A multidimensional approach to identity: Religious and cultural identity in young Jewish Canadians

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Abstract

This study used an online questionnaire to explore the relations among different dimensions of religious and cultural Jewish identity in young Canadian adults ($N = 258$). We investigated the extent to which three aspects of Jewish identity—religious identity, cultural identity, and identity salience—predicted openness to interfaith relationships and sociopolitical attitudes related to Israel. Results showed that compared to participants who self-identified as cultural Jews, those who self-identified as religious Jews or as both religious and cultural Jews scored higher on measures of cultural and religious identification. Moreover, relative to culturally identified Jews, religious and religious/cultural Jews were less open to interfaith relationships, endorsed more right-wing political attitudes with respect to Israel's foreign policy, and reported that their Jewish identity was more salient than their Canadian identity in identity-relevant situations. Similarly, relative to Jews of other denominations, Orthodox Jews reported higher levels of Jewish identification, greater salience of their Jewish identity, and advocated more right-wing political views.

Jews comprise only 0.02% of the world's population (Weinfeld, 2001), but there is considerable variation in the meaning and expressions of identity among members of this group. For some Jews, their identity is primarily religious; for others, it is primarily cultural; and for others yet, it is both religious and cultural. The present study adopts a multidimensional approach to Jewish identity that centered on the religious and cultural

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aspects of Judaism. These were used to predict opinions about social issues deemed to be relevant for the Jewish community, specifically, openness towards interfaith relationships and sociopolitical attitudes related to the state of Israel. We also assessed the extent to which identification with a specific denomination of Judaism (e.g., Orthodox) was related to these same social issues.

Religion and identity

Despite its overarching significance in the lives of many, religion is the focus of only a meager portion of research in social psychology and intergroup relations. Recognizing its influence on identity, culture, and social norms, researchers have called for a more rigorous study of religion (Tarakeshwar, Stanton, & Pargament, 2003). It has also been proposed that religion and culture are interwoven by means of a bidirectional causal relationship, with culture influencing religious rites and rituals, and religion influencing various cultural expressions such as styles of dress. The meanings and forms of religious and cultural expression, however, are not monolithic within religious groups. Whereas most Jews outside of Israel share the experience of being a religious minority (in 2001, Jews comprised 1.1% of the population of Canada and 3.5% of the population of Toronto; Statistics Canada, 2003), the forms of their identification will differ. For example, according to a 1990 Canadian Jewish population survey (see Weinfeld, 1993), the denomination distribution of Jews was 19% Orthodox, 37% Conservative, 11% Reform, and 33% Jews with other affiliations. Orthodox Judaism is widely seen as requiring the strictest adherence to religious laws as defined in the Torah and other religious texts (Weinfeld, 2001). Reform Judaism adopts a more liberal approach that is more reflective of contemporary Western social norms, such as the extension of some religious leadership roles to women. Conservative Judaism takes a middle ground between the traditionalism of Orthodox Judaism and the modernism of Reform Judaism. Whereas the Conservative movement is the largest movement in Canada, it

is considerably smaller in the USA, where Reform and Orthodox movements are robust and where many Jews are unaffiliated (Weinfeld, 2001).

In addition to religious denomination, religious identity may be influenced by another dimension of religiosity, religious fundamentalism. In contrast to orthodoxy, religious fundamentalism describes a closed mindedness and a conviction that one's own religious beliefs embody an absolute truth (e.g., Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Past research has found such fundamentalism to be associated with prejudice and with right-wing authoritarianism (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

Culture and identity

In contrast to religious identity, cultural identity has been the focus of a considerable amount of research which acknowledges its importance in a person's social self-concept (see Phinney, 1990). Cultural identity has been described as the "psychological relationship of cultural and racial minority group members with their own group" (Phinney, 1990, p. 499). Phinney identifies three interrelated components that may help account for the psychological significance of cultural identity: cultural values and behaviors, a sense of group membership ("cultural identity"), and minority status experiences. Ubiquitous indicators of these components (e.g., language, traditions) were assessed in the present research.

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) offers one framework for understanding cultural identity. According to SIT, individuals' social identity is their sense of belonging to a social category or group, and the salience of a particular social identity will depend on the individuals' intergroup context (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). An implication of SIT is that belonging to two cultures can be problematic when the two social identities are in conflict with each other (Phinney, 1990). For example, Dubow, Pargament, Boxer, and Tarakeshwar (2000) found that Jewish adolescents in the Midwestern United States struggled with their desires to take part in the dominant culture while maintaining their Jewish

cultural identity. In the present study, we assessed the relative salience of Jewish and Canadian identities across various contexts.

