

**A STUDY OF THE TORONTO JEWISH COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO
NON-LOCAL ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE: ACTIONS TO INCREASE
LOCAL RESILIENCY**

BY

R.J. GUTMAN

2020

YORK UNIVERSITY

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that this Major Research Paper (MRP) entitled

**A study of the Toronto Jewish community's response to non-local anti-Semitic
violence: Actions to increase local resiliency**

As presented by*

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has been accepted towards partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Masters Degree in Disaster and Emergency Management
York University
Toronto, Ontario, Canada



MRP Supervisor's Signature

May 15, 2020

Date

* Presented by remote meeting technology due to COVID-19 social distancing protocols



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A MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER (MRP)

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York University
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Master's Degree Program in Disaster and Emergency Management

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Masters in Disaster and Emergency Management

May 15, 2020

DEDICATION

This study took a lot of time, brain power and commitment. There were many long days and nights in order to complete this project and I could not have done it without the help of many people. I cannot name everyone but thank you to all of my friends and family who supported me during this venture.

To Dr. Jack Rozdilsky, you were straight with me from day one. You said exactly how we were going to get this study done, what you expected of me and of yourself. You never lied to me and you helped me to get this study done, amidst a pandemic no less, thank you.

To my loving grandparents, Avrona & Henry, Elaine & Saul; your love and undying support has made me the person I am today. You are always a phone call away to help me brainstorm and vent about something not being quite right. Bubbie and Grandma, you are strong women who made me into who I am today and are a reason I decided to do graduate school in the first place. Grandpa, my education was always important to you and you always made sure I did and had what I needed to succeed.

To my dear parents, Ken & Marna, and my sister, Sari, you are my family and support me in whatever I do. Thank you for always being there for me.

Finally, to my husband, Ben, for none of this would have been possible if it were not for you, not the hard work, I did that myself. You encouraged (read as made) me go to graduate school which I did not want to do at the time as it meant being separated for two years. Thank you for pushing me, believing in me and always being a shoulder to lean on.

Thank you.

ABSTRACT

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A Major Research Paper (MRP)

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May 2020

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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Anti-Semitism has deep roots and has been a part of global history for many years.

Canada has a long history with anti-Semitism as well. In late-October 2018 the global Jewish community was shocked by the news of a mass shooting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the Tree of Life Synagogue during Shabbat Services. Eleven persons were killed, and six persons were wounded in that soft target attack. This mass shooting disaster with social origins can be considered as a focusing event. A focusing event is defined by Birkland (1998) as "An event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest; and that is known to policymakers and the public simultaneously." The question asked in this study is "What actions were taken to increase local resilience to anti-Semitic violence by the Toronto Jewish Community as a consequence of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster?" The background to this study considers current threats faced by Toronto's Jewish community including vandalism, assault, and threats not yet realized. The literature review focuses on the origins and roots of anti-Semitism throughout history and also

takes a specific focus on highlighting historic anti-Semitic events in Toronto. The methodology used for this study was qualitative, specifically 16 in-depth interviews were conducted from January to March 2020. Interviewees included stakeholders from the Greater Toronto Area who represented various institutions in the Jewish community, law enforcement agencies, and political figures. The in-person interviews were completed just prior to the large-scale societal interruptions in Toronto due to the COVID-19 global pandemic emergency. Data collected was then analyzed from an interpretivist perspective with a manual coding process where themes and categories to interpret the data were derived. In conclusion, the researcher verified that in the wake of the Pittsburgh Tree of Life mass shooting disaster that actions had been taken in Toronto's Jewish community such as enhanced safety training and physical security upgrades. However, many stakeholders also identified actions that are needed, but have not yet been taken such as the necessity for better education for the community at large on the dangers of anti-Semitism. While it was found that the foundations were in place for resiliency of Jewish institutions in the face of anti-Semitic threats, the foundations were not necessarily durable or complete. In the Greater Toronto Area, there has been an increasing frequency of smaller-scale anti-Semitic incidents, and the cumulative sum of all these small incidents represents a serious threat to the well-being of the Jewish community. This study has shown that to protect the local Jewish way of life, even a distant shooting disaster occurring 530 kilometers away in the United States can prompt site specific actions in Canada to increase the capability to prevent and respond to hate-motivated attacks. However, while such preventative actions are both necessary and helpful on a band-aid makeshift basis, to address the root cause of violent attacks on the Jewish community the permanence of anti-Semitism cannot be ignored.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Chapter One

“Words can sometimes, in moments of grace, attain the quality of deeds”

– Elie Wiesel

A powerful quote said by Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust survivor and Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1986. Words are a powerful force. Words can change the trajectory of events. The Holocaust was one of the most powerful demonstrations of not only anti-Semitism in the world but of racism. Wiesel was born in Romania in 1928. At the age of 15 in 1944, his family was put into a Jewish ghetto. He was later sent with his family to Auschwitz, where his mother and sister were immediately murdered. Wiesel was the only surviving member of his family.

The holocaust did not start with mass murders of Jewish people and others. It started with words, it started with propaganda, it started with images, and it started with othering. How the Holocaust started was by saying that one race was inferior to the others; in this case, the Jews were claimed to be inferior to the pure German people, the Aryans. When talking about the beginning of the Holocaust, it is essential to remember that anti-Semitism did not begin with Adolf Hitler; it has a long history well before (The History.com Editors, 2019). Which is why it was easier for Hitler to find something to latch onto, to help spread this fear and hate for the Jewish people in his empire. From 1933 to 1939, Germany went through a purification process to rid the country of undesirables, including Jews. The Nuremberg Laws came into effect in 1935, which determined who a Jew was, basically if an individual had three or four Jewish grandparents, they were considered a Jew (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.). As a side note, Israel has a law, the Law of Return, stating that any Jew who wishes to return to Israel is eligible to do that. An interesting part of the law is the following:

4A. (a) The rights of a Jew under this Law and the rights of an oleh under the Nationality Law, 5712-1952, as well as the rights of an oleh under any other enactment, are also vested in a child and a grandchild of a Jew, the spouse of a Jew, the spouse of a child of a Jew and the spouse of a grandchild of a Jew, except for a person who has been a Jew and has voluntarily changed his religion (The State of Israel, 1950).

The State of Israel was formed on March 14, 1948, by David Ben-Gurion who was the head of the Jewish Agency at the time. The Israeli government took what was forced upon them and made it so the at Jews around the world would have a home. The critical point of understanding though, is that the Holocaust did not start with mass physical violence. It started with speeches and cartoons.

In considering this context for the present day, we look at what is going on in Canada and especially the Jewish community in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). In the last four- or five-years, massive increases have been seen in anti-Semitic activity. Again, it is not starting with physical violence, however there have been some incidents of that nature. For example a sign promoting Holocaust education in Toronto was vandalized with anti-Semitic graffiti (CTV News Staff, 2018). The hate starts with words, whether written or spoken. It has been seen locally in public schools, where children are not able to participate in a Jewish club without having their signs vandalized with anti-Semitic content that makes references to the Nazi era.

We recall the tragic incident that occurred in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in October 2018 at the Tree of Life Synagogue. In a targeted mass public shooting, an assailant murdered 11 Jews and injured six others. The victims were people who were just trying to have a celebration of life and exercise their faith traditions. This incident did not come out of thin air; it came from words. Maybe anti-Semitism is not at its highest levels, but the Pittsburgh massacre is a wake-up call that changes need to be made. The assailant posted anti-Semitic content on a social media

platform named Gab. It is a forum where the alt-Right and white nationalists come to post their hatred and bigotry, as it is unwelcomed on other sites (Robertson et al., 2018). The attack at the Tree of Life Synagogue did not start with an AR-15 rifle or handguns, it started with words.

Recalling the opening quote by Elie Wiesel, the quote speaks about how words attain the quality of deeds. Hate speech, hate mail, hate posters, whatever the form may be; this is when the hate must stop; otherwise, it is just a precursor to an eventual physical attack. Here in Toronto, we are lucky. An attack like the public mass shooting that occurred at the Tree of Life Synagogue has not yet come to fruition, but that does not mean anti-Semitism is not a concern, it very much is a real and ever-present concern. To prevent hateful words from turning in to deeds, the Jewish community must be vigilant concerning the anti-Semitism in our city. We must take an active role in not allowing others' words to become deeds that affect us all.

1.2 Justification for this Study

According to the Center for Study of Hate and Extremism in California, “Prejudice and individual manifestations of it (extremism) often involve a range of interdependent variables that make certain conclusions more difficult to draw than others, particularly in trying to connect a rise in hate crime to one causal factor” (Rank et al., 2017). However, at the end of the second decade of the 21st Century, many Western democratic nations are experiencing disturbing trends of political instability, populism, tribalism, stereotyping, and conspiracies rapidly spread by social media which are all causative factors contributing to a more permissive environment for individuals and groups to engage in hate-orientated public rhetoric actions.

Anti-Semitism has been on the rise in Europe for the last 10-15 years, and this anti-Semitism has trickled into the United States during the last decade. In the United States, in the last two years, there have been three major attacks against Jewish communities in different areas

of the country. There was the 2018 Tree of Life Synagogue public mass shooting incident, which this paper will go into greater detail shortly, the incident at California at Chabad of Poway six months after the incident at Tree of Life Synagogue and in December 2019, the attack in Jersey City at the Kosher market. Individuals with different ideas perpetrated all these attacks, they were not all white supremacists or the far right. This is concerning as it is a lot to monitor; however, regardless of who is perpetrating the events, one thing is clear, anti-Semitism is on the rise, and it is turning more violent.

Anti-Semitism in the United States is alive and well as there are daily occurrences across the country. Daily in New York City, New York Orthodox Jews are being harassed, sometimes verbally and other times physically. Synagogues across the United States are being vandalized and desecrated, which poses a variety of issues as religious and ritual items hold both a spiritual value but are also very expensive to replace.

There is a documented rise in anti-Semitism in Canada over the last five years, according to a Statistics Canada report. According to recent data on police-reported hate-crime in Canada, there has been a 47% increase in police-reported hate crime (Armstrong, 2019). In Ontario, specifically, there has been an increase of 41% in police-reported hate crime directed at the Jewish community (Armstrong, 2019). These statistics are of concern to the Jewish community in Toronto. Such data further serve to demonstrate the need to understand how Toronto's Jewish community is further developing their resilience to hate crime-related violent acts.

There is an organization in Canada, B'nai Brith Canada, that monitors anti-Semitic incidents in Canada. Every year they release an audit looking at different factors and how they relate to the Jewish communities across Canada. They are reporting over the last 3-5 years an increase in anti-Semitism every year, and that anti-Semitism is the fastest growing form of

racism in Canada (Armstrong, 2019; Fishman, 2017; Halevi, 2019; Hohmann, 2015; Hohmann & Fishman, 2016; Ukashi, 2018). For the majority, the growth of anti-Semitism is not seen to be isolated to one part of the country; it is growing across all of Canada from coast to coast to coast. The types of incidents are evolving as well.

While mainly, there are verbal incidents reported, and acts of vandalism, Ontario is starting to see an increase in physical attacks. It is important to note that the majority of the Jewish population in Ontario, 83% of Canadian Jewry as of 2011, live in the City of Toronto and its surrounding communities, so the majority of incidents in the audit from B'nai Brith Canada reported in Ontario occur in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) (*Jewish Demography*, 2011). Approximately 50% of the Canadian Jewish population lives in the GTA according to a 2018 survey (Brym et al., 2018).

The following is a compilation of events that occurred in Toronto and the GTA in 2019 alone to demonstrate the need to study how the Jewish community should better equip themselves to be resilient to anti-Semitic attacks. This is not a detailed, comprehensive list of all anti-Semitic events in Toronto and the GTA as many go unreported to the police. In March 2019, vandalism was found at a Toronto public high school (Berdini, 2019). In April 2019, a Jewish home in Vaughan was vandalized (Rocca, 2019). In May & June 2019 in Burlington, there were six hate-crimes, many of which included anti-Semitic content (Rodrigues, 2019). In August 2019, there was a physical and verbal attack on two boys who were wearing kippot (a head covering that Jewish males wear) (Benari, 2019). These events in the GTA show that there are a variety of anti-Semitic attacks occurring and this study is justified as it sheds light on threats faced and examines the extent to which Jewish institutions are prepared to combat anti-Semitism.

1.3 Relation of this Study to Disaster and Emergency Management

There are various ways in which this topic relates to disaster and emergency management. In categorizing origins of disaster, this work considers the realm of the social hazards. The social hazards originate in behaviours (or misbehaviours) of persons resulting in deaths, injuries, and damages to property.

It is crucial to understand the lens through which this study will be looking at emergency management topics. This study will examine what resiliency actions Toronto's Jewish community has taken after the Tree of Life Disaster focusing event. A focusing event is defined by Birkland (1998) as:

"An event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest, and that is known to policymakers and the public simultaneously."

This study will collect data in the Toronto area during the period after the one-year anniversary of the Tree of Life Disaster in Pittsburgh, specifically in January to March 2020.

Given that the local Jewish community in Toronto was impacted significantly by the tragic event in Pittsburgh, the Tree of Life Disaster prompted this researcher to engage in critical thinking and personal reflection about the nature of Jewish institutions as soft targets. The definition of a soft target is “locations that are easily accessible to large numbers of people and that have limited security or protective measures in place making them vulnerable to attack” (Securing Soft Targets and Crowded Places Resources, 2019). For this study, various physical components of the Jewish community, such as synagogues and community centres, will be considered as potential locations vulnerable to soft-target terror attacks. Generally speaking, this study took an approach of exploring resiliency at the level of institutions. The issue of personal security of Jewish people outside of their participation in activities at their respective institutions

(like synagogues) was not squarely addressed. It was indirectly addressed when interviewing participants by having them address different security trainings they had set up for their own staff and communities. In response to the threats, the concept of resilience will be used to explore the physical and social elements of defending soft targets. This study will work towards providing a better understanding of what local facilities have done or are doing to equip themselves to defend against violent anti-Semitic attacks.

With the above being noted, this study will be relating to emergency management by understanding hate crime and how it could be perceived as domestic terrorism. Either way, in Canada and Toronto specifically, hate crime is illegal, and government agencies are trying to combat multiple forms of discrimination and racism.

According to the Criminal Code of Canada,

A hate crime is committed to intimidate, harm or terrify not only a person but an entire group of people to which the victim belongs. The victims are targeted for who they are, not because of anything they have done.

A hate crime is one in which hate is the motive and can involve intimidation, harassment, physical force or threat of physical force against a person, a group or a property.

Section 319 [of the Criminal Code of Canada] deals with publicly stirring up or inciting hatred against an identifiable group based on colour, race, religion, ethnic origin or sexual orientation. (CBC News, 2011; Consolidated Federal Laws of Canada, Criminal Code, 1985a)

Hate crimes committed against the Jewish people in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area fall under this section of the Criminal Code of Canada. Hate crime is relevant to disaster and emergency management as it fits into the realm of the social hazards. There are three categories of hazards, the natural hazards, technological hazards, and social hazards. Hazards originate from the natural environment, operations of technology, and human behavior and misbehavior. Misbehavior, or anti-social activities which are often criminal, fall under the

category of social hazards. Examples of such threats are mass shootings, killing sprees, sabotage, rioting, large scale criminal activities, etc. Hate crimes can fall into the category of social hazards. There can also be relationships made between hate crime and terrorism, as terrorism is a special category of the social hazards. Therefore, the topic of hate crime can be considered well within the domain of topics relevant to the scholarship and practice of emergency management.

Law enforcement agencies and the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of Toronto need to be aware of the level of hate crime in their governing area. The UJA of Toronto's (a non-profit organization) mission is to preserve and strengthen the Jewish community of Toronto by helping to assist those in need, education, programs for all ages (*UJA GTA*, n.d.). This may be done through financial donations to different organizations, providing scholarships or from grassroot volunteers. For instance, during Jewish holidays, the Toronto Police Service (TPS) may choose to increase patrols in Jewish areas or where Jewish activities are on-going if they know there is an issue with hate-crime in the area or against the community. This goes directly to both a planning and budgeting issue the TPS would need the foresight to plan for. Jewish organizations in Toronto are always in communication with police and law enforcement services to ensure safety for the community to the best of their abilities. During the Winter of 2019, the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of Toronto sent an email assuring the Jewish community that if they saw a more significant presence of police, it was to ensure safety.

As demonstrated through the literature review and background chapters, there is a risk to the Jewish community of Toronto and the GTA. There is a threat to their safety, and it is important to gauge the understanding of preventative measures so that if an incident were to occur, it would hopefully not be catastrophic to the community. The community should have the

resilience after an attack to continue thriving. This preparedness can be achieved by preparing the institutions, staff and community members at large.

1.4 Question on Which this Study is Based

The question being asked in this study is:

“What actions were taken to increase local resilience to anti-Semitic violence by the Toronto Jewish Community as a consequence of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster?”

Many people in Canada live with the mentality that we are safe here and that there is no discrimination or racism, but this is not the case as seen through both the Anti-Semitism audit put out by B'nai Brith Canada as well as the hate-crime analysis put out by the Toronto Police Service every year. The Jewish community was shaken and outraged after what happened at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh (Ward, 2018). This attack in the United States against the Jewish community hit close to home, especially as one of the victims grew up in Toronto. It is essential to see and understand what measures different Jewish institutions put in place to keep their members safe. This study intends to address such issues.

1.5 Organization of this Study

This York University Major Research Paper was completed in May 2020 in partial fulfillment of the master's degree in Disaster and Emergency Management. Dr. Jack Rozdilsky (Associate Professor of Disaster and Emergency Management) was the Master's Research Paper supervisor and Dr. Kenneth McBey (Professor of Human Resource Management) was the second reader.

This study has eight chapters. Following this chapter (Chapter One: Introduction) are the remaining seven chapters. The following is a brief description of each chapter.

1.6 Chapter Two Summary: Background

Anti-Semitism is on the rise across the world, and it is being experienced strongly in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and the background chapter will support that premise. People who are members of Jewish communities are worried about staying in their countries and are considering moving to Israel to be safe. This past year during the 2019 British elections, Jews in England were so fearful for their safety if Jeremy Corbyn was elected Prime Minister that 47% of Jews in England would consider emigrating to Israel (Cohen, 2019). In the early winter of 2019, two significant events impacted the Jewish community in the United States. The first was the Jersey City shooting, which targeted a kosher deli area, the perpetrator is said to be linked to a Black Israelite group (Gold & Watkins, 2019). In Monsey, New York, during the celebration of Chanukah, a perpetrator staged an attack with a machete. This attack was called an act of domestic terrorism by New York Governor Andrew Cuomo (Liebson et al., 2019). The year before that, in October of 2018, the world was shocked to learn of the incident which happened on Saturday morning, Shabbat – the day of rest, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, at the Tree of Life synagogue. This attack is believed to be the deadliest attack on Jews in the history of the United States. The Pittsburgh attack left 11 victims dead with others injured, including law enforcement officers. These attacks south of the border demonstrate that more violent crimes are possible in Canada. It is not a matter of if, it is a matter of when. This danger is something the Jewish communities in the United States have been realizing quickly.

For the background, this study identifies three major threats: vandalism, assaults, and threats not yet realized. In Toronto, vandalism has been seen in the last several years targeting Jewish communities. The last two to three years have also seen an increase in the number of

physical assault incidents as well. We all worry about what may happen yet or the threats not yet realized.

1.7 Chapter Three Summary: Literature Review

The literature review takes a focus on aspects of the one large topic which is foundational to this study – anti-Semitism. The term anti-Semitism is recent, although Jews have been persecuted throughout history. A German journalist, Wilhelm Marr, popularized this term in the late 19th century, through anti-Jewish articles and pamphlets he wrote (Laqueur, 2006). Covered in the literature review is a brief history of anti-Semitism in ancient times, anti-Semitism in Medieval times, modern forms of anti-Semitism and a Canadian context of anti-Semitism as that is where the focus of the study will be. In closing, the situation of anti-Semitism in Toronto is considered.

