Introduction

Belonging to a social group is part of the human experience. Whether it is a football club, a humanitarian group, or a religious faith, all groups carry within them opportunities for social interaction. Once aligned with a group, we strive to make sure that our group, in our own opinion and in the projected opinion of others, is seen positively. While this is not necessarily a conscious process, often it presents a continuous oppositional dynamic wherein we constantly compare ourselves to other groups. A group in itself can be hard to define but we can find people who consider themselves members of groups that come in all shapes and sizes. A group may be composed of people who share common interests; it can also include those bound by common ideologies, or traditions. The possibilities are endless and boundaries can be as concrete as they are diverse. The country in which we live, grew up or were born can be perceived as one group and a university faculty can be considered another. There are rivalries, comparison and fractions within but in the end, we are all part of the same group.

Within a binary of membership and non-membership there may exist further strata. In the case of a university faculty, each member identifies as not only a member of the institution, but likewise as one of a smaller, more specific department. No identity or group is more significant, per se, but one becomes more salient depending on the given situation. What happens if we contextualize this by examining a Canadian national living in a specific Canadian city? One can necessarily be Canadian, and dually a member of a province and then city, town, neighborhood and so on. One may remark, "How lucky am I to be from Vancouver and not Toronto," while another concludes, "Torontonians are far superior to Calgarians". On this level there is observable intergroup comparison, but at the same time, there is an awareness that these city dwellers are still under the larger umbrella of being Canadian.

While maintaining status as members of the local and national community, there is a distinct sense of uniqueness that comes with shared cultural territory. Growing up in Jewish Vancouver meant that the majority of my friends, and our mutual activities, were contextually Jewish. That is not to say these activities necessarily took place in a synagogue, but we were amongst other Jews, the members of my social group. Summers were spent at Jewish camps where there were few, if any, religious activities, but there was significant implementation of cultural heritage by way of cuisine, song and nomenclature. The Jewish influence at home in Vancouver was therefore a social one, not based in ritual practice. Simple identifiers of our Jewish heritage were fondly expressed in everyday life through jargon and specific cultural references ('Yiddishisms' were incorporated into my day as I was 'shlepped' around by my parents). While our holiday traditions were separate from those of the Christian majority (our parents had to explain why Santa Claus skipped our houses every year), we children, nonetheless, relished the promise of seven Hanukah gifts; our Jewish life was not a life-style dependent on ritual adherence.

In Vancouver, participation in a Canadian majority is possible as a Jewish insider, as not all interactions are conducted within that network. I never felt excluded from a general Canadian identity; I was Jewish and Canadian. Within the network of mine and my parent's social groups

there existed a significant demographic of non-Jews, cultural or otherwise. We frequented establishments unaffiliated with a Jewish cultural network, and our outlook was not exclusive of other cultural or ethnic traditions.

This book seeks to examine the ways in which a religious identity can be seen as a social identity from a social psychological perspective. It strives to use self-perception, social identities, and self-reporting to discover how a Jewish life can manifest itself 'beyond the doors of the synagogue', in a modern Canadian city. This book is not a discussion of active religious practice in itself, but rather a series of studies that will address questions of identity and self-perception. It not only examines why one might strive for identity with a religious group, but also the ways in which that group might function as a social one, independent of active ritual practice or belief. Within the context of social psychological theories of identity, this book endeavors to discover how we remain members of a specific social group within a larger Canadian majority.

How do we address those who consider themselves Jewish but do not follow Judaism's rituals or belief system? Are they 'secular' Jews? Are they 'cultural' Jews? What, then, for our purposes is cultural participation? Saroglou (2011), in his discussion of "believing, bonding, behaving and belonging", discusses these religious dimensions as potentially distinct entities. With reference to these entities, this book likewise examines two comparative styles of religious identity, one concerning belief and ritual, and one within a social framework. For the purposes of our discussion, this book equates the term active religious participation with notions of belief. Belief in itself is vaguely defined, but in this case we refer to Saroglou's article explaining that, "…a universal dimension of religiosity is the belief in some kind of external transcendence- that is, the idea that 'something larger and more important than me and the community of all humans (should) exist(s)'" (Saroglou, 2011, p. 1323). Here, the 'active' religious participant will be one whose identity is more closely related to ideology, ritual and doctrine. In contrast, 'passive' religious practice will refer to socially-based identity markers. 'Passive' is not a value judgment, or indicative of diminished importance (such as in the contrast between 'passive' and 'active' listening). 'Passive' participation therefore references a non-ritual membership style, which can include cultural expression. We may also look to Robert A. Hinde's (1999) distinction between ritual and moral aspects of religion, and social ones. The Jewish person participating passively will be one who separates the ritual from the social but does not see these as mutually intrinsic elements fundamental to a religious identity. A passive religious group member is one who emphasizes community, tradition and family values, distinct from ideology and belief. While these members may never enter a synagogue, their Judaism serves as an important identity marker. You may ask: isn't someone who participates on an active level also connecting in the same way as someone participating at a passive level? Certainly. This book will argue that under an umbrella of identity, one can show passive participation styles and still hold an expression of Judaism religiously, socially, and culturally, without active participation (see Figure 1).

The intention of this book is to design a method to discuss and/or assess passive religious participation and religious group membership as a social phenomenon. Hopefully this will foster subsequent discussion of minority groups' self-perception within a broader national context, as well as how religious in-group identity exists separately from active belief. If we are able to distinguish 'belief' from 'belonging' relative to institutional religions, we might better accommodate the needs and values of these groups. While this project focuses on a Canadian group, further research in other countries and cities might be replicated in order to discover the manifold ways in which religious minority group members continue to identify. While this analysis is mounted in a Jewish context, it remains to be seen whether its conclusions might be applied to others.