Cultural and religious Judaism

The term "Jewish" may be distinct from denotations of other religious groups because it denotes both a religion and an ethnicity (Cohen, 1998; Schnoor, 2002). Thus, an important factor in the expression of Jewish identity concerns the relative emphases given to its religious and ethnic dimensions (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006). Although these are deeply intertwined (Cohen, 1998; Hartman & Hartman, 2000), processes of urbanization and migration over the past two centuries have initiated secularization trends among European and North American Jews (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006; Neusner, 1970). Today, millions of Diaspora Jews (including nearly half of all American Jews) identify as primarily cultural or secular (Mayer, Kosmin, & Keysar, 2001). The practice of cultural Judaism is commonly understood to de-emphasize religious ritual observance, but nonetheless includes involving oneself with Jewish literature, languages (such as Yiddish and Hebrew), music, food, art, and other cultural expressions (Winter, 1992). Observance of Jewish holidays is thought to create a vehicle of familial and social cohesion rather than an expression of religious adherence.

The shared history of the Jewish people figures prominently in both cultural and religious interpretations of Jewish identity. In interviews with British Jewish young adults, Sinclair and Milner (2005) found that both religiously and culturally identified Jews reported a chronic awareness of Jews' common history of persecution, which contributed to a sense of distinctiveness and to related feelings of "ambiguity, anxiety, and vulnerability" (p. 111). A related theme in both cultural and religious Jewish identification is a global sense of familiarity and solidarity with other Jews, possibly reflecting the reality of the Jewish community's small size on a global scale (Mayer et al., 2001; Neusner, 1970).

Various accounts have been given for the secularization of American Jews. Some scholars (e.g., Alba, 2006) suggest that this secularization reflects a blurring of boundaries between Jews and other Americans, particularly Christians and nonreligious people. Others (e.g., Gans, 1979, 1994) suggest that declines in religious observance may reflect a weakening link between Jewish identity and behavior. According to Gans, secular Jews practice a symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity; whereby they may identify as Jews and profess an attachment to their ingroup, but do not participate regularly in the ongoing ethnic or religious Jewish culture. Indeed, past research on American Jews found that faith was a more powerful predictor of strength of Jewish identity than was the number of Jewish social contacts (Amyot & Sigelman, 1996), suggesting that those who primarily practice symbolic Judaism may have weaker identification. Nonetheless, Gans' claims concerning weak identification among those who express symbolic ethnicity have been contested by evidence of cultural Jews' active participation in various youth movements and social groups (Amyot & Sigelman, 1996; Kivisto & Nefzger, 1993; Winter, 1996).

Regardless of the debate concerning strength of identification, cultural and religious Jews' differing expressions of Jewish identification do appear to reflect divergent commitments stemming at least partly from their respective approaches to religious ritual observance. For this reason, we wished to test whether Canadians Jews' attitudes toward salient Jewish social issues, such as interfaith marriage, would differ as a function of their religious or cultural affiliations.

A framework for understanding Jewish identity

An exploration of the religious and cultural dimensions of Jewish identity may be informed by Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe's (2004) framework of collective identity. They proposed seven different elements of collective identity: self-categorization, evaluation, importance,

attachment, social embededness, behavioral involvement, and meaning.

First and foremost in this framework is self-categorization in a collective identity. In the present study, we assessed a broad level of Jewish subcategorization (religious, cultural, or religious and cultural) and a more specific level of subcategorization in terms of denominational affiliation (Conservative, Orthodox, Reform, etc.). By comparing individuals in these subcategories of identity, we believed it would be possible to study some of the different elements of Jewish identity by essentially creating what Ashmore et al. (2004) refer to as profiles of identity. We sought to extend to the domain of religion the subcategory approach that has been used in past research. Multiple lines of research suggest that subcategories with which people identify are related to distinct profiles of identity and attitudes. Self-categorization as traditional, nontraditional, or feminist with regards to sex-role beliefs is associated with distinct patterns of responding to questions about gender identity and gender ideology (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001). For example, nontraditional and feminist women reported a greater centrality or salience of gender in their thoughts. Other research shows how ethnic subcategories are related to distinct profiles of identity. Data from the Latino National Political Survey showed that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans differ in their perceptions of discrimination (Sizemore & Milner, 2004). Cubans, who tended to identify more with conservative American politics, perceived less discrimination than did Puerto Ricans or Mexicans.

Particularly germane to our study of different profiles of Jewish identity were the importance and attachment elements identified by Ashmore et al. (2004). Importance refers to the impact (or centrality) of a group membership to an individual's self-concept. In the present research, we not only assessed the centrality of Jewish identity with a measure of global Jewish identity, but the relative importance of Jewish identity in comparison to Canadian identity in different settings, with a measure of identity salience.

Attachment refers to a sense of belonging or emotional ties (Ashmore et al., 2004). The use and display of symbolic objects are ubiquitous expressions of attachment. For example, the Star of David is one popular symbolic object among Jews. In addition to assessing symbolic displays of identity, the current study's global measure of Jewish identity assessed attachment to one's group (i.e., ingroup ties and ingroup affect).