Ancient times saw the Jews either being persecuted or expelled from where they lived. Those who ruled over the country wanted their religion or spirituality to be followed, which for observant Jews is understandably tricky. Under Roman rule, for example, Jews were not full-fledged citizens, and there was hostility and resentment towards the Jews of that era. A common form of anti-Semitic behaviour at the time, and for several centuries, was that Jews were considered lepers because they did not follow the same customs as the people around them.

When looking at Medieval times, those who were not Christian were persecuted and targeted during the crusades. The Jews were targeted during the time of the Black Death, also known as the Bubonic Plague. During this time, the Church held all the power and created the norms of society dictating how people lived. Many times, the Jews were required to pay an individual tax and additionally a separate amount of money in order to be protected. Although

financially targeted, the Church did not necessarily permit murdering Jews as they were considered "the essential rightness of Christianity" (Laqueur, 2006).

Modern times include the Holocaust, where more than six million Jews were murdered, approximately one million being children. In Germany, anti-Jewish laws were put into place, further differentiating them as an 'out-group,' Jews and Aryans and eventually Jews were physically separated by being put into Ghettos or being sent to different concentration, labour or death camps.

Canadian history also has episodes of anti-Semitism. During the Holocaust, Canada refused entry to a large number of Jews trying to flee persecution from Hitler. In 1939, the ocean-going ship, the M.S. St. Louis tried to dock and disembark in Canada. The response to allowing Jews into Canada at the time was "None is too many," displaying the attitude of the time (Abella & Troper, 1983). In August of 1933, the Christie Pits Riot occurred in Toronto after a sporting event. After a baseball game concluded, a gang of young men unfurled a white sheet with a large black swastika, which they were sure to know would incite rage as one of the teams was composed of mainly Jewish players. In the 1930s, anti-Semitism was a part of everyday life for Jews in Toronto, whether it was regarding housing, employment or education. Shades of such anti-Semitic activities are not as pronounced, but they are still present in Toronto today.

1.8 Chapter Four Summary: Methods

Qualitative research strategies are used in this study. Sixteen interviews were conducted primarily with stakeholders at institutions in the Toronto Jewish community, law enforcement personnel and political figures. These interviews were done in a semi-structured format to assure that the questions are covered yet done so in a way that participants can fully explain their

answers. During the interviews, handwritten notes were taken, and mechanical recordings took place during some, but not all, interviews to ensure accuracy. Interview data was then subjected to a manual coding process for data analysis. Overarching themes were then determined as an outcome of the data analysis. The ontology reflects the participants' experiences in defense of their soft target sites, especially in the aftermath of the public mass shooting incident in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in October 2018. The epistemology will be co-constructed by the researcher and participant, which again will be further shaped by the participant's experiences. The axiology in this study will be value-laden, as the researcher will acknowledge biases that can influence the context of this study.

1.9 Chapter Five Summary: Findings

The findings chapter presents the raw data collected from the interviews. Interview data is summarized for each of the 16 participants. Taken from the field notes, interviewees direct comments are presented and, in some cases, paraphrased. The researcher's reaction to the interviews is described in some cases, but analysis of the data is reserved for the discussion chapter. While the primary group that subjects were recruited from was persons in positions of responsibility at Jewish institutions, in addition the researcher reached out to representatives from Jewish agencies, law enforcement agencies, and city government representatives.

A pseudonym is used for each participant and major points emerging from each of the interviews is encapsulated in narrative format. The interviews took place from January to February 2020 immediately prior to the time of the COVID-19 societal interruptions. When reviewing the field notes to extract information to present in this findings section, utmost care was taken to present the comments in an anonymous manner, as many of the interviews covered sensitive subject matters.

1.10 Chapter Six Summary: Discussion

The discussion provides the results of the data analysis. The researcher completed 16 interviews and the interviews were analyzed so that themes or codes could be described based on the content of each interview. The chapter comments on the themes derived from the interviews and the categories in which those themes were placed into as a result of the manual coding process.

The 23 themes determined from the analysis of the interview data are:

1. Tree of life
2. Better education
3. Collaboration
4. Cumulative impact
5. Fear mongering
6. Failure of imagination
7. Community involvement
8. Trainings
9. Permissive environment
10. Lack of awareness
11. Lessons from Pittsburgh
12. No active preparation
13. Can't do much
14. News media
15. Social media
16. Anti-Semitism
17. Rapidity
18. Redundancy
19. Resourcefulness
20. Robustness
21. Tradeoffs
22. Hate crime law
23. It can happen here

As a result of the manual coding process, the 23 themes were aggregated into five categories:

1. Resiliency
2. Focusing event
3. Actions
4. Anti-Semitic violence
5. The permanency of anti-Semitism

1.11 Chapter Seven Summary: COVID-19 Addition

At the time of writing the final draft of this master's Research Project on May 7, 2020, the Public Health Agency of Canada indicated 64,922 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 4,408 COVID-19 related deaths in Canada. While one cannot judge in the present how events will be viewed historically, it can be suggested that this current pandemic will be one of the most significant disaster events in modern Canadian history.

The Covid-19 pandemic is acting as a focusing event for the Jewish Community of the Greater Toronto Area. The Jewish community is a tight-knit group, always celebrating, eating and praying together. This illness affects their daily lives, and it completely uproots their way of life. However, with that in mind, this brings up a fundamental Jewish principle called Pikuach Nefesh or saving a life. This principle calls for the following "Most of the Jewish law can and should be set aside in order to avoid endangering a person's health or safety" (Rabbi Simon Glustrom, n.d.). COVID-19 calls on the Jewish community of the Greater Toronto Area to do just that, and most are.

The interviews on which this research was based were completed just prior to the social distancing protocols and stay at home orders. The final phases of this Master Research Project were completed through computer-mediated remote means as face-to-face interactions with my research supervisory committee were not possible in April and May 2020.

While the focus of this work is not COVID-19 related, the COVID-19 Addition chapter of this study provides some comments on how the current pandemic disaster that is being experienced relates to this work.

1.12 Chapter Eight Summary: Conclusions

This study draws five main conclusions. Going back to the research question, “*What actions were taken to increase local resilience to anti-Semitic violence by the Toronto Jewish Community as a consequence of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster?*”, the conclusion of this study provides direct answers to the question and a context to understand the answers.

The first conclusion considers the actions that are in process at Jewish institutions in the Greater Toronto Area to prepare for and mitigate against future anti-Semitic attacks. The second conclusion looks at understanding actions that are being considered but have not yet been taken to help combat anti-Semitism in the Greater Toronto Area. The third conclusion looks at resiliency in the Jewish community and attempts to understand how the foundation for preparedness and safety is built. The fourth conclusion provides an analysis of the specific characteristics of anti-Semitism in the Greater Toronto Area, as determined by this study. Lastly, the fifth conclusion presents thoughts of the researcher on the permanence of anti-Semitism.

The study then ends as it has begun with a quote from Elie Wiesel. We must keep moving forward with our lives, developing our plans and implementing them. We cannot live in fear.

*“There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice,
but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.”*

Elie Wiesel

Chapter 2: Background

2.1 Background Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline and understand the threat both the global and Toronto specific Jewish community faces regarding anti-Semitism. Globally speaking, a rise in anti-Semitism in European Jewish communities has been seen. Jewish communities in Europe are terrified; many Jews have or are considering making Aliyah, which means immigrating to Israel, they perceive Israel may be a safer environment. In the United States, there has been a noticeable rise in anti-Semitic attacks, many of these attacks are rising in severity against Jews.

The Jewish people have gone through these threats many times throughout history. We know the Holocaust happened and that we do not want it to happen again as it decimated the Jewish population. An estimated 6 million Jewish people were murdered in the Holocaust, one million of them children. While the attacks are not the same, they are happening, and they are targeting Jews. Many of these acts are being committed by Neo-Nazis, who have the same ideology as Hitler did. They want to cleanse the world of the Jewish people. This ideology is dangerous for our global community and not just the Jewish community. With the advances in technology, for instance social media platforms, it has become increasingly easier to reach large amounts of people and spread messages of hate.

2.2 Survey of Threat Environment

In general, Canada has seen an increase in hate crimes over the last few years. In 2017 there was an increase of 47% more incidents than in 2016, which equals 664 more events than the previous year (Armstrong, 2019). This increase was due in large part to religion-related hate crimes. When specifically looking at the rise in religion motivated hate-crimes in Canada, these hate-crimes increased by 83% from 2016 to 2017. When looking at anti-Semitic hate-crimes,

there was a continued rise from the previous year. It went from 221 incidents in 2016 to 360 episodes in 2017, which is a 63% increase (Armstrong, 2019). 18% of all reported hate-crimes were for anti-Jewish attacks (Armstrong, 2019). It is also important to remember that many hate-crime incidents go unreported so that the actual number could be higher.

According to the Toronto Police Service report looking at hate/bias crime from 2017, the Jewish community was the most frequently victimized group from minority communities (Pringle, 2018). This was once again the case in the 2018 Toronto Police services report looking at hate-crime in Toronto (Saunders, 2019). According to the 2018 report, there were 50 occurrences against Jews of the total 144 occurrences. The next highest victimized group was Muslims at 18 occurrences, followed by the Black community at 16. This does not count the multi-bias occurrences, which brings up the total number of occurrences against Jews to 61. Multi-bias occurrences are when more than one identifiable group is the targeted. This data shows a trend that anti-Semitism in Canada is on the rise and an issue in the Toronto and Greater Toronto Jewish community.

2.3 The Three Threats

There are three essential categorizations of threats the Jewish community has faced and will face going forward. The three risks are vandalism, physical assault and threats not yet realized, which could manifest as terrorism or larger scale hate-motivated attacks.

Vandalism, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is the "willful or malicious destruction or defacement of public or private property" ('Definition of VANDALISM,' n.d.). According to the laws in Canada, Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c.C-46), mischief is anyone who willfully:

- (a) destroys or damages property;
- (b) renders property dangerous, useless, inoperative or ineffective;
- (c) obstructs, interrupts or interferes with the lawful use, enjoyment or operation of property; or
- (d) obstructs, disrupts or interferes with any person in the lawful use, enjoyment or operation of the property.

The definition of vandalism will help to identify crimes perpetrated against the Jewish community of Toronto. Based on the definition, there is not just one type of vandalism, i.e. graffiti, it can include other acts. This definition is essential as there are many different types of vandalism acts perpetrated against the Jewish community, and the above description allows us to group all vandalism instead of looking at each action individually.

An assault, according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, is "a threat or attempt to inflict offensive physical contact or bodily harm on a person that puts the person in immediate danger of or in the apprehension of such harm or contact" ('Definition of ASSAULT,' n.d.). According to the Canadian Criminal Code, a person commits assault when:

- (a) without the consent of another person, he applies force intentionally to that other person, directly or indirectly;
- (b) he attempts or threatens, by an act or a gesture, to use force to another person, if he has, or causes that other person to believe on reasonable grounds that he has, present ability to effect his purpose; or
- (c) while openly wearing or carrying a weapon or an imitation thereof, he accosts or impedes another person or begs. (Legislative Services Branch, 1985)

The definition and exploration into the Canadian Laws are essential for understanding how assault manifests in the form of hate-crimes against the Jewish community. Understanding the meaning of an assault helps to categorize the trends and progressions seen in hate-crimes against the Jewish community.

The last category is threats, not yet realized. There is no real definition as to what those threats may be. What these threats can include are active attacks (i.e. shootings or stabbings),

bomb threats, or other terrorist attacks using weapons of mass destruction. This is not an inclusive list, but to show the possibility of attacks that could be perpetrated against the Jewish community of Toronto. In Toronto, these types of escalated attacks have not happened yet. What the Jewish community is concerned about is that with the rise in anti-Semitism in Toronto, these attacks are not theoretical, they are a real possibility.

2.4 Why these threats are real

Canada has one of the largest Jewish communities outside the State of Israel, holding about 3% of the world's Jewish community. This is a large number as Israel holds 30%, and the United States holds 51% of the world's Jewish community (the rest is dispersed by 3% or lower). Toronto has a sizeable Jewish community, the largest in Canada at over 180,000 (CIJA, 2015). This means that there is a relatively large Jewish presence in the city. There are many synagogues in all denominations of Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist). There are multiple Jewish community centers, several schools and yeshivot (religious boys' school) and many other Jewish institutions and organizations.

With the rise in anti-Semitism in the world and specifically in Canada, the Jews have been targeted and will continue to be targets of anti-Semitic attacks. There is a rise not only on vandalism and physical assault but also a rise in social media attacks. The questions are not one of if it will happen in Toronto because it already has, the question is how much more often, what severity and is the community prepared to protect themselves. These are some of the issues this paper will be examining.

2.5 Vandalism

As discussed above, vandalism refers to the physical damage of property. Above, not mentioned, was that this includes damage to religious objects (i.e. mezuzot), the desecration of

religious sites, including cemeteries (Ukashi, 2018). Often vandalism is only considered for things like graffiti; it is vital to draw the attention to all acts which could be conceived as vandalism to understand what the Jewish community of Toronto faces genuinely. This section will look at different actions categorized as vandalism, which will be organized further by the year starting in 2016. 2016 saw a 26% increase in anti-Semitic hate crimes from the previous year across Canada.

2.6 Anti-Semitic Vandalism in 2016

According to the Annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents in 2016, vandalism acts took up smaller percentages than in previous years. This is directly related to the rise seen in social media-based attacks (Hohmann and Fishman, 2016). According to this audit, Ontario (the Jewish community is predominantly in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area) saw 89 incidents, which is far higher than any other region in Canada, of the same year. What was seen in 2016 was a rise in University campus-related incidents. This presented in the following ways on campus:

1. *Professors and other university staff engaging in antisemitism and anti-Zionism rallies*
2. *Demonstrations on campus*
3. *Universities bring in anti-Semitic speakers*

One of the incidents occurred at the University of Toronto's (U of T) downtown campus. At the end of September 2016 and the beginning of October 2016, over the course of two weeks, different areas of the university were defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti (Shefa, 2016). Multiple swastikas were found on a sign outside of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education on the U of T campus. Others were found on a bus stop sign as well as the medical sciences building on King's College Circle, all part of the U of T campus. A few days later, right before Yom Kippur of 2016 began the director of Hillel U of T at the time, Rob Nagus, had a student message him

about more swastikas on campus drawn on an engineering mural. Two days later, another swastika was found on a sidewalk near the painting, all on the U of T campus (Shefa, 2016). There were other areas where swastikas found in the field of the U of T campus; however, these were technically found on the city of Toronto property, according to a U of T spokesperson. At the time of the incidents, they were determined to be unrelated. There was not enough evidence at the time to move forward with any police action. According to the spokesperson, while no further legal action was taken, they were very concerned at the time of the incident. They condemned any time of racism and discrimination on the campus.

2.7 Anti-Semitic Vandalism in 2017

According to the Annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents in 2017, vandalism acts more than doubled across Canada. The incidents rose from 158 in 2016 to 327 in 2017, reaching levels that have not been seen since 2013-2014. As mentioned above, when looking at the Jewish population in Ontario, it is predominantly found in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area, as opposed to other regions of Ontario. Of the 327 vandalism incidents in Canada, 186 of them were in Ontario, a significant change from the previous year (Fishman, 2017).

In February of 2017, vandals in Toronto smashed mezuzot (this religious artifact holds the word of g-d written on parchment, it is put on the majority of doors of a home to show that a Jewish family lives there and to remind the family of their covenant to g-d). These vandals also spread anti-Semitic messages at a predominantly Jewish condo building. The Glendon campus of York University in March 2017 was evacuated several times after receiving several anti-Semitic bomb threats. In April of 2017, anti-Semitic vandalism was across university campuses in Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, all within the same week (Fishman, 2017). In May, a Jewish student at a private school has his locker repeatedly defaced with swastikas. In June, a

high school north of Toronto is seen with a Nazi flag with graffiti, which says, "Jews did 9/11" (Fishman, 2017).

Examining one incident closer that occurred in September of 2017 was the discovery of neon orange graffiti on Highway 400 near Vaughan Mills Mall, in Vaughn, Ontario. The graffiti read, "Hitler was right," York Regional Police and work crews arrived the same day, September 1, around 8 am (Shefa, 2017). The incident was condemned by authorities of different Jewish organizations and by York Regional Police. Hate crime investigators from York Regional Police investigated this incident (News Staff, 2017). The graffiti was removed promptly by city workers.

2.8 Anti-Semitic Vandalism in 2018

According to the Annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents in 2018, vandalism acts were lower in 2018 than in 2017 across Canada at 221 incidents. Similarly, to the previous two years, the Jewish community in Ontario is predominantly found in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. Specifically, Ontario had 138 incidents of vandalism (Ukashi, 2018). This number remains unacceptably high, and there is pressure to try and reduce this significantly.

The following are examples of vandalism incidents that happened in the city of Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area. In April 2018, a poster was defaced put up by a Jewish student group in a public school in Toronto that is damaged, reading "gas 'em all" (Ukashi, 2018). There are incidents across Toronto of BDS supporters, alt-Right and neo-Nazis stickers posted in public areas in May 2018. The BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) is a Palestinian lead organization which calls for boycotts of Israel which take different forms. Across several provinces, including Toronto, Ontario, there are twenty separate incidents of swastika graffiti in August 2018. On a Toronto street corner in September 2018, a placard that resembles the U.S.

flag is found with what looks like a satanic face in the shape of the State of Israel (Ukashi, 2018).

In October 2018, a Jewish school, Leo Baeck Day School, was vandalized with pro-Palestinian and pro-Hamas slogans.

An example of an incident from 2018 is when a holocaust education sign was vandalized in the city of Toronto. The United Jewish Appeal (UJA) promotes Holocaust education; one of how this is done is through signage across the city. One sign in Toronto was vandalized with the German word Achtung which in English means ‘attention’ or ‘watch out’ (CTV News Staff, 2018). This particular sign was right outside of a synagogue. It is a sign of anti-Semitic hatred, according to Sara Lefton of the UJA (CTV News Staff, 2018).

2.9 Present Day - Anti-Semitic Vandalism 2019

The following are some examples of anti-Semitic incidents which have happened in 2019. The 2019 audit on anti-Semitism has not been released at the time of writing; thus, this list should not be taken as comprehensive of all incidents.

In March 2019, there was anti-Semitic vandalism at a Toronto public high school near High Park (Berdini, 2019). The vandalism included anti-Semitic, homophobic and other racist content. In April, a home in Vaughan, Ontario, was found with the garage doors defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti and swastikas (Rocca, 2019). The graffiti read “we watch[h]” and “watch [yo]ur self” (Rocca, 2019). In May & June 2019, in Burlington over the course of two weeks, there had been six hate-crimes, some of which were anti-Semitic (Rodrigues, 2019). On May 23, 2019, one of the incidents included an anti-Semitic poster, which was put on a traffic post. Again, on May 30, it was reported that someone had written anti-Semitic messages on their vehicle with a marker. Sometime between June 1st and 2nd, another incident occurred in which police officers discovered anti-Semitic imagery on the front doors of the Burlington Art Gallery

(Rodrigues, 2019). On June 2, anti-Semitic imagery was found on the front doors of the Burlington City Hall. In September 2019, across Canada, campaign signs were found to be defaced with anti-Semitic messages and swastikas, on both Jewish candidates and non-Jewish candidates (Rose, 2019). In early October 2019, a Hamilton synagogue was found to be vandalized; a Holocaust survivor discovered the graffiti on his way to Saturday service (Rankin, 2019).

2.10 Assaults

As discussed above, assault does not only have to be physical; it can also manifest in verbal attacks or threats. All forms of hate-crime have been seen in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area.

2.11 Anti-Semitic Assaults in 2016

According to the Annual Audit of Anti-Semitism in 2016 in Canada, there were 1559 harassment incidents and 11 violent incidences. Harassment is the most common form of hate-crime experienced by Jewish communities across Canada and specifically in Toronto. As mentioned, Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area have the largest Jewish community in Ontario when looking at the numbers. According to the audit, there were 393 incidents of harassment and eight incidents of violence in Ontario. Many events this year were related to university campuses.

