

Jewish outmarriage and anomie: a study in the Canadian syndrome of polarities*

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Au Canada, la proportion de mariages entre Juifs et non-Juifs semble suivre la mesure de quelques autres phénomènes sociaux, tel le divorce, le suicide, le crime, etc. : les taux sont modiques pour tout le pays sauf pour la Colombie-Britannique, où les taux sont très élevés, et pour le Québec, où les taux sont très bas. Une interprétation de ces données aboutit à une considération du mariage hors du groupe d'appartenance comme phénomène d'anomie.

The extent to which Canada's Jews marry non-Jews seems to follow the pattern of certain other Canadian social phenomena (divorce, suicide, crime, etc.): the rates are very high in British Columbia, very low in Quebec, and moderate in the rest of the country. An interpretation of such data leads to a consideration of outmarriage as an anomie phenomenon.

Connubium with non-Jews – the right to intermarry – has always been denied to Jews by their most authoritative religious and communal spokesmen (for documentation, see Davis, 1968; Gordon, 1964; Cahnman, 1963). But, like all such prohibitions, this one has sometimes been disregarded. This paper will examine the extent to which the prohibition has been effective in Canada and will attempt to explain the very substantial regional differences in this regard.

The general problem of intermarriage between Jews and others has inspired a voluminous literature, much of which has recently been reviewed by Davis, 1968; Ellman, 1971; Schlesinger, 1971a; and Lazerwitz, 1971. In so far as this literature has addressed itself to the problem of causal factors in North America, it has dealt almost exclusively with such factors as the educational and religious background of individual intermarriers and sometimes with the differential size and putative cohesiveness of local Jewish communities.

The present paper differs from all previous attempts at explanation by relating variations in a particular type of norm violation – outmarriage by Jews – to patterns of norm violation in the surrounding society.

All the data come from official Canadian sources and will be described presently. They indicate very substantial differences in Jewish outmarriage rates among the Canadian provinces: during 1971, the last year for which we have complete records, 15 per cent of the almost five thousand Jews who married in Canada took non-Jewish partners. However, in the province of Quebec this outmarriage figure was only 8 per cent while in British Columbia, Canada's western-most province, nearly half of all marriages involving Jews had a non-Jew as one of the partners.

As it happens, this Quebec–British Columbia polarity in Jewish outmarriage appears to be part of a Canadian syndrome of polarities in social indicators – divorce, suicide, criminality, etc. – each with Quebec at one extreme and

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British Columbia at the other. These manifestations of *anomie* correlate with geographic mobility. British Columbia leads the country, and Quebec trails, in the proportion of the population born in North America but outside the province. It will be suggested that such mobility is related to a breakdown in traditional social restraints and that this breakdown results in relatively higher rates of norm violation.

Jewish geographic mobility within Canada has had the same general direction as that of the population as a whole, and the proportion of Jews born out-of-province (but within North America) is very high in British Columbia, very low in Quebec, and of more moderate magnitudes elsewhere. (It will be shown that the very small Jewish communities in the Maritime provinces need separate treatment.) It can be shown that these mobility patterns correlate very highly with Jewish outmarriage, and it will be argued that these two variables coexist in a single nexus of causality. It will also be shown that other demographic factors, in particular the proportion of European-born Jews in a given Jewish community, affect the rate of outmarriage and thus contribute to this causal nexus.

ANOMIE

The emphasis in this paper is on two hitherto neglected aspects of the available data on Jewish outmarriage: (1) their very great geographic variability within Canada, and (2) their considerable correlation with certain indicators of what we shall call *anomie*.

The notion of anomie, while at least hundreds of years old, was most forcefully brought to the attention of social scientists by Durkheim, first in *Division of Labor* and then in *Suicide*. North American sociologists have tended to follow one strand of the Durkheimian suggestions; their thinking is represented by the very influential work of Robert Merton concerning relations between means and ends (for a very thorough review of such thinking, see Clinard, 1964). A much more general view of the thrust of Durkheim's work is given in Parson's *The Structure of Social Action*. Parson's tenth chapter, devoted to Durkheim's ideas concerning anomie and social control, may be consulted for the general paternity of the ideas in the present paper.

Following this general sociological tradition, it is posited here that the social milieu in which individuals find themselves may vary in degree

of social cohesiveness or social solidarity. This social web of solidarity acts, on the one hand, as a source of restraint, keeping the individual from an otherwise excessive pursuit of strictly personal ends, and, on the other hand, as a source of protection, affording the individual assurance that he is not alone in the world, that the social group will succour and support him.

Social solidarity may be high, in which case one would expect relatively low crime rates, showing that the restraining functions are operative, as well as relatively low suicide rates, showing that the supporting functions are well intact. The opposite of this condition would be called anomie, a condition of relative normlessness.

In this paper, the logical structure of the argument concerning anomie is to be taken as follows:

I begin by observing geographic variation in Jewish outmarriage and note that this variation coincides with variation in crime, suicide, divorce, mental disease, and geographic mobility. I suggest that all these indicators point to underlying variations in level of social solidarity, which is defined as the opposite of anomie. In all this, the tentative nature of the explanation is emphasized. The data available are aggregate, that is to say they concern provinces as a whole and not necessarily the individuals involved with the behaviour patterns with which we are concerned.

With these caveats in mind, I suggest that the Canadian West, in comparison with the rest of the country, has experienced less social solidarity and hence more anomie primarily because the population has lived together for smaller time periods (that is, there have been substantially larger proportions of in-migrants) and thus has had less of an opportunity to forge the bonds of solidarity that could enforce and strengthen the attachment of the individual to the social collectivity. These suggestions hold for the population as a whole, for Jews considered separately, and, as well, for Roman Catholics considered separately.

