

MPC MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER

THE JEWISH IDENTITIES OF TORONTO

An Examination of Toronto Jewish Identity Construction Through an Analysis of UJA's
Annual Campaign 2012 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here'

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Abstract

The Jewish identities of the Toronto Jewish community are complex, overlapping and multi-faceted. United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto (UJA) is the main international Jewish philanthropy and the main Jewish philanthropic organization in Toronto. Through an examination of UJA's 2012 annual campaign, 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here,' it is possible to explore how UJA has engaged in a dialogue with its community stakeholders and supporters to determine what Jewish identities exist in Toronto and construct what Jewish Toronto means. Using grounded theory to derive the identity concepts from UJA's 2012 annual campaign, it is apparent that there are at least eight Jewish identities in Toronto in 2012. These identities relate to religion, ethnicity, history, education, preparing for the future, advocacy, repairing the world and Israel and are depicted in the campaign through references to UJA-supported institutions and initiatives. While UJA speaks to each of these identities in the campaign, the identities are never directly defined. This lack of definition enables UJA to oversee an inclusive and diverse Jewish community in Toronto. Through an application of Judith Butler's gender theory and Martin Buber's phenomenological approach to the data one can better comprehend how Jewish identity is potentially performed, while also being an intrinsic aspect of community members, in Jewish Toronto. UJA's approach of non-definition and openness to different approaches to identity is a possible method that other organizations can look to when deciding how to communicate to a diverse group of stakeholders.

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Introduction

Understanding issues of identity construction and what defines an individual's connection to his/her community are integral when determining how to most effectively communicate to a community. Through this comprehension, community organizations can effectively engage in conversations that unify their target audiences and enable them to grow. United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto (also referred to as UJA Federation of Greater Toronto or UJA) is the main international Jewish philanthropy and the main Jewish philanthropic organization in Toronto. Funds raised by the organization support community services and international aid projects. To achieve its mandate of "[preserving] & [strengthening] the quality of Jewish life in Greater Toronto, Canada, Israel and around the world" (United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto [UJA], n.d.), UJA must establish pathways for dialogue with the Toronto Jewish community's multiple stakeholders about the community's identities. The Toronto Jewish community is diverse. Within this diversity individuals have associated themselves with different values and beliefs that can be described as 'Jewish.' Therefore, by inference, there are multiple Jewish identities that exist within Jewish Toronto. As the primary community organization, it is UJA's responsibility to address these needs and support programs that reflect the variety of Jewish identities in Toronto.

UJA's 2012 annual campaign, themed 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here' is a valuable research specimen of how UJA maintains its mandate while speaking to its broad constituent base in Jewish Toronto. This MRP examines the multiple identities that exist within the Toronto Jewish community through an investigation of UJA's 2012 annual campaign 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here.' This project fits into the field of professional communication as it concerns the negotiation of diverse stakeholder groups within a unified communication strategy. While the

Toronto Jewish community is a body of individuals who may share specific traits, within this community lie various sub-groups who identify themselves as being Jewish on different levels. Some individuals connect to their Jewish identity through religious observance, while others may only unite through practicing traditions (such as sharing a Friday night dinner as a family). There are also groups of Jews who bond over Jewish food and groups who identify as Jewish based on their ties to Israel. Although this is a diverse group with broad interests, individuals who identify as Jewish can fall into one or more categories. Collectively these people are described as the Toronto Jewish community.

As the main Toronto Jewish community philanthropic organization, UJA is tasked with appealing to and communicating with these diverse interest groups, while presenting a unified message. Therefore, while my MRP's focus is limited to the Toronto Jewish community, the question of how to communicate to a diverse stakeholder audience can be applied to other organizations and/or companies. Through exploring how a cultural group constructs its identity(ies) and presents it to the public, outsiders gain an understanding of the group's core values and interests. Based on this knowledge, effective targeted messaging can be created that speaks to the multiple principles of the group. This is particularly important in Canada, where there are a multitude of ethnic and cultural communities comprised of various sub-groups. Therefore, my MRP fits within the fields of research related to strategic, cultural and stakeholder communications.

My research also contributes to the evolving field of Jewish identity studies. While Judaism as a religion has been around for more than 3,000 years, Judaism as an ethnicity is a newer concept. The majority of studies on modern Jewish identity have occurred in the past ten years. Furthermore, there is minimal information available on Canadian Jewish identity in

contrast to the amount of available research on American Jewish identity. Therefore, my research will assist an emerging area of scholarship. I am qualified to research issues of Jewish identity as I was born and raised in Toronto's Jewish community, having attended Jewish day school from junior kindergarten through grade 12. I also completed an undergraduate degree in Jewish Studies and History from the University of Toronto, where my focus was on Jewish culture, tradition and identity. Additionally, I have sat on a number of local and national Jewish student boards, where many meeting discussions included topics related to Jewish identity. The combination of my background and education has provided me with insights into the Toronto Jewish community and an innate understanding of the importance of further exploring the construction of Toronto Jewish identity. Yet, even though I have a connection to the community and have studied Jewish Studies at the undergraduate level, I believe that there is still much to learn about issues surrounding the formation, preservation and growth of Jewish identity. Moreover, as my Master's degree is in Professional Communication, I am able to research UJA's annual campaign's communication strategy.

According to UJA, "the strength of Toronto's Jewish community is its commitment to core Jewish values, including our deep commitment to Israel, and our dedication to Tikkun Olam [repairing the world]" (UJA, n.d.). These beliefs are the basis for UJA's initiatives and annual campaigns. Through an analysis of UJA's campaign priorities and which UJA-funded institutions and initiatives UJA highlights in the campaign, it is possible to explore what Jewish identity means in Toronto and what approach organizations can use when communicating with diverse audiences.

Research Questions

In order to investigate issues of identity construction in Toronto's Jewish community, my MRP will address the following two questions:

1. How do the multiple identities of the Toronto Jewish community impact the strategic communication plan used by UJA to interact with and speak to its wide variety of stakeholders?
2. How has a specific form of identity construction been strategically presented to the community?

Theoretical Orientation

To best understand how the Jewish community's identity has evolved and how community members have dispersed themselves into multiple sub-groups, I apply gender theory and phenomenology to my data. Gender theory explores how gender impacts identity and perspective of the world. Prominent gender theorist Judith Butler provides valuable insight into different ways of considering identity issues. Butler's *Undoing Gender* (2004) can be applied to UJA's 2012 annual campaign to offer possible explanations into the ways that identity construction is played out in and for Toronto's Jewish community. According to Butler, individuals are always performing their identities. In the context of my research, Butler's framework would suggest that all Jewish identity is performed. Furthermore, Butler would express that the various types of Jewish identity, which will be explored in this paper, are different ways individuals have consciously or subconsciously chosen to act out their connections to the word 'Jewish.' By examining the priorities of the campaign, it is possible to understand how UJA works with community members to construct and potentially perform Toronto Jewish communal identity.

As defined by its founder, Edmund Husserl, phenomenology is a study of what consciousness means (Zahavi, 2003, p. 13). Husserl writes that it is "a science which aims exclusively at establishing 'knowledge of essences' (*Wesenserkenntnisse*) and *absolutely no facts*" (Husserl, 1962, p. 40). Thus, Husserl is concerned with what it means when an individual says he/she thinks about something or understands something (Zahavi, 2003, p. 13). Through the study of understanding, it is possible to gain an appreciation for why the Jewish community has had to make changes to its identity construct in response to social, economic and political issues that arose throughout Toronto's Jewish history in the 1900s and 2000s. The

primary phenomenological scholar I will be using is Martin Buber. In his seminal work *I and Thou*, Buber (1958) argues that one is truly oneself only when one is engaging in true dialogue. When one fully commits to the conversation and hearing the other's perspective, one stops seeing the other person as an object, or an It, and begins to see the other as an individual, or a Thou. At this time, each participant in the conversation is open and willing to share aspects of himself/herself, as well as learn from the other. This is what Buber refers to as an I-Thou moment. It is only in I-Thou moments that one can fully be present in one's self (Buber, 1958).