The following is a list of different incidents that happened throughout 2016; this list is not comprehensive of the entire year. In January 2016, a man was arrested outside of a synagogue in Toronto for throwing objects at congregants as they were leaving. There were many incidents on University campuses involving Jewish students' groups and other groups.

One issue involved Arab students trying to prevent a Jewish student from being a part of the York Student Council because he was a “Zionist” (Hohmann and Fishman, 2016).

According to the Toronto Sun, many students on Toronto University campuses such as Ryerson and especially York, feel marginalized and alienated (Rose, 2019). The Jewish students think it is a toxic environment regarding anti-Semitism; they cannot point to one specific event. It is within all parts of the university, the student groups, professors and librarians. They have all taken a stand on the BDS movement. In 2016, everything came to a head regarding a mural that was erected in the Student Centre on the York Keele Campus. The mural is an image of the State of Israel without borders and a man holding two stones behind his back with his gaze on Israel (Levy, 2016). Many donors have pulled funding from York University stating that York has become an “incubator of hate and violence against Jews” (Levy, 2016). The mural is owned by the York Federation of Students, and as they are unwilling to take it down, it makes many Jewish students uncomfortable and feel attacked.

2.12 Anti-Semitic Assaults in 2017

Referencing the Annual Audit of Anti-Semitism of 2017, there were 1,752 incidents across Canada, specifically looking at assaults there were 1,425. In Ontario, there were 609 incidents of harassment and 13 incidents of violence. What was different this year was that many of the events were targeting Jewish students in public schools. Following is a list of incidents that occurred in 2017, please note this is not a comprehensive list of assault incidents.

In February of 2017, a teaching assistant is fired from Ryerson University for publicly asking during Ramadan prayers for “Allah to purify the al-Asqa mosque from the filth of the Jews” (Hohmann, 2017). In March of 2017, anti-Israeli students at a school in Oshawa, UOIT, cover the Israeli flag at a multicultural event on campus. As well, one of these students refers to

Israelis/Jews as ‘rodents’ on social media. In the same month, a Jewish student is attempted to be robbed at knifepoint by a peer. As well in March, York University Glendon Campus was evacuated multiple times due to anti-Semitic bomb threats. In April 2017, a middle school student told one of her classmates that she “should be gassed like the Jews,” not indicating if the victim was Jewish or not (Hohmann, 2017). When Jewish high school students attended York University for an anti-racism seminar, they were told that anti-Semitism “is not a serious problem and that they must shut the fuck up and listen to real persecuted minorities” (Hohmann, 2017). In December 2017, fourteen synagogues across Canada received hate mail, which has a Star of David dripping in blood with the warning “Jewry Must Perish” (Hohmann, 2017). In Richmond Hill hospital, a Jewish woman is called “a spoiled rich Jewish lady looking for free meds” and refused treatment (Hohmann, 2017).

Looking more closely at one incident was at the Al Quds Day rally, which took place at Queen's Park in Toronto in 2017. There is a video that shows music being played at this rally that calls for Jews to be “stabbed, attacked and beheaded” (Warmington, 2017a). The song glorifies violence against Jews; the American Center for Democracy filmed the video and translated it by them as well as others (Warmington, 2017a). President Dr. Charles McVety from the Canada Christian College launched the complaint. Many leaders in Toronto have expressed concern regarding hate-infested rallies as well as the threat of white supremacist, and neo-Nazi rallies will soon emerge in Toronto as they did in the United States.

2.13 Anti-Semitic Assaults in 2018

Referencing the Annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents 2018, there were a total of 2,041 incidents, and there have not been more than 2,000 incidents in a year across Canada since 1982 (Ukashi, 2018). There were 1,809 incidents of harassment and 11 of violence in Canada. In

Ontario, there were 335 incidents of harassment and 8 of violence. The following is a list of incidents that happened in 2018 in the Toronto area; however, this list should not be taken as comprehensive of all events.

In January of 2018, an ER nurse called a patient a "spoiled rich Jewish [expletive] just looking for free meds" when crying out due to severe sinus pain (Ukashi, 2018). In July 2018, a lyft driver told his Jewish passenger that the Jews were responsible for the 9/11 attacks and that some Muslims will take revenge on the Jews. In October 2018, a Jewish mother walking home from Shabbat with her eight children in Markham, Ontario, was harassed by two men in a passing car. The men scream at her and her children, "Jews, get out of here!" before they make a U-turn and yell, "F*** you, Jews!" (Ukashi, 2018). In North York, Ontario, in November, a grade 10 student in a public school enters a Jewish teacher's classroom and empties a bag of dimes on the floor after asking, "Which of you is Jewish?" (Ukashi, 2018). Again, in November, four religious Jewish teenagers are verbally and physically attacked by another group of teenagers in Toronto (Warmington, 2018). In December a 13 year old student in Toronto is harassed by a classmate who said the following in the hallway of the school "You're a Jew, you can't pass" and "Go back into the ovens" and then threatened "I'll go shoot up a Jewish school" (Ukashi, 2018).

This section will look closer into the incident from November 2018 when the four religious boys were attacked. On November 12, 2018, 2 Jewish boys were harassed for wearing a kippah and reportedly, a third was robbed. What was reported is that 4 Jewish teenagers were walking in mid-town Toronto when another group of teenaged boys approached them and started making insulting comments about their religion (Westoll, 2018). After the remarks were made

allegedly, some of the boys began kicking and punching the Jewish teenagers. According to one of the Jewish victims, the instigators said anti-Semitic slurs as well as references to Hitler.

2.14 Present Day, Anti-Semitic Assaults in 2019

As mentioned above, the report on anti-Semitism in Canada for 2019 has not yet been released. Therefore, the following list of anti-Semitic events should not be taken as comprehensive of all attacks in the Toronto and surrounding area.

In March 2019, an individual, who may be a student, posted to social media that “Jews run this Uni,” referring to York University (Moshe, 2019). In May 2019, political leaders condemn and call a video posted anti-Semitic, which occurred on the ground of a synagogue in North York (Levy, 2019a). Another event in May 2019 was when a man shouted anti-Semitic slurs and pro-Nazi messages outside of the 2019 Toronto Walk with Israel (Ariel, 2019). In August 2019, there was a physical attack on two Jewish boys in Thornhill, Ontario (CJN Staff, 2019). The York Regional Police are treating this as a hate crime; the boys were wearing kippot and approached by another youth who was swearing behind them (Benari, 2019). When the two boys tried to leave the area, the suspect punched one boy in the face before following them for a while.

2.15 Threats Not Realized Yet

So far, in the GTA and Toronto, horrific events such as extreme violence, i.e. bombings, mass shootings etc. have not happened yet. There have been threats and foiled attempts of similar crimes at the Jewish community, but more extreme risks have not been realized yet. In the example of the York University Glendon campus, there were bomb threats made at the Jewish community, several times; however, they did not come to fruition. Another example of a foiled plot is when the Toronto Police Service that was targeting the Miles Nadal Jewish

Community Centre (Lehmann, 2018). As seen in this section, there is an increase in anti-Semitic events over the last few years in Toronto. Anti-Semitism has been growing in Europe for over 15 years; the same has been happening in the United States for more than five decades. Anti-Semitism is not going away; the attacks are only getting more violent.

There have been incidents in the United States that once violent hate starts, it is hard to control. There have been violent incidents in Canada that have been targeted towards some form of discrimination. For example, in Quebec City in 2018, there was a shooting in a mosque. A lone man entered the Islamic Cultural Centre in Quebec City, open fire, and killed six men and injured 19 others (Chiasson, 2018). This demonstrates that more violent crimes are possible in Canada. It is not a matter of if it is a matter of when. This is something the Jewish communities in the United States have been learning fast.

2.16 Pittsburgh Tree of Life Synagogue Shooting

The following section details and describes what occurred at the Tree of Life synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the United States on October 27, 2018. This attack is one of the deadliest attacks on the Jews in modern American history. The Toronto Jewish community felt a strong connection to the Pittsburgh Jewish community during this tragedy as one of the victims grew up in Toronto. Below is how the events unfolded and how the Police service responded.

An anti-Semitic message is posted on a social media account belonging to the shooter at 9:49 am. He wrote, "I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics, I'm going in" (Almasy & Moshtaghian, 2018). By 9:54 am, the first 911 calls about an active shooter are coming in. At 9:55 am, two police cars are dispatched with many other officers saying they are responding. There are reports of 20-30 shots heard from the lobby (McLaughlin,

2018). Just before 10 am approximate, an officer identifies himself by badge number and is on the premises. He reports that they are under fire and that the shooter has an automatic weapon. Just moments after this, an officer is shot in the hand.

Just after 10 am, an officer requests for backup, "Every unit in the city needs to get here now," and a dispatcher relays this information (Almasy & Moshtaghanian, 2018). Two minutes later, the officers on scene request SWAT teams from the city and county. At about 10:11 am, the officers discuss going into the synagogue. At 10:19 am a worker at the emergency operation center (EOC) has information that the shooter entered the synagogue, began firing, and people ran and are hiding in the building. At 10:30 am, tactical teams begin to enter the synagogue. At 10:33 am, the officers have a description of what they believe the suspect looks like. At 10:36 am, the first four victims are found in the atrium along with a survivor. Four minutes later, four more bodies are found. At 10:41 am, one injured victim is brought outside to an armoured vehicle.

At 10:43 am, two more people are rescued from the basement of the building. It is reported that there has still been no contact with the shooter. Precisely 10 minutes later, contact is made between the suspect and officers. He is found to have barricaded himself on the third floor and has opened fire at the officers. An officer is shot at this time. More shots are fired at 10:59 am. At 11:03 am, a police report that they have begun negotiations with the suspect, but he has not complied. He is identified to have an AR-15 and a handgun (later, two more guns were found). At 11:04 am, after putting his hand in view, he gives the police his name and age.

At 11:08 am, the suspect is surrendering and crawls out of the room he barricaded himself in. At some point during this process, the shooter tells the police, "all these Jews need to

die" (Almasy & Moshtaghian, 2018). At 8:05 pm, the gunman is charged with 29 federal charges, including several hate crimes (McLaughlin, 2018).

The next day the 11 victims are identified. The suspect was not known to any law enforcement agency before the attack. This synagogue, this community, was attacked on their Sabbath, their rest day. A couple of months later, in December, anti-Semitic pamphlets were found in the same neighbourhood as the shooting (Associated Press, 2018). After the shooting at Tree of Life synagogue, Jewish communities not only in the United States but around the world closed their doors (Sherwood, 2018). Jewish communities are known for being warm and welcoming, but they are being forced to change and face the anti-Semitism being thrown at them.

2.17 Conclusion for Background Chapter

The Pittsburgh attack against the Jewish community was horrific and unimaginable; however, this is not the worst the Jewish community has faced, and unless there is a change, there is more to come. The Jewish people have been persecuted for thousands of years and always remained strong. The Jewish community is united; the problem is they are being persecuted. There is only a matter of time before the anti-Semitism we see in the United States seeps further in Canada. As we have seen, it is not a far-fetched idea, there have been spoiled plots, the problem is there are plans. There are people and/or groups in Canada who do want to harm the Jewish communities here. The Jewish community must figure out how to protect themselves against this modern-day anti-Semitism.

Maybe as Canadians and Torontonians, we do not face an imminent threat yet, but there is a threat, and that is scary. One cannot wait until it is too late to act, especially with the information we have available to us now. Indeed, the Tree of Life Disaster served as a focusing

event for the local Jewish community. It made them reflect on what has happened elsewhere and to recognize the fact that it also could happen here. A focusing event is defined by Birkland (1998) as "An event that is sudden; relatively uncommon; can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of potentially greater future harms; has harms that are concentrated in a particular geographical area or community of interest; and that is known to policymakers and the public simultaneously."

While the Tree of Life Disaster cannot be classified as a local anti-Semitic event, it did have local impacts. In general, it was observed that the local Jewish community banded together after the attack. On Monday, October 29, 2018, members of the Toronto Jewish community gathered for a candlelight vigil of mourning and remembrance at a prominent public gathering location in the North York area of Toronto, Mel Lastman Square (Kalvapalle, 2018). In addition to grieving, the Jewish community came together to show the strength they have in moving forward. Let some good come from such a tragedy, we should learn from the Tree of Life Disaster and not let these deaths be in vain.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction to Literature Review on Anti-Semitism

Before delving into the concept of anti-Semitism, it is of the utmost importance to understand the meaning behind the word itself. The word anti-Semitism holds such significance that not to give a literal translation would be a disservice. The definition of the concept is "hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious, ethnic, or racial group" (CTV News Staff, 2018). The breakdown of the word anti-Semitism translates to opposed to (anti-) Jews (Semites). Semites are defined by anyone who speaks a Semitic language, of which Hebrew (a universal language of Jewish religious scripture) is one. While there are many diverse groups of Semitic origin, it is only ever used to refer to the Jewish people. Therefore, the literal understanding of the concept of anti-Semitism is those opposed to Jews. As will be reviewed henceforth, the Jews have suffered insurmountably throughout history and under the persecution of many different rulers. While not always formally known as anti-Semitism, there are tropes and stereotypes which have carried through from the past into our present modern era.

For this study, it should be noted that the researchers understand and note that the review will not cover the entire history or concept of anti-Semitism. The term anti-Semitism is a reasonably recent one coined sometime during the 1800s. German journalist Wilhelm Marr popularized the term in anti-Jewish articles and pamphlets that he wrote (Zimmermann, 1986). It is much too large a context; the critical and relevant points will be covered to aid in the understanding of the study at hand. The context under review will look at the ancient forms of anti-Semitism and how they are still seen in modern forms as well. A modern form of anti-Semitism will also be reviewed to see the prevalence of anti-Semitism and the implications from

past to present. Canadian history with anti-Semitism will be reviewed, mainly to understand that anti-Semitism has always been present and prevalent. As well one example will be reviewed in-depth to gain further understanding of the attitude of Canada towards the Jewish people. Lastly, as this study will be focusing on Toronto, a review of the history of anti-Semitism in this city will be discussed. A specific case to be reviewed as well as looking at the current trends and examples of anti-Semitism.

Given the importance of anti-Semitism as a catalyst driving the threats against the Jewish community, the author saw it as justified to do a single topic literature review on anti-Semitism. The author selected out five keys themes that were relevant to this work; Ancient forms, Medieval forms, Modern forms, Canadian context and Toronto context. The importance of the permanence of anti-Semitism will be discussed toward the end of this work. Anti-Semitism has existed for a long time throughout history and will continue to exist in history, it is a permanent stain that cannot be removed.

3.2 Ancient forms of anti-Semitism

To explain anti-Semitism means to explain a little bit of Judaism first. In the Jewish religion, there are specific obligations that are followed as a requirement. For instance, the Jewish Sabbath is from sundown on Friday night to sundown on Saturday night. During this time, there are specific restrictions on what the Jewish people can and cannot do.

There is some debate as to whether anti-Semitism should be used to describe what happened to the Jewish people during ancient times — ancient times being after the destruction of the first temple in 586 BCE. The reason for this debate is that very little is known about the issues of the time, pre-Christian era (Laqueur, 2006). The texts or scriptures that are available mainly come from Jewish origins and for the sole purpose of their only being one source can be

challenging to believe. There is no way to fact check what happened during this era, which does not mean that the scriptures are false. It means that they may be looked over carefully and scrutinized. There is a long history of anti-Semitism after this area which would indicate that there is truth to these writings.

In reality, the Jewish people live under the law of God and not under the law of the governing nation (Lazare, 1903). That is why whenever the Jews were expelled from their country and moved to another, they would request permission to not only follow their religion but also be exempt from customs and privileges of those living around them. In some cases, this was ascertained, and in other circumstances, it was not. For example, in ancient Rome, they were not required to appear in court on a Saturday as this would violate their Sabbath (Lazare, 1903). Many of these ancient cities, the Jews were accommodated, having many freedoms to live their lives governed by their rules of religion. The Jewish people became a nation within another nation, where they were exempt from laws and this enabled them to better their condition as compared to the general population. Their level of freedom and opportunity is also one of the first reasons why they became so unpopular with their countrymen. The advantages they received and their level of commitment to *Torah* (the Jewish bible) made it seem to others like the Jewish people were above everyone else. This notion created a level of resentment and envy. Although the Jews in the Roman era were treated better than the Egyptians were, the Jews were still not full-fledged citizens. There was still hostility towards the Jews, which was mainly literary (Laqueur, 2006). This is to say that there were no pogroms or physical attacks against the Jews as there will be later in history.

Nevertheless, it does not matter how anti-Semitism presents itself, whether written, physical or other, if it is hate against a Jew or Jewish population, it is anti-Semitism. The leading

ideology at the time which was anti-Semitic was that an Apion (a Greek grammarian and sophist) claimed that the Jews were praying to a donkey head in the synagogue which was said to be based on an earlier legend (Lazare, 1903). It is highly unlikely that the Jews were not praying to a donkey head, as a central cornerstone of Judaism is not engaging in idol worship, the important message here is that an entity is trying to spread negative rumours about the Jewish population.

A common form of anti-Semitic behaviour at the time and for several centuries was that Jews were considered lepers because they did not follow the same customs as the people around them. They were considered suspect strangers because they only prayed to their own God and not anyone else's, monotheism. This type of anti-Semitism makes sense when those in charge felt that the Jewish traditions and values were incompatible with those of the Roman Empire. Those in charge and the Roman citizens feared that the Jews had too much influential power over others and would degrade the society.

One of the most well-known cases of anti-Semitism would be the story of Jesus Christ. Jesus was born a Jew and died a Jew. He believed in Judaism but wanted to change the religion radically, his intention was not to create a new one (Laqueur, 2006). What many historians question after the start of the vilification of the Jews 100 years after Jesus died is, were these his teachings or just the interpretations of them? What now reads as the New Testament vilifies the Jews by calling them murderers, betrayers or followers of Satan. One of the most widely known tropes used for centuries to vilify the Jewish people is that they were responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. The blame of this event put on the Jews created the trope for future anti-Semitic attacks for centuries during the rebirth of Christianity. The apostles writing this have also been known to write about how awful the synagogue was, (where the Jewish people pray)

said to be worse than a brothel, it was “a criminal assembly of the assassins of Christ” (Laqueur, 2006). The example of anti-Semitism is just one example of how the literary characterization of Jews shows anti-Semitic attitudes at the time. Even after John Paul II asked for forgiveness of the world's Jews for the defamation it has made to the religion, people still believe that the Jews are undeniably an evil species (Reid, 2000). What is concluded from ancient anti-Semitism is that it is mainly of literary findings however those known literary pieces (i.e. writings of the Apostles in the New Testament) have been the foundation for many violent future anti-Semitic attacks such as the Spanish Inquisition, the blame for the Bubonic Plague and the Holocaust.

3.3 Medieval forms of anti-Semitism

The Middle Ages in Europe, also known as the Dark Ages, was a dark period in European history, one fraught with mass murders and mass death. During this time, those who were not Christian were targeted during the crusades. The Jews were a marginalized people in society, and thus they were quickly targeted. The Jews being targets will become apparent during the time of the Black Death, also known as the Bubonic Plague.

During the Medieval period, according to the church dogma of the time, Jews were seen as slaves of the Christians. During this time, the Church had the power to entirely create and control the environment for those living in society. Each ruler or emperor of the time could decipher the church dogma as they saw appropriate. Many times this meant Jews as being seen as "serfs of our Chamber" basically meaning that they had to pay special taxes and additional money to be protected (Heng, 2018; Laqueur, 2006). The Jews of the time had no choice but to follow these rules. Although the Jews were made to suffer financially during this time, this did not mean the Church permitted killings of the Jews. The Church on occasion spoke out against the murder of the Jews; their ideology was that Jews needed to survive on account of proof being

"the essential rightness of Christianity" (Laqueur, 2006) or to show through their misery the glory of Christ.