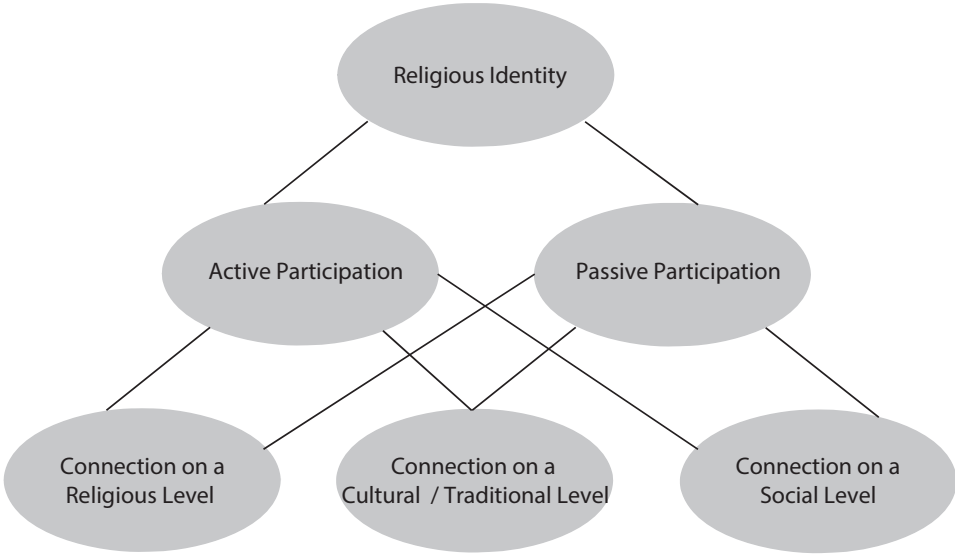

Figure 1. Identity, religious participation & possible expressions of connection

Origins of a Cultural and Religious Group: Canadian Jewish History in Context

A note to readers

Before we introduce and begin to understand how theories of social identity can be applied within a religious context, a brief introduction to the group that will be analyzed is presented.

We look at the Vancouver Jewish community because as we will come to see through its history, Vancouver itself is relatively small as compared to Toronto or Montreal and the

Jewish population is more easily accessible. This is with respect to there being one major Jewish community center, one major Jewish high school and very few predominant Jewish immigrant groups. The structure of such a community should allow our findings to have more generalizability and hopefully findings could eventually be related to similar sized Jewish communities throughout the country. Vancouver Jewish community historian Cyril E. Leonoff writes on the Jewish story of British Columbia and within a chapter in his book titled, "Vancouver: The Organized Community", (1978, p. 99), we can quickly see that his exploration into this group from the early 1900s describes a community that is socially driven. There are certainly religious based organizations, but for the most part the societies, lodges, and groups comprised of Jewish members are largely socially based. If we are to discuss social identity through the eyes of religious group membership, a history of how that group came to be as it is today is integral to our understanding.

This section will offer an abridged history for contextual reasons, but it is strongly encouraged that interested readers see Gerald Tulchinsky's (2008) book *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey*, which offers a thoughtful and detailed history of the Jewish population of Canada. The overarching goal of this research is to look at Jewish Canadians, particularly those in Vancouver, as a means of assessing social identity within a religious based group and does not set out to be an all-encompassing discussion of Jewish identity. Further on is a section dedicated to different modes of Jewish identity; however, as each discussion of Jewish identity could be a project of its own, it should be kept in mind that the purpose of this book is to offer a general window into the world of Jewish identity and apply quantitative and qualitative data collected through field work in order to discuss this group within a social psychological framework. Represented within the discussion will also be Morton Weinfeld's (2001) book *Like Everyone Else…But Different: The Paradoxical Success of Canadian Jews*, Harold Troper's (2010) *Identity, Politics and the Canadian Jewish Community in the 1960's: The Defining Decade*, and Brym, Shaffir and Weinfeld's (2010) book *The Jews in Canada*. Each of these volumes, along with *The Canadian Jewish Studies Reader* (Menkis & Ravvin, 2004), are highly recommended for an in-depth picture of this group that goes beyond the scope of this book.

The story of Jewish Vancouver did not start in the west of Canada, and like many immigrant communities of North America, its first settlers arrived in the east and made their way gradually towards the Pacific. The following glimpse at the history of Jewish Canada highlights how social attitudes towards religion evolved to its present day form. This will be followed more specifically by a historical analysis of the social structures of the Jewish community of Vancouver to help clarify the greater picture of what we may expect concerning identity development from a religion based community. It hopes to put into perspective where the current attitudes towards practice, faith and belonging may have originated.

Jews in Canada: A Short History

Jewish Canadians can be traced back to 1768 (Tulchinsky, 2008) and as such have a rich history in the country. While their Canadian origins began in central-eastern Canada (Quebec – Ontario), Jews can now be found across the country and Jewish Canadians have come a long way from the days of being refused as social club members (Troper, 2010, p. 252). The very first official Jewish congregation was established in 1768 in Montreal (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 13). In this period and up until the 20th century, existence was not always a positive experience. While the religion itself was not necessarily seen negatively, the group was subjected to some forms of anti-Semitism (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 21). Most of the general development of Canadian Jewry at this early point in time was occurring in Montreal. There are accounts in the early 1800s where Jews could not hold public office or were removed from positions as a result of being Jewish (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 27). Notable names, including Abraham de Sola, a Jew of British descent who became a prominent rabbi in Montreal, are important in addressing the idea that as Jews, there needed to be a certain degree of integration with their immediate surroundings while maintaining their distinct religious culture (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 63). Through membership in different cultural organizations and writing in various publications, Abraham de Sola became a pioneer of Jewish cultural acceptance in Canada (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 65). In an attempt to help with the population growth of new Jewish immigrants in the 1890s, it was theorized (with the help of Baron Maurice de Hirsch), that the more agriculturally experienced Jews, especially those of Eastern European descent, should be relocated to the northwest of the country. The Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), aided by Hirsch and a grant from Paris, created a notable settlement just west of Oxbow, Saskatchewan near the border of North Dakota, which was to be called Hirsch. The colony was not hugely successful, and as more immigrants arrived, there grew a larger affinity for life in the larger cities. By the early 1900s the agrarian idea was largely left behind (Tulchinsky, 2008, pp. 84-90).

In the 1880s to 1890s Montreal's general population grew and the Jewish population mirrored this growth (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 93). Many urban Jewish institutions, from social organizations to newspapers, were created and expanded. Before the First World War, there was a general anti-foreign attitude in the country and this included anti-Jewish sentiment, but certainly not to the extent that Chinese immigrants may have been experiencing in the west. An example of such is Goldwin Smith, an intellectual at the time, notable for his anti-Semitic views, who generally thought that it should only be permissible to be Jewish should Jews assimilate into the general culture. Even with these assimilative views, old arguments about being responsible for the death of Christ as well as other monetary related issues still found their way to the forefront as reasons for his distaste for the Jewish people (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 127). Opinions did not change in the early 1900s, and an affinity for unions and communism that was associated with the Jewish population continued to make life, at least as a separate community, more difficult.