The explanations are tentative because nothing is known about the details of the mediating processes which would translate the putative general condition of anomie to the decision-making of individuals. Nevertheless, the indicators of relatively very high rates of social disorganization in the West are quite strong. It is hoped that the tentative nature of the explanation here will call for more research into the factors surrounding individual decisions.

TABLE I
JEWISH OUTMARRIAGE IN PERCENTAGES

	1921	1926	1931	1936	1941	1946
<i>Canada</i>						
Total*	4	3	2	3	5	5
Male†	6	3	3	4	7	6
Female‡	2	2	2	2	3	4
N**	(1088)	(2227)	(2824)	(3357)	(3890)	(4464)
<i>PEI</i>						
Total	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)
<i>NS</i>						
Total	8	7	7	3	14	6
Male	14	0	5	5	25	4
Female	0	13	10	0	0	8
N	(13)	(15)	(41)	(37)	(49)	(47)
<i>NB</i>						
Total	6	29	0	10	25	0
Male	11	44	0	18	33	0
Female	0	0	0	0	14	0
N	(17)	(14)	(12)	(20)	(16)	(16)
<i>Quebec</i>						
Total		2	1	1	2	3
Male		2	2	2	2	2
Female		1	1	0	2	4
N		(906)	(1128)	(1372)	(1543)	(1893)
<i>Ontario</i>						
Total	3	2	2	3	5	6
Male	4	2	3	4	7	7
Female	2	1	1	2	3	5
N	(686)	(866)	(1244)	(1344)	(1701)	(1702)
<i>Manitoba</i>						
Total	3	3	2	4	6	4
Male	6	4	3	5	8	6
Female	0	1	2	4	4	2
N	(271)	(307)	(291)	(404)	(409)	(530)
<i>Sask.</i>						
Total	7	5	6	4	16	11
Male	7	9	6	7	16	20
Female	7	0	6	0	16	0
N	(30)	(44)	(32)	(52)	(50)	(54)
<i>Alberta</i>						
Total	7	2	13	7	18	10
Male	14	0	13	12	29	13
Female	0	4	13	3	5	6
N	(39)	(47)	(46)	(78)	(49)	(104)
<i>BC</i>						
Total	19	21	7	20	17	24
Male	19	21	13	26	17	26
Female	19	21	0	13	17	21
N	(32)	(28)	(30)	(50)	(72)	(118)

THE BASIC DATA

This paper examines the record of 36,392 marriages in Canada involving Jewish partners. These data represent approximately 20 per cent of all Jewish marriages in the country between the years 1921 and 1971.

The data come from official sources and are grouped, for each of the chosen years, by provincial aggregates; that is, all that is known

about any individual is that he or she married in a certain year and in a certain province, and whether or not he or she married a Jewish partner. While one can examine, therefore, the variation in outmarriage as related to the passage of time and to the geographic differences represented by the provinces, one cannot perform the more usual sociological exercise of relating these outmarriage rates to such variables as socioeconomic status, urban versus rural resi-

TABLE I (cont.)

	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971
<i>Canada</i>					
Total	5	7	7	9	15
Male	7	9	10	11	18
Female	3	4	4	7	12
<i>N</i>	(3872)	(3338)	(3027)	(3545)	(4760)
<i>Newfoundland</i>					
Total					56
Male					67
Female					33
<i>N</i>	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(9)
<i>PEI</i>					
Total	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
<i>NS</i>					
Total	5	7	11	22	50
Male	10	7	11	25	61
Female	0	7	11	18	30
<i>N</i>	(19)	(28)	(18)	(23)	(28)
<i>NB</i>					
Total	9	33	20	17	57
Male	17	43	33	17	63
Female	0	20	0	17	50
<i>N</i>	(22)	(12)	(5)	(12)	(14)
<i>Quebec</i>					
Total	2	2	4	4	8
Male	3	3	6	5	10
Female	2	2	2	4	6
<i>N</i>	(1544)	(1409)	(1281)	(1532)	(1865)
<i>Ontario</i>					
Total	6	8	9	11	16
Male	9	11	12	15	18
Female	3	6	5	8	13
<i>N</i>	(1693)	(1441)	(1294)	(1559)	(2222)
<i>Manitoba</i>					
Total	6	8	8	8	18
Male	9	12	10	7	20
Female	3	3	5	9	16
<i>N</i>	(375)	(261)	(267)	(251)	(329)
<i>Sask.</i>					
Total	11	30	7	45	30
Male	19	47	0	57	35
Female	0	0	14	25	24
<i>N</i>	(38)	(23)	(13)	(11)	(37)
<i>Alberta</i>					
Total	13	13	24	29	39
Male	20	14	32	38	47
Female	4	12	14	17	29
<i>N</i>	(55)	(69)	(50)	(56)	(79)
<i>BC</i>					
Total	19	23	23	30	47
Male	24	28	31	31	53
Female	14	18	14	29	40
<i>N</i>	(124)	(94)	(99)	(100)	(177)

* Jews who married non-Jews as a percentage of all Jewish brides and grooms

† Percentage of Jewish grooms who married non-Jews

‡ Percentage of Jewish brides who married non-Jews

** Total number of Jewish brides and grooms

dence, or strength of religious commitment. (Survey data are needed for these variables; such data have been reported for the United States, for instance in Massarik and Chenkin,

1973. The urban-rural division is not meaningful for the Canadian Jewish population since 96.1 per cent of it was urban in 1941 and by 1971 this proportion had increased to 99.2 per cent.)