The Church clergy during this time could be indecisive about their opinions of the Jews and what could be allowed or not. While they would speak out about some of the libels against Jews and declare them false, for instance, ritual murder of Christian children, they also believed that hatred of Jews was paramount for the continuation of the Church (Laqueur, 2006). See the published work of Ocker (1998) for a more in-depth explanation of the ritual murder of Christian children during this period. This ideology is one of the first instances in history where Jews (and in this case Muslims as well) had to wear a specific dress which identified them easily. The order was to either wear yellow badges (a reappearance seen in the Nazi Germany era) or horned hats. There were also popes at the time who declared that the Jews should not be attacked as they were not lawless people and that they should be treated according to Roman laws. What can be surmised from this time in Medieval history is that there was no consensus as to the extent that the Jews should suffer, but that the Jews should suffer in some form as it would further enlighten the glory of Christ. There were different theologies at the time as to what the proper actions were; some believed it was expulsion while others believed all rights should be abolished, and yet others distanced themselves from any persecution against the Jews (Laqueur, 2006). While there were varying theologies at the time, it can be seen that the Jews did suffer in some way, only because the church scripture and the accompanying panic depicted that the Jews were the devil's workmen.

The following is the depiction and description of a Jew creating the backdrop for the blame of the Black Death. The concept of the "Talmud Jew" is essential for the development of anti-Semitism, especially during the Dark Ages. The Talmud in Judaism is translated to the Oral

Torah; these are the interpretations that Rabbis' compiled during the third to sixth centuries (Shurpin, n.d.). In laymen's terms, the Talmud is like an owner's manual for how to live a complete Jewish life. It is trying to make sense of what was written in the Torah. A rumour came around that the Jews were guided not by biblical injunctions but by the book called the Talmud. Basically, after a trial where Rabbis' tried to explain what the Talmud was, it was decided that the accusations were true, and subsequently, the Talmud was burned in 1242 (Ouaknin, 1995). What occurred four centuries later was that a professor claimed to have unlocked the "monstrosities of the Talmud Jew" (Laqueur, 2006). While many accusations were made, one of note to further this example is that the Talmud justified any crime by a Jew against a non-Jew.

This depiction lays the foundation for the blame that was given to the Jews for the Black Death in Europe. The Black Death, also known as the Bubonic Plague, killed one-third of the population in Europe (or twenty-five million people) and virtually destroyed German Jewry at the time. At the time it was an unprecedented event, and it was not known what caused it until the nineteenth century. Therefore, no cure or medicine was given, doctors would not attend to help the sick (there were specialized plague doctors who would attend but did not do much to help), and priests would not give last rites. Jewish populations in affected areas were blamed for the epidemic, although they were affected just as much (Laqueur, 2006). Even after Jews were arrested and tortured, communities were still decimated the pandemic persisted. While other minority groups were also blamed for the spread of the disease where no Jews lived, the Jews were the most heavily persecuted group. In Hebrew, the period known as *Emek ha'bacha* which translates to 'the valley of tears,' the time in which Jews were not accused of the outbreak but of spreading disease. It is believed that a majority of Central European Jewry died during the Black

Death, with a total number of 350 massacres being known to have happened. These massacres were not supported by the Church, who declared Jews were not to be blamed, it was, in fact, the doing of religious fanatics called Flagellants. These people were not only motivated by religious vigor but by jealousy and greed as many Jews of the time were successful. While there were no mass attacks against the Jews, but this accusation came hand in hand with anti-Semitic dogma and language (McWilliams, 1948). The accusations saw a short reappearance a few times in the twentieth century; the stereotypes were built during the Middle Ages and had not wholly disappeared since showing the strength of accusations.

3.4 Modern forms of anti-Semitism

In the modern era, there are many different examples of anti-Semitism. As seen in the earlier centuries, the Jews were an easy scapegoat. One of the most well-known examples of anti-Semitism in the modern era would be the Holocaust. However, the anti-Semitism was not just during World War II (WWII); it started well before. The National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) came to power under Adolph Hitler in 1933 (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). The party was governed through totalitarian methods from 1933 until 1945, at the end of WWII and the defeat of Hitler. Hitler started by implementing a 25-point program which became the basis of the party. This program included abandoning the Treaty of Versailles which Germany was bound to follow their defeat in World War I (WWI). Hitler also called for the expansion of the German territory. Appeals were made for aggrandizement, which was also accompanied by anti-Semitic rhetoric (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). Hitler made it so that the working class of Germany would want to follow the party's socialist orientation. Hitler made the Jews the scapegoat and blamed them for all of Germany's problems since the end of WWI. Hitler convinced the president of

Germany in 1930 to name him chancellor, which helped to solidify the Nazi position in government. On March 23, 1933, Hitler was enabled to act as a dictator through the passing of the Enabling Act which allowed him to issue decrees independently of the Reichstag and the presidency (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

Essentially what happened is that the Nazi party became the only political party allowed in Germany, thus creating Nazi Germany. It became mandatory for all higher-level civil servants and bureaucrats to become a member. After gaining control of the culture, economy, education and law, as well as most of the German churches, the Nazi Party was able to spread extensive propaganda which was used to broadcast the party's ideals ('Third Reich,' n.d.). The Nazi Party believed in the ideal of there being a 'racially pure' population. This ideology meant that Aryans (blonde and blue-eyed individuals were the ideals) were considered the ideal and that Jews and others were inferior people. The Nazis planned and implemented what we now understand to be the Holocaust which was the mass murder of Jews, and they were considered inferior, as those considered to be the primary 'racial' enemy.

The process of separating the Jews from the Germans was slow. While anti-Jewish policies were implemented in the 1930s, Jews were still able to maintain a normal life. Things started to change after the 1936 Olympic games. For instance, in 1938 every male Jew was given the addition of Israel as a first name, and every female Jew was given the addition of Sarah, which were mandatory on their identification documents (Laqueur, 2006). Along with this, a capital "J" was also placed on their passports, making it more difficult for Jews to obtain visas and more challenging to leave Germany, and eventually persecution. The critical point of history where everything started to change was *Kristallnacht* or the Night of Broken Glass. This event happened on November 10-11, 1938. What happened was that a young Jew shot a junior

German diplomat. *Kristallnacht* was a retaliatory pogrom which was carried out by stormtroopers, police and fire brigade in coordination. This night is when Jewish businesses, schools, synagogues and other property went up in flames. Following this other punitive laws were put into practice such as a fine of one billion marks (German currency) to all German Jews and that all Jewish commercial activity was now prohibited (Laqueur, 2006). Hitler later gave a speech on January 1939 where he stated the Jewish race in Europe would be eradicated.

What followed was a systematic extermination of European Jewry. It is well documented is that the Germans recorded everything they did. Hitler wanted the removal of the Jews from Europe, which was no secret. However, forced immigration was not the solution. What was developed and implemented in stages was the 'Final Solution' ('The "Final Solution"', n.d.). The final solution consisted of gassings, shootings, random acts of terror (i.e. burning down synagogues full of Jews), disease and starvation. The Jews of Europe were first put into Ghettos to separate them from the rest of the population, and soon afterward they were deported to work camps, concentration camps or death camps. The 'Final Solution' culminated in the death of approximately six million Jews or two-thirds of European Jewry (approximately one million children), and now researchers estimate the number to be higher than initially thought.

3.5 Canadian Context for anti-Semitism

The meaning of Canada to those who live there is a place they call home, a place of safety and security. During the Holocaust, in Auschwitz-Birkenau, a place called Kanada Kommando, the barracks where all of the belongings of the Jews who were transported to the camp were sent ('Kanada Kommando The Holocaust Explained', n.d.). The barracks symbolized what Canada was and meant to the prisoners there; to them, Canada meant wealth both emotionally and physically. It was a place that was so far out of reach to them. This idea,

however, not the only link Canada has to the Holocaust. Like the novel, *None is Too Many* (1983) describes Canada's attitude towards the Jews and an unnamed immigration officer said when asked how many Jews would be allowed into Canada after the war. The book *None is Too Many* will be used to examine part of Canada's dark history concerning anti-Semitism.

One example comes from the man who made all the decisions regarding immigration into Canada around that time. Frederick Charles Blair was able as head of immigration allowed to decide which groups of people would be admissible and which would not. Blair never considered himself an anti-Semite (someone who is anti-Semitic). The view Blair held was to minimize and prevent Jews to immigrate to Canada, through how he decided and upheld immigration policies (Abella & Troper, 1983). To say that Blair is solely responsible for anti-Semitism during this age is of course untrue. Many people in the Canadian government at the time were anti-Semitic, and not just in Canada – all over the world.

There was a conference in 1938 that Canada took part in, the Evian Conference, which was named due to the location of the French resort of Evian. There were delegates from 32 countries who met for nine days to discuss the problem of Jewish refugees trying to leave Germany. What happened was that the delegates expressed sympathy for the refugees, but not a single country offered to take in any refugees ('The Evian Conference', n.d.). The only country who was willing to accept any refugees was the smallest one, the Dominican Republic. This rejection was the first major shameful event for Canada during the Holocaust. The second event was denying the passengers of the MS St. Louis entry into Canada.

The MS St. Louis was a ship carrying 937 Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany to Cuba, where many of the passengers held landing visas. The ship set sail on May 13, 1939, which will become vital as it will show the lengths the captain went to find a landing point for these

refugees. Some of the passengers already had family living and working in Cuba, and they were coming to join. Many passengers had also completed the necessary paperwork to allow them entry into the United States of America after laying over in Cuba for a while.

On May 27, 1939, the ship arrived in Havana and helped in port; in the end, they were held for days. Only 29 passengers were allowed to disembark. There had been a surge in anti-Semitism and changes to immigration regulations in Cuba. Captain Gustav Schröder refused to return the 907 refugees to Germany, for what most certainly would be signing their death certificates. Captain Schröder appealed to the Cuban authorities only to be ordered out of Cuban waters on June 2, 1939 (Yarhi, 2015). In the hopes that America would accept the refugees the captain sailed to the coastline from Florida after prominent Americans wrote on the refugee's behalf and a passenger committee, they were still denied entry and started sailing north for Europe.

Word had reached prominent citizens in Toronto (41 citizens) who petitioned the Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, on June 7 to allow entry for the refugees. As mentioned, Blair was known to be anti-Semitic, so when Mackenzie King asked Blair along with Oscar Skelton (undersecretary of state for external affairs) and Ernest Lapointe (Minister of Justice) to make a decision it is not a shock that they were opposed and that they did not qualify for refugee status under the new laws Blair has created (Yarhi, 2015). The MS St. Louis, therefore, continued back to Europe where it docked in Belgium and approximately only 709 of the passengers survived the Holocaust of the original 936.

Canada has the lowest number of admitted Jewish refugees between 1933-1945, admitting fewer than 5,000 than any other developed country. The Canadian government's stance on Jewish refugees at this time is often conflated with what a senior Canadian official had

said regarding how many Jews would be admitted into Canada at the end of WWII, the response being "None is too many" (Abella & Troper, 1983). It was well known globally at this time that the Jews of Europe were facing persecution at the hands of Nazi Germany.

Canadian clergy on November 5, 2000, gathered to apologize to 25 surviving passengers for not allowing entry. On January 20, 2011, a memorial sculpture was erected at Pier 21 in Halifax commemorating the refugees of the MS St. Louis, where the ship would have docked should they have been allowed entry. Seventy-nine years after the MS St. Louis was denied entry into Canada Prime Minister Justin Trudeau gave an official apology to the passengers on November 7, 2018 (Abedi, 2018).

3.6 Comments on anti-Semitism in Toronto

While Toronto is one of the most multicultural and diverse cities in the world, it is not without its marred past. Toronto has its history with anti-Semitism, and unfortunately still does.

A brief history of the city of Toronto and the Jewish people to help understand some of the more momentous events that occurred in Toronto. The first Jews immigrated to Ontario in the 1840s. They settled mostly in Hamilton, Kingston and Toronto (Sloame, n.d.). Toronto started with one synagogue called the Toronto Hebrew Congregation, which was Orthodox. Later they would add reform synagogues and after that conservative synagogues. By the 1940s Toronto would have about 60 synagogues. While the Jewish community started small, it steadily grew into the 20th century.

The fluctuations in immigration can be seen through global history. The first wave of Jewish immigration to Canada was seen in the 1880s when more significant numbers of Jews from Russia were trying to escape the pogroms. Immigration before and during WWII decreased

significantly, as discussed above, due to imposed restrictions by the government at the time (Sloame, n.d.).

Tensions grew across the world in the 1930s as the world grew closer to WWII. In Toronto, this tension culminated into an event known as the Christie Pits Riot on August 16, 1933. What started as a friendly baseball game soon turned into a six-hour-long fight in and around the park (Bitonti, 2013). After the baseball game concluded a gang of young men unfurled a white sheet with a large black swastika, which they were sure to know would incite rage as one of the teams was composed of mainly Jewish players and there were many Jewish spectators that day in the park. After they unfurled the sheets, the Harbord Playground team, majority Jewish, ran straight for them.

Arguably, what ensued was the largest melee in Toronto's history. Both sides called in reinforcements, both the Jews and the Nazi sympathizers, which allowed this riot to continue for several hours. The combatants on both sides pick up whatever they could use as a weapon. While there were no fatalities that night, there was a meaningful change after. In an article written by Cyril Levitt and William Shaffir in 2013 to remember the event on its 80th anniversary, they interviewed a Toronto resident who was living in Toronto at the time of the riot. Joe Black, who was seven at the time of the riot, said that "to be a Jew in Toronto in 1933 was to be a second-class citizen" (2013). Black said that at the time anti-Semitism was acceptable, one would hear derogatory phrases regularly. Anti-Semitism was a part of everyday life for Jews in Toronto, whether it was regarding housing, employment or education. The Jews in Toronto at this time was heavily restricted, similarly to their counterparts in Europe currently, while not to the same extent it was still a normal part of life.

Therefore, the Christie Pits Riot became a significant event in both Toronto Jewish history and Toronto history. The Jews of Toronto were able to say that they were fighting back, that they were doing something to change their lives, to change anti-Semitism in their communities.

3.7 Literature Review Conclusion

This literature review took a thematic perspective based on history. To review all the history of anti-Semitism is too large a task for this work, therefore selected points were examined. The author found that modern anti-Semitism has roots in ancient anti-Semitism. This literature review, therefore, provides an important context for interpreting modern events.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 Introduction to Methods

This study will be employing qualitative research strategies. The qualitative realm will allow the researcher to use several collection techniques. Specifically, the methods of data collection and analysis will include interviews, observation, and document analysis. The interviews will be with individuals from Toronto's Jewish community. The primary unit of analysis will be senior-level persons at their respective Jewish institutions (i.e. synagogue, community center) which include Rabbis, Executive Directors and similar positions (those who are involved with safety and security at their respective institution).

These persons from local police services and the private sector will represent a more comprehensive primary sample set, which include security consultants & officers of the law directly involved in hate crime. In addition to these people, secondary informants who are stakeholders in the Jewish community will also be asked to participate in the interview process to help support the study, this includes educators of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, political figures and activists.

The ontology reflects in the participants' experiences and stories in defence of their soft target sites, especially in the aftermath of the Tree of Life Disaster. The epistemology will be co-constructed by the researcher and participant, which again will be further shaped by the participant's experiences. The axiology in this study will be value-laden, as the researcher will acknowledge biases that can influence in the context of this study. The deliverable produced will reside in the public domain, therefore during the interview process, any discussion of sensitive security-related information will be discouraged, and such information will be excluded from the final MRP document.

4.2 Foundations of this Qualitative Study

This study will be using a qualitative research design that will allow the researcher to use various data collection techniques, including methods of collection and analysis, which include interviews, observation and data analysis. The focal point of qualitative research is to understand the phenomenon being explored; in this case, it is the resiliency of the Toronto Jewish community in the face of rising anti-Semitism after the Tree of Life disaster. This study will strive to demonstrate changes that must be made for the Jewish community in Toronto to remain safe and resilient in times of increasing anti-Semitism around the globe. Within the scope of this research, the initial findings have indicated that it does not appear that there is similar research on this topic. This research will include fieldwork in the form of interviews, which will be explained in-depth shortly.

4.3 Interviewing Introduction

Semi-structured interviews will be conducted with participants. The researcher expects to collect data detailing personal experiences, which would shed light on the current climate of both anti-Semitism in Toronto but also of how different institutions are combatting different incidents that occur. By interviewing participants who are related to the Jewish community in the GTA as well as law enforcement and other important figures, the researcher expects to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and motivations of individual participants.

The semi-structured interview is essential in this study to ensure that all topics and questions are answered in a way that the participants can answer naturally (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). This means the researcher will have questions to refer to, and if a participant does not cover an area or needs prompting, the researcher will have a document for reference. The hope is that some questions or other details will come to light that the researcher

did not consider. This approach in the interviews allows for flexibility, unlike the structured interview, which is simply a verbal questionnaire.

The questions, in the beginning, are more basic and will be easy for the participants to answer. As the interview deepens, so will the questions, requiring more thought and reflection for an answer, genuinely trying to understand the perspective of the participant about the phenomenon. All interviews were performed under guidelines established by the informed consent procedure.

There are both strengths and weaknesses in employing these strategies in the research methods. One strength is that the participants can elaborate on points they see as necessary, which may differ from what the researcher deems necessary, thus changing the trajectory of the conclusion, which would not be possible in survey research. Another strength is that participants are asked to share experiences in their own words as well, which gives a window and perspective into their view. It is also a useful tool for qualitative research geared towards a social process, like this study, as more detailed and elicits information will be given ('Strengths and Weaknesses of Qualitative Interviews', 2015).

Some drawbacks need to be considered when doing this type of research as well. The first is that the researcher must rely upon and trust the participant to relay accurate and honest information, for which results, and conclusions will be drawn. A second drawback is that this type of interviewing is time-consuming, as most interviews will take between 30 minutes to one hour to complete. As well, in order to make any conclusions and have resulted in a large number of people need to be interviewed and then the information compiled to make said conclusions.

4.4 Interview Methods

The primary unit of analysis will be senior-level persons at their respective Jewish institutions (i.e. synagogue, community center). It is acknowledged that there is a potential for a bias related to the senior-level officials from Jewish institutions representing a sample of convenience. Therefore, the primary unit of analysis will also include security professionals who have a working knowledge of hate crimes in the Greater Toronto Area.

These persons from local police services and the private sector will represent a more comprehensive primary sample set. In addition to these people, secondary informants who are stakeholders in the Jewish community will also be asked to participate in the interview process to help support the study. These secondary informants will be those persons who work for larger Jewish organizations such as the United Jewish Appeal (UJA), and other relevant Jewish community members at large. Seeing as there are different sects of Judaism and several organizations, the research sample of participants will attempt to represent a cross-section of as many of these groups as practical.

This study will employ convenience sampling, specifically snowball sampling. This type of sampling is the most common form used in qualitative research and this is when participants are invited to participate because they are opportunistically available to do so (Lopez & Whitehead, 2012). This is based on their access, location, time and willingness to participate. This type of sampling is a fast and easy way to achieve the sample size necessary for the study. This was used in this study, initially by researching and contacting individuals or institutions by email. At the end of each interview each participant was asked if they could provide any contacts for further interviews.

The study has achieved a sample size of n=16. It is acknowledged that the sample is small, given the complexity of the local Jewish community. The participants from Jewish institutions were all authorities in their institutions or directly handled safety and security at their respective locations. The percentage of females in the study was 56.25% and the percentage of males interviewed was 43.75%. The participants from the Jewish institutions were interviewed from most of the different sects of Judaism (Reform, Conservative, Modern Orthodox & Orthodox) as well as representation from secular Jewish organizations. This circumstance is a limitation of this study. However, the expectation is that from the qualitative interviews, there will be a depth of information that will allow for a detailed analysis of the questions posed during the interview process. Data analysis will take place through the coding of data collected during the interview process.

