MEASURES AND MEASUREMENTS: THE ONGOING CHALLENGE OF ASSESSING ANTI-SEMITISM

Jack Jedwab is presently Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies. From 1994-1998 he served as Executive Director of the Quebec Region of the Canadian Jewish Congress. He holds a doctoral degree in Quebec history from Concordia University. Dr. Jedwab is currently a lecturer at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada where he teaches Sports in Canada. In 2005-2006 he taught provincial politics in Canada, and in 2004-2005 Canadian Ethnic Studies and from 2000-2003 Canada's Official Language Minorities: History and Demography. From 1989-96 he was Adjunct Professor in the Department of Sociology where he taught a course on ethnocultural minorities in Quebec. He has written essays in books, scholarly journals and in newspapers across the country. He is the founding editor of the magazines Canadian Issues and Canadian Diversity. Has authored several major government reports on issues such as immigration, multiculturalism, human rights and official languages.

ABSTRACT

Despite considerable interest in ascertaining and comparing national levels of anti-Semitism, there is relatively little empirical work currently available that permits a global assessment. In general, most survey work on prejudice towards Jews offers little insight into those non-demographic considerations that can help explain what underlies anti-Jewish feeling. While some observers may not view such information as necessary, diagnosing the disease of anti-Semitism and identifying the remedies will certainly benefit from more detailed knowledge of the symptoms. Another area where additional insights into anti-Jewish prejudice can be derived is via the links between anti-Jewish sentiment and other expressions of prejudice. Doing so can permit testing of the oft-stated view that where anti- Semitism persists so too do other forms of prejudice. It is worth keeping in mind, however, that some observers regard anti-Semitism as a unique form of prejudice that defies comparison with other expressions of prejudice.

I. INTRODUCTION

Despite considerable interest in ascertaining and comparing national levels of anti-Semitism, there is relatively little empirical work currently available that permits a global assessment. Over several decades, in the United States, the Anti-Defamation League has been tracking the population's responses to stereotypes about Jews by employing an index to assess American's evolving views. More recently, Pew Research has examined the extent to which Jews and other groups are viewed favourably in the United States and in certain other countries. However, aside from the focus upon demographic groups with varying responses to anti-Jewish statements, the empirical data has rarely probed underlying factors that contribute to negative feelings towards Jews (i.e. the level of contact with Jews and where people get their information about Jews).

In general, most survey work conducted on prejudice about Jews offers little insight into those non-demographic considerations that can help explain what underlies anti-Jewish feeling. While some observers may not view such information as necessary, diagnosing the disease of anti-Semitism and identifying the remedies will certainly benefit from more detailed knowledge of the symptoms. Another area where additional insights into anti-Jewish prejudice can be derived is via the links between anti-Jewish sentiment and other expressions of prejudice. Doing so can permit testing of the oft-stated view that where anti-Semitism persists so too do other forms of prejudice. It is worth keeping in mind, however, that some observers regard anti-Semitism as a unique form of prejudice that defies comparison with other expressions of prejudice.

Debating the adequacy of quantitative work on anti-Semitism does by no means undercut the valuable insights collected through qualitative analysis that often tends to be the basis for global assessments of anti-Semitism. Those international institutes and/or agencies that are devoted to enhancing knowledge around anti-Semitism generally invite individuals and associations from various countries to share findings on anti-Semitism that frequently employ varying methods to offer some report on the state of prejudice.

Indeed, there are limits to what public opinion research can tell us about anti-Semitic attitudes and the qualitative work is essential in this regard. Ideally, the two should

compliment each other in the ongoing effort to assess the societal importance of anti-Semitic views. Still, the lack of quantitative work invites the question of whether there is some reticence on the part of researchers to employ public opinion data to examine levels of anti-Semitism?