Social phenomena relevant to Jewish identity

Within the collective identity framework proposed by Ashmore et al. (2004), openness to interfaith relationships and sociopolitical attitudes involving conflict-resolution strategies with other groups can be seen as outcomes of collective identity. In a similar way, a model of politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) suggests that the degree of collective identity should predict awareness of shared grievances or threats to the group (and vice versa). Interfaith dating relationships, particularly those leading to marriage and children, and political unrest in the state of Israel can be seen as threats to the worldwide Jewish community. Analogous to more typically used measures of outgroup bias (e.g., social distance), our focus on openness to engage in intimate relationships with persons of other faiths seems particularly pertinent for a sample of young adult Jews who may be just beginning to seriously question matters of relationship commitment. Our focus on sociopolitical attitudes related to Israel should also be relevant for Canadian Jews, some of whom may have never even visited Israel, but who may nonetheless view Israel as an important symbol of Jewish identity.

Interfaith relationships   The rise of interfaith relationships in Western countries is an indicator of the dissolution of interfaith barriers (Chiswick, 1993). Data from a 2001 census showed that 19% of Canadian unions involved partners of different faiths. The ascending trend in interfaith unions also applies to Canadian Jews (see Clark,

2006). Similar increases in interfaith marriage have been observed in American Jews (Chiswick, 1993), although interfaith marriage rates of Jews have still been noted to be low relative to U.S.-born Whites (Phillips & Fishman, 2006). Interfaith unions, however, are not evenly represented among Jewish religious denominations (Cohen, 2003; Klaff, 2006). Interfaith marriage and interfaith dating is much less common among Orthodox Jews than among Conservative or Reform Jews (Cohen, 2003; Phillps & Fishman, 2006). Further, opposition to intermarriage (Cohen, 2003) and preference for a Jewish spouse (Klaff, 2006) is strongest among Orthodox Jews, weaker among Conservative Jews, and weakest among Reform Jews.

Sociopolitical attitude related to Israel For many Jews, Israel holds both religious and cultural significance as the only geographic focus of Jewish identity. The religious significance of Israel can be traced to the Torah in which God promises the first Jew (Abraham) that he will father a nation and that Israel will be their land (Weinfeld, 2001). However, Jews' ties to Israel extend beyond religious connections (Hartman & Kaufman, 2006). Whereas only 14% of Canadian Jews identify as religious (Schnoor, 2002), it is estimated that two-thirds of Jewish Canadians have visited Israel (Weinfeld, 2001). With the establishment of the contemporary State of Israel in 1948, Israel's role in Jewish collective consciousness acquired a concrete dimension as a geographic refuge and source of national identity for Jews worldwide. Indeed, support for Israel has been described as "often vociferously expressed" and "a public badge of membership for a large portion of the American Jewish population" (Alba, 2006, p. 355).

One facet of Diaspora Jews' attachment to Israel has been the degree of concern about military threats to Israel and Israeli–Palestinian relations (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Hartman & Hartman, 2000). We were interested in whether such concerns might emerge in Canadian Jews' sociopolitical views concerning Israel's ongoing military conflict with neighboring nations and ethnic groups. We focused on Israeli political ideologies, which, in the interest of preserving Israel's status as an independent Jewish state, are associated with a militarist stance toward foreign policy and an opposition to withdrawal from West Bank settlements. Support for right-wing Israeli political ideologies can be viewed as an exemplar of the civic engagement outcome of collective identity, as proposed in Ashmore et al.'s (2004) model. In Israel, right-wing political ideologies have consistently garnered greater support among Orthodox Jewish factions than among secular Jews (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). In line with this pervasive pattern, we predicted that Orthodox Canadian Jews, in keeping with Orthodox Judaism's stronger emphasis on the religious symbolism of Israel, would be more likely than Conservative or Reform Jews to endorse right-wing Israeli political ideologies.

Research questions

In our exploration of the religious and cultural identities of Jewish Canadian young adults, we sought to address some general questions. First, is it possible to identify profiles of identity by differentiating religiously identified Jews, culturally identified Jews, and cultural/religious Jews in terms of different elements of collective identification, as well as their social attitudes towards interfaith relationships and their sociopolitical stance on Israeli actions? Second, can we differentiate young Canadian Jews from different denominations in terms of these same social attitudes and elements of collective identification? Based on past research (e.g., Hartman & Kaufman, 2006; Klaff, 2006), it was expected that subjective definitions of Judaism would vary, particularly by subcategory identification and by denominational affiliation. In addition to these questions, we sought to test some specific hypotheses.

The theoretical model of politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) suggests that strength of collective identity should predict awareness of threats to the group. Thus we

predicted that Canadian Jews who report stronger Jewish identification and greater salience of Jewish identity should also report greater opposition to interfaith dating relationships and greater support for right-wing Israeli political ideologies. Following this, we predicted that Canadian Jews who identify as religious or as both religious and cultural Jews, compared to those who identify only as cultural Jews, would express more opposition to interfaith relationships and more support for right-wing Israeli political ideologies. Similarly, we predicted that Canadian Jews affiliated with more traditional denominations of Judaism would express more opposition to interfaith relationships and more support for right-wing Israeli political ideologies.