The intention of the interviews will be to use open-ended questions in order to 1) Collect data on the perceived baseline of threats; 2) Gather information on how the community responds to threats from both a physically-based protective perspective and a socially-based community response perspective; and, 3) To determine if and how the focusing event of the Tree of Life Disaster influenced perceptions and actions to counter threats to Jewish institutions in the Toronto area.

By prompting, but not guiding the interview process, participants will be able to give as many details as they feel comfortable with and may give the researcher details that otherwise would be left out. The interviews from start to finish, also including recruitment time will be 60 minutes long. The breakdown for the time commitment from the participants is as follows: 20 minutes will be involved for the recruitment process – first contact via email, if necessary and

requested by participant a phone call will take place prior to scheduling an interview and 40 minutes for the interview itself.

This methodology will allow the researcher to document what is known regarding the topic and then incorporate what the researchers learned about community adaptations in an attempt to learn about innovative practices and procedures.

An ethics review was submitted before conducting any form of recruitment for this study; it was submitted to the designated panel in the Disaster and Emergency Management Master's program. The ethics included a description of the program and why we need human subjects and describing any potential risk to the participants, which this study is a low risk to participants. The sections included the following: project description, participants, recruitment, inducements, methods, risk, benefits, secondary analysis of data, conflict of interest, informed consent and data security.

4.5 Interview Questionnaire

Please see Appendix A for the questionnaire used during the interview process to guide the semi-structured interviews with the participants.

4.6 Interview Process Described

The interview process was quite simple for the principal investigator. At the beginning of each interview the informed consent form was read and explained to the participant if needed. This included being explained that a recording was optional, as described in the informed consent form. As well, the participants were informed that all responses are confidential, not for public use, and they can refuse to answer any question. The principal investigator was joined by the MRP supervisor for a total of 2 interviews, meaning 14 interviews were completed by one person and two interviews were completed by two people. Generally speaking, most participants

spoke very freely and only gentle questions prompting was necessary, which was mostly to ensure that the material pertinent to the study was covered. Many interesting points were brought up in the interviews and each participant contributed something different from the previous. This means that the principal interviewer gathered a new piece of information in each interview. Other items were mentioned by multiple respondents which was also interesting in understanding where the Jewish community is in their mindset for security.

The majority of time respondents were warm and open. In a few instances it took a few minutes for the respondents to speak more openly. The interviewer was very understanding and assured the interviewees of the confidentiality they will hold. The average time of an interview was about 20 minutes long, some were shorter, and others were longer. It mostly just depended on how much background information was given to answers as generally speaking, answers were very similar. The process went off very well with no major obstacles, all interviews were deemed valid.

4.7 Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed using a coding technique. Coding is a process used to organize the data and make sense of it (Basit, 2003). Coding is a creative process that involves pulling information from different areas like firsthand experience and observation of participants, and it is continually refined by the researcher. While the raw data may be very interesting to look at, it is difficult to find relationships and conclusions. It is, therefore, necessary to separate the data into themes and categories. For this study, coding was done manually allowing for data to be consolidated so that it is easier to identify the themes and relationships and eventually draw conclusions from the data.

The researcher of this study took an interpretivist approach to coding. What this means is that the focus was on human experience (Guest et al., 2012). The mode of analysis was thematic in nature, and that was the case for this study. As mentioned, an interpretivist approach was used which means the “subjective meaning is interpreted and extrapolated from discourse” (Guest et al., 2012). The strengths in using this approach are that it is good for small data samples and having an n of 16 qualifies us as such. In addition, interpretivist approach allows for latitude in exploring the data more deeply (Guest et al., 2012).

Regarding the data analysis in this study, the field notes and interview data were a read through by the researcher and the MRP supervisor. A two-person brainstorming process then took place which involved reading the data and manually assigning codes to the structured data. A manual coding process was used as explained by Bogdan and Biklen (1982).

As mentioned, coding was used as a way to extrapolate data, what this actually entails is creating a word or short phrase that represents something a piece of language-based data (Saldana, 2015). The codes in this study were based off of field notes and the taped interviews. In the first round of coding, a code can be a single word or longer phrases. Codes that were phrases were then shrunk down in the second cycle of coding to be one word to only a couple of words to get the message across.

This analysis focused on patterns of correspondence and causation. This is defined as ideas that form as they happen in relation to other activities or events (correspondence) and one appears to cause another (causation) (Saldana, 2015). This study followed Maykut & Morehouse (1994) method where one refines each category by developing a rule for inclusion in the form of a propositional statement, coupled with sample data.

Saldana (2005) suggests “When the major categories are compared with each other and consolidated in various ways, you begin to transcend the “reality” of your data and progress toward the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical.” In the beginning codes were initially developed. From there the codes were split into categories and subcategories. Finally, the overarching themes and concepts were created and defined. In conclusion, the researcher suggests some initial theories were possible to be discerned, however full development of theories based on these data is considered as future work beyond the scope of this study.

4.8 Bias

In any study, bias cannot be avoided entirely, and it is of the utmost importance for a researcher to recognize this and make the reader aware as well. The researcher in this study acknowledges that she has a bias as she is Jewish and a part of the Toronto Jewish community both professionally and personally. The researcher acknowledges that there is no way to avoid this but that the research is essential and will add to the literature. The researcher's questions operate not to persuade any individual but to explore the questions and learn how to equip the Jewish community of Toronto better. Recruitment of subjects will start with a sample of convenience derived from the lived experiences of the researcher within Toronto's Jewish community. From the initial subject set, snowball sampling will be used to branch out to other relevant stakeholders.

4.9 Limitations

The researcher realizes that the sample size of this study is a limitation as 16 participants cannot represent the Jewish community of Toronto as a whole. With that in mind, the researcher believes that the interview questions are in-depth and attempt to compensate in a small way to bring depth to the exploration of the topic, looking at quality and not quantity regarding the

interviews. Any Jewish community around the world, including Toronto, is not homogenous. A different subset may have differing worldviews, for example, driving on Shabbat. Jews of different religious sects will have different views on if this is allowed or not.

A limitation of this study related to the nature of the questionnaire, specifically the types of questions that were used during the interview process. The participants were asked about how the Jewish community felt in the wake of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster, however they were never directly asked as individuals how they felt in the wake of the tragedy. This question generally was answered by the participants by way of a clarification. Many participants asked if they could answer about what they thought the Jewish community felt and then in addition speak to how they felt as individuals. Many of these individuals are or were leaders during 2018 Tree of Life Disaster and they wanted to share their personal sentiments about the incident.

4.10 Conclusion to Methods

This interview process followed all of the measures outlined in the methods section. Using the methods of data collection and analysis included interviewing, observing, and document analysis and members of the Jewish community or with strong ties to it were interviewed. All interviewees read over and agreed to the informed consent. The recruitment script was used to recruit respondents however the snowball technique was also used to find more respondents, this was necessary as it did show the future participants a higher level of trust if someone, they knew was recommending them for the study. The questions as outlined above were used as a general guide during the interview process. The data was analyzed using a manual coding process. The principal investigator recognizes the limitations of the study as 16 participants does not represent the Greater Toronto Area Jewish community. However, despite the limitation the in-depth qualitative interviewing allowed for rich data to be collected.

Chapter 5: Findings

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of the findings chapter is to provide an overview of the nature of the data collected in each interview. Taken from the field notes, interviewees direct comments are and in presented in some cases paraphrased. The principal investigator's reaction to the interviews is described in some cases, but analysis of the data is reserved for the discussion chapter.

The principal investigator completed 16 interviews for this study. This study was completed by doing interviews in the Greater Toronto Area. The principal investigator is fortunate that the interviews took place from January to February 2020 immediately prior to time of the COVID-19 societal interruptions. For this study, majority of interviews were completed in face-to-face format prior to full impact of the COVID-19 related closures, stay-at-home orders, social-distancing and other restrictions went into place. There were four primary sectors included in this study: private Jewish institutions, Jewish agencies, law enforcement representatives and city government representatives.

In the review of data, concerning the question, it has been concluded that all interviews were valid and that none were spoiled. All interviews were completed under the informed consent procedure.

This findings section is organized by naming the interviewee by a pseudonym (a random city name) and then comments are provided on the highlights of each interview. In addition, other salient points were extracted from the field notes and presented in this chapter in order to give the reader a sense of the tone and general subject matters covered during each interview. The principal investigator is remiss that the rich detail collected during the interview process does not necessarily show, but due to strict confidentiality as dictated by the informed consent

procedure, that limitation to this findings chapter is acknowledged. When reviewing the field notes to extract information to present in this findings section, utmost care was taken to present the comments in an anonymous manner, as many of the interviews covered sensitive subject matters. In the chapter following this one, the discussion, more detail is provided concerning information that was extracted from the interviews during the data analysis. The following sections provide the data from the interviews

5.2 Interview #1

This interview was done with Peoria. The highlight from this interview was the understanding this participant had of emergency management and planning. This participant understood the danger of being complacent and not having protocols and procedures in place. This interview highlighted that anti-Semitism has always existed across time, and because of that, it is never going away. The Jewish population of the Greater Toronto Area is complacent, and there is a lack of awareness from the community about the current climate of anti-Semitism, according to Peoria. When speaking about the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster in Pittsburgh, Peoria said that "things stayed the same but different," meaning there was a massive shift in thinking but not as much was done as expected, there was a new heaviness. Peoria also experienced pushback to forward-thinking ways in regard to security measures, both physical and community based.

5.3 Interview #2

This interview was completed with Edmonton. The highlight of this interview was that the participant had a strong understanding of what the Jewish community has experienced throughout time when looking at anti-Semitism. This helped to expand on the answers given throughout the interview.

Edmonton believes that anti-Semitism has been growing over the last 15 years and is now more outward and visible than before. The participant believes that it has been made okay to be anti-Semitic in the media, versus before when it was more hushed. Edmonton has a lack of trust in Toronto culture, in regard to protecting and supporting the Jewish community. When asked what characteristics help form behavioural changes, the answer was, "death speaks." This was explained to mean that the only way people will listen and change their actions in the Greater Toronto Area is if there is death in the local Jewish community.

5.4 Interview #3

This interview was completed with Port Mouth. The highlight of this interview was the willingness of the participant to be involved and participate to their fullest extent. This participant believes the Jewish community is guarded as anti-Semitism is increasing in the community.

Port Mouth described that Pittsburgh, the Tree of Life incident in 2018, changed everything in the Jewish community here. This is because the Jewish communities are very similar in many aspects. An important point brought up by Port Mouth is the importance of balancing budget and safety, saying, "do not just throw money at [security]," it needs to be thought out and planned to be correctly implemented. When asked to describe how the organization would bounce back should a disruption ever occur, the respondent said that the organization needs to go thought an event to learn how to bounce back.

5.5 Interview #4

This interview was done with Medicine Hat. The interesting point of view for this interview was that it was from an efficiency perspective.

Medicine Hat believes strongly in securing its institution; however, it is crucial to balance this action with realistic financial constraints. The 2018 Tree of Life disaster was a turning point for this institution regarding security as this institution has had anti-Semitic incidents around the time of Pittsburgh until the present. When asked about how this organization would bounce back should a disruption occur, the respondent said there is currently no disaster recovery in place. When asked about confidence in the current measures in place, the response was that "you never know, until you know."

5.6 Interview #5

This interview was done with Kananaskis. A vital characteristic of this interview was the depth this institution has gone through to prepare itself in regard to security. As well as the knowledge the staff has on the matter of security.

The respondent said that since Pittsburgh, they have a heightened sense of awareness and tension in the community and their congregation. They are mindful of all the different kinds of threats. When explicitly asked about the Tree of Life Disaster, they said it hits close to home. It changed everything; the Jewish community realized that they were a target. A vital take away from this interview was the following; if someone wants to harm, they will find a way.

5.7 Interview #6

This interview was completed with Cobourg. An interesting highlight of this interview was how the congregation had taken security seriously and their involvement in keeping their institution safe.

An important point Cobourg made in the interview was that not only is anti-Semitism growing in the Greater Toronto Area but how the small incident is going unchecked, which

creates a significant problem in the community. When asked about the Tree of Life Disaster, the response is that we could be next, but people fall quickly back into their old patterns.

5.8 Interview #7

This interview was done with Guelph. An interesting point from this interview was the direct anti-Semitism this respondent has experienced in their life and how they have made it positively affect their life.

This respondent said that there is only so much you can do, meaning there is no perfect solution. There needs to be more pressure on the community to act in order to combat the complacency they have.

5.9 Interview #8

This interview was completed with Cambridge. This interview highlighted the passion of the respondent. Cambridge believes that global anti-Semitism is on the rise and is spilling over into Canada. The participant is confident that we are getting better when referring to community-based security measures. An important point this respondent had is that we cannot account for the other side – we can only prepare ourselves. This participant believes that Pittsburgh is an example of what can happen in the Greater Toronto Area.

5.10 Interview #9

This interview was done with Vancouver. This respondent was incredibly knowledgeable and could have gone into further detail. Many points made in this interview were well-thought-out and intriguing.

The respondent said that regardless of the rise in anti-Semitism seen in Toronto, Canada, is still one of the safest countries for Jews when comparing to places like France. However, this respondent also mentioned that Toronto and the rest of Canada are not immune to anti-Semitism.

The threat of anti-Semitism is not a bullseye, it is a multifaceted threat. The threat to the Jewish community is two-fold; it threatens the Jewish way of life, but it also threatens Jewish life. There is the possibility of threats in Canada, which could be part of larger groups but also lone wolf attacks or self-radicalization. The Jewish community needs to be empowered to act and protect their community. This respondent explained that a healthy vigilance individually and in the community is needed, but without fearmongering. Plans (protocols and procedures) were developed and refined based on the lessons learned from Pittsburgh. A very important point to remember that this participant said is that it is impossible to be 100% threat free and that while you cannot control the outside world, you can control your response.

5.11 Interview #10

This interview was completed with Victoria. An interesting characteristic from this interview was the understanding of where security needs to be at their institution and how it will be different at every institution; it is not one size fits all.

When asked about how anti-Semitism evolves, the respondent said it continues to evolve with the internet; more incidents occur online. It was also mentioned that more collaboration must happen with the police forces and the UJA federation. Some Jewish communities can feel like they are isolated. When responding about the Tree of Life Disaster, the participant said the general feeling was of fear and like a threat was imminent. This participant believes that no organization will be ready until it [a disruption] happens when responding about bouncing back should a disruption occur.

5.12 Interview #11

This interview was completed with London. This interview was from a different perspective than the other interviews, and it was from a 'bigger picture' perspective.

This participant stated that preventative measures are needed, the exploration of what those need to have already started if it has not. This participant posed a question, "How do you mobilize good people?" when asked about community-based measures. This participant mentioned how it is important to try to understand and collaborate with the Diaspora community to gain trust from the community you are working with. A very pointed thought from this participant was not to think of going through a disruption as a bounce-back but as an ongoing, meaning you never stop moving.

5.13 Interview #12

This interview was done with North York. This interview had robust and confident responses to the questions asked and took the time to acknowledge the questions being asked.

This respondent said that in the media, one sees an increase in anti-Semitic activity and that it is also evolving through social media. People feel more powerful and willing to be anti-Semitic online. The Jewish community after Pittsburgh became more aware of their vulnerability and decided it was essential to build a security team in order to best asses and address their needs.

5.14 Interview #13

This interview was completed with Regina. This interview held a comprehensive perspective and looked at the 'bigger picture' as well.

This respondent said, based on current data and statistics, we expect to see a high rate and spectrum of incidents. The anti-Semitic incidents are being perpetrated by people who hold certain ideals and ideas, generally speaking, the right-wing and those who hold conspiratorial ideas. Anything that does not fit those perceptions is not valid. In this day in age, there is much online anti-Semitism, and for people who do not know much about the topic, they are vulnerable

to misinformation. There is one government grant program available to help, which is highly competitive but does help to offset some of the costs for security. This respondent believes the Jewish communal life is not at risk now, but one day it could be. You have to take a long-term perspective, which means it cannot only be the Jewish community-fighting anti-Semitism; you need the broader community to fight anti-Semitism as well.

A critical point this interviewee discussed was the need for standardizing Holocaust education across Canada. This is regarding the degree to which it is taught and the substance of the material; it needs to be more abundant. There is strong support that millennials in Canada do not know a lot or anything about the Holocaust. This can open the door to Holocaust denial. After the Tree of Life incident, this respondent believes that the Jewish community became more responsive because people want consequences for actions. This incident happened in the U.S., a place many persons were thought to be inoculated against anti-Semitism; it opened people's eyes and elevated the threat level to the Jewish community.

5.15 Interview #14

This interview was completed with Gravenhurst. This interviewee came off as very passionate about the topic and was very knowledgeable in responses.

This respondent believes that people are willing to be more anti-Semitic in recent times. When speaking about how anti-Semitism is evolving, the response was that it is evolving, and this is because there are no consequences, especially publicly, so that the community at large knew that anti-Semitism is not allowed. People do not want to acknowledge that a severe disruption could occur, which is to their deficit as they will not be prepared. Lastly, this respondent believes that there is no proper training for staff 'on the front lines.'

5.16 Interview #15

This interview was done with Kitchener. This interview had the characteristics of focusing more on higher-level solutions, like redefining hate and reexamining hate crime laws.

This respondent believes strongly that Toronto is a safe and livable place but that we see disturbing trends when it comes to anti-Semitism. This respondent mentioned that Jewish community institutions are being targeted when looking at how anti-Semitism is evolving. Toronto sees an increase in more violent and hostile groups, mainly targeting Israel but also those who support it. There has also been an increase in the desecration of Jewish institutions, like synagogues and Jewish schools.

The respondent said that there is a demonization of Jews and more vandalism targeting Jews. There is also more of boldness and lack of respect emerging. A very interesting point made in this interview was that both law enforcement and the court system need to be tougher on those who perpetrate these crimes. The problem is that the definitions are too vague in regard to hate speech, and so many times, the police and courts tend to side on the side of the perpetrator and not the victim to not violate freedom of speech, according to Kitchener. A more robust system is needed when it comes to fighting against hate crime. A united front and voice are needed to fight hate in the city. The Jewish people are strong, and they will never give up. Lastly, the importance of a robust educational system was brought up as acts of hate are less likely to occur with students who graduate with knowledge of the danger of hate crimes. When you teach about respect, understanding, and diversity to students, they gain an understanding of those who are different. These students also feel like they are being recognized and are less likely to break the law and/or go searching for understanding from fringe groups who teach hate.

5.17 Interview #16

This interview was completed with Saskatoon. This interview stood apart, as many comments were made that were very poignant.

This interviewee said that the Jewish community is unique in the sense that they know they are a targeted group, and that many hold a higher level of vigilance of their surroundings because they are Jewish. When speaking about the Tree of Life Disaster, this respondent said that if an attack can happen in Pittsburgh, it can happen anywhere. This was a very well-trained community that is not dissimilar from the Jewish community in Toronto. The Jewish community is like an extended family, and they help each other out when one is going through a difficult time.

