

**JEWISH
COMMUNITY
STUDY OF
NEW YORK: 2011
COMPREHENSIVE
REPORT**

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JEWISH COMMUNITY STUDY OF NEW YORK: 2011 COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

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We dream about the kind of community we want to create for future generations — a community that is engaging and compassionate, enriched and ennobled by Jewish values. To realize our aspirations and plan more effectively — even to dream more fully — we must understand who we are in this present moment. What is the nature of our community today? Who are we as Jews? What are our needs? How do we give back? What matters to us? Where do we live, and how do we relate to one another? To answer these questions and more, every 10 years we invest in conducting a comprehensive study of our local Jewish community. It is with pride and a sense of accomplishment that we present the findings of the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011.

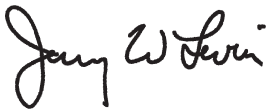
The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 is groundbreaking on many levels. With 5,993 interviews, it is the largest such study ever conducted in North America, and has the largest cell phone sample ever called in a Jewish community study. While comparable to the 2002 study in allowing us to understand critical trends, the 2011 study explores new dimensions of such areas as diversity within the Jewish community, economic hardship, and contemporary Jewish expression.

Since 1917, UJA-Federation of New York has upheld the highest standard of fiduciary responsibility. This study allows us to understand evolving communal needs so we can allocate precious resources for maximum impact. Through this study, we have learned that we are a growing community that has not been spared the devastation of poverty. The study also explores who we are as Jews, seeking out those New Yorkers who might not otherwise have a platform to share what they think about their Jewish identity and connections.

The results of past studies have shaped our communal agenda, catalyzing the creation of new agencies and initiatives and realigning priorities. Our hope is that this data will not only inform our own strategic planning but also prove helpful to agencies, synagogues, day schools, and other Jewish service, funding, and grassroots organizations; regional, national, and international Jewish organizations; public officials and the media; and scholars, students, and the public at large.

We invite you to read these findings carefully and to join us in planning — and dreaming — about the future of the Jewish community and the challenges and opportunities before us.

Sincerely,



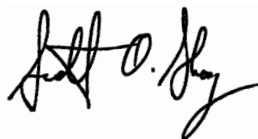
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We are grateful to the many individuals who gave their time, expertise, and financial support to the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011.

The study was underwritten by generous legacies and bequests left to UJA-Federation of New York. Special thanks are given to the Jean and Albert Nerken Population Study Fund for its continuing support. Additional support came from the Green Charitable Foundation, the Kroll Kids Foundation, Scott and Susan Shay, David and Patricia B. Silvers, and Nicki and Harold Tanner.

The members of the Jewish Community Study Committee provided policy oversight to the study with careful deliberation over the past several years. From selecting the research team to considering community input and vetting the development of the survey questions, they sought to ensure that the study would be of the highest quality possible for meeting the information needs of our community. We extend our gratitude particularly to Scott Shay, chair of the committee, who demonstrated both thoughtful and passionate leadership toward obtaining policy-relevant data to inform decision making. We also thank committee member David Silvers for chairing our efforts to raise funds to supplement the core support provided by UJA-Federation.

We are grateful for the Jewish Policy & Action Research (JPAR) research team's dedication, professionalism, and passion for this project, as well as their expertise. This study benefited from the wisdom developed by their extensive experience with Jewish community research both here in New York and around the country. We learned a tremendous amount from one another as we sought to achieve and surpass standards for such studies. In addition to the team listed on page 3, we acknowledge SSRS Research Director Robyn Rapoport for overseeing the fielding of the survey, as well as Mindy Schimmel, Eitan Melchior, and Marcie Yoselevsky for their help as research assistants. Steven M. Cohen led JPAR's work with great zeal and intensity of focus.

We particularly wish to acknowledge the members of our Technical Advisory Group, whose guidance and counsel on questions of methodology and other technical matters that arose over the course of the study were critically important to the success of this study.

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Thank you also to the more than 300 lay and professional leaders of UJA-Federation, beneficiary agencies, local synagogues, grassroots organizations, and community activists who participated in meetings held during the study's preparation phase to weigh in on issues that were most pressing for the study to illuminate.