Method

Participants

Participants were a convenience sample of Jewish Canadian young adults ($N = 258$). There were more women ($n = 128$) than men ($n = 87$), though a large number of participants did not report their gender ($n = 43$). The sample was recruited by snowball sampling via an email advertisement that was forwarded to Jewish Canadian young adults and that solicited Jewish respondents aged 18 to 27 years for an online questionnaire. Participants were also recruited from the research participant pool at York University in Toronto.[1] The majority of the participants were born in Canada (70%).[2] In terms of ethnic heritage, 64% of the sample were Ashkenazi (i.e., from Eastern Europe and Western Europe), 6% were Sephardic (i.e., from Spain and Portugal), and 6% reported both Ashkenazi and Sephardic heritage. The majority of the sample reported having many Jewish social contacts. Indeed, 51% of the sample reported that 70% or more of their friends were Jewish. Additionally, 40% of participants indicated agreement when asked if they live in a Jewish neighborhood.

Procedure

An online questionnaire assessed cultural and religious dimensions of Jewish identity and attitudes related to interfaith relationships and the sociopolitical situation in Israel. After participants completed the informed consent form, the questionnaire was presented. In line with prior work that emphasized the importance of assessing subjective components of Judaism (e.g., Hartman & Kaufman, 2006), the first part of the questionnaire consisted of four open-ended questions (e.g., "What does being Jewish mean to you?"). The second part of the questionnaire contained the measures described below. Alpha reliabilities for each of these measures are presented in Table 1. The last section of the questionnaire assessed demographic variables such as gender, ancestry, and marital status. This latter section also included the categorical identification and denominational questions. All items were rated on 7-point Likert scales (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*), unless indicated otherwise.

Identity expression Respondents were asked how often they engaged in each of 13 behaviors indicating an involvement in Jewish culture. The items gauged participants' cultural involvement by examining frequency (1 = *never*; 5 = *very often*) of participation in celebrations and consumption of Jewish or Israeli food, dress, publications, and music. They were developed on the basis of previous research (e.g., Cohen, 1998), census data on the Toronto Jewish community (e.g., Shahar & Rosenbaum, 2006), and the third author's experience as a member of the Toronto Jewish community. A principal components factor analysis indicated that eight items mapped onto a factor that was labeled Jewish Identity Expression, representing one's engagement with Jewish Canadian culture. These were: (a) reading Jewish publications, (b) listening to Hebrew Music, (c) using Hebrew terms, (d) speaking in Hebrew, (e) celebrating Shabbat with family, (f) eating Jewish food, (g) following Kosher laws, and (h) buying Israeli food products. The remaining five items mapped onto another factor labeled Israeli Identity Expression, indicating participants' involvement with Jewish culture in Israel in its various manifestations. These were: (a) wearing

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for primary measures

	Mean	*S.D.*	No. of items	Alpha
Jewish identification				
Global Jewish identification	5.91	1.03	12	.91
Cultural expressions				
Jewish identity expression	3.19	1.02	8	.90
Israeli identity expression	2.75	1.02	5	.80
Perceived knowledge of Jewish culture	3.20	0.74	5	.75
Religious expressions				
Religious commitment	4.60	1.54	10	.92
Religious fundamentalism	3.20	1.25	10	.86
Israel				
Sociopolitical attitude related to Israel	4.13	1.54	3	.73
Marriage and dating				
Interfaith relationships	3.27	2.09	8	.96

clothing that displays Israeli emblems, (b) wearing Naot sandals, (c) attending Jewish community events (e.g., Walk for Israel), (d) donating to organizations supporting Israel, and (e) attending pro-Israel rallies.

Perceived knowledge of Jewish culture Five items inquired about participants' perceived knowledge of key aspects of Jewish culture: Israel, modern-day Hebrew, Biblical Hebrew, Yiddish language, and the Holocaust. The responses were on a 5-point scale ("none," "very little," "some," "quite a bit," or "a lot"), and the mean of these items was taken as an index of knowledge of Jewish culture.

Religious commitment This 10-item measure assessed strength of involvement with one's religion (e.g., "My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life") and was developed with respondents of different religious affiliations and secular individuals (Worthington et al., 2003). The scale was found to have strong internal consistency, good test–retest reliability, construct validity, and discriminant validity with a Christian sample. In the present study, a higher mean score on this measure was indicative of increased engagement with Judaism.

Religious fundamentalism This scale was developed to assess extreme, rigid, and black-and-white views on religion (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). Ten of the original 12 items were used (e.g., "God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed"). Two of the original items were dropped because they referred to Satan, a concept that is largely absent from mainstream Judaism. A higher mean score on this measure indicated a more extreme and literal interpretation of religious decrees and practices.

Global Jewish identification Cameron's (2004) 12-item measure of identity was used. Participants rated their agreement with statements such as, "In general, I am glad to be Jewish." Relative to other measures in this study, this is a more general, or global, measure of Jewish identity that did not distinguish between religious and cultural Jewish identification. Together, the components that comprise this global measure (i.e., centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties) map onto what has been described as self-investment (Leach et al., 2008). Higher mean scores in the present research indicated a greater sense of identification with the Jewish community at large.