After briefly reviewing public opinion work done on anti-Semitism in the United States, that which follows will look at recent surveys done amongst Canadians around, amongst other matters, the perceived degree of contact with Jews, whether they hold a favourable opinion of Jews, their perceived knowledge about Jews, social distance from Jews, responses to generalizations about Jews, opinion about certain other groups and opinion of Israel. Results are based primarily on an analysis of a survey by the firm Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies conducted from November 27th to December 1st, 2009.

Gary A. Tobin (1988) finds it difficult to explain why so little systematic quantitative research is done on anti-Semitism in the United States. He suggests a combination of possible reasons such as the abundance of qualitative data (historical, religious, psychological and philosophical); a desire of either Jews and/or gentiles not to have "hard" numbers about anti-Semitism; satisfaction with the data compiled by the Anti-Defamation League; some institutional rigidity that prohibits cooperative efforts to study or fund studies about anti-Semitism; the costs may simply appear too high for consistent quantitative research and finally the view that the phenomenon defies good survey research because of difficulties in obtaining honest responses, representative samples or analyzing difficult psychosociological variables.

2. SOME SURVEYS ON ANTI-SEMITISM

Morton Weinfeld (2005) observes that annual surveys of anti-Semitic attitudes using the same questions and same methodology do not remotely exist in Canada. He summarizes the surveys in Canada that have measured belief in anti-Semitic stereotypes as well as social distance from Jews. He notes that since the Second World War there has been a general decline in the Canadian public's anti-Jewish attitudes. Still, one survey in 1984 estimated that one-seventh of Canadians held negative attitudes about Jews (Brym and Lenton, 1984). The survey found anti-Semitism to be more pronounced in Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Quebec and among Catholics and French-speakers. Yet another survey found that levels of anti-Semitic prejudice decreased with higher levels of social contact with Jews (Weimann and Winn, 1986).

In the 1980's, Canadian surveys found 20 to 30 percent agreeing to anti-Semitic stereotypes, such as "most Jews are pushy" (Reitz and Breton, 1994). And in 1991, 64 percent of Canadians said they were "very comfortable" around Jews, more than around Sikhs or blacks, but less than around other Europeans or even Chinese at 69 percent. A 1995 Canadian survey found that 14 per cent of Canadians believing Jews had 'too much power', while Asians came in at 16 percent and both Blacks and whites at 9 percent (Berry and Kalin, 1995). Weinfeld (2005) wonders however whether around certain stereotypes questions yield valuable insights. For example he asks "...if someone believes…that Jews stick together, or look after their own, is that anti-Semitism or sociological observation? A 1990 survey of Canadian Jews found that nearly 80 percent indicated that they had mainly Jewish friends.

Gary A. Tobin notes that since the 1930s, most polling questions have centered around the feelings of non-Jews about Jews and Israel. Questions have been asked about a series of issues relating to Jewish stereotypes, to Jews as potential family members or neighbors, to Jews as potential presidential candidates to Israel and Israeli policies. Tobin refers to two important American sources of quantitative data on anti-Semitism. First, a survey commissioned by the Anti-Defamation League in 1964 that is also referred to as the Berkeley study. Its major findings were that:

1. Some traditional anti-Semitic beliefs had diminished significantly since the 1930s and 1940s, particularly those related to negative Jewish stereotypes.
2. Anti-Semitic beliefs were strongly linked to age but also linked to education, that is, the higher the education level, the less likely one was to hold anti-Semitic beliefs.
3. Despite both the effects of education and a younger generation, some anti-Semitic beliefs continued to persist in a significant minority of the population. A wide range of other attitudes and perceptions were linked to political, religious and other beliefs and behaviors.

Tobin notes that the Berkeley study became the theoretical and quantitative base for much of the future research done in this area. The American Jewish Committee commissioned Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., to conduct a follow-up study in 1981 on much the same basis as the Berkeley study. The 1981 survey included many of the same questions and, amongst others, introduced some on Israel. The Yankelovich study concluded that: "…since 1964 the levels of anti-Semitic beliefs among non-Jews had decreased." They added however that anti-Semitism remained a problem in the United States. Tobin argues that the 1981 study did not improve upon that of 1964. It asked identical questions for purposes of comparison, but failed to formulate sufficient additions to respond to the changing societal context of the 1980's.