Carrying out a project of this scope also required collaboration and support from many colleagues throughout UJA-Federation. In Marketing & Communications: Laura Sirowitz, Noel Rubinton, Reisha Goldman, Michael Losardo, Eric Steinmetz, Kelly Waggoner, and Hillary Waxman. In Resource Development: Courtney Weinstein and Jessica Chait. In our Legal Department: Stephanie Guberman. Thank you also to former project coordinator Jessica Ingram for her support. Overseeing and coordinating the entire endeavor, Jennifer Rosenberg and Lyn Light Geller's dedication, thoughtfulness, and attention to detail kept this complex endeavor on track and of the highest quality. We express deep gratitude to them and to Alisa Rubin Kurshan, whose leadership was invaluable.

Finally, the study could not have been completed without the dozens of interviewers and thousands of interviewees who completed the survey. The dedication, perseverance, and professionalism of the interviewers helped secure high cooperation rates and complete this largest-ever study of a North American Jewish community on time and on budget. The cooperative spirit of nearly 6,000 respondents enabled us to collect high-quality data representative of the full breadth of the Jewish community in the eight-county New York area.

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This executive summary contains highlights from the comprehensive, in-depth portrait of the New York Jewish community in 2011. In addition to highlights, the executive summary presents policy implications — how these findings can inform Jewish communal decision making in the coming months and years.

1. The eight-county New York area — the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, Staten Island, Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester — continues to be home to the greatest concentration of Jewish people of any metropolitan area in the United States.¹ And unlike the previous decade, this population is growing.

- In 2011, the number of Jewish households in the eight-county New York area stood at 694,000. In all, 1.77 million people (Jews and non-Jews) live in these households, of whom 1.54 million are Jewish adults and children.
- From 1991 to 2002, New York City's Jewish population declined slightly and the suburbs grew. But between 2002 and 2011, the Jewish population in both New York City and the suburbs grew, though growth in New York City was substantially greater.
- Jewish density — the percentage of all households that are Jewish — increased from 15% of all households in the eight-county New York area in 2002 to 16% today.
- The Jewish population of New York City, which dipped below a million in 2002, now stands at 1,086,000.

Historically, the growth in New York's Jewish community was fueled by immigration. That is no longer the case. Since 2002, population growth has been driven by high birthrates among the Orthodox (especially the *Haredim*)², increased longevity, and an increase in the number of people who consider themselves partially Jewish.

- Since 2002, the number of children and young people under 25 grew noticeably, from 432,000 in 2002 to 498,000 in 2011.
- At the other end of the age spectrum, the number of Jews ages 75 and over increased from 153,000 to 198,000, paralleling trends now being seen in other Jewish communities and in the general community.

1 Throughout this report, the eight-county area served by UJA-Federation of New York will be called the eight-county New York area or the New York area. The same eight counties were the focus of the 1991 and 2002 New York Jewish community studies. The eight-county area is a part of the much larger New York metropolitan area defined by the U.S. Census as the New York–Northern New Jersey–Long Island, NY–NJ–CT–PA Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA).

2 The survey asked respondents who were Orthodox to identify themselves by terms most commonly used to identify streams of Orthodoxy, namely Modern, Hasidic, and Yeshivish. A small number of respondents volunteered other responses that were recorded. This narrative uses *Haredi* or *Haredim* (plural) to refer to the Hasidic and Yeshivish grouped together.

- Rising numbers of people report unconventional identity configurations. They may consider themselves “partially Jewish,” or may identify as Jews even while identifying with Christianity or another non-Jewish religion (many more do so now than who so reported in 2002). Of such people with unconventional configurations, 70% have a non-Jewish parent (or two).

In addition to the significant increase in the population of those ages 75 and older, the very large number of baby boomers (born between 1946 and 1964) are now beginning to enter their senior years.

- There are 446,000 Jews between the ages of 45 and 64, most of whom are part of the baby boomer generation.
- Half of all of those who report caregiving responsibilities are in this age group.
- In addition, a substantial minority of this group populates the “sandwich generation” — more than 40% of those with caregiving responsibilities also have children (of all ages) at home.