Sociopolitical attitude in relation to Israel A three-item scale was developed to assess participants' endorsement of left- and right-wing Israeli foreign policies. The right-wing items were: (a) Israel should halt its talks with the Palestinian authority every time a deadly suicide bombing happens in Israel, and (b) Israel should stake its claim by populating the West Bank and Gaza with Jewish settlements. The left-wing item was: (a) The Palestinians deserve a state of their own in the West Bank and Gaza. A higher mean score on this scale indicated a higher endorsement of right-wing Israeli political ideologies.

Openness to interfaith relationships Openness towards interfaith relationships between Jews and non-Jews was assessed. Eight items concerning interfaith dating and marriage were adapted from Lalonde, Giguère, Fontaine, and Smith (2007). Four of these items refered to dating (e.g., "I would feel guilty if I were dating a non-Jewish person") and four statements referred to marriage (e.g., "I could see myself being happily married to a non-Jewish person").

Relative identity salience This measure was designed to determine if a Canadian identity or a Jewish identity was most salient in five situations: (a) you are watching the Olympics with your family; (b) you meet a boy/girl at a bar and develop some romantic feelings for him/her; (c) you are away on winter vacation and overhear that a group of soldiers has been killed, but you miss which country they are from; (d) the Prime Minister pledges to fight terrorism; and (e) imagine Israel is facing Canada in a World Cup Soccer match. For each situation, participants were asked if they felt Canadian, Jewish, both, or neither. Scores between 0 and 5 were calculated for Canadian and Jewish identity salience.

Categorical identification Jewish subcategory identification was assessed with the question "Do you identify as a . . ." with the response

options: Religious Jew, Cultural Jew, and Both. Denominational affiliation was assessed with the question: "With which denomination do you identify the most?" Response options were: Orthodox, Modern Orthodox, Conservadox, Conservative, Reform, Egalitarian, Reconstructionist, Just Jewish, No Affiliation, and Other.

Results

A summary of the descriptive statistics for the primary measures can be found in Table 1. It can be seen that the internal consistency (alphas) for all measures exceeded .73. Participants demonstrated relatively high levels of Jewish identification, as the mean score on the global Jewish identification measure was 5.91.

Correlational analyses

The correlations presented in Table 2 were used to investigate the interrelations between different aspects of Jewish identity (global identification, religious expressions, and cultural expressions) and openness towards interfaith relationships and sociopolitical attitudes towards Israel. Scores on global Jewish identity, Jewish identity expression, Israeli identity expression, knowledge of Jewish culture, religious commitment, religious fundamentalism, and Jewish identity salience were all significantly negatively correlated with openness toward interfaith dating and intermarriage and positively correlated with the endorsement of a right-wing stance in Israeli politics. Canadian identity salience, in contrast, was positively correlated with openness towards interfaith relationships and negatively correlated with Israeli right-wing policies.

Sub-category identification When participants were asked to choose one of three response options that best categorized their identification with Judaism, 37.6% classified themselves as cultural, 14.3% classified themselves as religious, 30.6% classified themselves as both religious and cultural, and 17.4% chose not to classify themselves.

Table 2. Correlations between primary measures

	Interfaith relationships	Sociopolitical attitudes toward Israel
Jewish identification		
Global Jewish identification	−.67**	.25**
Cultural expressions		
Jewish identity expression	−.71**	.41**
Israeli identity expression	−.67**	.22**
Perceived knowledge of Jewish culture	−.50**	.24**
Religious expressions		
Religious commitment	−.74**	.35**
Religious fundamentalism	−.53**	.48**
Relative identity salience		
Jewish identity salience	−.39**	.34**
Canadian identity salience	.39**	−.18**

Note: ** $p < .01$.

Table 3. Frequencies of subcategory Jewish identification by religious denomination

Denominations	Religious	Religious and cultural	Cultural	Total
Orthodox	26	28	2	56
Conservative	7	30	27	64
Reform	1	6	13	20
Unaffiliated	1	10	47	58
Nonmainstream	2	5	8	15
Total	37	79	97	213

Denominational affiliation   Most participants were affiliated with mainstream denominations: 22.1% affiliated with Orthodox denominations; 25.2% affiliated with the Conservative denomination; and 7.8% affiliated with the Reform denomination. As for the remaining participants, 22.1% were affiliated with nonmainstream denominations, and 22.9% were unaffiliated or preferred the label "just Jewish." According to Ammerman (2006), the majority of the U.S. Jewish population is unaffiliated, and this group as well as the nonmainstream group was deemed to be of interest. Thus, inferential analyses involved five denominational groups: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Nonmainstream, and Unaffiliated.