Buber's work is relevant to the study of UJA and Toronto Jewish identity for two reasons. First, the idea of being truly open means that one is no longer 'acting out' one's personality. In regards to my MRP, this insight could suggest that it is possible for Jewish identity to be innate among Jewish community members, rather than simply being a performance, as articulated by Butler. Second, when UJA produces its annual campaign material it is engaged in a dialogue with the Jewish community. If the campaign is a true I-Thou dialogue, then UJA is not only presenting the identity of the community, it is also reflecting the community's and organization's core values. While gender theory and phenomenology individually offer valuable insight into identity issues, to fully appreciate Toronto Jewish identity when exploring UJA's campaign documents one needs to apply both Butler's and Buber's stances.

Literature Review

To undertake a study of how Toronto Jewish identity has been constructed and how messages have been conveyed to Jewish Toronto, it is necessary to examine previous research on issues of North American Jewish identity. In “Exploration of Jewish ethnic identity,” Altman, Inman, Fine, Ritter and Howard (2010) suggest that multiple Jewish ethnic identities exist based on a number of factors including support systems, cultural traditions, religious beliefs, familial practices and Israel connections. The authors interview ten American Jews aged 20-26 years old to determine what it means for them to be Jewish, what challenges this identity poses, what factors assist the maintenance of their identities and what causes the identity to be expressed or denied. Altman et al. strive to identify how young American Jewish adults understand what it means to identify as ‘Conservative Jews,’ which is defined as the practice of Judaism through balancing traditional religious beliefs within a modern context. The main characteristics discovered are connections to America and/or Israel, feelings of minority status, links to religious traditions and behaviours and bonds to historic Jewish persecution and the Holocaust. These various factors have led to individuals choosing to promote and/or hide their Jewish identities based on societal conditions.

In “Sometimes Jewish, sometimes not: The closeting of Jewish American identity,” Hecht and Faulkner (2000) interview twenty-six young Jewish Americans to determine how they choose to display their Jewish identities alongside their other identities. According to the article, young Jewish Americans connect to the nonreligious Jewish community through membership in Jewish organizations, Jewish American education and Jewish philanthropic support (Hecht and Faulkner, 2000, 372). The study finds that for some participants, their Jewish identity is a more central aspect of who they are. For others, the non-Jewish aspect of their identity is more

prominent. Nevertheless, both types of interviewees feel the need to conceal their Jewish identity at one time or another based on specific circumstances. This ‘closeting’ of their religious and/or ethnic background often relates to being susceptible to an act of violence or being seen as the other in a group setting (Hecht and Faulkner, 2000). ‘Closeting’ one’s identity impacts how individuals present their connection to Judaism.

Currently less than half of the American Jewish population regards its Jewish identity as something very important to them. In the Public Religion Research Institute’s 2012 survey titled *Chosen for What? Jewish Values in 2012*, the most recent survey data about Jewish values and identity in the United States, 42% of American Jews claim that being Jewish is very important or the most important aspect of their lives, while 29% say it is somewhat important and 29% articulate that Judaism is not too important or not at all important for their lives (p. 8). According to the survey findings on the core qualities of Jewish identity, American Jewish identity is broken down into connections to social equality (46%), Israel (20%), religion (17%), cultural heritage and tradition (6%), general values (3%) and other (8%) (Public Religion Research Institute, 2012, p. 9). This data is relevant to my research as it speaks to the current interest in exploring issues of Jewish identity in North America. The survey also highlights the notion that Jewish identity is dispersed between a number of different areas including religion, ethnicity and moral values.

Examining the issues surrounding Jewish identity in North American Jews from a Canadian perspective yields a different approach to the divisions between different Jewish identities. In “A multidimensional approach to identity: Religious and cultural identity in young Jewish Canadians,” Haji, Lalonde, Durbin and Naveh-Benjamin (2010) explore three classifications of Jewish identity – religious identity, cultural identity and cultural/religious

identity – through 258 online questionnaires. Using social identity theory as a framework for analysis, the article reflects the findings that one's Jewish identity is indicative of a feeling of membership in a group. The study finds that individuals who identify as religious Jews or cultural/religious Jews place greater importance on their Jewish identity than on national identity. In contrast, individuals who only identify as cultural Jews see their Canadian identity as more important (Haji et al., 2010, 14). Self-identified religious Jews, in contrast to cultural or cultural/religious Jews, are less supportive of interfaith marriage, but more inclined to hold a right-wing political position towards Israel. The research also takes into account participants' levels of religious observance, with more observant, or Orthodox, Jews having similar results to religious Jews. Conservative Jews answer similarly to Orthodox Jews. However, Conservative Jews are more liberal in regards to Israel. Reform Jews place importance on modernizing Judaism. Their responses to questions show less commitment to religion and ideology, as well as fewer demonstrations of Jewish identity (Haji, et al., 2010). This article illustrates that Jewish identity is complex and overlapping.

While Judaism can be regarded as an ethnicity and/or religion, there are additional terms that individuals associate with. One such example is a connection to the Holocaust and past Jewish persecution. In *Delayed Impact: The Holocaust and the Canadian Jewish Identity*, Bialystok (2000) explores the evolution of the integration of Holocaust narratives into the Canadian Jewish community's identity. As the community responded to historical events such as the 1967 Six-Day War in Israel, the role of the Holocaust in Jewish identity grew. With a fear that a second Holocaust could occur in the Six-Day War, Holocaust survivors who had immigrated to Canada began speaking about their Holocaust experiences. This embracing of the past eventually led to Canadian Jews establishing a collective identity as descendents of

Holocaust survivors, regardless of whether their grandparents and/or parents were actually victims of the Holocaust (Bialystok, 2000).

Although *Delayed Impact* presents a different perception of Jewish identity from that of the previous four studies, Bialystok's work is beneficial as it adds two unique ideas that should be considered when approaching my MRP. Firstly, Bialystok focuses more on communal identity compared to Altman et al., Hecht and Faulkner, the Public Religion Research Institute and Haji, et al., which portray individual interpretations of identity. To understand how a community has constructed multiple identities, it is necessary to examine both a macro and micro picture of North American and, specifically, Canadian Jewish identity. Secondly, Bialystok raises the notion that people connect to Judaism based on their connection to a specific event and/or an understanding that Jews have been persecuted for centuries based on the fact that their religion differed from societies' majority religion. Therefore, Bialystok's work reinforces ideas that were briefly raised in the previous four studies. However, due to the scope of those studies, issues such as connections to specific aspects of Jewish history could not be pursued in greater detail.

Another topic that Jews identify around is that of food. In "Bloody shankbones and braided bread: The food voice and the fashioning of American Jewish identities," Harris-Shapiro (2006) investigates how two women identify as Jewish through food. These two individuals were part of a larger interview research project on American Jewry and stood out as distinctive. Although these women recognize the tradition behind certain Jewish foods, the women's inclusion of specific foods into their Jewish holiday rituals does not lead to either woman becoming more observant. Yet, according to one subject, "chopped liver, is both the substance and substantiation of Jewishness" (Harris-Shapiro, 2006, 78). This means that chopped liver is

both the physical personification of Judaism and an aspect of the essence of Judaism. It would appear for this respondent that participating in the making and consumption of Jewish food is an act of performing Judaism and being engaged in the essence of Judaism. If Judaism can be performed and be the essence of something, then it is possible to question Butler's theory that all identity is performed. The idea that food can be both a corporeal symbolic Jewish object as well as an item that is intrinsically Jewish adds to the previous four sources by broadening the scope of what Judaism means and who/what can be considered Jewish. Therefore, while this article's capacity is limited since it only examines two research participants, it is insightful for how it depicts Judaism as something that is both performed and innate.

All of the above literature discusses various issues that surround and factor into Jewish identity. However, it is also valuable to examine previous research related to how individuals and organizations navigate multiple identities. In Randal F. Schnoor's "Being gay and Jewish: Negotiating intersecting identities," Schnoor investigates how gay Jewish men manage both of these identities. Schnoor's work is relevant to this paper as he perceives identity, whether ethnic, religious or sexual as something that is constructed by each individual. This perspective draws on Butler and other ethnic identity scholars (Schnoor, 2006). According to Schnoor, the "variability of identity performance is only amplified when examining the intersections of two identities" (Schnoor, 2006, p. 58). For the Toronto Jewish community, not only do individuals have multiple identities related to social, religious and economic factors, but UJA also needs to cater to their diverse Jewish identities that exist, in its role of "[preserving] & [strengthening] the quality of Jewish life in Greater Toronto, Canada, Israel and around the world" (UJA, n.d.).