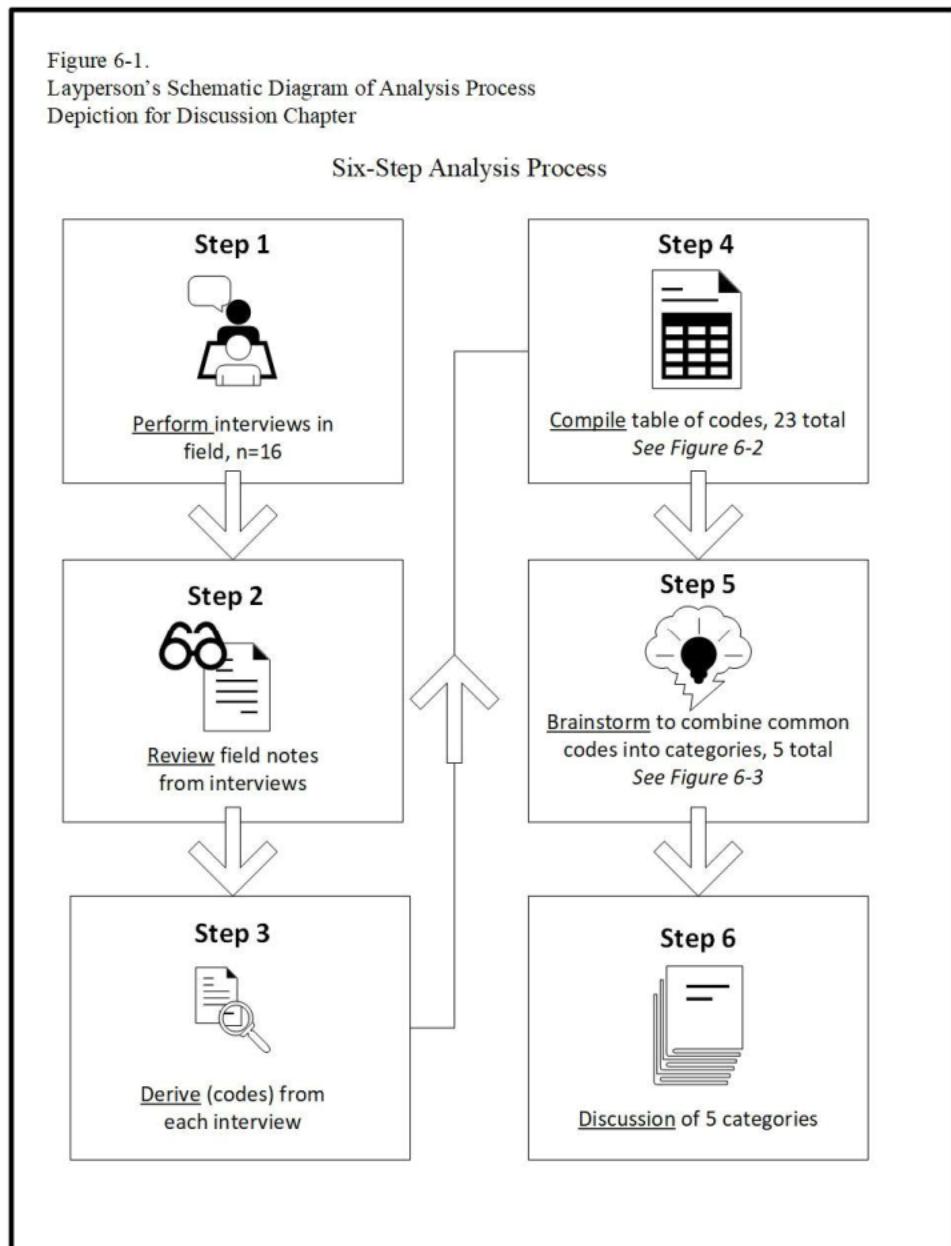
Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction to Discussion

The discussion chapter is based on a six-step analysis process. *See Figure 6-1.*

Laypersons Schematic Diagram of Analysis Process for a depiction of the process that was used to determine the five categories on which this chapter is based.

Figure 6.1



The researcher completed 16 interviews and the interviews were analyzed so that themes or codes could be described based on the content of each interview. The following outline provides a “raw” listing of all codes as listed by interviewee. Each one of the 16 interviewees are named by a pseudonym of random city name to preserve anonymity.

6.2 Listing of Interviewees and their Associated Codes

1. Peoria (i.e., pseudonym for interviewee)
 - 1.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism (i.e., code based on a theme derived from interview)
 - 1.2. Lack of awareness of the Jewish community on threats facing them
2. Edmonton
 - 2.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 2.2. Perception that news media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence
 - 2.3. Perception that social media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence
3. Port Mouth
 - 3.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 3.2. 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event
 - 3.3. Tradeoffs between the costs and benefits of security measures
 - 3.4. Rapidity – time it takes to bounce back after a disruption
4. Medicine Hat
 - 4.1. Tradeoffs between the costs and benefits of security measures
 - 4.2. 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event
 - 4.3. No active preparation at Jewish institutions for anti-Semitic violence
5. Kananaskis
 - 5.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 5.2. 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event
 - 5.3. Perception of there is only so much you can do to prevent attacks
6. Cobourg
 - 6.1. Cumulative impact of small incidents adding up to larger incidents
 - 6.2. Importance of community involvement in developing resiliency
 - 6.3. Importance of trainings in safety and security
 - 6.4. We can be the location of the next Tree of Life Disaster
7. Guelph
 - 7.1. Perception of there is only so much you can do to prevent attacks
 - 7.2. Importance of community involvement in developing resiliency

- 8. Cambridge
 - 8.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 8.2. Importance of trainings in safety and security
 - 8.3. We can be the location of the next Tree of Life Disaster
- 9. Vancouver
 - 9.1. Ensuring protective actions do not contribute to fear mongering
 - 9.2. Lessons learned in the wake of the Tree of Life Disaster
 - 9.3. Failure of imagination, the attack can't happen here
- 10. Victoria
 - 10.1. Perception that social media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence
 - 10.2. Collaboration of Jewish institutions with law enforcement agencies
 - 10.3. We can be the location of the next Tree of Life Disaster
 - 10.4. Failure of imagination, the attack can't happen here
- 11. London
 - 11.1. No active preparation at Jewish institutions for anti-Semitic violence
 - 11.2. Importance of community involvement in developing resiliency
 - 11.3. Robustness – ability to withstand stresses without loss of function
 - 11.4. Understanding the laws defining hate crime in Canada
- 12. North York
 - 12.1. Perception that news media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence
 - 12.2. Perception that social media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence
 - 12.3. 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event
 - 12.4. Importance of trainings in safety and security
- 13. Regina
 - 13.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 13.2. Better education of the community at large on anti-Semitism
 - 13.3. 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event
 - 13.4. Robustness – ability to withstand stresses without loss of function
 - 13.5. Redundancy – substitution of one resource in place of another
- 14. Gravenhurst
 - 14.1. Permanence of anti-Semitism
 - 14.2. Cumulative impact of small incidents adding up to larger incidents
 - 14.3. Lack of awareness of Jewish community on threats facing them
 - 14.4. Importance of trainings in safety and security
- 15. Kitchener
 - 15.1. In the present time, a permissive environment for anti-Semitism
 - 15.2. Understanding the laws defining hate crime in Canada
 - 15.3. Better education of the community at large on anti-Semitism

16. Saskatoon

- 16.1. We can be the location of the next Tree of Life Disaster
- 16.2. Resourcefulness –ability to mobilize community resources to address problems
- 16.3. Importance of trainings in safety and security

Based on the above outline, the codes were cleaned-up, common language was developed, and similar codes were grouped together. See *Figure 6-2 Table of 23 Codes* for the cleaned-up listing of each unique code with its full name and abbreviated name.

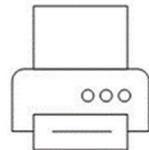
Figure 6.2

Figure 6-2.
Table of 23 Codes
With Code Full Names & Abbreviated Names

Table of 23 Codes Derived From Interviews

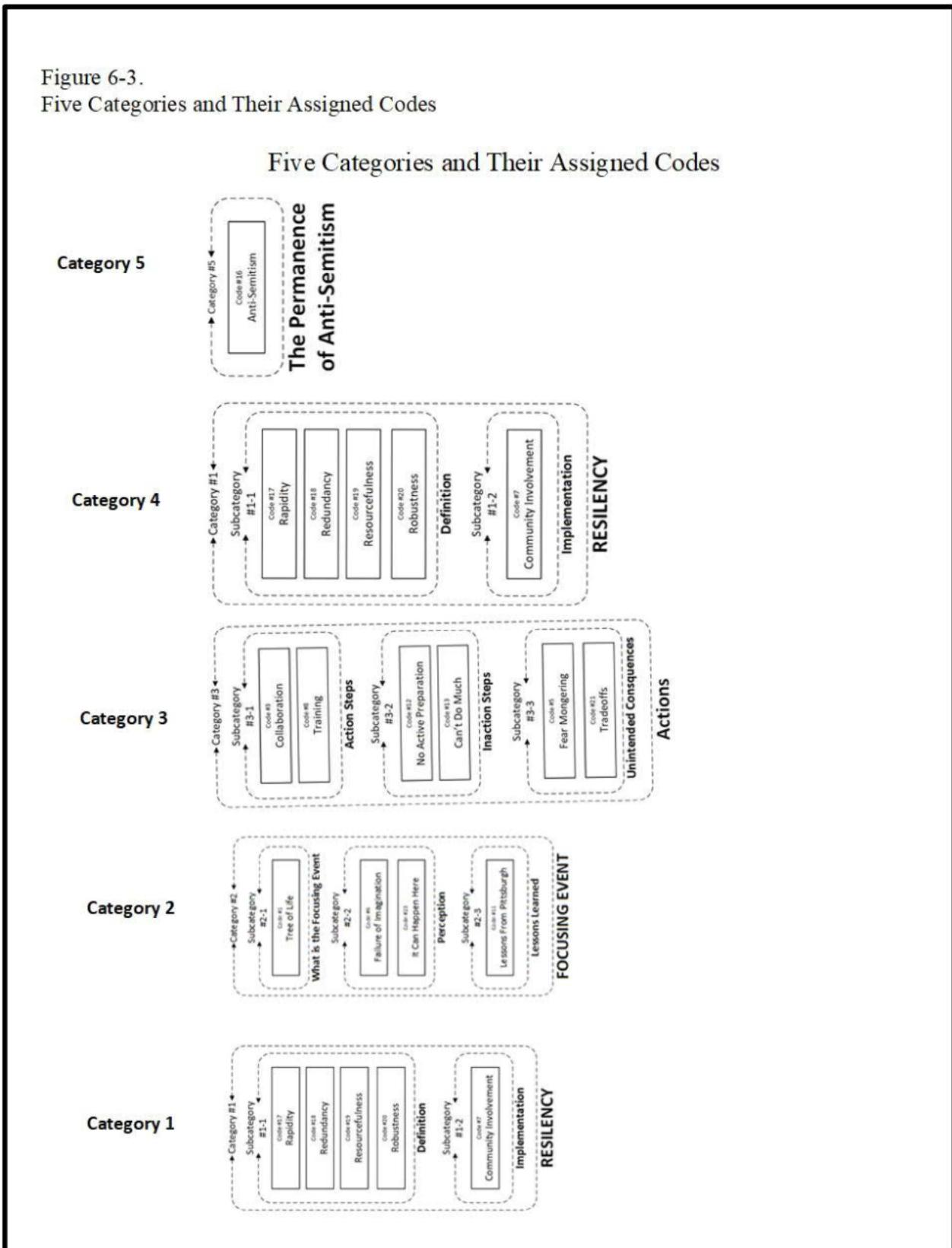
No.	Code Full Name	Code Abbreviated Name
1	2018 Tree of Life disaster as a focusing event	Code #1 - Tree of Life
2	Better education of the community at large on anti-Semitism	Code #2 - Better Education
3	Collaboration of Jewish institutions with law enforcement agencies	Code #3 - Collaboration
4	Cumulative impact of small incidents adding up to larger incidents	Code #4 - Cumulative Impact
5	Ensuring protective actions do not contribute to fear mongering	Code #5 - Fear Mongering
6	Failure of imagination, the attack can't happen here	Code #6 - Failure of Imagination
7	Importance of community involvement in developing resiliency	Code #7 - Community Involvement
8	Importance of trainings in safety and security	Code #8 - Trainings
9	In the present time, a permissive environment for anti-Semitism	Code #9 - Permissive Environment
10	Lack of awareness of the Jewish community on threats facing them	Code #10 - Lack of Awareness
11	Lessons learned in the wake of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster	Code #11 - Lessons from Pittsburgh
12	No active preparation at Jewish institutions for anti-Semitic violence	Code #12 - No Active Preparation
13	Perception of there is only so much you can do to prevent attacks	Code #13 - Can't do much
14	Perception that news media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence	Code #14 - News Media
15	Perception that social media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence	Code #15 - Social Media
16	Permanence of anti-Semitism	Code #16 - Anti-Semitism
17	Rapidity – the time it takes to bounce back after a disruption	Code #17 - Rapidity
18	Redundancy – substitution of one resource in place of another	Code #18 - Redundancy
19	Resourcefulness – ability to mobilize resources to address problems	Code #19 - Resourcefulness
20	Robustness – ability to withstand stresses without loss of function	Code #20 - Robustness
21	Tradeoffs between the costs and benefits of security measures	Code #21 - Tradeoffs
22	Understanding the laws defining hate crime in Canada	Code #22 - Hate Crime Law
23	We can be the location of the next Tree of Life Disaster	Code #23 – It Can Happen Here

A brainstorming process then took place to define five categories under which the 23 codes could be sorted. The involved persons of this were the principal investigator and the MRP chairperson. See *Figure 6-3 Five Categories and Their Assigned Codes* for a visual depiction of the five categories and associated codes.



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Figure 6.3

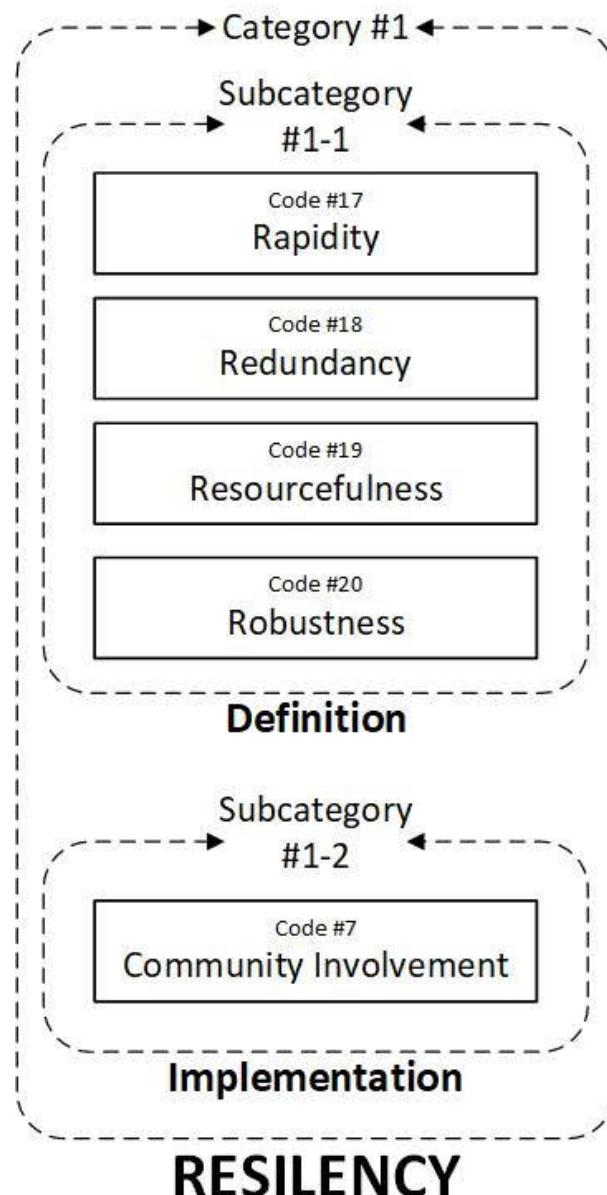


The remainder of this discussion provides an analysis of the five categories. A more in-depth description defining and explaining the categories is provided.

6.3 Category 1: Resiliency

The main code and sub codes for Category 1 are depicted in *Figure 6-4 Category 1: Resiliency*.

Figure 6.4



The category of resilience involves what a community does to be resilient when faced with a threat. The resilience of a community does not only look at its environment and resources but also how the members of the community can be sustainable, especially when they are at risk. This category was subdivided into Subcategory #1-1 Definition and Subcategory #1-2 Implementation. What was inferred from the codes and data was that the Jewish community applies actions which define resilience.

The defining characteristics of resilience are robustness, resourcefulness, redundancy and rapidity, which are codes #17-#20 in Figure 6-3. Robustness is “the ability to withstand stresses and demands without loss of function” (Tierney, 2014). Resourcefulness is “the ability to identify problems and subsequently to mobilize material, informational, monetary, and other resources to address those problems” (Tierney, 2014). Redundancy is "the degree to which other units of analysis or elements can be substituted for those functionalities" (Tierney, 2014). Lastly, rapidity is “the time it takes to restore the units of analysis to the level of functionality they exhibited before they experienced disruption” (Tierney, 2014). The Jewish community uses various aspects of this definition to work or improve on resilience in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and if they have not already done so, they are generally aware of the areas in which they need to improve on.

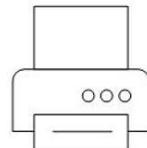
The above definitions are a precursor to the codes in Subcategory #1-1 Defining Resilience. The first code under defining resilience is Code #17 Rapidity which was defined here as the time it takes to bounce back after a disruption. Code #18 Robustness is defined in as the ability to withstand stresses without loss of function. Code #19 Resourcefulness is defined here as the ability to mobilize community resources to address problems. Code #20 Redundancy defined as the substition of one resource in place of another during disasters. Lastly, the fourth

code under Subcategory#1-1 is rapidity, which was defined here as the time it takes to bounce back after a disruption.

Subcategory #1-2 under the resilience category was implementation. This is an important distinction as there is a difference between intentions and actions. Implementing resilience actions includes community involvement which is seen in Subcategory #1-2; Code #7; without the community doing their part, it does not matter what the intentions are. Code #17 community involvement, which is defined as the importance of community involvement in developing resiliency. Without community involvement, one will not utterly understand what the community needs to be resilient, but also there are too many factors at play for the community not to help.

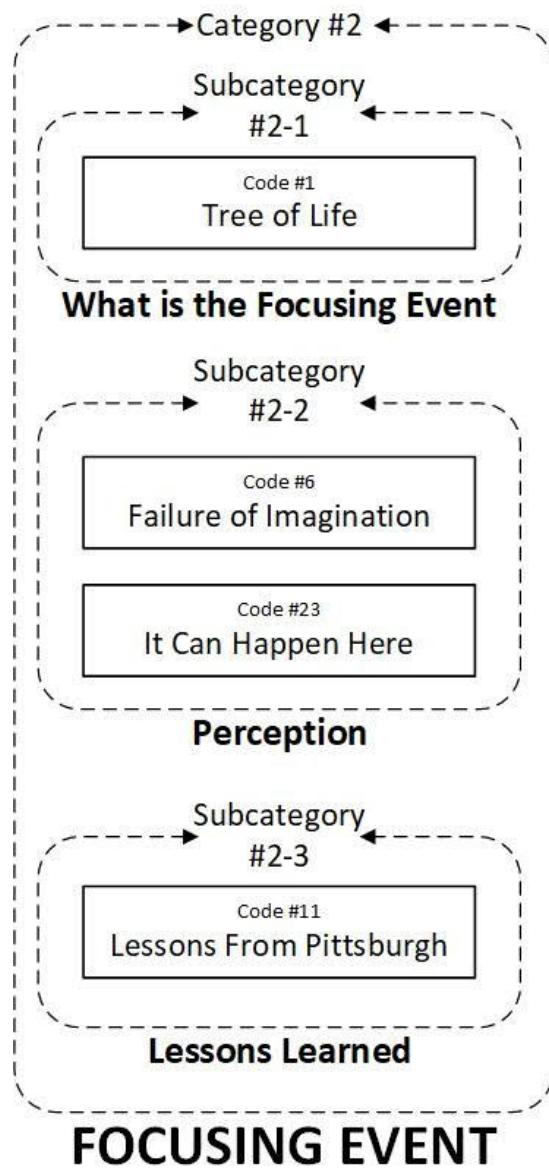
6.4 Category 2: Focusing Event

The main code and sub codes for Category 2 are depicted in *Figure 6-5 Category 2: Focusing Event.*



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Figure 6.5



This category is examining what the Jewish community in the GTA saw as a focusing event. The participants interviewed expressed how this event was one that brought the community's attention together to focus on the fact that there is a threat here in the GTA. This section has three subcategories; Subcategory #2-1 What it is (Definition), #2-2 Perception and #2-3 Lessons Learned.