Implications

Size and growth has implications for Jewish life in New York City and the suburbs. First, it points to the continuing visibility and strength of the Jewish community within the general community. Second, the growth of the community represents a challenge and opportunity for communal leadership — a challenge, because more people means more needs; and an opportunity, because there are now more people to engage in Jewish life and community, and potentially more resources to meet needs here and abroad.

The large number of baby boomers and advances in health and longevity promise to grow the population of those ages 75 and older even further in the years to come. All of the research on older seniors suggests that, by and large, they seek to stay in their own homes as long as possible, and that the independence they seek actually contributes to health and longevity. Adult children are the first line of defense for older seniors, and the Jewish community may need to increase support to families as they help older seniors stay in their own homes as long as possible, maximizing their independence and quality of life. The significant boomer population constitutes a complex interplay of challenge and opportunity right now. First, some may need to be helped and supported in carrying out their caregiving roles. Second, many who previously were too busy to volunteer may now have the time to make a measurable contribution to the welfare of the community. And third, it is likely that many previously engaged in Jewish life through their children; today they could be seeking Jewish meaning in their own lives.

Implications of high birthrates primarily in the Haredi population, as well as implications of the growth in those who consider themselves partially Jewish and others at the low end of the Jewish-engagement spectrum, are discussed below.

2. New York’s Jewish community is highly diverse in many dimensions — including national origin, types of Jewish identification and commitment, social class, gender, sexual orientation, and race.

The second distinguishing feature is New York’s incredible diversity. The Jewish population of the New York area embraces Reform congregants in Scarsdale, struggling single mothers in Queens, young adults on the Lower East Side, middle-class families in Staten Island, Russian speakers in Brighton Beach, *Haredim* in Borough Park, affluent businesspeople on the Upper East Side, isolated seniors in Suffolk, Modern Orthodox Jews in the Five Towns, Conservative congregants in Flushing, and biracial families in the Bronx. Secularists, Israelis, Syrian Jews, and others are all part of the mix, as are the vast numbers of poor people in Jewish households and the thousands of very affluent New Yorkers who are also part and parcel of the Jewish population in the area.

Of 1,540,000 Jewish people, well over 40% are members of distinct subpopulations that in most other Jewish communities would together be much closer to 10% of the Jewish population.

- Nearly half a million Jewish people (493,000) live in Orthodox households — with significantly higher levels of Jewish engagement than others, much larger households, and somewhat lower incomes.
- About 220,000 Jewish people live in Russian-speaking households, typically Jews by culture, including both economically advancing younger households and extremely poor seniors.

About 12% of all Jewish households in the area are biracial or nonwhite.³ These 87,000 households contain 254,000 people, of whom 161,000 are Jewish. In addition, numerous smaller groups add their particular flavor to this large heterogonous community: 121,000 Jews in Israeli households, 50,000 Jews in LGBT Jewish households, 38,000 Jews in Syrian Jewish households, and many other groups with special interests and needs.

Diversity Within the Orthodox Community and Growing *Haredi* Population

Orthodoxy in New York is itself extraordinarily diverse. The largest three groups (by self-identification) are Hasidic Jews, Yeshivish Jews, and Modern Orthodox Jews.

³ Hispanic is included in the “nonwhite” category for the purposes of this report; in U.S. Census definitions, Hispanic could be white or nonwhite.

Implications

All of this diversity adds richness and texture to Jewish life in New York. Community-building strategies in New York need to be as variegated and multidimensional as the community itself.

At the same time, diversity significantly complicates efforts to build an overall sense of Jewish community and Jewish peoplehood. Particularly, the largest groups — Orthodox and Russian-speaking Jewish households — function both as part of, and separate from, the larger Jewish community.

The large number of biracial, Hispanic, and other “nonwhite” Jewish households — particularly pronounced among younger households — should serve as a reality check for those who are accustomed to thinking of all Jews as “white.” Together with the relatively large numbers of households that include someone identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender, this finding reminds us that it is important to be mindful of diverse assets and needs and become a more inclusive community.

