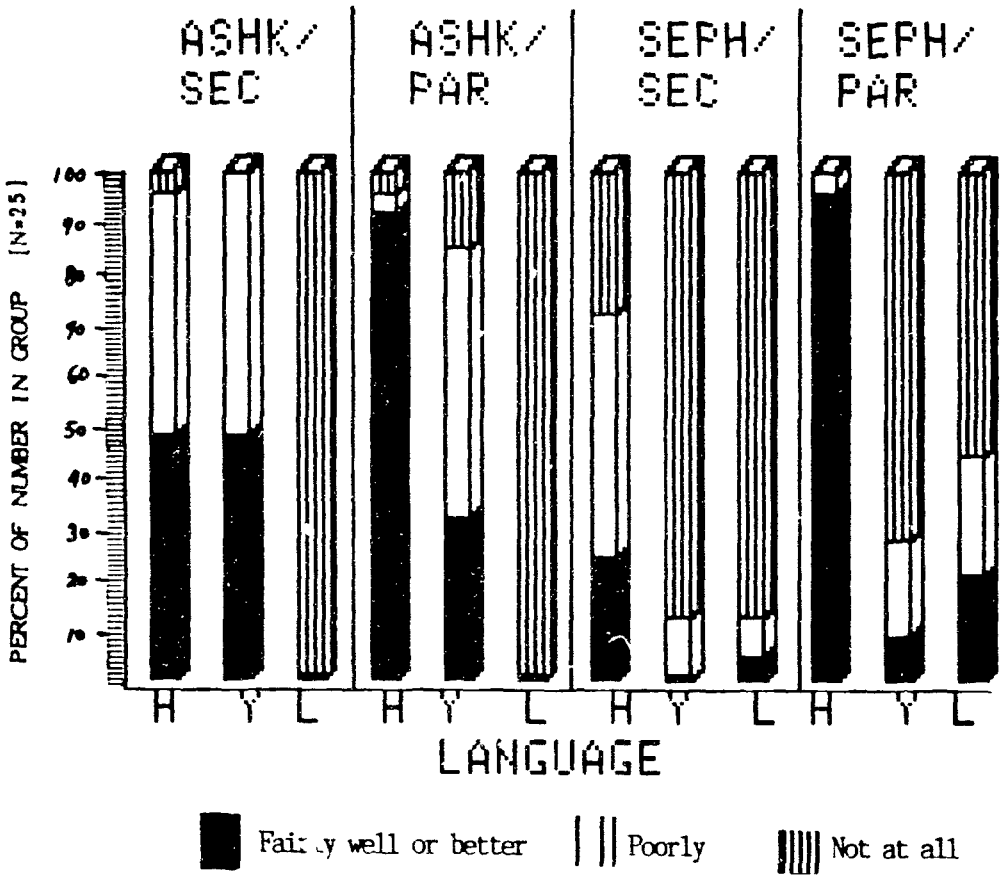


FIGURE 8

ORAL PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - CHILDREN



LEGEND:

ASHK/SEC	Ashkenazi/child in secular school.
ASHK/PAR	Ashkenazi/child in parochial school.
SEPH/SEC	Sephardi/child in secular school.
SEPH/PAR	Sephardi/child in parochial school.
H	Hebrew
Y	Yiddish
L	Ladino