The 1920s saw another rise in the Canadian Jewish population, and suburbs, particularly around Toronto, became a location in which Jews began to settle. Significantly, (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 199) Montreal was where one could find forty percent of Canadian Jews (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 212). A survey from 1938 showed that "Montreal's Jews clung to their ethnic identity, judging by the survey's data on Jewish association membership; 44.3 percent of all parents belonged to a Jewish organization" (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 213). In the cities, only 27.9% of grandfathers, 6.5% of fathers and 2.2% of sons attended synagogue daily (Tulchinsky, 2008, pp. 213-214). Jewish refugees at this point in time did not find Canada as easy an entry point as it may have been in the past. Jewish immigration was negatively impacted further during the period between the wars, continuing through the mid to late 1930s. This was largely due to continuing anti-Semitic views, particularly from F. C. Blair, the immigration minister under Prime Minister McKenzie King. The quote "none is too many" (referring to how many Jews should immigrate to Canada after the war), from a government official during this period, highlighted Canada's social policy towards Jewish immigration. With knowledge of what was happening in the 1930s and 40s in Germany and around Europe, Canadian Jews took to protesting and writing to raise awareness of the atrocities they were hearing about from their ancestral countries (Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 239). The climate did not improve as anti-Semitic views swept cities like Toronto and Winnipeg, resulting in "Gentiles Only" signs and anti-Jewish publications.

After World War Two, anti-Semitism continued to be a strong public opinion with Jews being ranked the second least desirable type of people and therefore should be kept out of Canada, as evidenced in a poll taken in 1946 (Tulchinsky, 2008, pp. 402-403). It became so difficult that some Jews withdrew from the Jewish community, as it seemed the greater Canadian community wanted to see assimilation, or at least no special treatment for the Jewish people. Tulchinsky (2008) relates a story that "a woman survivor who was crying at a Holocaust memorial service in 1949 was told by a Canadian-born Jew to stop, 'Enough is enough…No more crying and no more talking about what happened. This is a new country and a new life'" (p. 406). After the war, there were generally equal rights for Jewish communities in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver that continue today. One major shift in communities was a more recent preference for living in Toronto over Montreal, as French language laws made Toronto more attractive for an Anglophone (mostly Ashkenazi) Jewish community. Although the community in Montreal is still quite sizeable, the Toronto community is currently the largest.

While the account above is more historically oriented, the importance of such a section highlights the modes by which Jewish Canadians were able to create the socially based identity we see today. Can we see a broader pattern of social integration loosening the ties between being Jewish socially and being Jewish religiously? This will remain to be seen; however, what we can consider are the many socially oriented institutions that operate separately from belief based participation. If "Jewish social group" is entered into Google.ca (Google Canada), most,

if not all, of the results are non-synagogue or ritual based, advertising activities like "Jewish singles meet-up", "bike & brunch", and "outdoors club". All of these have Jewish members but for the most part none of the activities are concerned with active belief-based Judaism.

Jews in Vancouver: A Social City

The preceding section highlighted the general trends in the history of the Jewish community of Canada. Although brief, it sets the stage for a discussion of Jewish life specifically in Vancouver. The importance of being able to follow the historical evolution of this population allows a clearer understanding of the attitudes expressed through both survey and interviews that will be explored as this discussion progresses.

In 2001, the most recent published data from Statistics Canada cited by The Center for Israel and Jewish Affairs (Center for Israel and Jewish Affairs, 2013), placed the Jewish population of Vancouver at 22,600, compared to a total Canadian Jewish population of 385,000. Vancouver did not always have such a large community and while the east was a hot-bed of activity among Jewish groups the west was slowly developing. According to Cyril Leonoff (1978), an archivist of the Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia, it was in 1840 that the first Jew, Adolph Friedman from Latvia, came to British territory of the Pacific Northwest (p. 11). It was, however, due to the Fraser River gold rush in 1858 that people began to move there, and according to Leonoff (1978), among them were one hundred Jews. Similar to what was seen in Toronto and Montreal, Jews were traders and merchants. Unlike stories we saw earlier about Toronto and Montreal's reception of a Jewish population, incredibly Vancouver had a Jewish mayor, David Oppenheimer (1888-1891), who was pivotal in creating many crucial Vancouver landmarks and establishing Vancouver as the terminal station for the Canadian Pacific Railway (Leonoff, 1978, p. 89; Tulchinsky, 2008, p. 59). Jewish immigrants at this point had "been integrated into the language, way of life, and relative affluence of Anglo-Saxon society" (Leonoff, 1978, p. 84).

The general background of Jewish immigrants in Vancouver was of Eastern European descent. Many became small store owners and by the 1920's, "more than half of Vancouver's Jewish community of 250 families lived in the East End of town (Strathcona), between Gore and Raymur Avenues on the east and between Cordova and Prior Streets, which are part of present day 'Chinatown'" (Leonoff, 1978, p. 85). The 1960s saw Vancouver flourish to become the fourth largest Jewish community in Canada (Troper, 2010, p. 28), due to its unique climate and generally what Troper (2010, p. 28) describes as its relaxed lifestyle. Troper (2010, p. 29) adds a thought from the *Toronto Telegram* that, "while some Jews may have been happily indifferent to Jewish branding; other new arrivals suffered a sense of loss at the absence of the kind of close and institutionally intense Jewish community they had left behind," as Vancouver community organizations, as well as the community size, were much smaller than other Canadian cities at the time. The Jewish community leaned towards higher education, developed many organizations and continued to reside in the city center and the Oakridge

district, home of the current Jewish Community Center and Louis Brier Home and Hospital (for elderly care). Home of many synagogues, Vancouver proper has notable Orthodox, Conservative and Reform populations. Schara Tzedek Orthodox synagogue, first opened in 1944 on West Broadway, is now located on Oak Street and still plays a major role as part of today's community. The Conservative Congregation Beth Israel synagogue, also on Oak Street, is still operating today beside the Vancouver Jewish elementary school, 'Vancouver Talmud Torah'. More recently, a Jewish high school called King David has opened and can be found beside the Jewish Community Center off of Oak Street as well.

From its beginnings as early as 1910, the Vancouver Jewish community was a community of organizations (Leonoff, 1978, p. 99), not only Jewish-religious organizations, but also more Jewish-social organizations. The Hebrew Aid Society to assist with immigrants, The B'nai B'rith Samuel Lodge (a Jewish community social institution), The Vancouver Hebrew Free Loan Association to give loans to the needy, are among those groups developed to help Jewish life in Vancouver flourish (Leonoff, 1978, pp. 99-102). Eventually, the very first Jewish Community Center (1928-1962) was established and today, at its new location, it still continues to provide social programming for the entire Vancouver Jewish community. Summer camps and other social organizations for youth were established with Camp Hatikvah (Young Judaea) in Oyama, BC in 1956 and Habonim Camp Miriam on Gabriola Island in 1960, both still operational today. The community itself is also very active in recreational and sporting events that many Vancouver residents take part in. Jewish Vancouverites, as a social group, dress and conduct daily life as any average Vancouver citizen would, although sometimes within a closer Jewish community setting. Today, the Jewish Federation of Greater Vancouver (JFGV) provides the Vancouver Jewish community with a rich array of resources and programming opportunities that allow the community to develop socially, while synagogues of every type speak to the diversity of religious denominations found within the city, ranging from a more strictly devout Chabad Lubavitch (a Hasidic movement within Orthodox Judaism) to Humanistic or reconstructionist forms.