Jewish communal planners and policy makers need to think about the Orthodox not as one monolithic group, but rather as comprising several distinct groups that have different characteristics and needs. In particular, three features of the two fervently Orthodox groups — Yeshivish and Hasidic, often collectively known as the *Haredim* — have significant implications for the future of New York Jewry.

First, the high birthrate of *Haredi* Jews (at least three times that associated with non-Orthodox Jewish New Yorkers) suggests that this population is likely to grow even larger in the future. Second, the *Haredim* are known to be self-segregated and relatively disconnected from the rest of the Jewish community. Third, relatively high poverty combined with large and growing families suggests that their economic stress is likely to increase in the future. The large numbers of poor *Haredim* and the disconnect from the larger Jewish community suggest that perhaps not enough poor Jews access services offered by UJA-Federation of New York and its beneficiary agencies.

While Modern Orthodox birthrates are not as high as those of the *Haredim*, they are higher than those of non-Orthodox families, suggesting continuing growth for this group as well. Unlike most *Haredim*, Modern Orthodox Jews are more likely to be fully engaged with the larger Jewish community.

3. Many New York Jews live in conditions of significant economic stress and need for assistance.

Jewish Poverty Has Increased Since 2002

Nearly 1 in 5 Jewish households is poor today, with incomes under 150% of the federal poverty guideline, and the proportion of poor Jewish households is higher than it was 10 years ago. The relative increase has been especially dramatic in the suburbs, where 10 years ago there was very little Jewish poverty.

- In the eight-county area, 130,000 Jewish households are poor. In terms of individuals, 361,000 people (both Jews and non-Jews) live in poor Jewish households.
- About 19% of all Jewish households are poor, as are 20% of all people in Jewish households — a considerable increase since 2002, when 15% of people in Jewish households in the New York area lived in poverty.
- Jewish poverty has increased considerably in the suburbs, but it is still greatest in New York City, where 24% of Jewish households and 27% of all people in Jewish households are poor (compared with 20% of all people in New York City Jewish households living in poverty in 2002).

An additional 1 in 10 Jewish households is “near poor” — households with incomes between 150% and 250% of the federal poverty guideline. Beyond the people living in poor Jewish households, an additional 204,000 people can be classified as near poor. Thus, 565,000 people living in Jewish households in New York are affected by poverty.

Groups in Poverty: Orthodox, Seniors, and More

An estimated 151,000 people live in (primarily *Haredi*) Orthodox poor households, the largest identifiable group in the Jewish community that is poor. By far the highest rate of poverty among Orthodox Jews is found in Hasidic households — 43% of Hasidic households are poor.

As compared with 2002, the number of seniors in poverty has remained about the same, while the overall number of seniors has increased from 317,000 to 354,000. As a result, the poverty rate among seniors has declined, dropping from 35% in 2002 to 24% in 2011. Seniors living alone are more likely to be poorer than other New York-area Jewish seniors, and the number of seniors living alone has increased by more than a third since 2002. As in 2002, the poorest Jews in New York are Russian-speaking seniors living alone, of which 77% are poor. They escaped the former Soviet Union but are essentially destitute.

About 14,000 people live in poor Jewish households where at least one member is disabled; 9,000 people live in households where someone is unemployed.

Use of Public Support

At least 15% of Jewish households, amounting to 104,000 in all, receive at least one form of public support examined in our survey. A total of 294,000 people live in these households. As many as 11% of Jewish households (79,000) report receiving assistance from the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program, or SNAP (formerly the food stamp program). These households contain 224,000 people, of whom 77,000 are children. Medicaid reaches at least 57,000 households; these house 165,000 people, of whom 58,000 are children.

Seeking Assistance for Human-Service Needs

In all, 16% of households sought services related to help in coping with a household member's serious or chronic illness. Close behind in frequency are services for an adult with a disability (15%) and help in finding a job (14%). In all, 284,000 households (41% of all Jewish households in the area) sought at least one of six types of services: help in dealing with a serious or chronic illness, services for an adult with a disability, help in finding a job, services for older adults, assistance with food or housing, or help for a child with a physical, developmental, or learning disability or other special needs.