A chi-square analysis of the data shown in Table 3 indicated that denominational affiliation and subcategory identification were not independent, $\chi^2(8, N = 213) = 89.21, p < 0.001$. Participants who were affiliated with Orthodox Judaism generally categorized their identification as religious or both religious and cultural. In contrast, participants who were affiliated with the Conservative denomination categorized their identification as either cultural or both religious and cultural. Participants who were affiliated with Reform Judaism were more likely to categorize their identification as cultural. Those who were unaffiliated were also more likely to categorize their identification as cultural. The pattern was less clear for participants affiliated with nonmainstream denominations.

What does being Jewish mean to you?

Responses to this open-ended question provided five themes of responses that were sufficiently frequent to warrant statistical comparisons (i.e.,

Table 4. Means for primary measures by subcategory identification

	Religious	Religious and cultural	Cultural	F''	df
Jewish identification					
Global Jewish identification	6.23[a]	6.35[a]	5.44[b]	22.03***	102
Cultural expressions					
Jewish identity expression	3.99[a]	3.73[a]	2.45[b]	86.05***	104
Israeli identity expression	3.30[a]	3.07[a]	2.29[b]	22.00***	98
Perceived knowledge of Jewish culture	3.46[a]	3.48[a]	2.88[b]	19.74***	99
Religious expressions					
Religious commitment	5.90[a]	5.42[b]	3.43[c]	100.84***	106
Religious fundamentalism	4.22[a]	3.66[b]	2.36[c]	61.45***	91
Israel					
Sociopolitical attitude related to Israel	5.03[a]	4.28[b]	3.66[c]	12.96***	96
Marriage and dating					
Interfaith relationships	1.84[a]	2.22[a]	4.73[b]	47.77***	78
Relative identity salience					
Jewish identity salience	2.35[a]	2.05[a]	1.18[b]	14.66***	96
Canadian identity salience	.68[a]	.76[a]	1.26[b]	6.27**	111

Notes: Means within a row that do not share a common superscript are significantly different from each other. Degrees of freedom shown are for the denominator. Degrees of freedom for the numerator were 2. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$.

expected cell frequencies were greater than five) across Jewish subgroup identifications. The themes were: religious beliefs (e.g., belief in God, spiritual beliefs, following the Torah, use of the words "religion" or "religious"), tradition (e.g., performing rituals, celebrating holidays), social aspects (e.g., marrying or dating a Jew, community participation, having Jewish friends), ancestry (e.g., history, heritage, collective people, family, Jewish descent, genes, nationhood, remembering the Holocaust), and culture (use of the word "culture" or "cultural"). Two significant effects were found.

Persons who indicated that their subcategory identification was religious or both religious and cultural were more likely to report that being Jewish means holding religious beliefs, χ^2 (2, $N = 199$) = 14.41, $p < 0.001$. In contrast, those who indicated that their identification was cultural or religious and cultural were more likely to report that being Jewish involves culture, χ^2 (2, $N = 199$) = 12.77, $p < 0.01$.

With regard to denominational differences, participants who categorized themselves as Orthodox or Conservative were most likely to

report that being Jewish means holding religious beliefs, whereas those who were unaffiliated were least likely to report this, χ^2(4, $N = 215$) = 12.83, $p < 0.05$. Those who categorized themselves as Conservative were most likely to report that being Jewish involves social aspects, whereas Orthodox Jews were the least likely to report this, χ^2(4, $N = 215$) = 31.98, $p < 0.001$. Finally, compared to other denominations, there was a greater tendency for Conservative Jews to report that being Jewish involves culture, χ^2(4, $N = 215$) = 11.26, $p < 0.05$.

Subcategory identification differences

Univariate comparisons of means were used for participants in the three different Jewish identity categories (religious, cultural, or both) for all the primary measures. Due to inequality of variances, the robust Welch test was used. The results of these analyses can be found in Table 4. Significant univariate effects were followed up with Dunnett T3 post hoc tests of means. Significant differences between categorical identifications emerged for all measures, and there was a distinct pattern in the

findings. First and foremost, there were consistent differences between religious Jews and cultural Jews. Compared to cultural Jews, religious Jews had a higher level of global Jewish identification, indicated stronger expressions of Jewish and Israeli cultural identity, reported greater knowledge of Jewish culture, had a stronger religious commitment, reported more fundamentalist religious views, had more right-leaning sociopolitical attitudes, less favorable views towards interfaith relationships, and were more likely to feel that their Jewish identity was more salient than their Canadian identity in distinct situations.

Individuals who categorized their Jewish identity as being both "religious and cultural" often fell between the two other groups on the measures, but were more likely to significantly differ from the culturally identified participants. Compared to cultural Jews, religious/cultural Jews had a higher level of global Jewish identification, stronger expressions of Jewish and Israeli identities, greater perceived knowledge of Jewish culture, a stronger religious commitment, more fundamentalist religious views, more right-leaning sociopolitical attitudes, less favorable attitudes towards interfaith relationships, and reported that their Jewish identity was more salient than their Canadian identity in evocative identity-relevant situations. Compared to religious Jews, religious/cultural Jews indicated less religious commitment and less fundamentalist religious views, and less right-leaning sociopolitical attitudes.