FIGURE 9

WRITTEN PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - MOTHERS

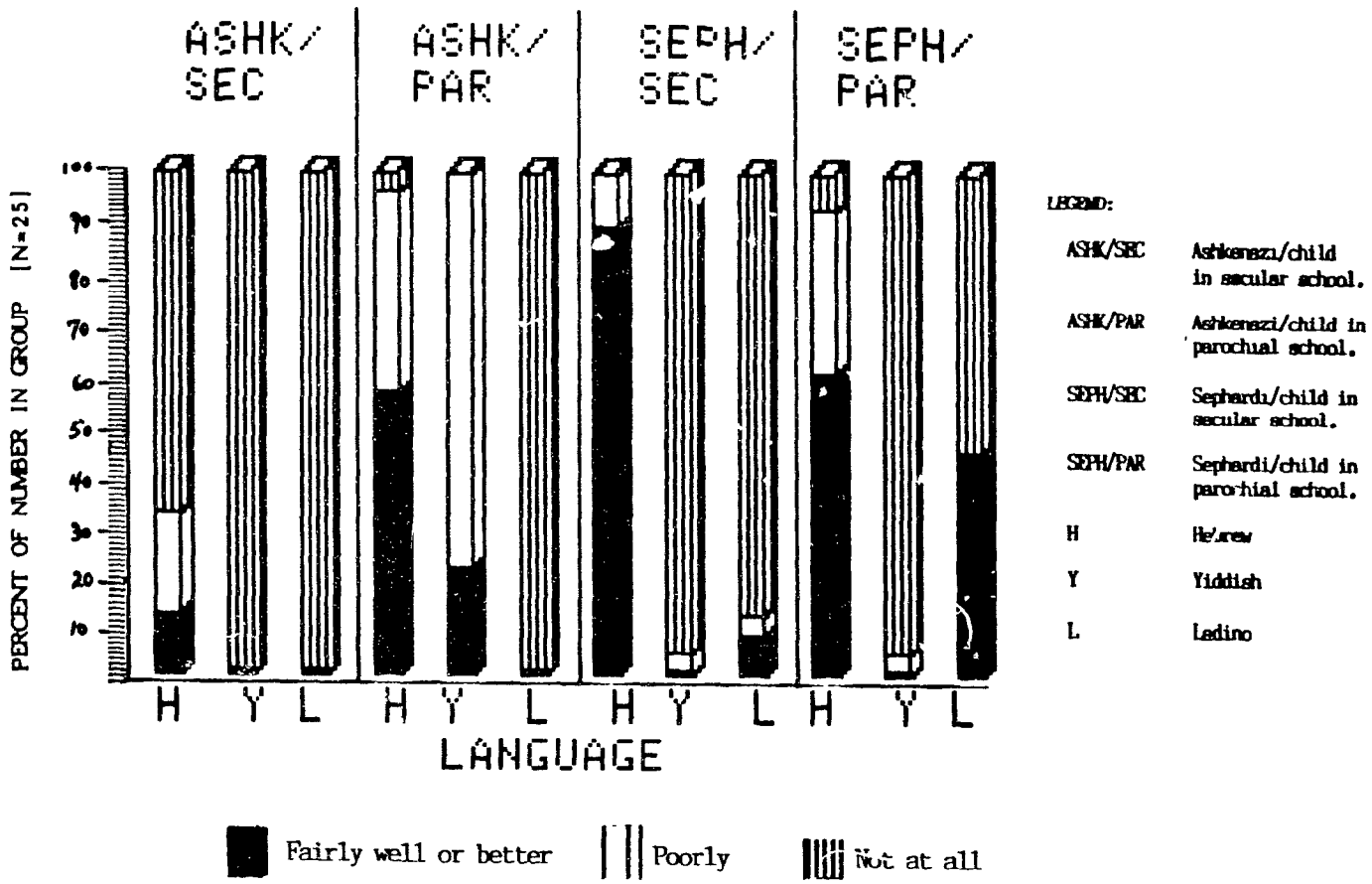
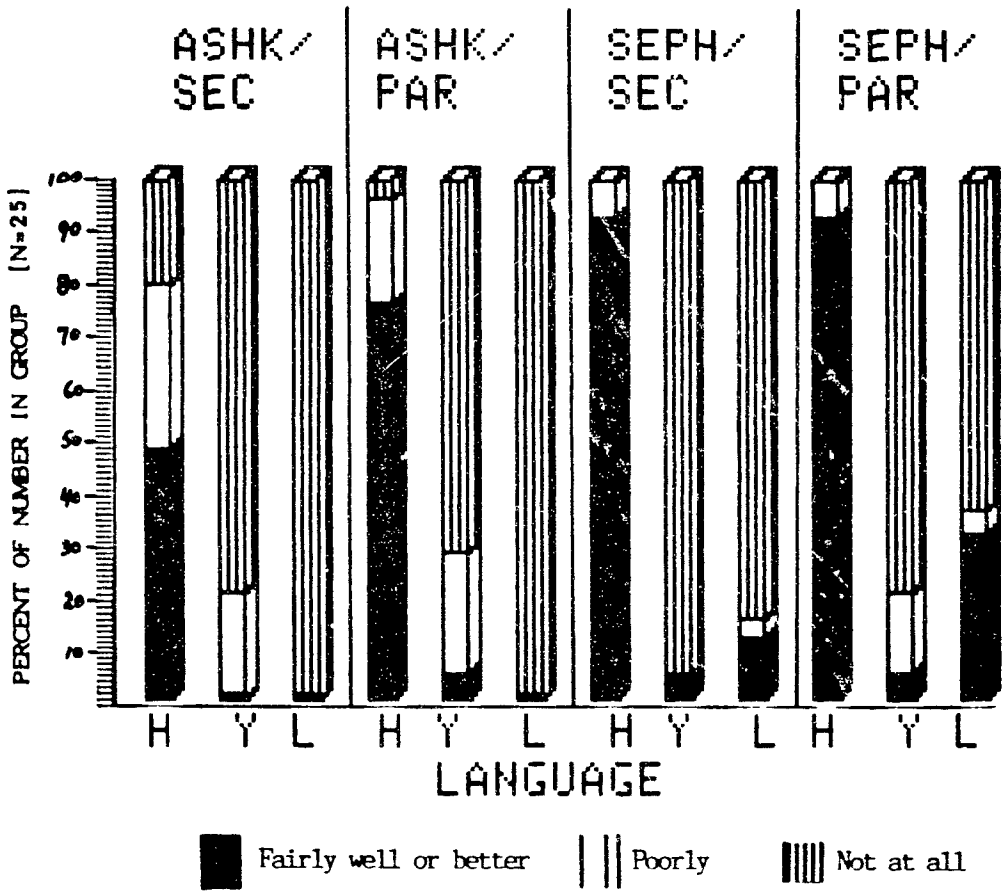