But, as will be seen presently, the very limitations of the data have proven to be a boon. By having to focus upon the geographical dimension, one can discover large variations in out-marriage rates. These geographical differences, in fact, emerge as a major explicandum of Jewish/non-Jewish relations.

All data relating to Jewish outmarriage in the United States have been fragmentary and unofficial since the marriage registration in that country almost never includes the religious affiliations of the partners. In Canada, however, for every marriage a note is made of the religion of each of the contracting parties. This record-keeping is essentially a provincial responsibility, but the federal government has collected all of this material at least since 1921 and has published much of it as part of its annual collation of provincial vital statistics. Heer (1962) and Rosenberg (1963) have already summarized such data as they relate to Jews for the periods to 1957 and 1960 respectively; the present paper brings the data up to 1971.

Table 1 shows the proportion of Jews who married non-Jews in Canada and in each province for every fifth year since 1921. These data thus represent an approximately 20 per cent sample of all Jews who were married in Canada in the last half century.

The figures were calculated from the uniform tables prepared by the various provincial vital statistics agencies (Department of Health Services, etc.) which list all marriages by religious affiliations of groom and bride. For data for the years up to and including 1951, I was able to use the federal vital statistics reports directly since these published separate tables for each province. For the years after 1951, only Canada-wide summaries were published in the federal reports. However, many of the provinces published their own reports. For those provinces which did not, I was able to obtain provincial breakdowns of the Canada-wide figures from the unpublished files of Statistics Canada.

I chose the years 1921, 1926 through 1966, 1971 because Canadian census figures are available for them, and I was thus enabled to relate

the outmarriage rates to demographic information from the census. (A full census is available for every tenth year, that is, for 1921, 1931, etc.; partial censuses are available for the midpoint years 1926, 1936, etc.)

Again unlike the situation in the United States, the Canadian census asks questions concerning religion and ethnic background.¹ As a result, one can relate Jewish outmarriage rates not only to such variables as the size of the general population but also to the absolute and relative sizes of the Jewish population in each province. I have undertaken a number of such analyses, some of which I report in the course of this paper.²

No intermarriage data are available for Quebec for 1921 because that province was not at that time part of the federal vital statistics reporting scheme. Similarly, no data are available for Newfoundland until its entrance into Canada in 1949. I have omitted the data for the Northwest and Yukon territories, whose combined Jewish populations have never reached a total of one hundred.

An inspection of this table suggests several immediate observations:

1/ There has been a steady, over-all increase in the rate by which Jews marry non-Jews. The over-all correlation of the outmarriage rate with the time variable is .52. This finding is in general agreement with the findings of other North American investigators but contrasts sharply with figures from Australia (Buckley, 1974) which show a consistent decrease in the outmarriage rate. This Australian report, together with a consideration of all the factors to be discussed in the present paper, makes it apparent that there is no inexorable trend towards outmarriage. When factors facilitating outmarriage increase, as they have in North America so far, outmarriage rates increase; but if such facilitating factors were to decline, the passing of time would no doubt see a decline in outmarriage. None of this is to deny, however, the probability of further increases in the North American outmarriage rates.

2/ The tendency for Jewish males to marry

1 For a discussion of how the resulting data can be used for the study of the sociology of Jews, see Yam and Freedman, 1973.

2 Whenever I report a correlation between outmarriage rates and other variables, or between any two variables, this correlation was obtained by regarding the observation of a given province in a given year as a single case; that is to say, the correlations obtained are between variables observed over province-years. Each case was weighted by a factor representing its population so that, for example, the province of Quebec, with a population of over six million in 1971, was consistently weighted much more heavily than the province of Prince Edward Island whose 1971 population amounted to just over 100,000.

non-Jews appears quite consistently stronger than the tendency for Jewish females to do so. There is a great deal of discussion in the literature on this point and much theorizing. However, Ellman (1971:41-2) has already alluded to the possibility that this sex difference may be more apparent than real: 'Owing to the dominant position of the male in modern society it is possibly easier for him to maintain his religious ... identity ... We do not know how many Jewish girls marry non-Jews and lose their religious ... identity, thereby ceasing to exist from the point of view of Jewish statistics.'

The present data underline the doubts concerning a greater male propensity to outmarry. There is an over-all correlation of .67 between outmarriage rates and the ratio of reported Jewish grooms to Jewish brides; in other words, the greater the number of outmarriers, the greater the excess of Jewish males compared to females. Whenever Jewish outmarriage rates are high, then, there would seem to be missing Jewish females. Where are they? Are there simply fewer of them (not likely; see data on Jewish sex ratios in Kalbach and McVey: 189), do they remain spinsters, or do they, in fact, exist as outmarried brides to non-Jewish grooms, having converted in time to give their religion as Christian to the registrar of marriages? Until such questions can be answered, it seems best to declare a moratorium on theorizing about the greater propensity for Jewish girls to choose Jewish marriage partners.

3/ The small Jewish communities in the Maritime provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick tend to have substantially higher rates of outmarriage than the rest of the country. These rates are somewhat erratic (not one of the marrying Jews of New Brunswick married a non-Jew in 1946 or in 1931, though the province had the highest outmarrying rate in 1971), but the tendency seems clear enough. (Prince Edward Island had only two marrying Jews in the eleven sample years and need not enter our discussion at all.) Whatever social forces may be at work among the Jews of the Maritimes, it seems safe to assume that the very small number of available Jewish grooms and brides has some influence on the outmarrying patterns. But there is almost no linear relationship in the country as a whole, in the period under discussion, between size of the

Jewish community and outmarriage rates. When the provinces are weighted as explained before, the over-all correlation between size of the Jewish population and outmarriage is $-.14$.