Denominational differences

Univariate comparisons of means were used for participants with the five denominational groups (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Nonmainstream, and Unaffiliated) for all the primary measures. Due to inequality of variances, the robust Welch test was used. The results of these analyses can be found in Table 5. Significant univariate effects were followed up with Dunnett T3 post hoc tests of means.

There were a number of significant differences between denominations. First, compared to the other groups, Orthodox and Conservative Jews had stronger global Jewish identification, stronger expression of Israeli identity, and less favorable views of interfaith relationships.

Table 5. Means for primary measures by denominations

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Non mainstream	Unaffiliated	F''	df
Jewish identification							
Global Jewish identification	6.40[a]	6.28[a]	5.52[b]	5.63[b]	5.24[b]	13.90***	67
Cultural expressions							
Jewish identity expression	4.04[a]	3.26[b]	2.69[c]	3.09[bc]	2.54[d]	27.15***	84
Israeli identity expression	3.15[a]	3.10[a]	2.23[b]	2.65[sb]	2.20[b]	11.20***	85
Perceived knowledge of Jewish culture	3.56[a]	3.19[ab]	2.92[b]	3.19[ab]	2.96[b]	6.13***	84
Religious expressions							
Religious commitment	6.04[a]	4.82[b]	3.74[cd]	4.25[bc]	3.41[d]	49.47***	74
Religious fundamentalism	4.42[a]	3.14[b]	2.60[bc]	2.90[bc]	2.44[c]	31.91***	75
Israel							
Sociopolitical attitude	5.17[a]	4.08[b]	3.79[b]	3.22[b]	3.56[b]	12.17***	67
Marriage and dating							
Interfaith relationships	1.65[a]	2.43[a]	4.99[b]	3.79[c]	5.04[b]	37.02***	43
Relative identity salience							
Jewish salience	2.37[a]	1.92[a]	1.35[b]	.22[c]	.97[b]	44.60***	89
Canadian salience	.65[a]	.72[a]	1.65[b]	.15[c]	1.32[b]	19.75***	86

Notes: Means within a row that do not share a common superscript are significantly different from each other. Degrees of freedom shown are for the denominator. Degrees of freedom for the numerator were 4. *** $p < .001$.

Orthodox Jews also tended to have more religious commitment, more religious fundamentalism, and more right-leaning sociopolitical attitudes. Reform Jews tended to have more Canadian identity salience and less Jewish identity salience than Conservative and Orthodox Jews. In many cases, Unaffiliated Jews responded in a manner similar to Reform Jews.

Discussion

The present study supported the validity of the multidimensional approach to creating profiles of identity for Canadian Jews. Distinct profiles were found for Jews who identified with different subcategories of Judaism (religious, cultural, or religious/cultural) and also for Jews who identified with different denominations (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Unaffiliated, or Nonmainstream). The study also supported a model of politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) by providing support for the hypothesis that Jews who report stronger Jewish identification and greater salience of Jewish identity would also report greater opposition to interfaith dating relationships and greater support for right-wing Israeli political ideologies.

The validity of the categorical distinctions of religious, cultural, and religious/cultural Jews was evidenced in the different open-ended responses to the meaning of being Jewish. Participants who later categorized themselves as religious or religious/cultural were significantly more likely to refer to religious beliefs when defining Jewish identity, compared to those who categorized themselves as cultural. In contrast, participants who later categorized themselves as cultural Jews were more likely to define their Jewish identity in terms of culture, compared to those who categorized themselves as religious or religious/cultural Jews. This is consistent with past research that found that relative emphasis on religious aspects of Judaism decreased from Orthodox Jews to Conservative Jews to Reform Jews, whereas relative emphasis on cultural aspects of Judaism increased in this order (Klaff, 2006).

The validity of this subcategory distinction was further supported by results from the scale measures of identity, relative identity salience, and attitudes towards social phenomena relevant to Canadian Jews. Participants who categorized their subcategory identification as religious or religious/cultural generally scored higher on measures of global, cultural, and religious identification than did those who categorized themselves as cultural. Whereas religious and religious/cultural Jews had higher scores on Jewish identity salience, cultural Jews had higher scores on Canadian identity salience. Additionally, participants who categorized themselves as religious Jews were less open to interfaith relationships and held more right-wing political views about Israel, compared to those who categorized themselves as religious/cultural or cultural. These latter results suggest that issues of collective identity and group threat will differ as a function of religious subgroup identification.

Analogous to the profiles associated with subcategory identification, distinct profiles were associated with Jewish denominational affiliations. Consistent with past research, Orthodox participants generally expressed high levels of identification and less accepting views on interfaith relationships (Klaff, 2006). In line with past research indicating greater attachment to Israel among Orthodox Jews (Kadushin & Kotler-Berkowitz, 2006), Orthodox Jews also expressed more right-wing political views about Israel. Additionally, Orthodox Jews reported higher levels of Jewish identity salience relative to the other groups. Congruently, other research on Jewish denominations and identity (Klaff, 2006) found that Orthodox Jews were most likely to report that Judaism guides their daily decisions, whereas unaffiliated Jews were least likely to report Judaism guides their daily decisions. Conservative Jews responded in a manner similar to Orthodox Jews, but had more liberal views on Israel, and also reported less religious commitment, less religious fundamentalism, and less expression of Jewish identity.