UJA negotiates these identities by creating a unified communication strategy for its annual campaign documents by coordinating between the diverse Jewish identities that exist in

Toronto, and thus, the various stakeholders of its organization. Most recent scholarship on stakeholder relations has been focused on how a targeted audience can benefit a company from an economic standpoint. Minimal research has been conducted on how individuals' social identities contribute to their decision making process as stakeholders. It is clear to scholars that when exploring stakeholder interests, it is necessary to factor in the idea that stakeholders have differing values (Miesing and Pavur, 2008, p. 187). However, a common solution is "instead of trying to reconcile disagreements and conflicts ... [to] compare, clarify, and separate the different viewpoints of primary stakeholder groups" (Hansen and Vedung, 2010, p. 309). Yet this does not necessarily yield a singular cohesive communication plan. Therefore, Crane and Ruebottom (2011) propose a new way of approaching stakeholder relations that incorporates consideration of social identities with traditional economic approaches to stakeholder identities. This method establishes a more inclusive picture of what matters to stakeholders and thus how to best accommodate their needs. According to Crane and Ruebottom,

while the economic may be the primary means of interaction between the organization and its constituents (and indeed may be a role that plays a part in the formation of a social identity), it is our argument that when these stakeholder groups also draw on their other social identities they are more likely to form cohesive social groups that lead to claims, mobilization, and action in relation to the firm. (Crane and Ruebottom, 2011, p. 78)

This research focuses primarily on stakeholders in relation to economic support of companies. The theories can be applied to UJA's need to bridge together various stakeholders' interests when preparing its annual fundraising campaign. As will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper, UJA appears to consider its stakeholders from Crane and Ruebottom's more holistic perspective to best represent the varied interests of Toronto's Jewish community.

Methodology

To understand identity issues I am examining a sampling of documents from UJA's 2012 Annual Campaign 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here.' These documents, produced between Summer 2011 and Spring 2012, are a mixture of hard copy material for UJA's current fundraising projects and virtual documents that promote UJA's mandate. My hard copy documents include the direct mail campaign sent at the start of the campaign, the 2010-2011 annual report and the 2012 canvassing handbook. With regards to my virtual documents, I am examining the campaign launch video, UJA website and digital 'Map of Jewish Toronto.' Except for the canvassing handbook, all documents were publically available. For a full list of documents consulted see Appendix A. The handbook is a public document, but it was only released to a select group of UJA staff and volunteers. I was granted permission by UJA to include this document in my research. I selected this range of documents, as I believe it shows the diversity of UJA's work and values that appeal to community members. By analyzing the themes in these documents, it is possible to explore how UJA has presented the Jewish community's identity/identities to its multiple stakeholders between Summer 2011 and Spring 2012.

A grounded theory approach is being used to analyze my documents. Grounded theory is the "discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 2). In the grounded theory approach, researchers review their data by searching for themes in the material. The thematic concepts and their definitions are derived from the documents themselves, rather than from previous scholarly work. Therefore, in using a grounded theory approach, I have identified eight concepts that reflect how individuals connect to Judaism in Toronto in 2012. These eight concepts are present throughout the 2012 annual campaign documents and appear to have been used by UJA to construct what Jewish identity means to the

Toronto Jewish community. Through analyzing how these identities are portrayed, it is possible to evaluate how UJA manages to speak in a singular manner to its diverse audience.

The eight concepts are outlined in Table 1 (titles in brackets are how the concepts will be referred to throughout this document).

Table 1

Jewish Identity Concepts and Definitions

Concept	Definition
Connection to Judaism as a Religion (<i>Religion</i>)	Content that references Judaism as a religion (i.e. Jewish activities and beliefs that are based on Moses receiving the Bible on Mount Sinai and the subsequent laws established by Jewish rabbis after the destruction of the Second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE)
Connection to Judaism as an Ethnicity (<i>Ethnicity</i>)	Content that references Jewish culture, tradition or cultural institutions
Connection to Jewish History (<i>History</i>) Sub-group: Israel Sub-group: Holocaust Sub-group: Toronto Sub-group: Former Soviet Union	Content that reminds individuals about a past event(s) that shaped the community into what it is today
Connection to Judaism Through Education (<i>Education</i>)	Content that reflects the importance Judaism, as a religion and ethnicity, places on teaching and learning
Connection to Judaism Through Preparing for the Community's Future (<i>Future</i>)	Content that articulates the need for people to support UJA as a means of providing for future generations and preparing the community to continue the Jewish religion, tradition and/or culture
Connection to Judaism Through Advocacy (<i>Advocacy</i>)	Content that expresses a desire to educate, promote and/or advocate about the Toronto Jewish community and/or Israel
Connection to Judaism through <i>Tikkun Olam</i> /Repairing the World (<i>Repairing the World</i>)	Content that reflects the Jewish commandment to fix the world and assist those in need
Connection to Judaism Through Israel (<i>Israel</i>)	Content that references the Toronto Jewish community's connection to Israel through ideological and/or financial support

Limitations

There are limitations to this paper's research in regards to what Toronto Jewish identity is in 2012. While the eight concepts of Jewish identity are all important issues for the campaign, the status each theme has in the campaign does not necessarily directly translate into the prominence each concept has in reality. For example, individuals who connect to Judaism through *Religion*, such as people who identify as Orthodox Jews, revolve their lives around their religion and upholding the commandments detailed in the Bible. The Jewish religion is the foundation on which their world, and thus their identity, exists. If the 2012 annual campaign were to fully reflect this segment of the community's values, then the campaign would focus more heavily on Jewish religious institutions. Yet, this is not the structure of the annual campaign. Therefore, it is important to note that the 2012 annual campaign is a snapshot of the overall Toronto Jewish community in 2012. Although the 2011 campaign and the 2013 campaign would reflect similar community values to the 2012 campaign, each UJA annual campaign's focus and message is unique in response to events occurring in the Toronto, Canadian and international Jewish communities as well as the secular world. As the community responds to internal and external factors, the focus of the conversation shifts. Therefore, there are times when *Israel* or *History* takes precedence over other connections to Judaism. This does not mean that the other connections disappear and reappear based on each year's campaign theme. Rather, the conversation adjusts itself to fit into the greater internal and external discussions that are occurring about the Jewish world and what issues need to be highlighted to promote a positive perspective of Jewish identity.

Additionally, it is necessary to acknowledge the fact that while UJA presents the main identity conversations occurring in 2012, the annual campaign does not represent the entire

spectrum of Toronto Jewish identity conversations occurring in 2012. Not everyone believes that UJA's campaigns are effective at encapsulating what Jewish identity means to him/her. This is apparent in the canvasser handbook, where canvassers are given responses for how to deal with potential donors who claim "I'm disappointed that UJA gives money to..." or "UJA is not doing enough to counter anti-Israel and anti-Semitic activity on campus" (United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto [UJA], 2011a). Therefore, it is not possible to get a complete picture of Jewish values, interests and identity in Toronto from exclusively examining the 2012 annual campaign. It also needs to be mentioned that this paper makes no claims to evaluate the effectiveness of the campaign in regards to meeting the needs of individuals who self-identify as Jewish in Toronto or to the fundraising success of the annual campaign.

Furthermore, the paper only investigates a sampling of documents from UJA's 2012 annual campaign. Thus, the results of this study could potentially have been different if all UJA promotional material produced during this time frame was consulted. Additionally, no formal coding process was conducted of how many times each concept is mentioned or referenced. As the research is only of a sampling of documents, formal coding numbers would not be an accurate representation of the actual number of times each concept appears in the campaign. However, the relative percentage of references to each identity concept in contrast to other concepts is mentioned as a means of discussing the prominence placed on different identities in the campaign.