4/ All of the Jewish outmarriage rates here obtained – even the very highest – testify to a continuing, very strong social separation between Jew and non-Jew. The proportion of Jewish brides and grooms in the total marrying population is very low everywhere; in 1971, it ranged from .1 per cent in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to 1.9 per cent in Quebec, with a national average of 1.2 per cent. It can thus be readily seen that without a social barrier to intermarriage, more than 98 per cent of the Jews would have married non-Jews, since this latter figure represents the proportion of non-Jews among the available grooms and brides.

5/ Even if one does not consider the special case of the very small Jewish communities in the Maritime provinces, the variation in outmarriage rates among the provinces is exceedingly great. Considering only those provinces with considerable Jewish populations, the range from the very low rates in Quebec to the very high rates in British Columbia can be said to be greater than the increase in outmarriage over time.

6/ All these figures underestimate (and, unfortunately, to an unknown extent) a more general phenomenon of intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews. What we here call Jewish outmarriage includes only those marriages in which one partner declared himself Jewish and the other non-Jewish at the time of the marriage registration. Any case in which the Jewish or the non-Jewish partner converted before marriage – even if such conversion were only *pro forma* – is not included. Since there is no reason to believe, however, that such intermarriage after conversion is relatively more frequent in one period than another, or in one province than another, this consideration should not interfere with the validity of the relationships and comparisons discussed in this paper.³

CATHOLIC OUTMARRIAGE

I hinted in the introduction to this paper that there may be certain societal forces acting upon Jew and non-Jew alike which tend to favour ethnic intermarriage in certain locations more

³ Those interested in the implications of outmarriage rates for Jewish population projections should consult Fein, 1971.

TABLE II
CATHOLIC OUTMARRIAGE, 1971

	<i>Crude outmarriage rate</i>	<i>Actual/expected rate</i>
Canada	21	50
Newfoundland	31	47
Prince Edward Island	23	46
Nova Scotia	35	55
New Brunswick	18	39
Quebec	3	31
Ontario	36	54
Manitoba	44	60
Saskatchewan	45	63
Alberta	50	66
British Columbia	59	73

than in others. In the Canadian context, it has been shown that British Columbia is particularly favourable to Jewish outmarriage, Quebec particularly unfavourable. If the factors that make for these differences are indeed of wider applicability, one should expect Catholic outmarriage rates, to pick a convenient example, to show similar patterns. As a matter of fact they do just that.

The data base which provided us with outmarriage rates for Jews – that is, the compilation by provincial vital statistics agencies of religious self-identifications of newly married grooms cross-tabulated with similar self-identifications of brides – may also be used to study Catholic outmarriage. Table II presents such data for 1971.

Since the proportion of Catholics varies so much among the provinces, the crude outmarriage rates (first column) needed to be corrected to give a uniform indicator of Catholic propensities to marry non-Catholics. This is the 'actual/expected' ratio of the second column; it was obtained by using the actual outmarriage proportion of the first column as a numerator and by dividing this figure by that which would be expected if there were no Catholic/non-Catholic barriers to intermarriage, that is, by the proportion of non-Catholics in the (marrying) population. The resulting 'actual/

expected' figure may now be interpreted, without further reference to actual Catholic proportions in the population, as an indicator of the extent to which Catholic/non-Catholic barriers operate against intermarriage. Thus while 21 per cent of the marrying Catholics in Canada chose non-Catholic partners in 1971 (first line of the table), 42 per cent would have been expected to have done so if there had been no religious barrier to intermarriage since the proportion of non-Catholics among all marrying Canadians was forty-two per cent in that year. Twenty-one is then divided by 42 to obtain the figure of 50 shown in the second column (having made the convenient adjustment in decimal points). This tells us that Catholics married non-Catholics half as often as would be expected in a situation freely allowing intermarriage.⁴

Table II, whether examined from the point of view of the Catholic crude outmarriage rate or from the more valid point of view of the actual/expected ratio, shows the same polarity observed in the case of Jewish outmarriage. The principal features of this polarity are: (1) Quebec and British Columbia are at opposite ends of a national continuum; (2) Ontario, the most populous province of the country, has a value close to the national average and somewhere between the two polar provinces.

4 For a discussion of actual-expected ratios in Canada, see Heer, 1962: 248–9. Heer deals with an earlier period, but shows the same Quebec-British Columbia polarity reported in this paper. No adjustments for 'expected' rates were made in the case of Jewish/non-Jewish intermarriages since the proportion of Jews varies very little among the provinces and the proportion of non-Jews approaches unity everywhere. Thus the actual outmarriage rate is always very close to the actual/expected ratio.