According to the analysis offered by Tobin, "…many anti-Semitic beliefs as measured by the surveys of 1964 and 1981 declined in the intervening years…[as]…eight of the twelve items on the original scale decreased. Some stereotypes such as "the movie and television industries

are pretty much controlled by Jews" declined by 24 percent and "Jews have a lot of irritating faults" by 19 percent. However, the four items with the most anti-Semitic intensity increased: "Jews are always stirring up trouble with their ideas" by 1 percent, "Jews have too much power in the business world" by 4 percent, "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America" by 9 percent, and "Jews have too much power in the United States" by 10 percent."

Initially the scale for classifying the individual respondents labelled as "Prejudiced-accept five or more anti-Semitic beliefs,""Neutral-accept four or fewer anti-Semitic beliefs and give "not sure/no answer" response to four or more items", "Unprejudiced-accept four or fewer anti-Semitic beliefs and give "not sure/no answer" response to fewer than four items". More recently, the ADL index includes 11 questions which are used to gauge respondent's anti-Semitic propensities and considers those who agree with six or more of the statements to have anti-Semitic attitudes.

Tobin has challenged the validity of the scale because of what he refers to as its internal consistency insofar as it shows that the highest indexed items increase, whereas the lower items decrease. It is pointed out that during the Nazi era many Germans accepted the belief in excessive Jewish power without also accepting beliefs in Jewish dishonesty and clannishness.

Tobin wonders whether anti-Semitic beliefs have shifted to the point that the scale requires a different internal weighting mechanism.

3. EVOLVING ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-defamation league surveys reveal that the percentage of "hard-core" anti-Semites (holding anti-Semitic beliefs) decreased from 29% in 1964, 20% in 1992, 12% in 1998 and 14% in 2005. Based on the 2007 results which revealed that 15% were hard-core anti-Semites, ADL National Director, Abraham H. Foxman pointed out that: "these findings, coupled with the ongoing acts of anti-Semitic incidents and hate crimes, suggest that anti-Semitic beliefs endure and resonate with a substantial segment of the population, nearly 35 million people." In 2009 the percentage dropped back to 12% and on that basis, Foxman stated that: "the fact that anti-Semitic attitudes have reached their lowest point to date is good news, the product of many years of constant and intense efforts by ADL and others to make America a more accepting society,".

In 2009, Jewish stereotypes center on beliefs about loyalty, the death of Jesus and power as reflected in the following findings:

- 31% of Americans believe Jews are more loyal to Israel than America.
- 27% of Americans believe Jews were responsible for the death of Christ.
- 15% of Americans believe that Jews have "Too much power in the U.S."
- 20% of Americans believe Jews have "Too much power in the business world."
- 18% of Americans believe Jews have "Too much control/ influence on Wall Street.

4. CANADA'S JEWS: CONTACT AND OPINION

Estimated contact with Jews increases with age rising from 30% for those between the ages of 18 and 24 reporting often or occasional contact to over 50% for those above the age of 55. As observed in Table 1, Canada's francophones have far less contact with Jews (15.3% often and occasionally) than anglophones (51.7%) and allophones (47.9%).

TABLE 1

DO YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH THE FOLLOWING GROUPS OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, RARELY OR NEVER? / JEWS	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
Often	3.7%	17.8%	23.2%
Occasionally	11.6%	33.9%	24.7%
Rarely	32.9%	24.2%	24.7%
Never	42.4%	9.5%	13.4%
I don't know	8.8%	13.3%	13.9%
I prefer not to answer	0.6%	1.4%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As to which groups have a favourable opinion of Jews, anglophones (53.8%) and allophones (68.7%) are far more likely to feel positively than do francophones (53.8%).