Interpretation of Data

Prior to conducting the research for this paper, I expected to find a significant amount of data related to Judaism as a religion or Judaism as an ethnicity, as these are the two categories under which individuals can list 'Jewish' on the Canadian Long Form Census (Statistics Canada, 2010, Sociocultural Information section, para. 17 and 22). My previous education on issues of Jewish identity indicated that Israel, Jewish history and repairing the world projects were also important to Toronto's Jewish community. However, I believed that these issues would be seen as secondary topics within Toronto Jewish identity in comparison to that of *Religion* and *Ethnicity*. Therefore, I was surprised to find that connections to *Religion* and *Ethnicity* were secondary identity themes in the 2012 annual campaign documents. Instead, the most prominent themes found in UJA's 2012 annual campaign documents were *Israel*, *Repairing the World*, *Future* and *Advocacy*. The fact that *Religion* and *Ethnicity* are not as prominent in the 2012 annual campaign does not necessarily mean that these elements are not important aspects of Toronto Jewish identity, rather they are not UJA's priorities in 2012.

UJA's four priorities in 2012 are as follows: 1) care for the vulnerable and respond to community needs, 2) build Jewish identity and education, 3) stand with Israel and the Jewish world and 4) lead Jewish and Israel advocacy (United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto [UJA], 2011b, p. 4-5).¹ Within these foci are at least the eight different Jewish identity categorizations that exist within the Toronto Jewish community. Proof of UJA's commitment to these issues is seen in how much UJA allocated to each priority in 2011/2012. UJA campaign 2011 raised \$63 million. Of these funds, UJA allocated \$58 271 943. UJA gave approximately \$16.3 million to vulnerable and community needs, \$17.6 million to identity and education, \$18.2 to Israel and the

¹ UJA terminology is used when referring to UJA's 2012 annual campaign priorities.

Jewish world and \$6.1 million to advocacy and community engagement (UJA, 2011b, p. 6). UJA clearly lays out these four priorities with brief descriptions in its 2012 annual campaign brochure sent out as a direct mailing in the beginning of the campaign. In subsequent pages of the brochure, UJA provides a more detailed account of what types of community resources are provided as part of each campaign priority. The results of a sample coding of identity concepts in the general summary of UJA's four priorities (UJA, 2011b, p. 4-5) are outlined in Table 2. (See Appendix B for the visual depiction of the summaries of the priorities as seen in UJA campaign documents.)

Table 2

Identity Concepts Found in UJA's 2012 Annual Campaign Priorities

UJA's 2012 Annual Campaign Priorities	Identity Concepts Found in Priorities
Care for the vulnerable and respond to community needs	Future Repairing the World Israel
Build Jewish identity and education	Religion Ethnicity History Education Future Israel
Stand with Israel and the Jewish world	History Repairing the World Israel
Lead Jewish and Israel advocacy	Advocacy Repairing the World Israel

The sample coding reveals that each identity concept is not present in each focus. Yet when examining the subsequent pages mentioned above (UJA, 2011b, p. 8-23), which explain each campaign focus in more detail, it is possible to find examples of almost all eight concepts in each individual focus (see Table 3).

Table 3

Identity Concepts Found in UJA's 2012 Annual Campaign Priorities (in detail)

UJA's 2012 Annual Campaign Priorities (in detail)	Identity Concepts Found in Priorities
Care for the vulnerable and respond to community needs	Religion Ethnicity History Education Future Advocacy Repairing the World Israel
Build Jewish identity and education	Religion Ethnicity History Education Future Advocacy Repairing the World Israel
Stand with Israel and the Jewish world	Ethnicity History Education Future Advocacy Repairing the World Israel
Lead Jewish and Israel advocacy	Religion Ethnicity History Education Future Advocacy Repairing the World Israel

Both sets of results are fascinating in that they reveal the interconnectivity of each identity concept, while also highlighting which concepts have prominence in the campaign. Although this is only a sample coding, and not a detailed quantitative analysis of UJA's campaign documents, from these findings it is possible to extrapolate the priority UJA's campaign gives to *Repairing*

the World and Israel. As *Israel* is the only concept that exists in each campaign priority, it is clear that UJA, and thus Toronto Jewish identity, is deeply committed to financially supporting and defending Israel.

Analysis

Through an examination of the campaign material, it is clear that while each identity exists on its own, Jewish institutions and resources provided by UJA often allow for an overlapping of Jewish identities. For example, when material references Israel, Jewish Torontonians who connect to Judaism through *Israel*, *Repairing the World*, *History*, *Religion* and/or *Advocacy* might feel like UJA is targeting them. Thus, it is necessary to approach the issue of Jewish identity in Toronto through an understanding of Jewish identity as something complex and multi-faceted.

The eight concepts discussed in the methodology section are found throughout all of the sampling of documents examined; however, some are more salient than others. The most prominent concepts are *Israel* and *Repairing the World*, as seen in the above breakdown of the four targets of the campaign. This is similar to the results of the recent *Chosen for What? Jewish Values in 2012* survey. The least common concepts are *Religion* and *Ethnicity*. The documents related to *Israel* discuss defending Israel's right to exist, providing financial support and being a main supporter of Israeli initiatives. Documents referencing *Repairing the World* are very broad in interests. They reference local, Canadian, Israeli and international initiatives. They also reflect a diverse age range, social, economic, religious and ethnic qualities of citizens.

The eight categories of Jewish identity in Toronto overlap, allowing UJA to create a singular communication strategy to target its diverse stakeholder base. The overall campaign is based around the notion that 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here.' Using Google Maps pinpoints to depict where UJA-supported institutions are located, the campaign attempts to visualize how integrated Jewish life is within Toronto, Israel and the greater world. Although the campaign is framed around the words 'Jewish Toronto Lives Here,' the word 'lives' has multiple meanings.

Literally, the word references the fact that Jews live in the City of Toronto and Jewish institutions are located in specific physical locations throughout the city. However, living is much more than just physically occupying a space. The Toronto Jewish community is an active group of people, who each have his/her own unique understanding of what Jewish identity means to him/her. Thus, it is important to research how UJA has managed to speak to these differences without veering from its message in the 2012 annual campaign.

Although UJA addresses each of the multiple identities of the Toronto Jewish community in a unified communication plan, the strategy is rife with in-group language. This means that while UJA expresses the various identities throughout each campaign communication, UJA often does so by referencing a program it supports and not the direct title of an identity type. This means that one needs to be familiar with UJA-supported institutions to know the sort of Jewish identity programs that occur at that venue or through that initiative. For example, UJA mentions the importance of education in its campaign documents. This can be seen in the campaign launch video, when the camera pans in front of TanenbaumCHAT (United Jewish Appeal of Greater Toronto [UJA], 2011c), the largest Jewish high school in Toronto, which caters to the diverse religious positions that exist in Jewish Toronto. Individuals who are familiar with the institution would recognize the building upon visual representation in the campaign. Additionally, they would know that the school devotes a significant amount of time to Hebrew and biblical education. Non-community members would see the building and possibly have no idea what occurs inside. Another example of in-group language is the mention of the March of the Living program in the campaign brochure (UJA, 2011b, p. 4), which is a Holocaust education trip that takes Grade 11 students to Poland for one week followed by Israel for one week. Community members would know that leading up to the trip students meet with their chaperones, educators

and Holocaust survivors to learn about what happened to the Jewish community and other minorities during the Holocaust. They would also recognize that the trip is called March of the Living because on Holocaust Remembrance Day, participants walk the path between Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps, which used to be a march of death. Now these Jewish youth are able to do the march and celebrate the fact that the Jewish community still lives on today. However, outsiders to the community would likely be unfamiliar with what March of the Living means or the implications of the trip. Thus, while the campaign portrays the community's diversity, there is a tremendous amount of in-group language that unites the community and creates a divide between the community and non-community members. Yet by referencing UJA-supported institutions, without directly articulating that 'the Toronto Jewish community is X,' UJA is able to present a broader picture of the role it plays in the community without specifically stating that Jewish identity in Toronto means a religious, ethnic, historical, educational, community building, advocacy, repairing the world and/or Israel connection.