TABLE III
SELECTED SOCIAL INDICATORS, 1971

	<i>Mobile</i>	<i>Suicide</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>Rape</i>	<i>Cannabis</i>	<i>Crimes</i>	<i>Divorce</i>	<i>Population</i>
CAN	13	11.9	2.8	6.5	89.2	6140	137.4	216
NFLD	4	3.6	4.4	2.8	41.4	5004	28.7	5
PEI	13	11.6	0.9	2.1	55.9	3802	52.8	1
NS	13	8.7	3.5	5.7	61.6	4365	91.4	8
NB	13	6.9	1.9	1.5	61.9	3808	76.1	6
QUE	5	9.2	1.5	4.7	53.8	4125	86.2	60
ONT	12	13.9	3.2	5.4	98.4	6627	158.2	77
MAN	15	14.0	2.2	7.5	55.2	6876	138.6	9
SASK	14	8.4	1.8	5.4	74.0	6260	87.8	9
ALB	24	11.2	3.6	12.3	107.3	8216	224.3	16
BC	32	17.4	4.5	12.0	186.9	9445	226.2	22

Explanations for Table III:

MOBILE: Percentage of persons in each province born in another Canadian province or in the US
SUICIDE: Deaths attributed to suicide, rate per 100,000 population. Source: Vital Statistics for 1971, Statistics Canada publication, 84-201

MENTAL: Deaths attributed to mental diseases, rate and source as for SUICIDE

RAPE: Actual offences per 100,000 population. Source: Crime Statistics, Police, 1971, Statistics Canada publication, 85-205

CANNABIS: As for RAPE

CRIMES: Convictions under the criminal code of Canada; Source: as for RAPE

DIVORCE: Source: as for SUICIDE

POPULATION: See text

THE CANADIAN SYNDROME
OF POLARITIES

As I have already intimated, certain measures of norm violation in the general population parallel the geographic patterns of Jewish and Catholic outmarriage. This portion of the paper presents some of the relevant data and attempts to interpret certain Canadian patterns of anomie.

The two polar provinces for the indicators I have chosen – that is for suicide, mental disease, rape, divorce, crime, etc. – are British Columbia and Quebec. Quebec, with its overwhelmingly French-Canadian and Catholic population, shows itself, from the present point of view, as exceptionally stable, law-abiding, and norm-upholding. The familiar findings of Durkheim in the Europe of the nineteenth century still seem to have a certain relevance: Catholic regions show less suicide, less anomie. British Columbia, on the other hand, seems to be still a frontier province as the term is used by Turner (cf. Clark, 1962: chap. XIII; Billington, 1966): it is a place where Old World constraints on intermarriage are most easily overcome and certain social norms and prohibitions are most often violated.

Whatever may be the influence of religion or

the spirit of the West, the particular measures of norm violation presented in Table III correlate closely with a measure of geographic mobility. This measure is the percentage of persons in each province who, although born in either Canada or the United States, now (at the time of the 1971 census) live in a province in which they were not born. (I have followed Hurd, 1965: 103, in combining the Canadian-born with those born in the United States since, for the particular purpose at hand, North America is best considered a single cultural area.) The first column of Table III shows these figures for Canada and for each province.

The column (*mobile*) conforms very strongly to the Quebec-British Columbia polarity: while 13 per cent of Canada's population consists of geographically mobile persons as here defined, the corresponding figures for Quebec and British Columbia are 5 and 32. The following columns of this table show comparative rates for suicide, deaths attributed to mental diseases, convictions for rape, convictions for offences related to cannabis, total offences under the criminal code, and divorces. In each case, the Quebec-British Columbia polarity is very marked, except that the figures for the small populations in the Maritime provinces sometimes fall out of line. In order to read this table

TABLE IV
CORRELATIONS WITH NORTH AMERICAN
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY, 1971

Suicide	.67
Deaths attributed to mental disease	.76
Rape	.89
Cannabis convictions	.90
Total criminal code convictions	.90
Divorce	.86
Average for six indicators	.83

with the perspective of relative population magnitudes, the last column which shows the 1971 population of Canada and of each province in tens of thousands should be consulted.

If each province is weighted according to its population, one obtains Table IV which shows the correlations between geographic mobility as defined above and the anomie indicators of Table III.

In interpreting these correlations, it must be remembered that they are based on only ten observations, one for each province. For this reason, and for others as well, they can be taken as no more than suggestive. But they do contain a suggestion: a relationship of causality between geographic mobility and norm violation. I shall pursue this problem of causality in the section on interpretation.⁵

I have not considered, so far, the possible effects which the presence of in-migrants from outside of North America might have on the atmosphere of norm upholding and norm violation. There is reason to believe that in the case of Jews, Old World norms concerning in-marriage may be strengthened with a relatively greater proportion of persons born in the Old World in a community; the next section presents evidence that this is indeed the case. But for the population as a whole, given the varying backgrounds of various immigrant groups, it would be difficult to predict the particular effect on norm violations which a relatively greater proportion of such foreign-born people might have. The provinces did vary considerably in the proportion of this group found in their populations in 1971, but these variations are difficult to interpret from the present point of view. In

any case, the country as a whole, according to the 1971 census, had 14 per cent of its population born outside of North America; Newfoundland had 1 per cent, PEI 2 per cent, Nova Scotia 4 per cent, New Brunswick 2 per cent, Quebec 7 per cent, Ontario 21 per cent, Manitoba 14 per cent, Saskatchewan 9 per cent, Alberta 14 per cent, and British Columbia 20 per cent.

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH OUTMARRIAGE

There is a suggestion made by Kalbach and McVey (1971:280) that members of ethnic groups in Canada show more outmarriage behaviour to the extent that they move away from their 'original area of settlement' in Canada. In the case of the Jews, such original areas of settlement were primarily in eastern Canada and Manitoba. The higher rates of outmarriage in the West would tend to confirm the thesis of Kalbach and McVey: 'for those who stay in their, or their family's, original area of settlement, the chances of marrying someone of similar ethnic origin are much greater than if they moved elsewhere. This is not only because of the greater supply of eligible persons, but also because of prevailing social expectations. Those who leave not only escape these group constraints, but increase their opportunities for meeting individuals of other ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds.'