Having explored how Jewish identity developed from a historical, religious and social point of view in a Canadian setting, we must consider the specifics of different modes of Jewish identification. We will look to more modern ideas of identity formation including active religious belief, passive participation and the role of Israel in Jewish identity. It should be reiterated that this dissertation is not an exploration of the sources of Jewish identity as such, but a theoretical discussion of how identity may cause a group to function.

Jewish Identity: An Introduction to a Complex Concept

One of the basic ideas behind this book is that Jewish identity can be considered in many different ways. This examination of the different modes of connection to Judaism that will be considered in this project is broken down into their most basic components. Glenn and

Sokoloff (2010) relate that, "the subject of Jewish identity, including the question of who is a Jew and what constitutes "Jewishness," is one of the most vexed and contested issues of modern religious and ethnic Group history" (p. 3). As such, this section, and more importantly this overall book, will not try to define who or what is religious, but will discuss the context within which one could relate feeling a Jewish identity as much as it can be self-interpreted. This discussion will consider different modes of Jewish identity relating to 1) active religious participation within ritual, 2) cultural identity, also referred to as secular or nominal identity and finally 3) a brief mention of Israel as a group connector. What remains is the question of who is considered Jewish and when is someone officially Jewish. For this study, the definition will be rather liberal wherein a person who self-considers him or herself to be Jewish will be, for all intents and purposes, Jewish. In the Torah itself, there are no specific passages discussing who is Jewish or what their lineage should be, but, generally speaking, it is accepted in Jewish circles that one who has a Jewish mother is considered to be Jewish.

While there are biblical references and discussions (Leviticus and Ezra, for example), there are other ways to discuss how one can consider themselves Jewish. This likely comes as a result of Jews in the Diaspora becoming increasingly assimilated (Amyot & Seligman, 1996; Cohen & Blitzer, 2008) and less emphasis on the self-description of their Jewish connection being derived from biblical sources. Diaspora communities, Jews living outside Israel, will be the population on which this discussion will focus (for an in-depth discussion of demographics, see DellaPergola, 2005a). While there is some knowledge of the biblical and Halakhic (or religious) rulings on who is Jewish, the definitions given by these laws are not necessarily given much observance in daily life. One could, in theory, say they are Jewish without meeting these specifications. Concerning Israeli nationality, there is a definition given by the State of Israel. According to the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the law of return amendment 4B under Prime Minister Golda Meir states that, ""Jew" means a person who was born of a Jewish mother or has become converted to Judaism and who is not a member of another religion" (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013). As such, returning to the original point of this section, the participants in this study will not be assessed according to maternal lineage but to the extent to which they self-identify with Judaism and the Jewish community of Canada.

Religious Expression

Commenting on a survey analysis of Jewish life in Canada, Broadbar-Nemzer et al. (2010), remark that, …the vast majority of Canadian Jews live in homes that in some way commemorate Passover, Hanukah, and the High Holidays. Second, about half of Canadian Jews also maintain such practices as lighting Sabbath candles or maintaining two sets of dishes at home for meat and dairy products as required by traditional Jewish dietary laws. Third, only a small number of Canadian Jews – one sixth or less – practice rituals associated with stricter adherence to

Jewish law such as refraining from handling money on the Sabbath, or observing the Fast of Esther (p. 43).

While some Jewish Canadians may call themselves Orthodox, they may not necessarily follow the rules of Shabbat or other active religious rituals (Broadbar-Nemzer et al., 2010). The researchers also go on to comment that participants from a study in British Columbia were the least observant, with Vancouver exhibiting the lowest synagogue attendance in Canada as opposed to the most observant participants coming from Montreal.

One aspect of Jewish membership that may allow for several different modes of connection are the relatively simple requirements to actually consider oneself to be Jewish. Certainly there are prescribed mitzvoth, or commandments, to which one should adhere, but these commandments are not necessarily essential to being Jewish. Generally speaking, declaring oneself Jewish may be the only requirement of being allowed to consider oneself Jewish. There are the basics of belief in one creator God (Cohn-Sherbok, 2010, p. 110) which some may share but otherwise there are no required amount of mitzvoth to follow or tasks to complete. While this does not mean that a belief aspect is unimportant, it points to the idea that there are different ways and levels on which one can believe and practice (Wright, 2012, p. 65). Amyot and Seligman (1996) comment that, concerning practicing Jews, those raised Jewish had a stronger Jewish identification. They introduce the idea that this could point to "assimilation into the "mainstream" culture being more prevalent among those who have rejected the religion of their childhood than among ethnic Jews who never practiced Judaism in the first place" (Amyot & Seligman, 1996, p. 186). As such, it is concluded in their 1996 study that religion was a major pillar in Jewish identification, with "close interpersonal relations with other Jews" (Amyot & Seligman 1996, p. 187) also being important.

Cultural Expression

Unlike religious participation, cultural participation has no prescribed laws and is in effect a sort of "lived religion" (McGuire, 2008) or "everyday religion" (Ammerman, 2007) version of a Jewish identity. Once Jews form a middle class and immigrant status is essentially equalized, the social climate allowed for development of a social Jewish identity (Goldschieder, 2010). Goldschieder describes this situation in North American Jewry: "Societal openness meant that religious and ethnic identity became increasingly voluntary and separable. Empirically, the data available suggest that from the 1920s to the 1960s there was a clear connection: the higher the social class, the greater the probability of diminished commitment to Judaism and Jewishness…" (p. 112). Goldschieder (2010) also relates that Jews are highly educated, if not one of the most highly educated groups, which leads to more preferred occupations, which in turn elevates social class. While, as Eisen (1998) adds, Jews have tried to remain unseen or to blend in to the greater society, there is still an element of Jewishness about their character that may show itself in social and cultural interaction.