TABLE 2

DO YOU HAVE A VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING? / JEWS	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
Very favourable	15.3%	38.7%	33.3%
Somewhat favourable	38.5%	37.8%	35.4%
Somewhat unfavourable	16.8%	3.2%	2.1%
Very unfavourable	7.0%	1.4%	3.1%
I don't know	18.7%	13.4%	22.1%
I prefer not to answer	3.7%	5.5%	4.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The data in Table 2 suggest that it is important to look at the relationship between contact with Jews and the degree to which they are viewed favourably. As observed in Table 3, those individuals reporting they often have contact with Jews are far more to report having a very favourable opinion than those with less contact.

TABLE 3

	CONTACT WITH JEWS			
OPINION OF JEWS	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY	RARELY	NEVER
Very favourable	62.8%	38.0%	24.5%	11.7%
Somewhat favourable	29.5%	43.3%	44.4%	32.8%
Somewhat unfavourable	1.3%	3.3%	11.7%	11.3%
Very unfavourable	1.3%	0.5%	4.8%	8.7%
I don't know	1.3%	10.5%	12.0%	30.6%
I prefer not to answer	3.8%	4.5%	2.6%	4.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As observed in Table 4, the gap in the extent to which Jews are seen favourably across the groups surveyed narrows when it comes to those respectively reporting they often have contact. Where there is either "occasional" or "rare" contact with Jews, there is more likelihood that non-francophones will report "very favourable" opinions of Jews than do francophones.

TABLE 4

% WITH VERY FAVOURABLE OPINION OF JEWS	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY	RARELY
French	50.0%	26.3%	13.0%
English	60.0%	45.5%	31.9%
Other	58.9%	38.8%	27.1%

5. KNOWLEDGE ABOUT JEWS

As to perceived social distance from Jews, there is little difference across the age groups in responses to whether Jews are very different, though the 65 plus cohort tends to be most inclined to endorse that view. Age is a very important factor in the extent to which Jews are perceived to have made an important contribution to society with agreement increasing significantly with age. This may be attributable to the degree of knowledge and interest in learning about the Jewish community both of which rise with age.

On the basis of language background, francophones report the lowest degree of knowledge of the Jewish community, the least inclined to have read something about the Jewish community and the least likely to report knowledge about the Holocaust. However when it comes to interest in learning about the Jewish community, the gap narrows somewhat between francophones and non-francophones.

TABLE 6

% STRONGLY AGREE AND SOMEWHAT AGREE COMBINED	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
I have read a book or essay about Jews	30.2%	47.5%	46.4%
I have a good knowledge of the Holocaust	55.9%	73.1%	69.7%
I am interested in learning about the Jewish community	42.1%	53.0%	50.8%
I have good knowledge of the Jewish community	22.4%	32.4%	35.1%

Knowledge of the Jewish community appears to have an important impact on the degree to which the community is seen favourably. As observed in Table 7, of the various areas of familiarity with the Jewish community, actual contact

TABLE 5

	TOTAL AGREE (STRONGLY AGREE + SOMEWHAT AGREE)	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
I have read a book or essay about Jews	43%	46%	38%	39%	46%	48%	44%
I am interested in learning about the Jewish community	49%	44%	41%	47%	48%	56%	57%
I have good knowledge of the Jewish community	30%	22%	26%	28%	25%	37%	41%
I have a good knowledge of the Holocaust	67%	61%	54%	60%	70%	80%	78%

TABLE 7

OPINION OF THE JEWS	VERY GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY	OFTEN HAVE CONTACT WITH JEWS	VERY GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLOCAUST	OFTEN READ A BOOK OR ESSAY ABOUT JEWS
Very favourable	71.4%	62.8%	46.9%	53.2%
Somewhat favourable	11.0%	29.5%	33.2%	30.3%
Somewhat unfavourable	1.1%	1.3%	5.1%	5.1%
Very unfavourable	6.6%	1.3%	3.8%	1.7%
I don't know		1.3%	7.8%	6.1%
I prefer not to answer	9.9%	3.8%	3.2%	3.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 8