As I shall discuss at greater length in a later section, I apply and extend the Kalbach-McVey thesis by thinking of outmarrying behaviour among Jews as an indicator of a loosening of Jewish social solidarity and of such Jewish

⁵ The reader may wonder whether the syndrome of polarities depends simply on economic factors. This idea was tested by obtaining the correlation between geographic mobility and an indicator of personal income. This correlation turned out to be only .21, suggesting that the results of Table IV are essentially independent of purely economic factors. On the other hand, the correlation between proportion of French ethnic group members and geographic mobility is -.64, suggesting that the syndrome of polarities in Canada is involved with the English-French ethnic issue. Both of these results should be compared with the correlations reported in Table IV.

communal solidarity as being influenced by the following two factors (among others): (1) The proportion of European-born persons in a given Jewish community. These people may be expected to increase the weight of tradition and hence to inhibit outmarriage. (2) The proportion of migrants from other parts of North America. These people, in line with the Kalbach-McVey suggestion, may be expected to have a loosening influence on Jewish communal solidarity.

In order to test these two ideas, it was necessary to use tabulations in the Canadian census which relate Jews to both types of geographic mobility. Such tabulations are only available for Jews considered as an ethnic group, rather than, as is the case in the outmarriage data, a religious group. Yam and Freedman (1973) show that these two ways of looking at the Jewish population cannot be considered as equivalent, but for our present purposes, which have to do with the proportion of migrants among Jews, the ethnic data are a good substitute for the generally more reliable religious tabulations.

In the first column of Table v, the ratios of European-born to North American-born Jews for Canada and for each of the provinces for each of the last three full censuses are given. It is noted that the proportion of the European-born declined over time, and that, as expected, the proportion is noticeably, though perhaps not dramatically, lower in the provinces with high outmarriage rates. In particular, it is noted that Quebec and British Columbia again stand at opposite ends of the continuum, with Ontario occupying a middle position close to the national average.

Two coefficients of correlation can also be reported which strengthen the conclusion that European origin militates against Jewish outmarriage. When the provinces are weighted in accordance with their Jewish population, the correlation between Jewish outmarriage and the ratio of European-born to North American-born Jews, for the combined three census years of 1951, 1961, and 1971, is $-.77$. There is also a negative correlation between the proportion of people who list Yiddish as their mother tongue (presumably European-born people) in a given Jewish community and Jewish outmarriage rates. This correlation, for the whole period of 1921 to 1971, is $-.56$.

The second column of Table v gives the percentage among all Jews in Canada and in each province of those who, though born in North

America, were not born in their province of residence at the time of the 1971 census. (These figures are not available for the earlier censuses, since the earlier tabulations did not distinguish between same-province and other-province origins of Canadian-born respondents.) The people highlighted in this column have all experienced geographic mobility within North America in their own lifetime. In accordance with the Kalbach-McVey suggestion, one would expect that the greater the proportion of these people within a given community, the greater the outmarriage rate among Jews. Our data show that this expectation is indeed justified. The effect is, in fact, very strong; the proportion of such North American-born, geographically mobile Jews ranges from a low of 6 per cent in Quebec to a high of 38 per cent in British Columbia. If these figures are correlated with Jewish outmarriage rates for 1971, the exceptionally high coefficient of correlation of $.96$ is obtained.

I have drawn three scatter diagrams in order to illustrate the relationships between the demographic factors I have discussed and Jewish outmarriage. In each case, the vertical axis represents 1971 outmarriage rates and the horizontal axis one of the proposed explanatory variables. The values for the latter are derived, in each case, from the 1971 census.

Figure 1 looks at the relationship between the size of the Jewish (defined by religion) population in each province and outmarriage rates. These figures are indicators of relative provincial densities of Jews but do not give direct information on the size of local Jewish communities. However, since it has been shown that almost all Canadian Jews were urban residents in 1971, these figures can be taken as fairly good indicators of relative sizes of Jewish city populations. In most cases, the provincial figure is almost identical with that of one or a combination of two cities: 98 per cent of the Jews of the province of Quebec lived in Montreal, 89 per cent of the Jews of British Columbia lived in Vancouver, 91 per cent of the Jews of Alberta lived in the two cities of Edmonton and Calgary, 81 per cent of Ontario's Jews lived in Toronto with other substantial numbers in nearby communities.

It has become a cliché of the previous literature on intermarriage to assert that there is a linear, negative relationship between the size of the local Jewish community and its outmarriage rate. When this proposition was tested for the

TABLE V
JEWISH GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY

	<i>Ratio of European-born to North American-born (multiplied by 100)</i>	<i>Percentage born in North America but outside of province of residence</i>
<i>Canada</i>		
1951	63	
1961	48	
1971	41	11
<i>Newfoundland</i>		
1951	55	
1961	33	
1971	17	22
<i>Prince Edward Island</i>		
1951	33	
1961	20	
1971	20	50
<i>Nova Scotia</i>		
1951	38	
1961	21	
1971	22	26
<i>New Brunswick</i>		
1951	42	
1961	25	
1971	26	26
<i>Quebec</i>		
1951	66	
1961	54	
1971	45	6
<i>Ontario</i>		
1951	59	
1961	47	
1971	41	11
<i>Manitoba</i>		
1951	68	
1961	47	
1971	37	11
<i>Saskatchewan</i>		
1951	55	
1961	26	
1971	31	25
<i>Alberta</i>		
1951	57	
1961	32	
1971	28	30
<i>British Columbia</i>		
1951	44	
1961	30	
1971	32	38

last fifty years for all of Canada, however, there was almost no linear relationship found [see point (3) in the data section, above]. Figure 1 clarifies the matter further for the 1971 data. There is a rough, non-linear, negative relationship, especially noteworthy in its effects on the three very small maritime provinces, but it is not the kind of relationship that can explain the very substantial differences in outmarriage

rates between, for example, British Columbia and Manitoba.

Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between the proportion of European-born Jews in a Jewish community and its outmarriage rates. As has already been noted, this is a relationship which is marked and consistent, at least for the last three censuses. Nevertheless, as Figure 2 illustrates, it fails to satisfactorily account for



FIGURE 1

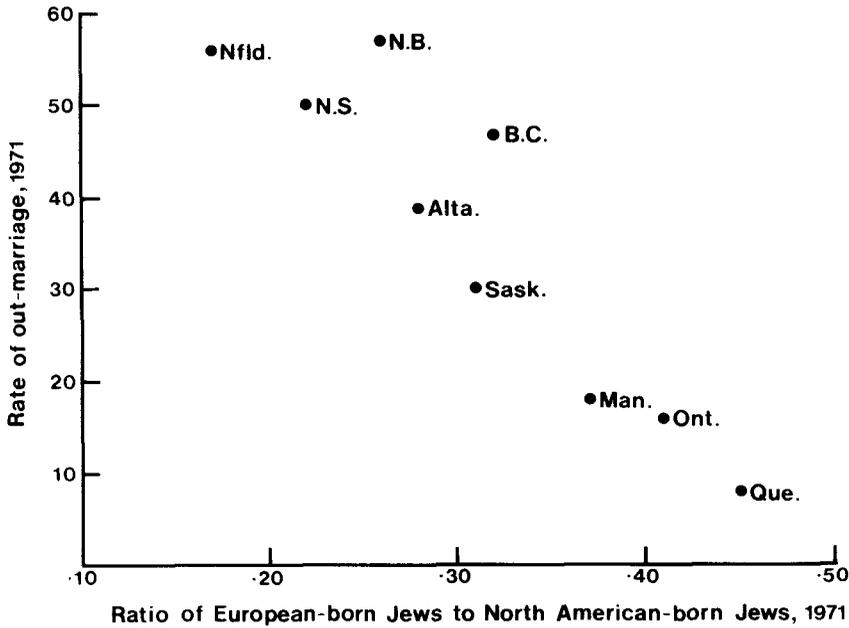


FIGURE 2

the very high outmarriage rates in British Columbia.

Figure 3 illustrates the relationship which this paper has sought to emphasize. It shows the relationship between the proportion of North American born geographically mobile Jews in a

Jewish community and the outmarriage rate. The scatter diagram shows an almost perfectly straight line with only the three tiny Jewish communities of the Maritime provinces forming a special little cluster of their own. In their case, apparently, the extreme nature of the size factor

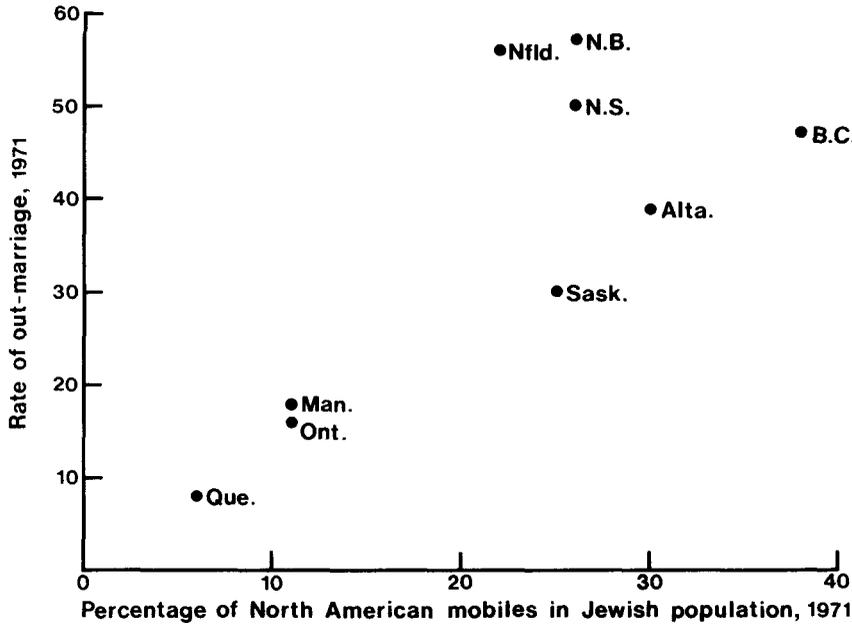


FIGURE 3

makes it impossible for the other causal conditions to operate the way they do elsewhere.

INTERPRETATION

The data have shown that outmarriage rates among the Jews of Canada vary with anomie phenomena in the individual provinces. Similarly, it has been observed that these anomie phenomena vary with rates of in-migration from other parts of North America. It remains to be seen how these various relationships can be fitted into causal explanations.

A first difficulty lies in the fact that all the data concern provincial aggregates. While we know, for example, that the proportion of Jewish in-movers among the Jews of British Columbia is proportionately very high and while we also know that the rate of outmarriage among this group of Jews is proportionately high, we do not know whether or not it is the in-movers themselves who are responsible for the outmarriage; we have a firm basis only for saying that in the presence of a relatively high proportion of in-movers, a relatively high rate of outmarriage takes place.