Religion and Ethnicity are not directly mentioned in these four factors. However, these two identities are the basis for the entire campaign and UJA, as an organization. Although each annual campaign highlights the key issues that the Toronto Jewish community needs to face in an upcoming year, the entire foundation of the organization and the reason for its supporters is the Jewish religious or ethnic connection. There is something that draws supporters to funding UJA sponsored programs for the vulnerable, elderly and children. One likely reason is the 'J' or Jewish in United Jewish Appeal. Donors have a connection to the Jewish religion and/or Jewish ethnicity. Without that connection, individuals could find other organizations to donate to that supported the vulnerable, elderly and children. Therefore, neither religion nor ethnicity needs to be prominent for their importance to shine through the campaign. The very essence of the

campaign is uniting people who view themselves as Jewish on a religious and/or ethnic level and encouraging them to ensure the continuation of their community. Thus, it is important to understand the nature of how all eight types of Jewish identity are conveyed in UJA's 2012 annual campaign. The following section offers a more detailed analysis of each of the eight concepts.

1. Religion

The campaign contains minimal overt statements that convey the notion that Jewish religious identity is prominent in Toronto. *Religion* is represented as content that references Judaism as a religion (i.e. Jewish activities and beliefs that are based on Moses receiving the Bible on Mount Sinai and the subsequent laws established by Jewish rabbis after the destruction of the Second Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE). The campaign launch video includes a drive-by visual of the Anshei Minsk synagogue (UJA, 2011c). As a Jewish house of worship, the inclusion of a synagogue in the campaign launch video reflects the fact that people can connect to Judaism through *Religion*. The video also includes a drive-by visual of some stores and restaurants (UJA, 2011c), which observe the Jewish religious dietary laws of Kashrut. However, the rest of the campaign appears to refrain from highlighting Jewish synagogues and restaurants. As UJA does not financially support synagogues or restaurants, it makes sense that these venues are not continuously mentioned as institutions that receive financial aid from UJA. *Religion* can also be seen in the campaign in relation to the funding of Jewish schools and camps, some of which educate the community's youth about Jewish laws and values, as well as require students or campers to participate in Jewish activities.

The addition of these UJA-supported institutions in the campaign highlights an underlying element of Jewish identity in Toronto that combines beliefs with action. This is a

combination of Butler and Buber's theories, as the action of praying united with the reasoning behind the prayers is both a depiction of one's identity being performed and one's innate beliefs being displayed. The locations of Jewish institutions past and present represent the community's intrinsic Jewish beliefs, as these organizations and buildings were founded on the basis of core Jewish values. Alternatively, the activity that takes place in each of these spaces, as reflected in the campaign launch video in phrases at the bottom of the screen (such as "we build here") (UJA, 2011c) represents the action that occurs as community members perform their identity.

Returning to the example of the Anshei Minsk synagogue in the video, the synagogue was founded based on the theological beliefs in the Jewish religion. The activities that occur within the synagogue are examples of Jewish identity performance. When an individual prays, he/she is acting out his/her beliefs, which may be the enactment of what the individual regards as an inherent aspect of who he/she is.

There are at least three possible reasons why UJA does not emphasize religion in its campaign documents. One reason is that Judaism is so ingrained in individuals who believe in the Jewish faith that people who connect to Judaism as a religion do not need to be reminded of their religious beliefs through campaign material. If religious observance is an intrinsic aspect of how one sees oneself, then it is possible to argue that Judaism is innate in individuals. *Religion* as an intrinsic element of one's identity would be in contrast to Butler's perspective, which would claim that Judaism is a performed identity that individuals have built based on societal factors. Another answer for the minimal inclusion of *Religion* in the campaign could be UJA's strategy of presenting a singular communication plan by attempting to make the campaign as inclusive as possible. The Jewish religion is complex and individuals' beliefs vary based on how they connect to the religion and the role they see modernity playing in current religious practices.

There are too many different religious denominations within Judaism for UJA to engage in a discussion on what Jewish religious identity means to Toronto Jews without excluding people. In order to maintain this inclusivity, UJA cannot say ‘the Jewish religion is X,’ as it would not be possible to include all of the different religious movements without omitting and possibly insulting a segment of the Jewish Toronto population. A third explanation is that the community is moving away from identifying as a religion and heading towards a group of people who connect through issues of social justice, Israel and ensuring the future of the community. Although this study is unable to prove which, if any, of these are the reasons behind UJA’s decision not to include a significant amount of *Religion* content in its 2012 annual campaign, these potential explanations should be considered and studied in further detail in the future.

2. Ethnicity

There is similarly a lack of content related to Judaism as an ethnicity in the annual campaign. For the purpose of this research, *Ethnicity* is referred to through content that references Jewish culture, tradition or cultural institutions. Thus, ethnicity could be viewed as a quintessential example of Butler’s ideology that one’s identity is performed. In the documents *Ethnicity* is referred to through the depiction of Jewish community centres, organized youth trips to Israel and Jewish overnight camps, amongst other examples. An example of a Jewish ethnicity-focused organization is Ashkenaz, “North America's largest festival of Yiddish and Jewish culture” (The Ashkenaz Foundation, n.d.). These organizations/causes/initiatives are all vehicles for self-expression of Jewish identity through maintaining Jewish culture and tradition. The inclusion of a diverse array of *Ethnicity* programs enables UJA to reach a broad target audience through the single theme of ‘Jewish Toronto Lives Here.’

A possible explanation for the minimal inclusion of *Religion* and *Ethnicity* references in campaign documents could be that as religion and ethnicity have been cornerstones of internal and external perceptions of Judaism for the last 100 years, the campaign is attempting to show the future concerns and interests of the community. As the community continues to grow, its interests have evolved. Religion and ethnicity are now too limiting to Jewish Toronto. The community needs to expand if it wants to ensure its existence. Therefore, UJA chose to move the campaign slightly away from depictions of *Religion* and *Ethnicity* towards newer and more global pursuits and issues of identity.

3. History

Even with this drive towards modernity, *History* is one of the Jewish identities found in the campaign. It is often related to education about the international Jewish community's history and providing resources to those affected by anti-semitism/anti-Zionism in the past. *History* is seen in the campaign as content that refers to material that reminds individuals about (a) past event(s) that shaped the community into what it is today. The category can be subdivided into *History* related to Israel, the Holocaust, Toronto and Former Soviet Union (FSU) Jewry. UJA has continuously supported Israel since its establishment in 1948. According to the campaign brochure, "UJA is Jewish Toronto's most important partner with the people of Israel. We have brought over three million Jews to Israel over the past 63 years, ensuring their successful integration" (UJA, 2011b, p. 5) into the country. These programs include assisting the vulnerable, absorbing new Israeli immigrants and responding to crises. When the Holocaust is mentioned in the documents, it is in relation to assisting Holocaust survivors or educating future generations about the atrocities that occurred to the European Jewish community during the Second World War. There is also mention of Holocaust survivors in the context of providing resources for them

as they grow older. These resources cover such living essentials as dental care, rent shortfalls, healthcare costs not covered by OHIP and repairs to home health care equipment (UJA, 2011b, p. 9). Additionally, UJA subsidizes the March of the Living (UJA, 2011b, p. 4) and supports the Sarah and Chaim Neuberger Holocaust Education Centre, which interacts with 70 000 individuals annually through programs and services (UJA, 2011b, p. 12). Yet there is minimal content that discusses the Holocaust or Holocaust memory on its own. In relation to Toronto, Jewish history is depicted visually in the UJA campaign launch video with black and white footage of Jewish community members working in Kensington Market (UJA, 2011c). There is also a drive-by in the video of modern day Kensington Market (UJA, 2011c), to remind the community members of where the Toronto Jewish community started. While neither of these images is directly linked to programs funded by UJA, they are still vital elements of the campaign. In order to understand how far the community has grown and the amazing achievements it has accomplished, one needs to remember where it came from. As the community plans for the future it is important to remember the trajectory of Jewish Toronto history. Without this history, it would not be possible to have a campaign focused on “Jewish Toronto [Living] Here.” The history of the Jews from the FSU and their connection to Jewish Toronto is part of the campaign’s ‘Stand with Israel and the Jewish world’ segment. UJA provides funds to help FSU Jews in Toronto, Europe and Israel reestablish a bond to Judaism that was broken during more than seventy years of communist rule in Russia (UJA, 2011b, p. 16).