	I HAVE GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY			
I AM INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY	STRONGLY AGREE	SOMEWHAT AGREE	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
Strongly agree	52.7%	17.1%	13.8%	5.6%
Somewhat agree	27.5%	51.4%	38.4%	28.6%
Somewhat disagree	6.6%	19.1%	30.7%	17.8%
Strongly disagree	3.3%	7.5%	8.4%	31.4%
I don't know	2.2%	4.4%	7.3%	16.0%
I prefer not to answer	7.7%	0.6%	1.3%	0.7%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 9

	VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF THE JEWS			
I AM INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY	VERY FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE	VERY UNFAVOURABLE
Strongly agree	32.6%	5.7%	2.1%	4.3%
Somewhat agree	39.9%	43.4%	33.0%	10.6%
Somewhat disagree	12.0%	28.5%	35.1%	19.1%
Strongly disagree	5.9%	10.4%	22.7%	59.6%
I don't know	6.5%	10.6%	7.2%	4.3%
I prefer not to answer	3.2%	1.4%	0.0%	2.1%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

has a greater bearing than reading something about the community or possessing knowledge about the Holocaust. It is important to bear in mind that there is an important degree of intersection between these areas.

While the data strongly supports the conclusion that contact with Jews diminished negative sentiment towards them, those charged with programs supporting such interaction face the challenge that those with the weaker knowledge are the least interested in learning about the Jewish community.

In fact as observed in Table 9, those holding very unfavourable opinions of Jews express little interest in learning about the communities. This suggests that many people that hold the most negative sentiment towards Jews appear unwilling to change their views.

6. CANADA'S JEWS AND PERCEIVED SOCIAL DISTANCE

Around questions are often associated with the degree of social distance across groups, there is little difference on the basis of age around the perception of Jews being

TABLE 10

% STRONGLY AGREE AND SOMEWHAT AGREE COMBINED	TOTAL AGREE (STRONGLY AGREE + SOMEWHAT AGREE)	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Jews are not very different from us	71%	67%	73%	62%	72%	72%	81%
Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind	15%	19%	16%	15%	12%	15%	14%
Jews have made an important contribution to our society	67%	48%	57%	62%	70%	75%	86%
Jews want to integrate into society	47%	42%	41%	39%	48%	50%	64%

very different-the majority does not feel as such-or over the extent to which Jews do not care what happens to others-a view held by a minority of Canadians. There are however significant gaps around the extent to which Jews are believed to make an important contribution to society where it is Canadians above the age of 45 that are most likely to agree. Also, younger Canadians are somewhat less likely to agree that Jews want to integrate though a higher proportion of younger respondents say they don't know.

The wider gaps on questions of social distance emerge around language background with francophones more likely to agree that Jews don't care what happens to others, less likely to agree that Jews have made an important contribution to society, less likely to agree that they want to integrate and more likely to think that Jews are very different.

TABLE 11

% STRONGLY AGREE AND SOMEWHAT AGREE COMBINED	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind	30.4%	9.4%	12.9%
Jews have made an important contribution to our society	46.6%	75.2%	75.8%
Jews want to integrate into society	30.7%	54.9%	47.1%
Jews are not very different from us	52.6%	76.8%	81.3%

In a four country international survey conducted for the International Association for the Study of Canada, one observes that Canadians are more likely to think that Jews share their values than do respondents in the United States, Germany and Spain. Some 62% of Canadians agree that Jews share our values, as do 59% of Germans and 57% of Americans surveyed. In Spain the figure falls to 39% that agree that "Jews share our values"

7. PERCEPTIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM AS A SOCIETAL PROBLEM

Concerns over anti-Semitism as either a historic phenomenon or as a contemporary problem rises with age. Some 57% of Canadians above the age of 65 agree that "anti-Semitism has been a historic problem in our country/region/town during the 20th century" compared with 40% between the ages of 18 and 24 that share this view. Similar trends on the basis of age can be observed around questions on contemporary anti-Semitism. However the extent to which respondents have heard negative remarks about Jews does not vary as much since the 18-24 cohort is as likely to report having heard such remarks as those above the age of 45.