Another difficulty is the problem of direction of the causality which might be proposed. For example, while it is plausible to suggest that the situation created by substantial numbers of in-migrants causes looser social ties and thus

anomie phenomena, it is also plausible to maintain that a freer, looser environment attracts certain types of migrants. Neither type of causal hypothesis needs to exclude the other, of course. But in this paper, in the absence of linking data that would enable me to posit a specific direction in the causality, I speak of a *causal nexus* of various phenomena. In other words, I suggest that there exists a connecting relationship which might be in either or both directions. It seems most plausible to assume, as a matter of fact, that the causal relationship is bidirectional or reciprocal. Not only might migrants cause anomie, but once this anomie has been established as a known social fact, it might well attract other migrants more selectively because of it.

Keeping these limitations in mind, I shall now consider the possible causal relationships between: anomie and geographic mobility; Jewish outmarriage and geographic mobility; and finally anomie and Jewish outmarriage.

Anomie and geographic mobility

The relatively higher rates of suicide, mental disease, rape, drug convictions, crime, and divorce which mark the Canadian West and go together with the presence of a relatively higher proportion of geographically mobile persons (see Table II) may reasonably be interpreted as signs of an environment of looser social ties and

weaker social restraints. It seems reasonable to expect that when people have come from elsewhere in relatively greater numbers, they have fewer extended family ties and that the absence of such ties exposes them more often to the normlessness familiar to students of Durkheim.

A comment by Bogue (1959:488) is quite typical of the opinion of many students of internal migration: 'To the extent that migration weakens the traditional controls which neighborhoods, institutions, and communities exercise over the behavior of individuals it may lead to an increase of crime, delinquency, broken families, illegitimacy, and other problems indicative of social organization.'

There is also some more direct suggestive evidence which links geographic mobility with crime (Sutherland and Cressey, 1966:115), suicide (Gibbs, 1971:303), and mental illness (Sanua, 1970:337 and *passim*).

Putting all these considerations together, one arrives at the following propositions:

1/ Traditional social norms are more strongly upheld in Quebec than in British Columbia, with the rest of the country falling somewhere in between. The extent to which traditional norms are upheld is related in a causal nexus to the proportion of geographically mobile North Americans in the population.

2/ These propositions can be further tested and refined by considering geographic units smaller than the province and by examining such data over a period of time. I am now engaged in performing such further tests; preliminary results have tended to confirm my general propositions.

Jewish outmarriage and geographic mobility

Without denying the other demographic factors which apparently affect Jewish outmarriage – in particular, size of the Jewish community in the very small Jewish population aggregations and proportion of European-born Jews in a given community – the data strongly suggest that there is a very substantial relationship between the rate of outmarriage and the proportion of geographically mobile persons among the Jews in any given locality.

Again, this conclusion would be stronger if one had data on units smaller than the provinces. Such data are very difficult to obtain, however, since the provincial vital statistics reports do not break down information on the religion of the marriage partners by units smaller than the province as whole.

In the meantime, one might hazard some reasons for the relationship found.

Kalbach and McVey have been quoted to the effect that ethnic ties and ethnic social solidarity can be expected to be stronger in those communities in North America which constitute the original settlements of the Jewish immigrants who came to this continent from Europe. This expectation explains not only the positive relationship between outmarriage and North American mobility but also the negative relationship with the proportion of European-born Jews in a given community.

The explanations that suggest themselves are very similar to those offered for the general relationship between anomie and geographic mobility. If it is considered something of a shame to marry out it would have to be close community contacts and the immediate and extended family which could translate such feelings into a social discipline. In an environment where people have fewer such contacts (and it is reasonable to assume that this is the case when the number of immigrants is relatively greater) there are fewer agents of the communal discipline. This line of explanation does not completely depend on any tendency of in-movers themselves to marry out more frequently; it seems reasonable to assume that the community as a whole is less tightly connected by personal contacts and family networks in an environment of a relatively greater numerical weight of recent in-movers.

A second tendency may well strengthen out-marrying propensities in the Western provinces: there may be a selective process of in-moving, favouring as migrants those whose personal, business, social, and religious attachments to their Jewish communities elsewhere in North America were relatively weak. Some observations by Illsley, Finlayson, and Thompson (1963:223–4) concerning geographically mobile people in Scotland may have a certain relevance for the problem: 'Persons deeply enmeshed in the family and social networks of their community receive satisfactions and feel obligations which inhibit the desire to move or impede it when felt. One might expect, therefore, that out-migrants would have been less integrated in their community of origin than those who stay, or that they would have fewer family ties to bind them ... The data ... tend to confirm this hypothesis.'

The supposition is that the environment of the West, with greater numbers of recently

geographically mobile North Americans and looser family and community ties, has created conditions allowing for more outmarriage. Once such conditions were established, those people from elsewhere on the continent whose attachment to their Jewish communities were relatively weak and who either considered or were of a frame of mind to consider outmarriage may be supposed to be selectively attracted to areas known for their relatively greater freedom from traditional constraints.

Anomie and Jewish outmarriage

Outmarriage by Jews may be considered either as a sign of a certain breakdown of Jewish communal solidarity, or as a sign of the integration of Jews into the social solidarity of their surroundings, or both. The considerations cited so far lead us to the view that outmarriage represents something of a breakdown of Jewish communal cohesiveness without, however, indicating any integration of Jews into their non-Jewish surroundings.

This view arises from a notion of social integration centred around relatively strong community ties and family ties. If Jewish outmarriage correlates, as it seems to do, with indicators of weaker general social integration and is higher wherever signs of general social integration and signs of general social pathology (suicide, crime, etc.) are higher, it seems that outmarriage by Jews is more easily interpretable as a sign of social disintegration than social integration.

Such interpretation, however, remains rather speculative in the absence of further supporting data, especially data derived from individual outmarriers. At the moment, such confirmatory data are lacking.

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