Of the 37,000 households that sought services for older adults, the most common service sought is home care (24,000), while transportation is next (21,000). Far less frequent are households seeking nursing homes (8,000) and help with dementia or Alzheimer's (6,000).

Poor households turn to outside help more often than the non-poor. As many as 54% of poor households sought services, as compared with 38% of non-poor households. Some types of human-service assistance are especially hard to find, in particular seeking help with food or housing and help in finding a job. The poor experience greater levels of difficulty than others in obtaining these needed services.

Single-parent Jewish households (19,000) are more likely than others to seek assistance. The differences are especially pronounced with respect to seeking help with jobs (25% of single parents versus 14% of others) and to food or housing assistance (19% versus 8%).

Implications

The sheer scale of needs associated with being poor or near poor dwarfs the resources of even the largest Jewish community in the United States. One is tempted to believe that the scale of need is so vast that the Jewish community should abandon this field to others. The organized Jewish community cannot be the safety net, but it can help people get the benefits to which they are entitled. A caring community can make sure that those who seem to have difficulty accessing services and benefits are helped, and that specifically Jewish needs the poor and near poor struggle to access are well funded. The relative isolation of the *Haredi* community needs to be overcome, if for no other reason than to increase communitywide help to one of the poorest segments of the New York Jewish community.

A caring community networks all of its communal institutions — human-service agencies, congregations, schools, and community centers — to help connect people to services and support. It may require multiple, coordinated relationships with those in need to overcome barriers to help, including the reluctance to accept assistance.

4. Jews in the New York area continue to be engaged in Jewish life in a wide variety of ways, but fewer Jews in the New York area are engaged on some important measures — and the two ends of the engagement continuum are expanding.**Some of the More Prevalent Ways to Be Jewish**

More than half of all Jews feel that being Jewish is very important, give to Jewish charity, attend a Passover seder, light Chanukah candles, fast on Yom Kippur, and report that their closest friends are mostly Jewish. At least 40% feel that is very important to be part of a Jewish community, feel very attached to Israel, visited a Jewish museum or participated in a Jewish cultural event, talk regularly about Jewish-related topics with Jewish friends, participate in a Shabbat meal, and belong to a synagogue.

Decline in Engagement in Jewish Life

Over the last nine years, Jewish engagement in New York has dropped on a number of measures. In 2011 compared with 2002:

- Fewer Jews feel that being Jewish is important (from 65% in 2002 to 57% in 2011).
- Fewer Jews feel that being connected to a Jewish community is very important (from 52% in 2002 to 44% in 2011).
- More households in 2011 never participate in a seder (14% in 2011, up from 8% in 2002) and never light Chanukah candles (19% in 2011, up from 12% in 2002).

Increases in the Two Ends of the Engagement Continuum

Alongside the overall decrease in Jewish engagement, the two ends of the Jewish-engagement spectrum are increasing.

- There are more Orthodox Jews (the most engaged) and more nondenominational Jews and Jews with no religion (the least engaged).
- Nondenominational Jews and Jews with no religion now make up a third of all Jewish households in the New York area.

Variation Among the Least Engaged

Within the ranks of the least engaged, there is wide variation in the level of Jewish engagement.

- Three out of 10 Jews by religion with no denomination have high or very high levels of Jewish engagement, compared with less than 5% of Jews with no religion or another religion.
- More than half of all Jews with no religion and more than a quarter of those with another religion still engage Jewishly on at least a few measures. The activities that are most common among these groups are attending Jewish cultural events and activities that may be undertaken individually, as well as seasonal holidays.

Synagogue Affiliation Matters

While overall the number of Conservative and Reform households continues to decline, for Conservative and Reform Jews, affiliation makes a huge difference in the level of engagement. As discussed below, synagogue affiliation also is associated with higher Jewish engagement among the intermarried. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of Conservative Jews who are members of a congregation have high or very high levels of Jewish engagement, compared with less than 15% of Conservative Jews not affiliated with a congregation. Similarly, 57% of Reform Jews identified with a congregation score high or very high on the Index of Jewish Engagement⁴, compared with 8% of Reform Jews who are not members of a congregation.