Whereas Orthodox Jews responded in a manner similar to self-categorized religious Jews, Conservative

Jews responded in a manner similar to self-categorized religious and cultural Jews. Finally, Reform Jews, Jews belonging to nonmainstream denominations, and those who were unaffiliated responded in a manner similar to cultural Jews. Consistent with this pattern, the findings support the notion that subcategory identification and denominational affiliation are not independent: Orthodox participants were likely to categorize their identification as only religious or both religious/cultural, whereas Conservative Jews were most likely to categorize their subcategory identification as cultural or religious/cultural. Reform Jews and those who were unaffiliated were more likely to categorize themselves as cultural, though some did categorize themselves as religious/cultural.

Judaism as a religion and an ethnicity

Some of our measures asked participants about the frequency with which participants perform certain religious practices considered indicative of their religious identification. Measures of religious identification had moderately strong positive associations with global Jewish identity. Whereas past research on symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity proposed that ethnic and religious participation had become rare among younger American cohorts (Gans, 1994), the present study replicated other findings of high religious participation among North American Jewish young adults (Winter, 1996).

As past researchers have emphasized (Tarakeshwar et al., 2003), religion and culture are closely intertwined. Participants in the present study who categorized their identification as religious generally scored higher on scale measures of cultural expression (e.g., attending community rallies, reading Jewish publications) than did those who categorized their identification as cultural. Similarly, Klaff (2006) found a greater tendency toward cultural expression among religiously affiliated Jews versus unaffiliated Jews. These differences between religious and cultural Jews may be attributed to the cultural dimensions of fulfilling religious obligations, which tend to occur within a community setting. That is, many religious laws

stipulate that rituals be performed in a specific social setting together with other members of the faith. For instance, some consider it a *mitzvah* (good deed) for men to pray with a group of nine other men. Whereas the practice of religious Judaism seems to incorporate cultural (and social) aspects of Judaism as well as religious practice, the practice of cultural Judaism (like the practice of symbolic religiosity) incorporates cultural aspects, but does not involve Jewish religious practice to the same degree (Gans, 1979, 1994). A person can be an active member of the Jewish community and have high levels of identification without fulfilling religious laws and without knowledge of these laws.

Limitations and future directions

One limitation of this study was that we relied on a convenience sampling recruitment method. Nonetheless, we were able to obtain a reasonably diverse sample of young Jewish adults. Our sample is not strictly representative, but we do believe that the sizes of the denominational groups reflect the relative sizes of these groups in the Canadian population (e.g., Weinfeld, 2001). The method of recruitment, social-network data about Jewish friends, and high degree of identification among participants combine to suggest that our study may have attracted participants with strong ties to the Jewish community. There was, however, enough variance between the self-identified groups and between the denominational groups to yield the observed differences.

A potentially promising future direction of this research is to explore the relations among Jewish cultural and religious identities and the national identity. Jews reside in a number of countries around the world and their identification with their host nation may depend on their subcategory identification. Moreover, Jews' national identity might be moderated by their country's political position towards the State of Israel.

Future research could delve further into the interfaith attitudes of those high in religious fundamentalism. It also remains to be seen how the patterns observed in the present research would

generalize to relations between cultural and religious identities in different religious groups. Among Christians, Protestant and Catholic groups, for example, are likely to differ in their views of social issues (e.g., abortion). Among Muslims, adherents to Sufi groups (with their emphasis on mysticism and esoteric interpretation) are likely to differ in their political views from adherents to the Wahabi school of Islam (with their emphasis on strict adherence and literal interpretation). Additionally, self-categorized religious, cultural, or religious and cultural Christians are likely to have different views on social issues as are self-categorized religious, cultural, or religious and cultural Muslims. A multidimensional approach to exploring identities in other religious groups will enrich our understanding not only of how various religious groups view themselves, but of their intergroup attitudes and behavior.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Data were collected in two waves. Respondents from the second wave increased the representation of specific Jewish denominations (e.g., Reform). There were some significant differences between the waves. These were not altogether surprising, however, because of the differential representation of Jewish denominations within the two waves. Whereas the best represented groups in the first wave were Orthodox and Conservative, the best represented groups in the second wave were Unaffiliated, Conservative, and Reform. As one might expect, the first wave of participants tended to have more conservative attitudes (i.e., less support for interfaith dating), stronger religious commitment, and stronger Jewish identity (i.e., global Jewish identity, stronger expressions of Jewish and Israeli identities, better knowledge of Jewish culture) than did the second wave.

2. Due to a programming error, participants' ages were not assessed, although the age criterion was reiterated on the consent form, and most of the respondents appeared to be part of the target population (e.g., 74% were single).

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