Cultural identity as a social phenomenon has been found within Jewish groups in North America. Amyot and Seligman (1996) relate that, "for American Jews, integration into the social mainstream has always ranked among the highest personal and collective priorities" (p. 177). As such, it could be predicted that we see a separation of social attitudes from religious practice, to social groups formed as a product of Jews integrating into the social mainstream. At the same time, this group is still realizing a shared collective Jewishness. This assimilation, according to Amyot and Seligman (1996), should not cause one to think that Judaism as an identity in general is being lost, but rather that the way in which it is being realized may be changing. The idea that there may be a separation between different types of Jewish identification is found in the literature. An example of this can be found in Vilchinsky and Kravetz (2005), where there is a mention of different sets or categories of Jewish participation, namely, secular Jews, traditional Jews and religious Jews. The common finding among studies and discussions is that there is a separation of culture or social participation from religious participation. There is a context specific social functioning of a Jewish identity that allows separation from active religious practice. Taking all of this into consideration, it is important to note that we are not attempting to create categories into which we can place members. We are attempting to discover how people identify with Judaism as opposed to designating one type of connection as a category "A" or category "B" Judaism. In doing this, we open our perception to all forms of connection and can, therefore, find reasons for continued membership beyond the doors of the synagogue.

For the purpose of this book, Jewish identity, as far as referring to a cultural or social experience, will be considered as different from a belief based religious experience. A cultural connection will consist of the social context within which one identifies with Judaism separate from active religious practice. This allows an idea of different modes of connection and also contributes to our discussion of "Jewish" as a social or cultural phenomenon, separate from a religious identity. One important note is that there can be expectations that a person who identifies with Judaism on an active participation level may also have a strong identification when considering cultural, or what we will refer to as passive, participation. What should also be considered is that it may be likely that we see high passive participation scores, independent of, high active participation scores or identification, as cultural, or social, Jewish identification should be able to function on its own due to members' physical proximity to each other in daily life. Should this separation of social-religious identities exist, it is in the interest of the book that we discover how it may function.

Israel

This book should also not be seen as a political commentary or historical account of the State of Israel. As with any discussion of Jewish identity, Israel will be mentioned as a function of shared lineage and identification insofar as it serves as a point of mutual interest. According

to Broadbar-Nemzer et al. (2010), "about two-thirds of Canadian Jewish adults (66 percent) have been to Israel and, of those who have visited Israel, most (39 percent of the total) have been to Israel more than once" (p. 47). As such, we expect to see identification with Israel to some extent but not to the extent that it makes up the core of Jewish social identity. As a place of religious or group origin, Israel will be considered. However, Judaism in this case is being discussed on a social-city scale, and therefore, it would be assumed that 'Jewish' in Israel is different from 'Jewish' in Canada and will be treated as such due to the project's emphasis on situational specific social customs and Jewish identity as a social group.

Psychological theory and theoretical framework

In order to answer the questions of both how we belong to a group and how we perceive this membership, we must frame them in such a way that we can discuss the phenomenon piece by piece and in a proper context. One such way is through the lens of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986). What makes this theory an appropriate choice is that it deals not only with belonging to a group but also with the interactions between groups. The following will be an introduction to the theory and its applications to this discussion, as well as the ways in which it has been employed to discuss religion and religiosity specifically.

Social Identity Theory

Why do we identify with a group and how does this identification manifest itself? As complex as the question is, so too is the answer. While any number of theories could help to explain social identification, the purpose of this project is to apply the theoretical framework of social identity theory as introduced by Tajfel and Turner (1979). This is by no means to say that there are no alternative explanations, however, each theoretical discussion could be a project in and of itself and, as such, this project and its discussion will remain within the bounds of this theory.

Why social identity theory? As a general theory of intergroup relations, social identity theory discusses how one views his or her group with respect to others. For our purposes, we are interested in discovering how Jewish groups feel they fit within a greater majority society and as such, social identity theory may help identify the mechanisms by which these intergroup relations are manifested. As this project is concerned with religious membership as a social phenomenon, we hope to be able to see the extent to which religion and social religious identification can fit this theoretical framework. In appreciation of the recent work by Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman (2010), in attempting to bridge the gap between religion and social identity, this discussion will continue to assess how this theory can be used for religious group identification.

Origins

To understand the theoretical framework within which the remainder of this book will take place, a history of how the theory evolved, along with a presentation of some past empirical data for comparison, will be an important part of this journey. It begins in 1974; Henri Tajfel published a paper titled *Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour*, in which he discusses social categorization insofar as it deals with group comparison and psychological processes used within this concept. Tajfel (1974) concentrated on behaviour within groups and, after assessing empirical data, concluded that there are two separate behaviours to look for when studying group behaviour. These include, "the dichotomization of the social world into clearly distinct and non-overlapping categories…and the impossibility or serious difficulty in passing from one group to another" (p. 88).

When looking at group and intergroup dynamics we should be able to determine that these group members acknowledge that not only are there other groups around them, but also that these groups have borders and boundaries that keep in members and keep out others. The implications of this original paper created a framework for what would come to be known as social identity theory. This paper was a continuation from a past reviewing of some experimental data (Tajfel et al., 1971, p. 151), showing the ease of creating discriminatory behaviour, what perceptions of group membership are, and how they can be modified. These 1971 empirical data set the scene for the discussion of intergroup differentiation and a potential model concerning the situations in which this may or may not occur. The 1971 article offers that favouring the in-group happens "despite the fact that an alternative strategy – acting in terms of the common good – is clearly open to them [participants in the study] at a relatively small cost of advantages that would accrue to members of the in-group" (Tajfel et al., 1971, p. 172), therefore explaining that there was evidence for in-group favouritism.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) develop the idea through a discussion of intergroup conflict and comparison. The piece by Tajfel and Turner (1979) present this as a theory on intergroup relations and identify, not only the major issues surrounding the in-group-out-group dynamic between majority-minority populations, but also how these relationships function. More specifically, this speaks to the idea that once one identifies as a member of a group, he or she may derive self-esteem through comparison with other groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) make a distinction between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour, further explaining the difference with interaction on a personal level vs. interaction as a group. They give the examples of a wife and husband for the interpersonal level of interaction and of two opposing armies for the intergroup level (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 34). Hogg and Abrams (1988) also stress the categorization performed by people in their lives as a driving force within this theory, pointing to social comparison as a result of this categorization leading to positive self-esteem. More specifically, we, as humans tend to put ourselves into groups and once we are in one group or the other, we tend to automatically favor that group. Therefore, this theory should be thought

of as how this in-group bias can affect how we think about out-group memberships and on a larger scale, our social identity. To clarify their position, Tajfel and Turner (1979) present us with three general assumptions followed by three theoretical principles; these general assumptions are:

1) Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem: they strive for a positive self-concept.
2) Social groups or categories and the membership of them are associated with positive value connotations. Hence, social identity may be positive or negative according to the evaluations (which tend to be socially consensual, either within or across groups) of those groups that contribute to an individual's social identity.
3) The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value laden attributes and characteristics. Positively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low prestige. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40).

The related theoretical principles are:

1) Individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity.
2) Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups.
3) When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40).