Family Structure and Income Matter

Married households dramatically outscore the non-married on Jewish engagement, and those with children outscore those without children at home.

Low income depresses Jewish engagement among the non-Orthodox in such areas as belonging to a congregation, Jewish education, and travel to Israel.

Single parents are less engaged than married couples with no children at home. Since single parents are also more likely than two-parent households to seek assistance for help with jobs, food, or housing assistance, it is possible that economic and other stresses associated with being a single parent reduce the capacity to actively pursue a Jewish life.

Continuing Low Jewish Engagement Among an Increasing Number of Intermarried Households

Among the non-Orthodox, the intermarriage rate for couples continues to be significant. Half of the non-Orthodox couples wed between 2006 and 2011 are intermarried. On Jewish engagement, intermarried respondents significantly trail the in-married. The intermarried are much less likely than the in-married to feel that being Jewish is very important, feel that it is very important to be part of a Jewish community, or feel attached to Israel. Since 2002, the large gaps observed then persist into 2011.

At the same time, not all intermarried households are totally detached from Jewish life — more than half light Chanukah candles, nearly half attend a Passover seder, and 3 out of 10 go to Jewish museums and cultural events. Only 1 in 7 intermarried households belongs to a congregation (in some communities elsewhere in the United States, this proportion is much higher). But among those that do, we find much higher rates of Jewish engagement on almost all measures compared with those intermarried households that do not belong to a congregation. Affiliated intermarried households are close to the congregationally affiliated in-married in their observance of seasonal Jewish holidays, accessing Jewish websites, contributing to Jewish charities, and participating in Jewish cultural events and programs at Jewish community centers.

⁴ The Index of Jewish Engagement, consisting of 12 items that cover a variety of domains under the conceptual rubric of Jewish engagement, was designed to provide a convenient classification for analysis.

Implications

Over the past decade, the organized Jewish community has invested heavily in building Jewish connections through synagogue revitalization, Jewish education and Jewish identity-building grants, and Taglit-Birthright Israel. While it is highly likely that the decline in Jewish connections over the decade would have been much greater without these efforts, at the same time the trend of disengagement continues.

In addition to renewed efforts to create engagement opportunities across the board, challenges relate directly to each of three distinct subgroups: helping highly engaged Jews become or stay connected to the whole community, shoring up and energizing moderately connected Jews, and offering opportunities for secular and cultural engagement for less connected Jews.

At an even more specific level, several subgroups deserve particular attention:

- People with children appear to be the most open to opportunities to engage Jewishly.
- The high cost of being Jewish appears to be a significant barrier for people of modest means. This situation has generated much hand-wringing in the organized Jewish community, but solutions have not been obvious; at the same time, this issue is too important to ignore.
- Community leadership needs to consider a broad-based policy of support for single-parent families, combining human services and Jewish connections.

While some have argued that intermarried households do not feel welcome in Jewish settings, intermarried households do not express more discomfort with Jewish activities than other non-Orthodox groups. At the same time, the fact that relatively few intermarried households belong to a congregation suggests that perhaps expanding congregation-based efforts to engage intermarried households is worth pursuing. Of the 46% of children in intermarried households being raised “not Jewish,” only about a third are being raised in another religion. Another 13% are “undecided,” suggesting that communal efforts to engage intermarried households should support efforts to raise Jewish children

5. Since 2002, Jewish philanthropy has eroded modestly, while community needs have expanded.

Of all Jewish households, 83% report some charitable donation, representing a decline from 2002 (88%). This decrease could be a result of temporarily increased post-9/11 charitable giving in 2002 compared with recession-deflated giving in 2011.

More Jewish households donated to a non-Jewish cause (68%) than to a Jewish cause (59%). Since 2002, the proportions of households reporting a donation to Jewish causes of all sorts held steady. Among the non-Orthodox, fewer young people are donors at all, and more of them give exclusively to non-Jewish causes. A quarter of the wealthiest Jewish households in the New York area make no gift whatsoever to any Jewish cause. As compared with the non-Orthodox in-married, intermarried households contribute more often only to non-Jewish causes (51% of the intermarried versus 15% of the in-married), and far fewer contribute to Jewish causes (34% versus 72%).