Subcategory #2-1 is defining what the focusing event is. Through the exploration of the data it was found that the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster was a focusing event for the Jewish community in the GTA. Code #1 Tree of Life, which is defined here as, 2018 Tree of Life Disaster as a focusing event. Many comments gathered through the interviews explained how the events in Pittsburgh made them see that this type of event could happen anywhere if it could happen there, the realization that they are a threatened community.

Subcategory #2-2 Perception explores the different perceptions of what happened in the wake of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster in the GTA Jewish Community. The codes under this section in short terms are it can happen here and failure of imagination. Code #23 It Can Happen Here is defined as that Greater Toronto Area could be the location of the next 2018 Tree of Life Disaster. Many participants made this comment as it was well known that the Pittsburgh Jewish community was a very highly skilled and trained community in terms of security. So, if it can happen at a Jewish community like that, then it can happen anywhere.

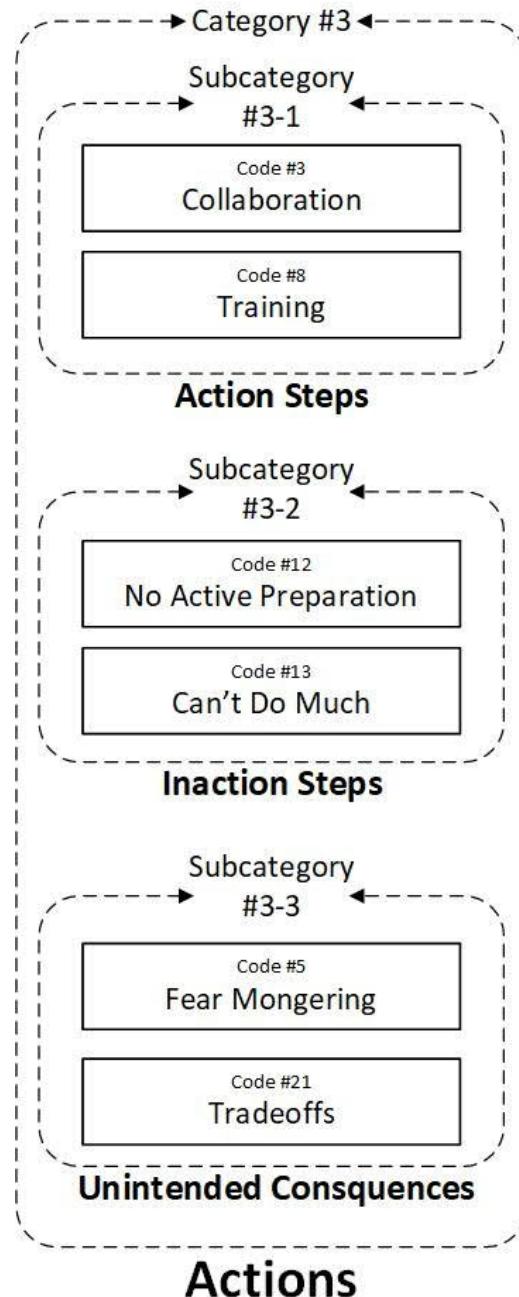
Code #6 Failure of Imagination is defined as the opposite of the previous code, a 2018 Tree of Life Disaster type attack cannot happen here. Many participants expressed that they believe the GTA Jewish community is now aware and prepared, so an attack cannot happen here. Basically, that further actions are not needed for the community to be made safer.

Subcategory #3-3 Lessons Learned is looking at how the Jewish community in the GTA applies or does not apply the lessons learned from the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster. This code looks at how the Jewish community gathered lessons learned from the Pittsburgh Jewish community either by observation or through a group of community leaders that went to Pittsburgh to have a debrief (as well as to give condolences), on improving their communities.

6.5 Category 3: Actions

The main code and sub codes for Category 3 are depicted in *Figure 6-6 Category 3: Actions.*

Figure 6.6



Category #3 is looking at actions taken or not taken by the Jewish community in the GTA to develop their resiliency plans. This section was divided into three subcategories, which are action steps, inaction steps and consequences of actions.

Subcategory #3-1 Action Steps, actions already taken to help develop and improve the resiliency of the Jewish community. Under this subcategory is Code #3 Collaboration and Code #8 Training. Collaboration is defined here as the collaboration of Jewish institutions with law enforcement agencies. This is pertinent for developing resiliency as law enforcement agencies are an invaluable resource for institutions. Creating and maintaining a relationship with law enforcement agencies will ensure they remember the institution. Law enforcement agencies are also able to provide or explain resources offered by the department that one may not be aware of. Code #8 Training is defined as the importance of training in safety and security. It was mentioned several times that organizations have either undergone training in safety and security or are intending too. These trainings are not only intended for staff of the institutions but for congregants/members who wish to know a bit more about how to protect themselves. Training gives the ability to understand the risk an institution faces but also how to combat that risk in the best way possible. As many people in an organization need to be aware as possible as it will guarantee the best outcome.

Subcategory #3-2 Inaction steps, which is defined as steps that have not been taken to increase the resiliency of the Jewish community. The codes that are under this category Code #12 No Active Preparation and Code #13 Can't do much. Code #12 is defined as no active preparation in place at Jewish institutions for anti-Semitic violence. Some institutions do not have protocols and procedures in place in case of an emergency. Active preparation not only includes protocols and procedures; it includes things like creating security committees, speaking

to security consultants, upgrading physical security measures. Code #13 Can't do much is defined as the perception of there is only so much you can do to prevent attacks. All institutions are at various levels of preparedness, but the important takeaway is that some level of active preparation in the face of the current state of anti-Semitic violence and the increase being seen, is necessary.

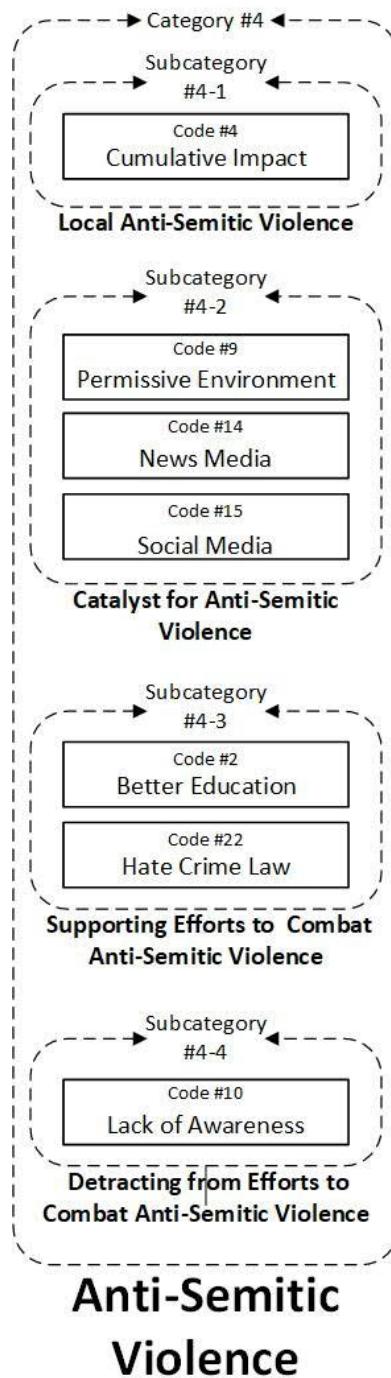
Subcategory #3-3 Unintended Consequences are the penalties of actions regardless of if they are action or inaction steps. Code #5 Fearmongering and Code #21 Tradeoffs are in this subcategory. Code #5 Fearmongering is defined as ensuring protective actions do not contribute to fearmongering. It is effortless to fall into the trap of implementing measures you think are best without looking at the bigger picture, which could instill fear in your congregation without a verified threat. The amount of preparation and concern must still reflect the current threat the community is facing, while also thinking ahead and preparing for a worst-case scenario.

Code #21 Tradeoffs is defined as trade-offs between the costs and benefits of implementing security measures. There is a cost to security, which was a concern for many participants. Security upgrades and infrastructure is not cheap, and while there is a government grant that can help to offset the costs, it is highly competitive for all the communities who suffer from hate crime across Canada. The individual institutions must analyze what is practical for them financially against their safety, and it does come with a price tag. Besides the financial trade-offs, there is also a consideration that needs to be given to people's discomfort level. This means that some people may be okay with a security guard checking them at an entrance with a bag search, while for others, this is not realistic

6.6 Category 4: Anti-Semitic Violence

The main code and sub codes for Category 4 are depicted in *Figure 6-7 Category 4: Anti-Semitic Violence*.

Figure 6.7



Category #4 Anti-Semitic Violence looks at anti-Semitic violence and the different ways in which it is presented in the community. There are three subcategories, Subcategory #4-1 Local Anti-Semitic Violence, Subcategory #4-2 Catalyst for Anti-Semitic Violence, Subcategory #4-3 Supporting Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitic Violence and Subcategory #4-4 Detracting from Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitic Violence. Category #4 is imperative to understanding the threat against the Jewish community, also for understanding how to fight it.

Subcategory #4-1 Local Anti-Semitic Violence, explores the nature of anti-Semitic violence and hate crime in the GTA. If we are to analyze what the Jewish community is up against, we must first understand how anti-Semitism transpires. Code #4 Cumulative Impact is defined as the cumulative impact of small anti-Semitic incidents adding up to more significant violent incidents. Most participants agreed that at this time in the GTA, we do not see significant violent anti-Semitic incidents but somewhat smaller, less violent incidents. However, there is a fear that these incidents could become more violent in a short period, looking at recent events in the United States as an example (Monsey, Jersey City) (Gainer & DeAngelis, 2019; Liebson et al., 2019). There is also the chance that all these smaller anti-Semitic incidents could have more of a detrimental impact on a community if there are no consequences to the actions.

Subcategory #4-2 Catalyst for Anti-Semitic Violence is looking at the diverse types of catalysts there can be for this violence to occur. The three codes in this subcategory are Code #9 Permissive Environment, Code #14 News Media and Code #15 Social Media. Code #9 Permissive Environment is defined as, in the present time, a permissive environment for anti-Semitism exists. This is the understanding that the many small-scale anti-Semitic incidents being seen in the GTA are going unchecked. There are no apparent consequences for someone who is engaging in anti-Semitic behaviour, which means that more people will be comfortable

engaging in this behaviour. Individuals from both the Jewish community, community at large, government and police services must condemn all the smaller incidents and hold those responsible for perpetrating these acts.

Code #14 News Media is defined as the perception that news media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence. This is concerning the apparent lapse in articles and news written about the anti-Semitic activity. If individuals are not held accountable for their actions, then why not commit the crime again.

Code #15 Social Media is defined as the perception that social media is a catalyst for anti-Semitic violence. It is simple in this day and age to create a social media account and hide behind a false identity. This is to say that someone who wants to spread harm and rumours can easily do so. Social media is still so new that no real laws are governing what is allowed and not allowed on the sites, or what is considered freedom of speech versus hate speech. Along with the same idea, it is easy to create a social media website geared towards being a hate group, where people on the fringe of society or with similar ideas can post about being racist or, in this case, anti-Semitic and further spread lies and rumours. Thus, being a catalyst for anti-Semitic speech and violence.

Subcategory #4-4 Supporting Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitic Violence. Combatting anti-Semitism was set as a subcategory as it is essential to understand how to combat hate. There are two positive action codes under this subcategory; Code #2 Better Education and Code #22 Hate Crime Law. Code #2 Better Education is defined as a better education of the community at large on anti-Semitism. This is both in terms of the curriculum for all grades, also educational seminars and events geared towards young adults and adults. There were participants that

mentioned the importance of revamping Holocaust education across Canada as it is poorly taught in schools right now.

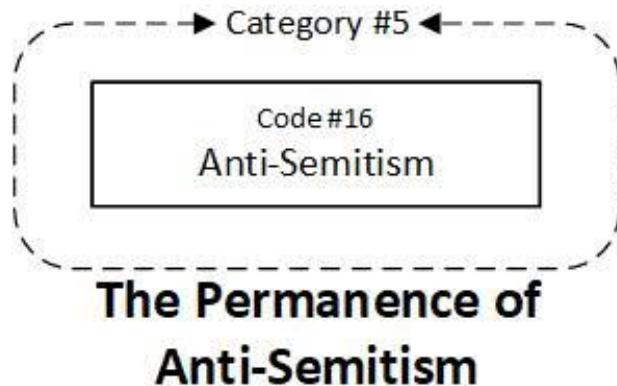
The Holocaust teaches about genocide and how hate is incited. With this kind of education, children and young adults will gain an understanding of those who are different from themselves, teach respect and empathy. According to one participant, when these objectives are taught in school, children are less likely to commit hate crimes because they are taught about differences and hate. Thus, one is combatting hate crime before it happens by preventing it. Code #22 Hate Crime Laws is defined as understanding the laws defining hate crime in the Criminal Code of Canada. It is essential to understand how hate crime is understood in Canada in order to combat it properly. One participant is hoping that the hate crime laws are redefined as right now they are too broad, which means when it comes to a perpetrator, law enforcement and the courts tend to side with them instead of the victims. Understanding these laws will help to report hate crimes accurately and hopefully have an impact on how they are dealt with.

Subcategory #4-4 Detracting from Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitic Violence looks at the negative actions. Code #10 Lack of Awareness looks how many Jews in the GTA either do not realize the threat the community faces or who are ignoring it. This could be detrimental to the community as, by the time it is realized, it will already be too late. Work needs to be done on informing members of the Jewish community but also the community at large of what they are facing. It is not unfounded that anti-Semitism is on the rise. According to Statistics Canada, Jews are the most targeted group in Canada, and it is still rising; there are similar reports from B'nai Brith Canada and Toronto Police Service (Fishman, 2017; Hohmann, 2015; Hohmann & Fishman, 2016; Pringle, 2018; Saunders, 2019; Ukashi, 2018).

6.7 Category 5: The Permanence of anti-Semitism

The main code and sub codes for Category 5 are depicted in *Figure 6-8 Category 5: The Permanence of anti-Semitism*.

Figure 6.8



Category #5 The Permanence of Anti-Semitism. Code #16 is defined as anti-Semitism, always being a concept in Canadian culture and that it will never actually go away. Anti-Semitism has been a global phenomenon for thousands of years. There have been recorded cases of anti-Semitism starting in ancient times through to today. Specifically looking at anti-Semitism in Canada one only need to look as far as the Christie Pitt riots or the M.S. St. Louis to realize how the Jewish people were not welcome in Toronto or Canada (Abella & Troper, 1983; Levitt & Shaffir, 2017; Bitonti, 2013). The anti-Semitism in the 1940s is still relevant to what is being experienced presently. Jewish students on university campuses in Toronto feel threatened, there is anti-Semitic graffiti across the city, and young orthodox Jewish boys have been assaulted on more than one occasion (Benari, 2019; Grimaldi, 2019; News Staff, 2017). Anti-Semitism has never disappeared from Toronto culture, it may have gone into the shadows, but it has come out again. Anti-Semitism is a permanent stain in Canadian and Toronto culture. It may ebb and flow at different periods of history, but it will never disappear.

Chapter 7: COVID-19 Addition

7.1 The COVID-19 Focusing Event

This study was completed during the initial impacts of COVID-19 on Canadian society during the winter and spring of 2020. The researcher is fortunate to have completed the in-person interviews immediately prior to the time of the closures and the time when social distancing was put into full effect for the Greater Toronto Area. Final editing, revisions, and closure work with the MRP committee were all completed remotely. As many research projects with field-based work and on-site interviews were interrupted due to the onset of COVID-19, this research project (while impacted) was not substantially disrupted.

In late 2019 and the first quarter of 2020, the pandemic known as COVID-19, has drastic impacted society as we know it. At the time of writing the final draft of this master's Research Project on May 7, 2020, the Public Health Agency of Canada indicated 64,922 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 4,408 COVID-19 related deaths in Canada. While one cannot judge in the present how events will be viewed historically, it can be suggested that this current pandemic will be one of the most significant disaster events in modern Canadian history.

The virus which is believed to have originated in Wuhan, China, in mid-November 2019 (World Health Organization, 2020). This strain of coronavirus was previously not diagnosed in humans. The symptoms include respiratory symptoms, fever, cough, shortness of breath and breathing difficulties. In more severe cases, symptoms can escalate to pneumonia, severe acute respiratory syndrome, kidney failure and death.

This disease posed a new problem for the global Jewish community, which includes Toronto. This study has spoken at lengths on how the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster was a focusing event when looking at security matters. What this study has not focused on in the broader

picture, improving our protocols and procedures does not just end at looking at security.

Security is just the beginning.

The Covid-19 pandemic is acting as a focusing event for the Jewish Community of the Greater Toronto Area. The Jewish community is a tight-knit group, always celebrating, eating and praying together. This illness affects their daily lives, and it completely uproots their way of life. However, with that in mind, this brings up a fundamental Jewish principle called Pikuach Nefesh or saving a life. This principle calls for the following “Most of the Jewish law can and should be set aside in order to avoid endangering a person's health or safety” (Rabbi Simon Glustrom, n.d.). Covid-19 calls on the Jewish community of the Greater Toronto Area to do just that, and most are.

7.2 Pikuach Nefesh

As mentioned above, this Jewish law is about saving lives and how all other Jewish laws should be set aside to avoid endangering the lives of others. The Rabbis commenting on the Talmud say, “That he shall live by them, and not that he shall die by them” (Rabbi Simon Glustrom, n.d.). This is to say that a Jewish person should not follow a Jewish law if it would endanger their life. In the circumstances of Covid-19, the Canadian government has asked us to practice social distancing. Social distancing has proven to limit the spread of diseases. In practice, this means to avoid the large, crowded area, to limit your outings to only essential places (i.e. grocery store). It means when you greet someone that you are not shaking their hands. This means staying away from people who have compromised immune systems and the elderly. Lastly, when you do have to be out, it means keeping a distance of at least 2 meters between people (Social Distancing (infographic)—Canada.ca, 2020).

When it comes to keeping Shabbat, a particular time from Friday at Sunset to Saturday evening, this law becomes increasingly important. During Shabbat, not only do many people go to services, but many people will not use electronic devices as it is supposed to be a day of rest. With the ever-evolving situation, the chief Rabbi in Israel decided to allow cellphones on Shabbat for life-saving messages about the virus (TOI Staff, 2020).

This Jewish law not only allows Jews to break from their regular routines, which they hold so close to their identities, but encourages it.

7.3 New Rochelle, New York, Incident

On March 10, 2020, the city of New Rochelle in New York was basically shut down in relation to Covid-19. All schools, churches, temples and large gathering spaces were ordered to be shut for two weeks starting on March 10 (Campbell & Bacon, 2020). The National Guard was called in to help facilitate the cleaning of facilities and delivering food, as, at the time, they had one of the worst clusters of cases in the country. More than 100 of approximately 170 (as of March 10, 2020) cases were tied to an orthodox Jewish community in the area.

This community is staying together, and they are trying to keep the community whole. While schools have closed, organizations are working together to provide educational material to children in quarantine. The teleconferencing technology known as Zoom has helped to conduct Jewish learning. It is allowing communities to come together and support each other in unique ways.

7.4 Changing Rituals

There are certain rituals that Jewish people do daily. Many of these practices have either been suspended or revised. If you are a person that does something your entire life and suddenly it is taken away from you, it is not something small, it speaks to you.