What we have seen is a theoretical framework in its most basic form with a historical background setting the scene for how it will be useful for our discussion. On the one hand, in-group/out-group comparisons may seem intuitive or rather black and white, while on the other hand, an integral part of this discussion will be the assessment of that idea and the extent to which intergroup comparison is straightforward or endlessly complicated. The theory itself will be useful to get to know as we apply it to a relatively new discussion of religious membership.

The need for comparison may manifest itself because "real conflicts of group interests not only create antagonistic group relations but also heighten identification with and positive attachment to the in-group" (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 8). Re-phrased by Abrams and Hogg (1990), "social identity is self-conception as a group member. Social identity theory assigns a central role to the process of categorization which partitions the world into comprehensible units" (p. 2). With these definitions in mind, this section will present some contemporary work

within the theory and will follow this with a discussion of how this theory could possibly be applied within a religious context.

Empirical data within social identity theory, for the most part, is conducted within a controlled lab setting or with reference to occupational groups. The following will look at some highlights of well-known researchers within social identity theory and how their works may shape our understanding of this theory as we try to apply it to religious social groups.

Ellemers et al. (1988), in an early paper, describe two experiments concerning social identification. This paper also brings forward an implication that, "groups with relatively high status positions can make a positive contribution to their members' social identity" (p. 498). The experiments in this paper looked at university students and discovered affinity towards the in-group, in this case in high-status situations. They also look at group permeability, that is, the extent to which one could switch from one group to another and find (non-significant tendency, but noted) that within high status groups, permeability may increase in-group identification (Ellemers et al., 1988, p. 505). Continuing research into high status minority groups from Ellemers et al. (1992) conclude after empirical research that, "…contrary to negative connotations associated with the term minority group, minority size in itself does not reduce a group's possibility of achieving positive distinctiveness. Instead the desirability of a certain group membership appears to be jointly determined by the status position of that group as well as by its relative in-group size" (p. 138). Likewise, Ellemers et al. (1993) point out in other studies of group status that, "when low status is the result of a collective injustice, it results in feelings of solidarity; …in-group identification is especially strong when the collective disadvantage can be resolved by working at the enhancement of group status" (p. 777). Ellemers (1993b) reiterates this statement by adding, "illegitimate group status probably does not diminish people's willingness to identify as in-group members; in fact, their common fate may even enhance in-group identification tendencies" (pp. 46-47).

Concerning the salience of two identities, and with reference to this book and the case of one group (Jews) within another (Canada), previous research points to Mlicki and Ellemers (1996) who assessed national stereotypes of Polish and Dutch students. They wanted to see if a group with a more negatively perceived national stereotype would identify more with a European identity over a national identity, and after an analysis of variance, there was a stronger European identification among Poles (Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996, p. 104). Although there is a negative national stereotype, there is still a "strong sense of national identity" among Polish participants, and this could possibly stem from a necessity to protect Polish culture (Mlicki & Ellemers, 1996, p. 111). This idea could theoretically be projected onto a minority religious group within a national context to see if there would be strong cultural identification as well. Ellemers et al. (1997) show evidence that, "the inclination to define oneself as a separate individual or as a member of a social group is a major determinant of social perceptions and behavioral intentions (p. 625)." This takes our discussion further, adding that the idea of one's unwillingness to leave a given group will likely strengthen in-group identification once social

group identification has taken place. Furthermore, when a group was selected by an individual or when the group has high status, there will likely be emotional involvement in the group as opposed to one that is preselected (Ellemers et al., 1997, p. 385). Ellemers et al. (2002) stress the idea of social context, noting that, "the basic assumption here is that the relevant social context determines which categorization seems most suitable to provide a meaningful organization of social stimuli, and hence which identity aspects become salient as guidelines for the perceptions and behaviour of those who operate within that context (e.g., Oakes 1987, see also Deaux & Major 1987)" (p. 165).

Let us take a moment now to assess how this may work for the remainder of our look at social group identity. We know from the basic framework of social identity theory mentioned above that acceptance into a group and positive self-esteem through intergroup comparison is needed for our discussion to apply. We can also see by examining empirical research that there is an affinity for one's own group as well as an in-group bias across various situations. Additionally, we can observe that there are situations in which a person identifies strongly with a nation or as a nation within a greater context (example of Poland within Europe). What remains to be identified is how this theory will work within the context of a religious group. Perhaps you are asking, "I can choose a football team, I can choose a workplace, but can I choose a religion in the same capacity?" What should start to become evident through the presentation of this theory is that one's own perception will play a large role concerning how group membership is assessed. Should there be a perception of religious membership as a social or cultural group, we may be able to explore further connection styles of membership. These connections operate outside of being born into a religion and consist of a scenario where we can choose the extent to which we participate socially or culturally. It will be this passive participation that will be argued as the source of the positive self-esteem.

Social Identity & Religion

As we now have an understanding concerning what social identity theory can say regarding intergroup dynamics, one may remark that the bulk of the literature mentioned focuses on groups that are for the most part chosen. Granted, nationalities are not chosen, but one can move. Sports teams may reflect the city in which a person lives; however, some of my own family and friends in Vancouver have been known to support teams from Montreal, the city of their birth. The one thing that these examples have in common is that there is a perception that one can choose to identify with these groups, or if not, change their surroundings physically through sought after allegiances. Can a religion operate in this way?

Tajfel (1982), in another in-depth discussion of group membership and intergroup behaviour, brings forward the idea of ethnocentrism as introduced by Sumner (1906, p. 13). Sumner's definition of ethnocentrism is, "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference

to it" (p. 13). Interestingly, when giving examples or illustrations of ethnocentrism, a common example is the Jews, while another is patriotism. Considering what we spoke of just above, thinking of a religion or a nation in terms of what it means socially, as opposed to what it means to be born into a given situation, may help us make clear how this theory can be applied through the lens of a religious membership. Schmid et al. (2011) offer a summary of the original early definition for social identity theory saying, "social identification consists of a cognitive element (self-categorization), as well as an evaluative component (the degree to which a person evaluates a group in positive or negative terms), and an affective component (the extent to which a person feels emotionally tied to a group)" (pp. 214-215). Schmid et al (2011) also point their discussion to Ashmore et al. (2004), who, in a discussion of elements of collective identity, address the idea of *importance*, referring to "the degree of importance of a particular group membership to the individual's overall self-concept" (p. 83) and in a subheading present *implicit importance*, "the placement of a particular group membership in the person's hierarchically organized self-system; the individual is not necessarily consciously aware of the hierarchical position of his or her collective identities" (p. 83).