Gaps again appear on the basis of language background where francophones are least likely to agree that anti-Semitism is either a historic or contemporary problem. That said francophones are as likely to have heard negative remarks about Jews as anglophones and more likely than

TABLE 12

JEWS SHARE OUR VALUES	USA	CANADA	SPAIN	GERMANY
Total agree	57	62	39	59
Strongly agree	20	22	11	22
Somewhat agree	37	40	28	37
Total disagree	23	25	42	26
Somewhat disagree	15	16	26	15
Strongly disagree	8	9	16	11
Don't know	20	13	19	15

TABLE 13

TOTAL AGREE (STRONGLY AGREE + SOMEWHAT AGREE)		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	I PREFER NOT TO ANSWER + I DON'T KNOW
Anti-Semitism has been a historic problem in our country/region/town during the 20th century	47%	40%	38%	46%	48%	51%	57%	26%
Anti-Semitism is a problem in our society today	52%	38%	41%	50%	59%	55%	62%	23%
Jews are frequently the object of discrimination	61%	57%	51%	57%	65%	62%	74%	19%
I have heard negative remarks about Jews	64%	69%	60%	54%	68%	70%	68%	14%

TABLE 14

	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
Anti-Semitism has been a historic problem in our country/region/ town during the 20th century	36.1%	50.1%	57.2%
Anti-Semitism is a problem in our society today	37.0%	58.2%	52.8%
Jews are frequently the object of discrimination	54.8%	65.3%	59.6%
I have heard negative remarks about Jews	66.1%	66.3%	58.3%

allophones. Although a majority of francophones agree that Jews are frequently the object of discrimination they are less likely to feel that way than non-francophones.

The September 2010 four country survey-referred to above-reveals that near equal percentages (47-48%) of Americans, Canadians and Spanish respondents regard prejudice towards Jews as a serious societal problem. In Germany, however, some 56% agree that anti-Semitism is a serious problem.

8. NEGATIVE STEREOTYPING OF JEWS

As to the various negative stereotypes about Jews, with some exceptions, they are held relatively evenly across the age groups. The most commonly held view is that "Jews stick together more than others". Following that it is the view that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to Canada.

It is on the basis of language that important gaps appear when it comes to the level of agreement with Jewish stereotypes. A majority of francophones and allophones believe that Jews stick together more than others. Francophones are more likely than non-francophones to agree that Jews are more loyal to Israel than to Canada. Approximately one in four francophones subscribe to the stereotypes around power and economic influence of Jews compared with one in ten non-francophones (although 19% of allophones agree that "Jews have too much control and influence over the economy).

It is worth noting that those persons who agree that "Jews have too much power in Canada today" seem more inclined than those who disagree with the stereotype to think that anti-Semitism is a problem. Amongst francophones in particular there appears an inclination not

TABLE 15

PREJUDICE TOWARDS JEWS IS A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN OUR SOCIETY	USA	CANADA	SPAIN	GERMANY
Total agree	47	47	48	56
Strongly agree	17	10	22	22
Somewhat agree	30	37	26	34
Total disagree	41	37	40	39
Somewhat disagree	26	26	27	23
Strongly disagree	15	11	13	16
Don't know	12	16	12	4