In the Jewish faith, we have something called a mezuzah; this is a little box that is screwed onto most doors in a homes or other buildings. The mezuzah is inscribed with specific Torah verses, it is called the Shema, which is a prayer showing the unity of God. There are two purposes of a mezuzah, the first is to remind a person of their covenant with God and the second is “everyone else that this particular dwelling is constituted as a Jewish household, operating by a special set of rules, rituals, and beliefs” (Greenberg, n.d.). There is a custom many Jews do, which places their hand on the mezuzah when leaving or entering a room. Some people kiss it afterwards. The point put is to remind you to contemplate the unity of God. This is an instrumental part of someone's day when you think about how many times you enter and leave different rooms. The observation of the principal investigator is that the Jewish people have been told to refrain from doing this tradition in light of Covid-19. In a time where things evolve so quickly, people tend to revel and find comfort in their religion, this virus in some respects is coming between people and their faith.

7.5 What is the community doing?

During this crisis, people have been working tirelessly to try and keep their communities together behind the scenes so that the Jewish community may continue to thrive. The principal investigator saw this in a multitude of ways during the pandemic; the start of a Facebook group, live streaming of synagogue services and other community organizations stepping in to help.

The Facebook group is called Kavod-19: Toronto Jewish Community Response to COVID-19. It is a space that was created to help bolster the community and keep them together. It is a place that was designed to fill any needs community members had. For example, if someone needed food, but they could not leave their home because they were immunocompromised, someone would go and get the food for them. People also posted

different free resources for students, while the public and private schools are figuring out what to do for education. This group has managed to provide a community where people can come together while they are social distancing.

Many synagogues have quickly found alternatives for in-person services in the wake of Covid-19 and trying to social distance as much as possible. After much discussion, many synagogues have opted for online streaming services. This comes in the form of Facebook live, YouTube live, Zoom and other streaming services. Shabbat services are an integral part of many people's week. For many, it is not only a time to pray but a time to join with and be with your community.

The live streaming is generally not something that is allowed on Shabbat when many people abstain from using electronic devices. However, in a time where social distancing is becoming the norm, many Rabbis are allowing for these streaming services on Shabbat in consideration of protecting Jewish life. This is a way of bringing the community together and being positive in a time of so much negativity.

Lastly, community services like the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of the Greater Toronto Area and others have been reaching out of the community at large to gather volunteers. These volunteers have either called community members to see if there are any necessities needed that people cannot access, sourcing and packing food as well as delivering it. Many community members have found this uplifting. Many small things can be done during this time. This community has made many fundamental changes in the light of Covid-19 to help keep the community safer. These are changes that impact daily life for many, but the community has proved resilient.

7.6 Conflict between Religious Practice and Social Distancing

COVID-19 has impacted the practice of religion globally, in ways both large and small.

As referenced in this section, the Jewish community in the Greater Toronto Area has adapted to COVID-19 and taken actions to promote community safety under pandemic conditions.

However, it is also acknowledged that ancient communal traditions which are central tenants of many religious practices can be in conflict with public health mandates for social distancing due to COVID-19. In Israel during late-March, some synagogues and seminaries in ultra-Orthodox neighborhoods stayed open well after the lockdown orders that were given by Israeli health authorities (Blum, 2020). During the same time-period in late-March, certain strands of American Evangelical Christianity held services in Florida and Louisiana, openly flouting public health restrictions on mass gatherings (Thompson, 2020).

Despite examples of conflict between religious practices and COVID-19 safety, the Canadian Council of Churches issued a statement regarding the issues. The statement was supported by a number of religious leaders including Rabbi David Seed, President of the Toronto Board of Rabbis. The statement called on Canadians to, “Listen and follow attentively the directions of our Public Health officials and government leaders.” (Canadian Council of Churches, 2020). As the whole of society adapts to the new normal of living with COVID-19, contemporary religious practices will also adapt.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction to Conclusion

This study will look at five main conclusions. The first is looking at the actions in process at institutions. The second is looking at and understanding actions that have not yet been taken to help combat anti-Semitism in the Jewish community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The third is looking at resiliency in the community and understanding the foundation that has been put in place and looking at its solidity. The fourth is analyzing the characteristics of anti-Semitism in the GTA. Lastly, the thoughts the principal investigator has on the permanence of anti-Semitism will be presented.

There is a bigger picture that must be understood here. The problem is not only that anti-Semitism exists, but that anti-Semitism is never going away, there is no permanent solution.

8.2 Future Opportunities for Study

This current study offered up the perspective for future opportunities of study. The first would be to evaluate adding in questions that pertain to the average age of the members of that institution. A second option would be to look at the difference in responses based on the size of the institution, large or small, for instance. Lastly, it would be to look at the level of training held by those working at institutions.

The first future opportunity of study looks at adding interview questions that will go into more detail when looking at the average age of members of that institution. As well as figuring out if there are many members who have accessibility issues that would need to be resolved in the planning process. The reason this is important is that different demographics face different problems that need to be thought of before an incident occurs.

For instance, looking at physical barriers should a disruption occur. If the general population of a synagogue is over the age of 65, there may be functional needs (i.e. accessibility issues, less mobility, etc.), making it a challenge to respond in a rapid crisis. If these sorts of issues can be accounted for in the planning process, then they can be ingrained in the protocols and procedures.

Based on the findings from this study, some individuals expressed that they did have an ageing population at their institution and that when change is brought up in the context of security, they are often resistant to any changes. For instance, many people believe that Jewish institutions should be welcoming and warm places, meaning that some security measures, such as having everyone's bags checked, hinders this welcoming environment. It is important to balance security with the needs of the community. Understanding such situations is also important information to have when making plans for security at an institution so as not to be fought with backlash along the way.

It is vital to have community involvement and cooperation, so having a good understanding of your community and being open about the needs that must be met with help with a smoother process.

Another future study would again be similar in scope to the current but having additional questions that look at the size of the institution, whether they are large or small. This would mainly have to do with the methods section. Based on the current study, it has been inferred that larger Jewish institutions have a greater opportunity for enhanced security measures. This future study would help to verify if this is true or not. It would also be able to explore the reasons why this is potentially true. It may stem from having a more sophisticated infrastructure to just having a more diverse staff pool to pull from.

An additional area of future study would be looking at the level of training the current staff have in security and safety. What was inferred from the current study was that there were people who had security training backgrounds or more knowledge. They took more of a sophisticated approach to preventative measures than those who had no security background training.

It would be interesting to understand how any form of security training changes how an institution operates both in preparation and preventative measures but also how they plan should a disruption occur. It was also inferred that those with security training thought about how to bounce back after a disruption. Compared to those who do not have that background may not have understood the concept well. They may even not know to plan for the continuity of the institution after. The questions in the current study did not allow for verification of this.

8.3 Five Conclusions of this Study

There are five conclusions for this study, and they are as follows. First, there are a number of actions in process and progress. Secondly, some actions have not yet been done but should be implemented. Thirdly, looking at the resiliency of the Jewish community in Toronto, there is a foundation in place, but the foundation is not solid. Fourthly, looking at the characteristics of anti-Semitism in the Greater Toronto Area is essential. Lastly, are thoughts the principal investigator has on the permanence of anti-Semitism in the Greater Toronto Area. When possible, conclusions will be related back to codes determined from the data analysis.

8.4 Conclusion One: Actions that are in Process at Jewish Institutions

There are several actions already in progress at different institutions in the Jewish community. Training is fundamental in security to help staff and the general population understand what to do in diverse types of security situations. This relates back to code #8, the

importance of training in safety and security. This was mentioned by more than one institution, and they have either been put in place or are in progress. Training in safety and security help to equip the community.

Another action that is in progress is making security committees at these Jewish institutions. A security committee is essential, and in progress for some institutions, as it provides direction and leadership for the congregation and/or community at large. This relates back to the subcategory action steps.

An important action step that has been taken by many institutions is physical security upgrades. These actions include things like upgrading the surveillance cameras and their bandwidth, visiting the idea of security guards on the premises. Another area this covers is looking into the development of protocols and procedures for emergencies, which are implemented in the facility. Then the staff and other pertinent people are trained in those procedures. This conclusion relates back to subcategory action steps.

There is a grant program run by the government of Canada called the Security Infrastructure Program. This is a grant that serves all of Canada to communities that are at risk for hate crime. There are only 2 million dollars available twice a year for recipients. Grant recipients must also be able to match what the government is giving them. There are restrictions for what the grant will cover and what it will not cover. If one is a recipient of the grant, there are also restrictions for when work can begin.

There is a very lengthy and detailed process of application. As such, it is an extremely competitive and challenging grant to receive. While this program may seem restrictive and competitive, it is also a great resource to help with the financial burden of developing and upgrading security measures at institutions. What was made clear to the investigator in this

study is that there is a financial tradeoff that must be considered. Upgrading security measures does not come cheaply. This conclusion relates back to code #21, tradeoffs between the costs and benefits of implementing security measures. These institutions do not have unlimited funds and, therefore, should consider all the opportunities for different grant programs offered publicly or privately.

Lastly, is the importance of ongoing community involvement. Many institutions have their staff, clergy and members involved in how they are trying to develop or implement security measures as well as trying to pull from a pool of expertise that those individuals may have. Leadership cannot enact all that must be done alone; it is imperative to have the involvement and cooperation of the community to put security measures into place effectively.

8.5 Conclusion Two: Actions that are Being Considered but Have Not Yet Been Taken

While the Jewish community has taken many actions, there are still many that have not been implemented, and that needs to be done in order to have a strong and resilient community. For instance, what was mentioned by multiple participants was the need for better education for the community at large, which relates back to code #2, better education of the community at large on anti-Semitism. There are multiple different directions that this could go, which all would be beneficial. One could be both mandating and mainstreaming Holocaust education. At this point in time, it is not mandatory to teach about the Holocaust in public schools in Canada. It is only mandatory to teach about World War II and mention that the Holocaust happened.

In-depth education on the Holocaust teaches about the dangers of propaganda and the dangers of not understanding someone different than you. It teaches about following the crowd without questioning, and it teaches about the dangers of what happens when you do. The Holocaust was a horrific event that happened relatively recently in our history. Teaching it to

youth can prevent those at risk from joining a fringe group, like a white supremacist group. They will learn of the horrors of what has happened and why they should not engage in it. It will also teach children how to understand someone different from themselves. Children need to be educated about what has happened in the world; if we never say again, then we need to explain what that means. We cannot hide our history from our youth; instead, teach it, make them learn something.

Another important conclusion that was inferred from the interviews with our participants is the need to accurately define what constitutes hate crime based on the Criminal Code of Canada. This is related to code #22, understanding the laws defining hate crime in the Criminal Code of Canada. For starters, the hate crime never once mentions hate crime (Consolidated federal laws of Canada, Criminal Code, 1985). The laws are extremely vague when it comes to utterly understanding what constitutes a hate crime. This makes it difficult for the law enforcement officers and the courts to arrest and convict perpetrators of hate crime, which in turn means that Jewish institutions will not keep on reporting if they see no consequences.

According to one participant, law enforcement officers and the courts tend to side with the perpetrators and the victims because the laws are not clear enough to convict. If there is ever a chance of eradicating hate crime and anti-Semitism, these laws must be redefined, they must be made more explicit, and the courts must convict perpetrators. People must see that there are consequences to their actions. This will stop those committing crimes, but it will also keep individuals reporting crimes when they occur.

Another point that was mentioned multiple times by participants was the need for a hate rally policy in place in some jurisdictions. This relates back to code #9, at present, a permissive environment for anti-Semitism exists. This means that presently, Toronto has an environment

where people feel they can be anti-Semitic publicly with no consequences. There have been incidents in Toronto where rallies take place that has anti-Semitic content. For example, in 2019, the Al-Quds Day rally, “a hate fest against the Jewish people” (Levy, 2019b), was held, and after five months of investigation, no charges were laid. This was a rally with no permit; they were not shut down.

The protesters held anti-Semitic placards and were saying anti-Semitic tropes. This hate rally policy would help to shut these kinds of gatherings down, for all forms of racism and discrimination. This policy also related back to redefining hate crime so that it is clear what constitutes a hate crime. Some rallies and gatherings do promote hate, and it may be clearer to define hate crime and have a hate rally policy in place to shut these types of activities down or be able to make arrests. Hate crimes are not victimless; in fact, a whole community suffers when a hate crime occurs; it ripples through the community.

8.6 Conclusion Three: Resiliency in the Jewish community

What was inferred from the interviews is that there is a foundation for resiliency in the Jewish community of Toronto, but not necessarily solid or complete.

As seen via codes #17, #18, #19 & #20, individuals did describe the defining factors of resiliency, which are rapidity, redundancy, resourcefulness and robustness. Consideration was given to either some or all these factors when plans were made, whether it was recognized or not. It also seems that larger organizations had more developed foundations for resiliency plans. These larger organizations have more personnel and resources to start with. That means that there is a larger staff pool to pull from who may have background knowledge in the areas of safety, security and disaster and emergency management.

Besides having the larger staff pool to help develop the plans, they have the privilege of having a broader perspective. They are able to devote staff members to think about business continuity and future plans instead of only being able to plan for the present. Larger institutions and organizations have more resources, both financially and socially speaking compared to smaller ones. It naturally makes sense that they would have more robust plans in place.

The foundations being in place and not solid are not based on the overall review of data. While this is not based on a code, it is inferred that larger institutions seem to have better foundations or resiliency actions than the smaller ones do.

8.7 Conclusion Four: Analysis of the Specific Characteristics of anti-Semitism in the GTA

There are several different forms and characteristics of anti-Semitism in the Greater Toronto Area. One especially important one is that anti-Semitism in the GTA has a cumulative impact. There has not been a single significant event in Canada or Toronto that has changed the behaviour of Torontonians; there are many smaller incidents that are beginning to add up and impact Jewish life in Toronto. This relates to code #4, the cumulative impact of small anti-Semitic incidents adding up to more significant violent incidents. There is a trend that smaller incidents committed by several individuals could lead to a more disastrous event. It can be seen through the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster how damaging this kind of event can be to a community, at the time of this study being written the Tree of Life Synagogue has still not reopened in Pittsburgh.

Again, there has been no large scale or deathly anti-Semitic incidents in the city of Toronto in recent history. There have been some violent incidents in the past two years. However, anti-Semitic incidents are mainly seen through graffiti and other forms of anti-Semitic

speech. The fact of the matter is that in Toronto, a number of small incidents happen and continue to happen in the face of no consequences being given out.

In Toronto, as mentioned, we have experienced a high frequency of small events that have a low impact, we have not yet experienced a low-frequency event high impact event, such as the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster, which is a high impact event. The principal investigator has the prediction that there will continue to be more high-frequency events with low impact. Is the sum of all the years of the cumulative sum of small events having a more significant impact than one big event in the community? For example, in New York, during the last couple of years, there has been high frequency of low impact events, which had a large cumulative impact on the Jewish community in the metropolitan area.

8.8 Conclusion Five: The permanence of anti-Semitism

As a result of this work, I have experienced many aspects of the Jewish community in the Greater Toronto area and those who impact it. Across all my interviews, respondents have made clear that anti-Semitism is alive and well in the GTA and globally.

Everything that I have concluded and discovered in my study has only pointed to bandages and false solutions. Yes, it is crucial to have protocols and procedures, and contingency plans, but this is not a solution to anti-Semitism. Of course, it is crucial to develop and implement training in our institutions and have community involvement throughout the process. However, this is not a solution to solving anti-Semitism in the GTA. This is a temporary patch. All of the actions in progress that were discussed above are necessary to provide protection for the current climate in which the Jewish community is living in. However, these are all temporary solutions.

The real solutions will come from the actions that have not yet been taken. New actions such as, having better education in the education system surrounding diversity and acceptance of those who are different will help. But these actions not necessarily a solution considering anti-Semitism has been an issue for thousands of years. It is necessary to redefine the Criminal Code of Canada regarding hate crime, to make it harder for people to slip through the cracks and not be charged.

It is necessary for those committing crimes and for the Jewish community to see that there are consequences for those who engage in hate crime. However, these still are not solutions for eradicating anti-Semitism from our society. Anti-Semitism has been a stain on not only Canadian society for centuries but the global society as well. It may disappear from the sight every once in a while, but it is still lurking in the shadows waiting to come back out.

The bigger question that needs to be asked is, is it possible to ever eradicate anti-Semitism, or is it a permanent feature of Canadian society? In the opinion of the principal investigator, no it is not possible to eradicate anti-Semitism. This is not just a fatalistic perspective but proven throughout the history of the Jewish people and Canadian history of anti-Semitism.

It has never gone away completely. However, you can also not ignore the bandage solutions; as mentioned, it is what will protect the Jewish community in the Greater Toronto Area. These bandage solutions are what will protect the Jewish way of life. You must be aware of the current situation, but also not live in fear. We cannot give up; all we can do is keep moving forward.

We must keep moving forward with our lives, developing our plans and implementing them. We cannot live in fear. As Elie Wiesel said,

“There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.”

Appendix

Appendix A

Appendix A is a reproduction of the questionnaire used for the interviews as described in Chapter 4 Methods.

Interview Questionnaire Script

Opening Statement

The research question I am exploring is what actions were taken to increase local resiliency to anti-Semitic violence by the Toronto Jewish community as a consequence of the 2018 Tree of Life Disaster.

I am going to ask you questions in six categories:

(Not all categories of questions or categories will apply to all subjects, depending on their roles)

1. Personal Attributes
2. Perceived baseline of threats that can impact Toronto's Jewish Community
3. Physical Security Measures
4. Community-Based Security Measures
5. Did the 2018 Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting influence any changes in Toronto?
6. Conclusion -- resilience

Personal Attributes

1. What is your job title?
2. How long have you worked in _____ (the Jewish community or Law Enforcement or Security or community organizations)?

Perceived baseline of threats that can impact Toronto's Jewish Community

3. What is your perception of the current climate of anti-Semitism in Toronto?
 - a. Could you explain your perception of the current climate?
4. Do you believe that the rate of anti-Semitic threats is on an increase, or decrease, or about the same?
 - a. Could you explain why you think the rate is _____ (increasing, decreasing, or the same)
5. Do you see the nature of anti-Semitic violence in Toronto evolving?
 - a. Can you explain that evolution?

Physical Security Measures

6. From the physical security perspective, can you speak in general terms about any measures you have in place?
7. From the physical security perspective, do you feel confident in the measures you have in place?
 - a. Can you explain your confidence or lack of confidence?

Community-Based Security Measures

8. Do you remember the October 27, 2018, mass shooting at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh?
 - a. Do you remember what the emotions that Toronto's Jewish community felt in the wake of the Tree of Life Shooting?
 - b. Did your institution response or reach out to the Pittsburgh victims in any way?
 - c. Were there any other impacts of the Pittsburgh incident on your operations?
 - d. Were any direct actions taken at your facility (or locally) in the wake of the Pittsburgh tragedy?
9. Do you remember any **other local** anti-Semitic incidents which prompted changes in your organization (or jurisdiction)?
 - a. What were the incidents
 - b. What were the changes
10. Do you remember any **National** anti-Semitic incidents which prompted changes in your organization (or jurisdiction)?
 - a. What were the incidents
 - b. What were the changes
11. Do you remember any **International** anti-Semitic incidents which prompted changes in your organization (or jurisdiction)?
 - a. What were the incidents
 - b. What were the changes
12. What characteristics of antisemitic incidents are most impactful for prompting local behavioural changes
 - a. Location of event
 - b. Proximity to institution (or jurisdiction)
 - c. Type of event (vandalism, violence, etc.)
 - d. Damage to property
 - e. Injuries or deaths to people
 - f. Media coverage

Did the 2018 Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooting influence any changes in Toronto?

13. From the Community-Based Security Measures perspective, can you speak in general terms about any activities you have in place?
 - a. Community-based security measures are described as education, seminars, and trainings related to increasing safety.
14. From the Community-Based Security Measures perspective, do you feel confident in the measures you have in place?
 - a. Can you explain your confidence or lack of confidence?

Conclusion/Resilience

15. Do local/national/international anti-Semitic incidences prompt your organization to reflect on how it could bounce back from disruptions?

Closing Statement

16. Are there any other organizations or persons that you would recommend that I speak to regarding this topic?

That concludes my questions to you, do you have any questions for us?

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research, thank you and goodbye.

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BY

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2020

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