With the above comparison of importance vs. identity, we begin to see the basis for our discussion wherein a religion may fit within social identity theory. The main question remains, to what extent can religious group membership be considered social group membership? Furthermore, can we highlight religious group identification as a social context on its own? In a minority situation, a religious group identity would have to rely on its status for positive intergroup comparison. At the same time, we should see in-group favoritism or bias through positive intergroup comparison, which in turn leads to positive self-esteem. This should function just as any other group's social identity. The suggestion here is that, when all other variables are considered, if a religious minority group does not see itself in an unfair position, it would be unlikely that there would be intergroup conflict. It can then be predicted that in-group bias and identification as a minority would lead to positive self-esteem.

Hogg and Abrams, (1988, p. 2), in their description of different groups, use religious groups as examples in contrast to a national, ethnic or university faculty group and by doing so, allow an inference that this sort of group can be considered within this context, more specifically in contrast to a national group. This emphasis on religious and national groups will be integral to the following chapters and discussions within this thesis, as it will be a religious group within a national context that we will be visiting. In more recent developments, bringing together the ideas of religious group membership and social identity theory, Ysseldyk et al. (2010) relate that a belief system can be an identity as those who are members will have commonalities that will add to the self-concept, thus leading to positive self-esteem (p. 61). This not only satisfies our requirement of gaining self-esteem through group membership, but also contributes the notion that perhaps we can think of religion through social identity theory.

Optimal Distinction

Origins

While it is important to be part of a group wherein one feels a sense of positive self-esteem and also enjoys the security that subject uncertainty reduction brings (Brewer, 2003), it is also important that each of us feels that we are a uniquely functioning member of a given group. Total assimilation and a loss of individuality in a social collective could remove some of the motivation to be members of the group. While intergroup comparisons resulting from in-group membership and in-group favouritism, as discussed through social identity theory, presents the idea of a "positively distinct social identity", it may have more to do with higher positive self-esteem (Brewer, 2003). This is not to say that we must sub-group, but there must be a certain degree of differentiation that opposes complete assimilation into the group. Brewer and Roccas (2001) show us that social groups, which are considered a "collective unit", can go a dimension beyond an individual identity, explaining that:

> Optimal distinctiveness theory postulates that collective social identities derive from the interplay of two opposing social motives. One of these motives reflects the individual's need for inclusion, the desire to be a part of, embedded in, or assimilated to larger social collectives. At its extreme the need for inclusion would be met by total extension of the self to include all life-forms. By contrast, the second motive reflects the individual's need for differentiation of the self from others. At its extreme, the need for differentiation would be met by total disconnection of the individuated self from all other people. According to ODT, these motives have drive-like properties in that the level of motivation or arousal increases as the distance between the current state and the desired extreme (total immersion or total inclusiveness) increases (Brewer & Roccas, 2001, p. 220).

This theory will help explain the drive for continued individual distinctiveness, introduced originally by Brewer (1991).

The central argument for this theory from the original article is described by Brewer (1991) as such: "My position is that social identity derives from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to other (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)" (p. 477). To maintain a stable self-concept as a result of social identification (Brewer & Pickett, 1999), the development of this theory offers an explanation as to why this balance is necessary. As such, a model is presented (see Brewer 1991, p. 477) in which we can see a central point between intervening lines of assimilation and differentiation. This equilibrium, as it is described, is what allows the majority group membership to flourish without the feeling of being lost in the proverbial crowd. Much like a social identity in a greater sense, optimal distinction is not a conscious process whereby membership in a larger majority causes a proactive search for differentiation. Optimal

distinction describes a process that is automatic and more importantly, contextual. Centering on the original 1991 paper, there are four points that need to be satisfied:

1) Social identification will be strongest for social groups or categories at the level of inclusiveness which resolves the conflict between needs for differentiation of the self and assimilation with others.
2) Optimal distinctiveness is independent of the evaluative implications of group membership, although, other things being equal, individuals will prefer positive group identities to negative identities.
3) Distinctiveness of a given social identity is context-specific. It depends on the frame of reference within which possible social identities are defined at a particular time, which can range from participants in a specific social gathering to the entire human race.
4) The optimal level of category distinctiveness or inclusiveness is a function of the relative strength (steepness) of the opposing drives for assimilation and differentiation. For any individual, the relative strength of the two needs is determined by cultural norms, individual socialization and recent experience. (Brewer, 1991, p. 478)

While the theory also illustrates that in-group identity could be achieved more easily for minority groups due to the relative size of the group, there are also issues concerning group status. These are taken into consideration when it comes to ideas of positive social identity if we examine, for example, a low status minority group. While becoming completely individualized is generally avoided, a need for uniqueness within a larger group context remains a functional way to view group membership with respect to one's own individuality.

Brewer (2003) further relates that evolutionarily speaking, this idea can be described as a survival mechanism whereby social cooperation or mutual cooperation are important for survival, which is also called obligatory interdependence (Brewer, 1997; Caporael, 1997, as cited in Brewer, 2003). These social or group boundaries allow this interdependence to flourish through the effects of assimilation into one group and not another. By contrast, this differentiates one from the others. Within the group there is also a drive to both assimilate and differentiate. Optimal distinction can be used to describe this drive. The difference here is that this differentiation process is context-specific and will function as a result of not wanting to be associated with groups that are "too inclusive or too differentiating" (Brewer, 2003, p. 438). This means we are essentially trying to maintain this equilibrium of not standing out from a social group too much while not blending in to the point of complete de-individualization (Schmid, Hewstone, & Ramiah, 2011). With these needs (assimilation-differentiation) working in opposition (Brewer & Pickett, 1999), the current social group status and the theory of optimal distinction can help explain these contextual social identities with which we find ourselves identifying closely.

Concerning inclusiveness, one could consider any number of types of groups. Brewer and Pickett (1999) describe broadly inclusive and relatively exclusive groups (p. 73). The broadly inclusive category examples include gender, racial and national groups, while the relatively exclusive group examples include people with hearing disabilities, Mensa members, and Baptist Korean Americans (Brewer & Pickett, 1999). They go on to describe that with respect to social inclusion, contextually speaking, this could be a function of ability to gain membership to any of these social groups, followed by the extent to which one can find a way to remain distinct within it. Brewer and Gardner (1996) add that there is also a difference beyond personal and social groups, but that bonds within a larger impersonal group may speak to this need for distinction. Brewer (2001) describes this need as operating both at an inclusive group level and at the same time at an individual level, whereby there is a drive to be both similar to the group while remaining unique at the same time. One important idea that will be referenced throughout the entirety of this book is the suggestion of Brewer and Pickett (1999) that,

> People maintain equilibrium by correcting for deviations from optimality. A situation in which a person is overly individuated excites the need for assimilation and motivates the person to adopt a more inclusive social identity. Conversely, situations that arouse feelings of deindividuation activate the need for differentiation and result in a search for more exclusive or distinct identities (Brewer & Pickett, 1999, p. 74).