Therefore, according to the campaign documents *History* means a connection to Israel, the Holocaust, Toronto and/or the FSU. All of these Jewish history connections are linked to at least one other Jewish identity concept. Israel is tied to *Israel* and *Repairing the World*, Holocaust is tied to *Education*, *Advocacy* and/or *Repairing the World*, Toronto is tied to

Education and *Future* and the FSU is tied to *Israel* and/or *Repairing the World*. By overlapping these identities, UJA can seamlessly depict international Jewish history in the campaign. These historic connections are also emotional connections, as the education programs are in place to ensure that the community learns how to defend itself and prevent anti-semitism from occurring in Toronto.

However, *History* is not one of the more prominent identities depicted in the campaign. As the 2012 annual campaign's theme is proactive, rather than reactive, UJA might not need to remind the public of the atrocities that have occurred throughout Jewish history. The struggles the Jewish people have overcome are still part of the education curriculum in Jewish day schools and summer camps. Yet, if one's Jewish identity is strongly rooted in *History*, then it is likely that he/she also has strong inclinations towards supporting *Education*, *Repairing the World*, *Advocacy* or *Israel*. Therefore, UJA can target these individuals in messages related to these other identities. By consolidating this form of messaging, UJA's campaign is able to streamline their campaign communications, while extrapolating on the past's importance for the community's future development.

4. Education

As UJA is a strong supporter of Toronto Jewish day schools, high schools, supplementary schools, summer camps and extra-curriculum programs, individuals whose Jewish identity is *Education* are continuously targeted in UJA's annual campaign. *Education* means content that reflects the importance Judaism, as a religion and an ethnicity, places on teaching and learning. According to the campaign literature, "UJA has developed the diaspora's strongest and broadest range of Jewish education and identity strengthening programs and initiatives" (UJA, 2011b, p. 4). UJA partners with and annually gives \$12 million (UJA, 2011a) to the seventy plus day

schools and supplementary programs (UJA, 2011b, p. 12-13), along with the UJA Federation Centre for Jewish Education, Media Centre & Pedagogic library and city-wide education programs in Toronto (UJA, 2011b, p. 24). UJA additionally subsidizes programs such as the March of the Living, Birthright (a free ten day trip to Israel for young Jewish adults) and advocacy training programs for university students (UJA, 2011b, p. 12-13). Each of these initiatives is intended to teach the community about its past and how to prepare for the future. The success of these initiatives is a testament to Jewish Toronto's commitment to Jewish education. UJA believes that "programs that strengthen and nurture Jewish identity are essential in maintaining [its] community's growth" (UJA, 2011b, p. 12). Through the support of individuals who connect to Judaism on an *Education* level, UJA claims that, "Jewish Toronto has the most comprehensive education network comprised of Jewish day and supplementary schools" (UJA, 2011b, p. 4).

While all of these programs are directly linked to *Education*, UJA also funds other projects that have educational components. Examples of this include vocational training for new immigrants and arts and culture programs (UJA, 2011b). Yet, even in this indirect form of Jewish education, there is a Jewish element to the programs. Individuals choose to support these education programs on some level from a religious and/or ethnic connection. Thus it is possible to see the underlying nature of *Religious* and/or *Ethnicity* even within *Education*.

Although education is paramount to the community's future success, it is also one of the identities that does not dominate the campaign. Nor does UJA pinpoint what is the exact nature of the Jewish education component of Jewish schools and camps curriculum. This lack of definition is part of the campaign's inclusivity structure. By not stating that *Education* must be religious or must be Zionist, must teach Yiddish or must focus on Jewish religious texts, UJA

allows community members to create their own description of what Jewish education entails. Each school, program and camp that UJA supports has a different religious, ethnic or Zionist bent, as UJA provides for the array of interests that exist in Toronto. This speaks to the diversity of Jewish Toronto and enables individuals to construct their own identity while finding/carving a place for themselves within the greater community.

5. Future

UJA is committed to preparing for future challenges and ensuring communal sustainability. Messages aimed at *Future* mean content that articulates the need for people to support UJA as a means of providing for future generations and preparing the community to continue the Jewish religion, tradition and culture. This is evident in UJA's education programs, immigrant integration services, advocacy training and leadership initiatives (UJA, 2011b). Programs such as Birthright educate participants and build connections between community members and Israel. By establishing this bond, UJA and its partners are ensuring that future generations of Jewish Toronto members will feel compelled to support Israel. Through education and UJA's various subsidized programs, the community is trying to guarantee the continuation of Jewish identity and the Toronto Jewish community.

Yet, there is an abundance of options one can choose when looking for ways to support the *Future*. Thus, UJA does not define what this identity is. Rather UJA gives *Future* individuals a variety of outlets for performing their identity through financial contributions that speak to the areas of the community that they want to protect, while repeating the message that it is smart for Jewish Toronto to plan for the future.

It is also important to consider the fact that the campaign is targeted to a younger generation. This is interesting, as most of UJA's major sponsors are older and less familiar with

new media. Yet by framing the annual campaign around a Google Maps feature, UJA is attempting to appeal to a younger and potentially new group of donors. This has the possibility of alienating the older generation that does not understand the imagery of the campaign. However, the campaign's theme demonstrates that UJA is prepared to represent Toronto's Jewish community in the future. If UJA wants to continue to exist and surpass its levels of sponsorship, donors must relate to the organization. One way of doing that is to focus the campaign on a social media tool, depicting UJA as an organization that has an important role to play in continued development of the Toronto Jewish community.

Therefore, in some senses the whole 2012 annual campaign is about *Future*. As the 2012 annual campaign is part of UJA's larger 'Tomorrow Campaign,' the entire underlying principle of the 2012 annual campaign is ensuring the future of Toronto's Jewish community. By providing financial resources to UJA, one is making a commitment to assist this goal. Therefore, it is not necessary to highlight *Future* within each section of the documents. Yet the message of preparing for the future is subtly evident throughout the documents, whether it is a reference to "teaching young people to identify online assaults on Israel's right to exist" or "[offering] a 'hand up' to lift [community members who need temporary support] to a position of self-sufficiency" (UJA, 2011a). By educating the community and providing members with resources to better themselves, UJA is ensuring a Jewish future in Toronto. Although the campaign does not use the word 'future' in these sections, readers comprehend that by laying the foundations for success on social, economic and political levels, donating to UJA is a way of preparing for the future of Toronto's Jewish community.

Discovering what the community needs to sustain itself and grow requires dialogue with members of the community. According to Buber, "community...is the being no longer side by

side but *with* one another of a multitude of persons” (Buber, 2007, p. 233). It is through dialogue that the community can join together and plan for its future. However, preparing for the future requires the consideration of what Jewish values are important for each type of Jewish identity. Does the community want to continue supporting Israel? Should advocacy training play a stronger role in Jewish education? These are only two of the numerous questions that need to be analyzed and discussed between UJA and its members to ensure that the Toronto of the future is embodied with the values of the Toronto Jewish community. Thus, this category is unique in that even if an individual identifies solely with this category, any initiative that results from fundraising oriented towards *Future* immediately crosses over with another Jewish identity category, such as *Advocacy*, which will be discussed in the next section.

6. Advocacy

Part of this *Future* can be seen through UJA’s priority of advocating for Judaism and Israel. *Advocacy* is seen in the campaign documents in relation to content that expresses a desire to educate, promote and/or advocate about the Toronto Jewish community and/or Israel. A pillar of the 2012 annual campaign is “lead Jewish and Israel advocacy.” UJA states that it’s organization “[ensures] that Jewish Toronto has a voice and is respected by decision makers, inside and outside of government” (UJA, 2011b, p. 5). *Advocacy* initiatives include human rights appeals, Canada-Israel relations and student training programs (UJA, 2011b, p. 20-21). Through the UJA-funded Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs (CIJA), individuals whose Jewish identity revolves around advocacy have a means of supporting advocacy initiatives. CIJA’s intent is to “[identify] issues important to the Jewish community and [assist] in communicating with government, media, community, business and academic leaders to build understanding and close relations” (UJA, 2011b, p. 20). As CIJA’s mandate includes advocating for domestic issues such

as religious accommodation and international human rights topics (UJA, 2011b, p. 20-23), UJA's sponsored organization does not minimize what *Advocacy* can entail. Instead, it opens the doors for community members to find what they are passionate about and champion its cause. This non-definition enables a wide-range of Jewish identities based on *Advocacy*, such as those more focused on anti-semitism, ant-Zionism, or human rights abuses.