FIGURE 10

WRITTEN PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - FATHERS

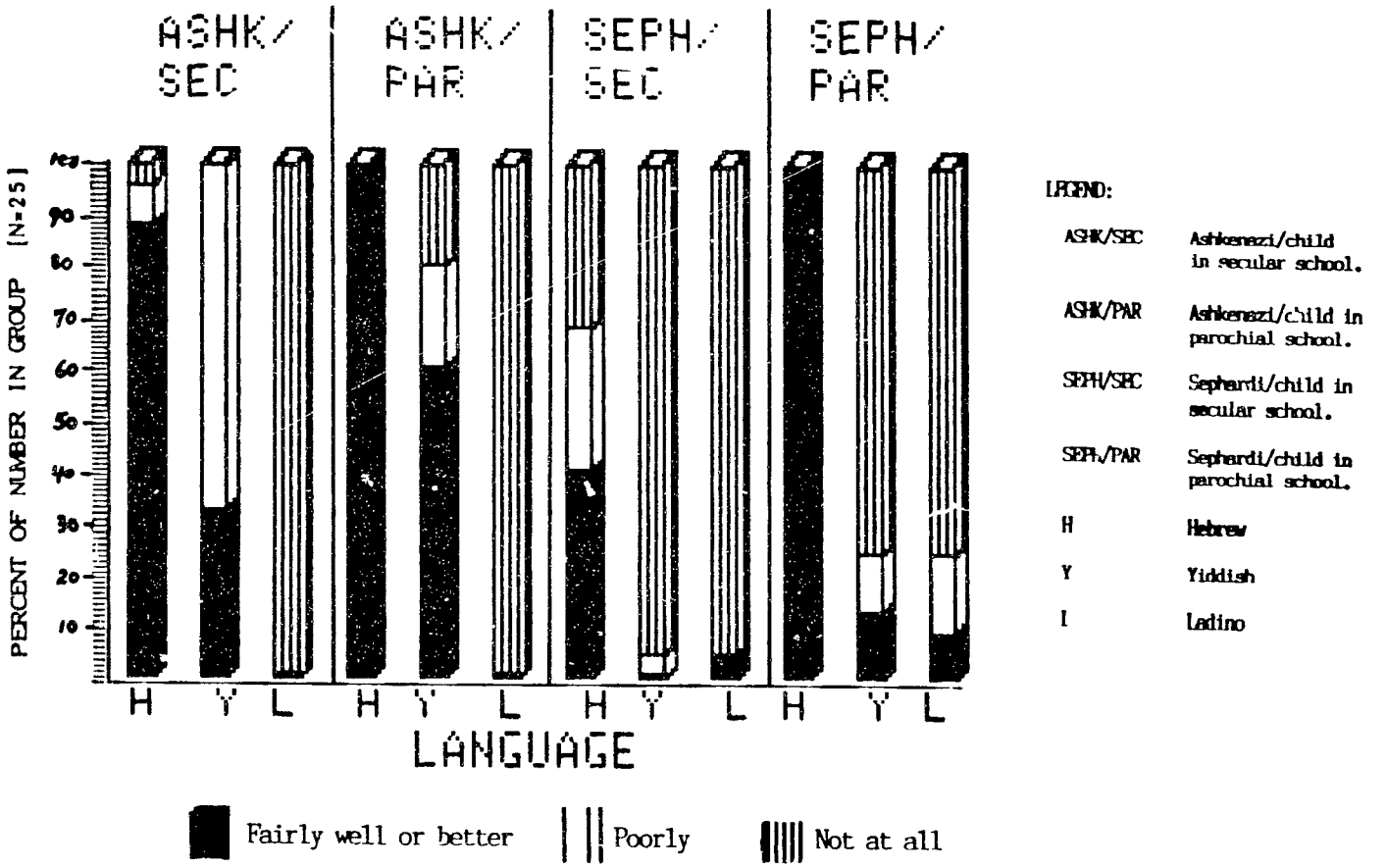


LEGEND:

ASHK/SEC	Ashkenazi/child in secular school.
ASHK/PAR	Ashkenazi/child in parochial school.
SEPH/SEC	Sephardi/child in secular school.
SEPH/PAR	Sephardi/child in parochial school.
H	Hebrew
Y	Yiddish
L	Ladino

FIGURE 11

WRITTEN PROFICIENCY IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGES - CHILDREN



LEGEND:

ASHK/SEC	Ashkenazi/child in secular school.
ASHK/PAR	Ashkenazi/child in parochial school.
SEPH/SEC	Sephardi/child in secular school.
SEPH/PAR	Sephardi/child in parochial school.
H	Hebrew
Y	Yiddish
L	Ladino

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