TABLE 16

	TOTAL AGREE (STRONGLY AGREE + SOMEWHAT AGREE)	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Jews stick together more than others	47%	47%	42%	42%	42%	47%	61%
Jews are more loyal to Israel than Canada	27%	22%	23%	26%	30%	27%	30%
Jews always like to be at the head of things	24%	32%	24%	26%	21%	24%	23%
Jews have too much power in Canada today	13%	18%	10%	13%	14%	13%	11%
Jews have too much control and influence on the economy	17%	19%	17%	17%	15%	15%	17%
Jews have a lot of irritating faults	12%	15%	9%	13%	10%	12%	12%
Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want	11%	14%	11%	14%	9%	10%	9%

to regard the perception of Jews as having too much power as being indicative of a problem of anti-Semitism-a view which applies to other related generalizations in the survey. In effect, some 50% of francophones surveyed that strongly agree that anti-Semitism is a problem in the society agree that "Jews have too much power in Canada today" compared with some 7% of English Canadians and no allophones. It is relatively safe to assume that many francophones simply do not believe that holding such views is anti-Semitic likely resulting in a lower percentage of this group concluding that anti-Semitism is a societal problem.

TABLE 17

% STRONGLY AGREE AND SOMEWHAT AGREE COMBINED	FRENCH	ENGLISH	OTHER
Jews stick together more than others	58.1%	40.8%	53.2%
Jews are more loyal to Israel than Canada	39.3%	22.8%	22.8%
Jews always like to be at the head of things	40.6%	17.8%	27.5%
Jews have too much power in Canada today	29.5 %	7.5%	10.8%
Jews have too much control and influence on the economy	29.6%	10.8%	19.1%
Jews have a lot of irritating faults	24.7%	6.9%	9.3%
Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want	23.0%	7.1%	7.8%

9. OPINION AND CONTACT WITH JEWS AND OTHER GROUPS

Of all the groups examined for the purpose of the survey, it is with aboriginals (37%) that the least reported contact occurs, followed by Jews (42%), French Quebecers (53%), immigrants (72%) and English Canadians (85%). In the case of French Quebecers and English Canadians the degree of contact varies considerably by region.

On the basis of place of residence, in the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario respondents reported more contact with Jews than with French Quebecers or Aboriginals while in Manitoba/Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia more contact was reported with Aboriginals than Jews and French Quebecers.

Tables 19 and 20 confirm the idea that those harbouring negative sentiment towards Jews tend to hold negative views about other identifiable groups. Some 63% of respondents with a very favourable opinion of Jews have a favourable opinion of immigrants. Amongst those who report holding very unfavourable opinions of Jews, some 17 have a very favourable opinion of immigrants.

Of those holding a very favourable opinion of Jews, some 52% have a favourable opinion of Aboriginals while nearly 19% of those holding very unfavourable opinions of Jews have a very favourable opinion of Aboriginals.

10. OPINION OF THE JEWS AND ISRAEL

Based on a survey of 500 citizens in each of 10 European countries, Kaplan and Small (2010) ask whether those individuals with extreme anti-Israel views are more likely to be anti-Semitic. Even after controlling

TABLE 18

DO YOU HAVE CONTACT WITH THE FOLLOWING GROUPS OFTEN, OCCASIONALLY, RARELY OR NEVER?		PROVINCE					
	TOTAL OFTEN + OCCASIONALLY	MARITIMES	QC	ON	MB/SK	AB	BC
Jews	42%	36%	25%	54%	53%	36%	41%
French Quebecers	53%	57%	98%	43%	26%	27%	33%
English Canadians	85%	96%	58%	95%	96%	89%	91%
Aboriginals	37%	29%	20%	34%	70%	46%	55%
Immigrants	72%	65%	60%	79%	70%	75%	75%

TABLE 19

	VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF JEWS			
VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF IMMIGRANTS	VERY FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE	VERY UNFAVOURABLE
Unfavourable	62.8%	8.6%	5.2%	17.0%
Very favourable	62.8%	8.6%	5.2%	17.0%
Somewhat favourable	25.8%	72.3%	56.7%	27.7%
Somewhat unfavourable	8.0%	12.7%	30.9%	38.3%
Very unfavourable	2.3%	3.6%	5.2%	14.9%
I don't know	1.1%	2.7%	1.0%	2.1%
I prefer not to answer	0.0%	0.2%	1.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 20

	VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF THE JEWS			
VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF ABORIGINALS	VERY FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE	VERY UNFAVOURABLE
Very favourable	52.0%	7.3%	2.1%	18.8%
Somewhat favourable	22.1%	59.9%	46.4%	31.3%
Somewhat unfavourable	14.1%	20.6%	38.1%	16.7%
Very unfavourable	4.8%	5.7%	8.2%	27.1%
I don't know	6.3%	6.5%	5.2%	6.3%
I prefer not to answer	0.6%	0.0%		

for numerous potentially confounding factors, they find that anti-Israel sentiment consistently predicts the probability that an individual is anti-Semitic, with the likelihood of measured anti-Semitism increasing with the extent of anti-Israel sentiment observed. They find a near perfect correlation with people who believed that the Israeli soldiers "intentionally target Palestinian civilians," and that "Palestinian suicide bombers who target Israeli civilians" are justified, also believed that "Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind," "Jews have a lot of irritating faults," and "Jews are more willing than others to use shady practices to get what they want."

TABLE 21

	DO YOU HAVE A VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF ISRAEL			
DO YOU HAVE A VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF JEWS	VERY FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE	VERY UNFAVOURABLE
Very favourable	93.1%	23.5%	16.2%	7.0%
Somewhat favourable	6.6%	70.4%	51.8%	29.8%
Somewhat unfavourable		2.3%	24.1%	16.7%
Very unfavourable		0.5%	2.4%	30.7%
I don't know	0.3%	2.9%	5.1%	14.9%
I prefer not to answer		0.5%	0.4%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 22

	DO YOU HAVE A VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING? / JEWS			
DO YOU HAVE A VERY FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE, SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE OR VERY UNFAVOURABLE OPINION OF THE FOLLOWING? / ISRAEL	VERY FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT FAVOURABLE	SOMEWHAT UNFAVOURABLE	VERY UNFAVOURABLE
Very favourable	56.6%	3.4%		
Somewhat favourable	21.9%	55.8%	10.2%	4.2%
Somewhat unfavourable	8.6%	23.4%	62.2%	12.5%
Very unfavourable	1.7%	6.1%	19.4%	72.9%
I don't know	10.7%	10.9%	8.2%	8.3%
I prefer not to answer	0.4%	0.4%		2.1%

Clearly one can be critical of the policies of the government of Israel without being anti-Semitic. Nonetheless the December 2009 Leger Marketing survey reveals that those with an unfavourable opinion of Israel are far more likely to have an unfavorable opinion of Jews than those with a very favorable opinion. That said, some 37% of those with an unfavorable opinion of Israel have a favorable opinion of Jews.

Conversely, nearly all those with an unfavourable view of Jews have an unfavourable opinion of Israel.

11. CONCLUSION

Public opinion research can offer valuable insight into levels of anti-Semitism as well as provide deeper knowledge about the symptoms behind prejudice towards Jews. To maximize knowledge on the basis of quantitative work around prejudice towards Jews and the broader phenomenon of prejudice it is necessary to explore relations between knowledge about Jews, social distance and support for generalizations about Jews. Other factors also require consideration and qualitative work via focused studies of selected groups within the population can strengthen observations drawn from surveys. Above, we demonstrated that contact with Jews was a vital consideration in the extent to which people held favourable opinions of Jews. We also confirmed that those harbouring anti-Semitic views also hold disproportionately negative sentiments towards other groups. And the connection between unfavourable views towards Jews more often correlating with unfavourable views towards Israel was also demonstrated though with a more nuanced conclusion than that offered by Kaplan and Small. The findings above suggest that a next step would be to explore where people acquire knowledge about the Jewish population. The data and analysis offered here, invite more questions than provide answers about the best approach to studying the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, notably about the relationship between anti-Semitic attitudes and behavioural manifestations of such prejudice. It is important to continue to explore such issues and take advantage of the opportunity to use survey data to offer global assessments of anti-Jewish feeling.

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