The only time *Advocacy* is defined is in discussion about Israel. UJA and CIJA are both pro-Israeli existence organizations. Therefore, advocacy related to Israel always champions Israel's right to exist. Only when speaking about Israel, does UJA solidify a definition about what Jewish identity means, which will be explored shortly when examining *Israel*. Yet, even in this definition, there is leeway for individual differences. An example of this is UJA's grassroots activism groups, which exist along a spectrum of left to right. All the groups are "united behind the common cause of Israel's right to exist peacefully as a Jewish state" (UJA, 2011b, p. 21); however, individuals' political ideologies are not compromised in the process. *Advocacy* also is closely tied to *Education*, *Repairing the World* and/or *Israel* in the campaign, thus allowing for overlapping identities. The range of outlets available for *Advocacy* opportunities speaks to UJA's continued desire to create an inclusive environment for its diverse stakeholders in its campaign.

7. Repairing the World

Repairing the World and *Israel* are the most prominent Jewish identities depicted in the 2012 annual campaign. *Repairing the World* is referred to in the campaign through content that reflects the Jewish commandment to fix the world and assist those in need. UJA's mandate includes a call for philanthropic and volunteer leadership (UJA, n.d.) Thus, *Repairing the World* is one of the most diverse Jewish identities that exists in Toronto, as it includes any type of philanthropic endeavour that benefits those less fortunate, whether it be in Toronto, Israel or

elsewhere. Programs range from senior assistance to immigrant mentorship, school subsidies to family counseling, and crisis response to rebuilding communities.

The range of this identity, as well as its distinction in the campaign, exemplifies the growing nature of this identity and its all-inclusive aim. There are no limits to what this identity could mean in the campaign. While almost all of the identities in the campaign are undefined, *Repairing the World* stands out in that one does not need to feel an overt religious or ethnic connection to Judaism in order to classify oneself in this category. Yet, it is as a result of a conscious or sub-conscious connection to religion and/or ethnicity that individuals who identify as *Repairing the World* chose to perform their identities through supporting a Jewish cause. If one were to merely see oneself as *Repairing the World*, and exclude the Jewish component, there would be no purpose in choosing UJA as the vehicle for performing this identity. There are multitudes of other charities and volunteer opportunities that exist in Toronto and internationally. If individuals are drawn to this identity, then something Jewish must call them to this cause. UJA addresses *Repairing the World* throughout its campaign, when speaking about “the vulnerable,” “disadvantaged youth,” “poverty” and “conflict or war,” among other topics (UJA, 2011b). The breadth of the capabilities of a donation to UJA allow UJA to speak to a varied group of individuals who identify as *Repairing the World*, within the broader campaign of ‘Jewish Toronto Lives Here.’

Therefore, one could argue that Buber’s position – the idea that one must be fully engaged and thus be one’s true self when participating in dialogue – is present in *Repairing the World*. Without showing the truest side of oneself and thus one’s innermost conscious or subconscious beliefs, individuals in this category would not necessarily need to find an outlet in

UJA. Yet the fact that they do support UJA would allow one to argue that this Jewish identity is more important to them than they might realize or be willing to accept.

8. Israel

Israel is the most prominent identity depicted in the 2012 annual campaign, as it actively factors into all four of UJA's campaign priorities. *Israel* is referred to in the campaign through content that references the Toronto Jewish community's connection to Israel through ideological and/or financial support. Israel as a country is integral to UJA and Jewish Toronto as a place to support the vulnerable, a country that needs to be defended on the world stage and a nation whose history needs to be taught to Jewish Toronto youth. UJA's programs related to *Israel* are diverse and allow for a range of interests. Examples of *Israel* targeted programs include Birthright trips, immigrant integration, financial support and advocacy education. Support for Israel and promotion of the country's attributes is integrated into the Jewish school curriculum and summer camps, as well as community-wide programs and initiatives.

Thus, *Israel* is the only identity for which UJA provides a concrete definition. For all of the other identities in Jewish Toronto, UJA articulates that the identity exists without providing a narrow definition for what the identity entails. For example, UJA does not dictate what *Repairing the World* must look like. Yet by including *Israel* in each of the four campaign priorities, UJA clearly states that the Toronto Jewish community supports Israel and its right to exist. UJA does not take a political position regarding Israel. Thus, there is still leeway within this definition for individuals to maintain different political standpoints towards Israel. However, UJA supporters must conform to an identity that affirms Israel's right to exist and defend itself.

In narrowing this definition of *Israel*, UJA has potentially alienated Jews in Toronto who do not support Israel. UJA knows that there are Jews in Toronto who disagree with its commitment to Israel. Therefore, campaign canvassers are trained to respond to donors who claim, “I don’t like Israel’s current government or its policies” (UJA, 2011a). While UJA does its best to communicate to and on behalf of the community, UJA does not represent every member of Jewish Toronto, or every viewpoint of individuals within this community in its annual campaign. Although the organization’s stance on Israel is a potentially divisive issue, UJA has supported Israel throughout Israel’s sixty-three year existence, and individuals continue to donate to UJA. Therefore, it is likely that there are more Israel-supporters in the Toronto Jewish community than the number of those who do not.

As a link that unites all of UJA’s 2012 campaign priorities, the weaving tale of how a donation to UJA will support *Israel*, enables a streamlined communication strategy for the annual campaign. *Israel* and the sense of community are the glue that holds together the 2012 annual campaign and UJA as a community organization. UJA’s vision is “to lead the most vibrant Jewish community in North America - a community characterized by its diversity, unity, compassion, generosity and commitment to Israel and Jewish values” (UJA, n.d.). In guiding Jewish Toronto and enabling individuals to feel comfortable in their Jewish identities, UJA promotes itself as a group that “[continues] to ensure social justice (Tzedakah) for all; Education in aid of the Jewish identity so important for our future; a clear, unified voice in the face of anti-Semitism and racism; and stand up for, and with, Israel” (UJA, personalized direct mail letter, 2011).

Theoretical Interpretation

To understand how UJA works with the community to establish what Jewish Toronto is and thus create a unified communication strategy it is necessary to apply Butler and Buber's philosophies to UJA's campaign. In explaining what 'gender identity' means, Butler argues that identity is a performance,

if gender is a kind of a doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without one's knowing and without one's willing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. On the contrary, it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint. Moreover, one does not 'do' one's gender alone. One is always 'doing' with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary (Butler, 2004, p. 1).

If all identity is performed, whether consciously or subconsciously, then one can argue that according to Butler, all Jewish identity is a form of performance. Performance in this context relates to any verbal, written, psychological or executed action. Donating money to UJA is a conscious act of performance that community members engage in. Thus, UJA is calling on the community to perform their Jewish identity connections through financial support. In order to encourage this form of performance, UJA needs to highlight issues that resonate with the community.

Butler would then contend that one does not exist in a silo. Rather, identity is developed and performed in response to those around the individual (Butler, 2004, p. 1). In application to the Toronto Jewish community, this would mean that an individual community member's Jewish identity is impacted by the rest of the community's identity. In UJA's campaign brochure, there is a quote from a Jewish Toronto teenager about her view of what Jewish identity means while attending a UJA partnered summer camp. She states that when she walks through the camp, "at

11pm, I feel at home, enveloped by and conscious of humans that are very close to me, not only because they are my friends, but because sub-consciously I know that they are close to me through identity and religion” (UJA, 2011b, p. 15). Her identity is directly related to community connections. This quote reflects Buber’s position in that the individual’s identity can be seen as a dialogue between the greater community and the individual’s beliefs. This ultimately enables the determination of what Jewish identity means to that individual and to the whole community.

On a larger scale UJA’s definition of Jewish identity follows the same framework. In order to construct an identity that reflects individual community members’ values, UJA needs to engage in a conversation with its members. While giving money is a type of performance of Jewish identity, the ideology and connection behind that giving could be interpreted as one’s intrinsically Jewish identity. According to Buber, genuine dialogue is the truest form of connection between others. This occurs when two or more people come to the table open to hearing new ideas and collaborating on ideas (Buber, 2007). For UJA to create a campaign that will be accepted, the organization needs to consider the values of the community and engage in genuine dialogue with community members who connect to Judaism through the eight different identities determined in this study. As the organization establishes the connections between these identities, UJA is able to build a unified communication plan in the form of its annual campaign.