Put another way, it is important to keep in mind that these contextual optimal distinctions will seemingly automatically occur in a given situation whereby a need either from the "assimilation" or "differentiation" end of the spectrum of inclusion has to be further satisfied.

Optimal Distinction & Religion

Brewer (1996) offers a simple summary of her theory by stating, "The first motivational construct is a need for *assimilation and inclusion*, a desire for belongingness that motivates immersion in social groups. The second is a need for *differentiation* from others that operates in opposition to the need for immersion" (p. 296). Can this idea be applied to religion? If so, in what way? Religion as an identity (Hogg, Adelman & Blagg, 2010, for example) is not the topic up for debate in this discussion. The idea at hand is whether or not religion can be seen as a social identity and not only a social identity, but as an optimal distinction within a Canadian context. One important factor mentioned by Ysseldyk, Matheson, and Anisman (2010) is that religion can be both a religious identity and a social identity. What must be considered is the extent to which a national idea like "Canadian" can be compared with a perceived trans-national idea like "Judaism". Insofar as optimal distinction is concerned, the crux of the argument should fall on whether or not this contextual situation meets the criteria outlined above.

For the sake of argument, let us consider that the degree to which a person follows the prescribed laws of his or her religion is, as Ammerman (2007) or McGuire (2008) relate, generally a personal matter. This idea of personally constructed religious participation presupposes that it is possible to participate in different ways. As such, how one participates in their home in a given country will reflect this context specific participation. McGuire's (2008) account of a woman practicing her version of Catholicism at her own home altar with different pieces from her life making up her own spirituality was not the same Catholicism that is practiced in Rome, Poland or Mexico, or any other country for that matter. This was her practice in her own context. Translating this idea to Judaism, there are many ways that one can consider oneself to be Jewish and as with any religion with a trans-national doctrine there is also a contextual social aspect. In Vancouver, for example, there is a Jewish community center with activities that have little to no roots in Judaism, but are provided at a social community level. It is this sort of religious identification, the context specific and social version, which we discuss.

Returning to optimal distinction, can religion fit this theory? As a social phenomenon, within a national context, it would seem to satisfy our definition. On a personal level, meeting the inclusion/assimilation needs as a function of being and considering oneself part of a greater Canadian majority will satisfy the first need. It should be highlighted that in this case, we are speaking of being Canadian specifically, as opposed to American or British with defined borders figuratively, literally and culturally. The differentiation need, in this case, will be satisfied with a 'Jewish' identity. This will operate as a social group within this national context, allowing differentiation as far as groups are concerned but not isolation from the greater majority. Certainly, more extreme religious versions of Judaism, for example Haredi or Lubavich, may not feel the same. This could be due to outward appearances such as dress, adding additional weight to differentiation, possibly to the point of isolation as a separate entity. One important question would be if the religion, in this case "Jewish", were to become the majority, for example, in Israel, what sort of modes of identification would we see?

Basic questions and operationalization

In order to address the questions surrounding this topic that we want to explore and present them within the bounds of this book, a series of studies have been designed. Six chapters are presented and each, while able to stand alone, contributes to one whole collective discussion of passive religious participation and membership.

The first chapter asks how we may find different expressions of the ways in which one can identify with Judaism. The question here will be to see how a person self-identifies as a candid expression. As social identity theory at its most basic discusses social groups, this book is interested in whether or not a religious group can be seen as such. In order to do so, this study asks participants to speak about being Jewish. In order to assess this question, each response

is recorded and further assessed by external "raters" who can categorize these responses so we hopefully have a clear look at how each individual's personal connection manifests itself.

The second chapter asks if there is a way to assess passive participation as separate from active participation or, more specifically, in conjunction with a scale of active religious commitment. It will explore an attempt to create such a scale of passive religious participation. The importance of this will be in this scale's ability to assess something beyond active ritual participation. Participants in this study are asked to fill out several questionnaires regarding religious participation among other elements of group membership. It is hoped that we will find that the scores from this new scale differ from the results of an active religious commitment scale. As social identity theory discusses a need for positive self-esteem through group membership, this will aid in discovering a religion's role as a social group and how it manifests itself positively. This chapter hopes to further answer the question of which aspects of religious participation correlate with these variables (self-esteem and life satisfaction) as knowing this will help to describe the role and function of religious group membership in daily life and how various elements affect our well-being. Furthermore, perhaps it will allow a discussion of which sort of participation may be a driving force for continued membership or at the very least, a source of self-esteem.

The third chapter introduces the topic of self-esteem, and will ask where religious participation plays a role. It will also assess which sort of self-esteem (personal or collective) is affected. With the help of the chapters above, this chapter seeks to confirm that positive self-esteem can come from religious group membership. However, in this case, we are not looking for the source of self-esteem specifically, but which sort of self-esteem is most affected by which sort of religious participation. Discussions of this may allow a greater conversation concerning the level at which we are experiencing religious social group membership and if self-esteem is affected on a group or personal level.

The fourth chapter poses a question concerning which sort of religious orientation may or may not be associated with different religious participation styles. It will use a religious orientation scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) to show whether passive religious participation is an extrinsic or intrinsic expression. This book certainly does not wish to say that passive religious participation is at a lower level than active participation, and this will be examined empirically through the use of these scales and some statistical analyses. If it is possible to show that there is an intrinsic passive expression, we can suggest that those Jewish participants who participate on this passive level are expressing the same internal drive to participate as those who have a more active participation style.

The fifth chapter will look closely at majority and minority membership and explore the question of how one may or may not consider their group to be within either boundary. This chapter asks participants to acknowledge if they feel part of a majority based on geographic location. If optimal distinction is at work, perhaps we will see that they feel a majority at some point geographically. If this is the case, then we may satisfy our question of whether or not

one can be part of a perceived minority group while at the same time consider themselves a member of a greater majority.

The sixth chapter will attempt to summarize the entire discussion through a qualitative analysis consisting of interviews with people who have moved from Canada to Israel, in contrast to Jews who have stayed in Canada. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the ways in which moving to a perceived majority may affect our social identities. If we want to say that optimal distinction is the mechanism at work, we may expect to see those who have moved to Israel consider being Jewish differently than they did growing up in Canada. As Jewish is the majority in Israel, perhaps participants will offer a different identity marker as opposed to saying "Jewish" while in Canada. This may provide a case for optimal distinction and a note that this could be the right track to discovering how a religious minority identity can change contextually.