According to Buber, dialogue can be transformational (Buber, 2007, p. 228). To create a campaign that continuously evolves to meet the needs and desires of the community, UJA and the community need to be open to change. While Jewish identity in Toronto revolves around connections to the community, the strength of these connections can be impacted by external affairs, such as politics, Israel’s security and anti-semitism. As Israel was relatively free from conflict during the timing of the launch of UJA’s 2012 Annual Campaign, and there were no

major anti-semitic or anti-Zionist movements occurring in Toronto at the same time, the Toronto Jewish community was not on the defensive during its 2012 call for donations. Therefore, the 2012 campaign was able to revolve around the community's strengths, rather than trying to prevent an attack on the community or its core values. Yet the definition of these strengths needs to be a result of a dialogue between the community and UJA. These conversations must continuously occur for the messages to stay relevant and reflective of community values and interests.

Therefore, in strategizing for the annual campaign, UJA is an observer, onlooker and participant in the dialogue. The organization is an observer in that it wants to learn all about the traits of its members. As Buber says, "the observer is wholly intent on fixing the observed man in his mind, on 'noting' him" (2007, p. 228). Yet UJA is also an onlooker in the way that it wants to know what Jewish Toronto 'existence' means (Buber, 2007, p. 228-229). While onlooker status is less structured and intentional than observer categorization, both positions require UJA to study the community and determine what it wants/needs. Alternatively, UJA is a participant in that it ultimately creates the annual campaign as an expression of Jewish identity. Buber claims, "the limits of the possibility of dialogue are the limits of awareness" (2007, p. 229). The campaign would fall apart without the genuine dialogue that exists between UJA and the community, because if the campaign did not reflect community values, it is possible that the community would stop providing time and money to the causes UJA supports. Therefore, by acting as observer, onlooker and participant, UJA is able to be aware of who the community is and what they stand for and thus fully present in a dialogue about what Toronto Jewish identity is. It should also be noted that in constructing the community's identity, UJA is continuously

renewing its mandate to “preserve and strengthen the quality of Jewish life” (UJA, n.d.) and improving on its commitment to its stakeholders.

In order to address the multiple Jewish identities that exist in Toronto and construct an overall picture of what Jewish Toronto means, UJA’s 2012 annual campaign revolves around the diversity, inclusivity and community elements that allow ‘Jewish Toronto [to] Live Here.’ The campaign brochure claims that the “there is one thing [Jewish Toronto] all [holds] in common: our community – Jewish Toronto, more than 200,000 strong – and our connection to Israel and the Jewish People” (UJA, 2011b, p. 3). By showcasing the various ways that people can identify as Jewish and thus make meaningful contributions to Jewish Toronto, UJA establishes bonds between itself and Jews in Toronto. In UJA’s direct mail letter, the organization addresses its supporters by stating, “as a member of Jewish Toronto and a generous, compassionate supporter of United Jewish Appeal’s Annual Campaign, you clearly understand our common responsibility as Jews to take care of our own, wherever they live” (UJA, personalized direct mail letter, 2011). The words ‘member,’ ‘common’ and ‘our own’ establish an immediate link between UJA and its (potential) donors. Yet the organization does not say what the specific commonalities are or who ‘our own’ is. This non-definition encourages individuals to create their own identities, thus allowing UJA’s message to resonate with the broad range of Jewish identities that exist in Toronto. Jewish Toronto is a community, and UJA embraces its variety. Through non-definition, UJA is able to identify itself as a community organization that works to allow the performance of Jewish values so that the Jewish community in Toronto is cared for today and in the future (UJA, 2011b, p. 3). Even the notion of collective giving, which means donating one’s money to UJA and UJA dispersing it, rather than donating one’s money to an individual UJA partner, reinforces the notion that community is integral to Jewish Toronto.

UJA defines ‘Jewish Toronto’ as “all the ways you feel connected to the Jewish community, whether through Jewish community centres, day schools, summer camps, social services, synagogues, cultural events and community gatherings” (UJA, 2011a). By interweaving the eight different Jewish identities throughout the campaign, UJA uses the identities as a means of showcasing the types of individuals who make up Jewish Toronto. UJA highlights the identities and shows how each identity can overlap with other identities in Jewish Toronto. Thus, UJA continually displays how there is a place for differing opinions and personalities within Jewish Toronto. In doing so, UJA has also constructed Toronto Jewish identity as something rooted in Jewish values, but open to interpretation.

The embracing of individual interpretation within an overarching framework makes UJA a valuable case study for how other organizations can appeal to diverse stakeholders. UJA’s strategy of not defining what members need to believe and how they should express those values facilitates UJA’s appeal to individuals with diverse interests. Other organizations could benefit from highlighting their stakeholders’ diversity. Like UJA, these organizations should explain that, when united, diverse interests are not only included in the conversation, but that more can be achieved collectively than individually. While not forcing a definition on its members works for UJA, it might not be ideal for other organizations. Therefore, rather than leaving the definition fully open-ended, organizations should at least consider how to make stakeholders feel like they are part of a community, without forgetting what makes each stakeholder unique. Jewish Toronto is a combination of synagogues, schools, community centres, Israel advocacy and much more. Therefore, organizations need to remember that they too are a product of stakeholders’ interests.

Through a cohesive communication strategy that continually returns to the idea of a diverse Jewish Toronto actively playing a role in the Toronto, Canadian, Israeli and international

communities, UJA invites community members to support the community as it is now and as it hopes to be in the future. Jewish Toronto is multiplex and overlapping. Through emotional and logical appeals, UJA speaks to the fact that Jewish identity is complex and multi-faceted. Yet, UJA regards the different identities as Jewish Toronto's strength. By engaging in dialogue with the community and providing vehicles for performing Jewish identity, UJA has positioned itself as the Toronto Jewish community unifier and Jewish Toronto as an important player on the world stage.

Appendix A – List of Documents Consulted

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Appendix B – UJA’s 2012 Annual Campaign Priorities

**We do more together with
one gift to UJA
than any person could do alone.**

CARE
**FOR THE VULNERABLE AND
RESPOND TO COMMUNITY NEEDS**
UJA funds the most powerful and comprehensive organizations for vulnerable Jews in Toronto, Israel and around the world. We change the lives of those who are poor, unemployed, elderly, abused, immigrants in need, and many others. Together, we offer a hand up to transform their quality of life and, where possible, lift them to a position of self-sufficiency. We also ensure community needs are met through welcoming newcomers, providing programs responsive to the community and planning for future challenges.

BUILD
JEWISH IDENTITY AND EDUCATION
UJA has developed the diaspora's strongest and broadest range of Jewish education and identity strengthening programs and initiatives. Jewish Toronto has the most comprehensive educational network comprised of Jewish day and supplementary schools. We lead with the largest Birthright Israel contingent, per capita, in the world, the largest March of the Living delegation outside of Israel, diverse Jewish summer camps and youth groups, Hillel on university campuses, PJ Library and an array of other cultural programs with impact.

**Through the UJA
Annual Campaign
and over
100
agencies
and
schools
We...**

LEAD
JEWISH AND ISRAEL ADVOCACY
UJA has developed the single most effective Jewish and Israel advocacy organization in the country, at the federal, provincial and local levels. We ensure that Jewish Toronto has a voice and is respected by decision makers, inside and outside of government. Whether it's Canada's relationship with Israel on Parliament Hill, the seniors' agenda at Queen's Park, or anti-Israel activities on campus, we take action.

STAND
**WITH ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH
WORLD**
UJA is Jewish Toronto's most important partner with the people of Israel. We have brought over three million Jews to Israel over the past 63 years, ensuring their successful integration. Through innovation we transform the lives of disadvantaged youth and entire populations living in Israel's peripheral communities.
UJA is the Global 911 for Jews in Israel, the former Soviet Union and around the world. We mobilize resources needed for relief in times of conflict or war in Israel and worldwide. We also feed and provide other necessities of life to 168,000 Jewish elderly living in poverty in the Former Soviet Union, many of them Holocaust survivors.

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