Giving to UJA-Federation of New York

From 2002 to 2011, the proportions reporting a donation to UJA-Federation dropped from 28% to 24%. From old to young, UJA-Federation's share of all philanthropy drops with every transition to a younger age; however, reported giving is substantially higher among a high-potential group defined by four features:

- Affiliated with a synagogue or other Jewish organization.
- In-married.
- Household income of \$100,000 or more.
- Non-*Haredi*.

A majority (53%) of these households report giving to UJA-Federation.

Conservative and Modern Orthodox households have the highest rates of giving to UJA-Federation (41% and 37%, respectively), and *Haredim* and Jews with no religion have the lowest rates (11% and 9%, respectively).

The challenge for the future rests in the shrinking of this philanthropically loyal demographic base. The commitment to communitywide Jewish philanthropy and collective responsibility epitomized by UJA-Federation is strongest among the group that is declining (the affiliated and in-married non-*Haredi* population) and weakest among groups that are growing (such as the *Haredim*, the intermarried, and Jews with no religion).

Implications

Increasingly, philanthropy is a function of highly personal involvement and engagement. Younger donors often not only want to see the impact of their charitable dollars, but also want their charitable involvement to be hands-on. UJA-Federation has done a remarkable job of maintaining focus on the communal perspective, highlighting both needs and opportunities that may be more critical than they are visible.

The findings in this study underscore the urgency of this direction:

- First, to make the case for Jewish needs to the 26% of wealthy Jewish households that currently are not making philanthropic gifts to Jewish causes.
- Second, to educate and engage young adults, integrating their particular interests with the communal agenda.
- Third, to build on success and reach an even greater portion of the high-potential affiliated population — for example, Modern Orthodox Jewish households, with a strong commitment to communitywide values and high rates of giving to UJA-Federation and other Jewish causes, become an important focus.
- Fourth, to experiment with new ways of connecting those who seem the most disconnected from communal Jewish philanthropy — both *Haredim* as well as Jews with no religion and intermarried Jewish households.

Conclusion

The size and scope of this study of American Jews illuminates important dimensions of the largest Jewish community in North America. The future of American Jewry is powerfully influenced by developments here.

The varieties of Jewish experience that mark New York all contribute to a depth and breadth of Jewish life that is extraordinary in every dimension. The rich and diverse features of the New York-area Jewish population provide an opportunity to community leaders and activists to sustain and improve a great Jewish community — balancing global values of Jewish community, caring, and peoplehood with multifaceted strategies tailored to the interests and perspectives of New York's many Jewish groups, neighborhoods, and subcultures.

This report presents the results of the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011. This portrait of New York’s incredibly vital and diverse Jewish community covers the eight-county New York area served by UJA-Federation of New York, comprising the five boroughs of New York City — the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island — and the three suburban counties of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester.¹

Why We Conducted the Study

The U.S. Census is, in effect, prohibited from asking questions about religion, and does not include “Jewish” in its questions about ethnic identity. As a result, the prime source of information about the population — locally and nationally — cannot provide information on the number of Jewish people or their characteristics. In an effort to overcome this gap, the vast majority of larger Jewish communities in the United States now carry out their own surveys, as many have since the 1970s and early 1980s.

The first sample survey of Jewish households in the New York Jewish community was carried out in 1981 under the sponsorship of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York, a predecessor organization of UJA-Federation of New York.² All previous studies were estimates of the Jewish population, based on indirect methods. Since then, UJA-Federation has commissioned the 1991 New York Jewish Population Study and the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002.

The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 was commissioned by UJA-Federation of New York to answer myriad questions about Jewish life in the eight-county New York area:

- How has the size and geographic distribution of the Jewish population changed over the past nine years? In what areas and among what groups have we seen growth or decline?
- How have key socio-demographic characteristics changed over time? Are Jews living longer, having more children, living with others or alone, marrying later or earlier? How are they distributed with respect to educational attainment, employment patterns, and income?
- In light of the Great Recession and other forces, to what extent has the number of people in poor Jewish households risen — or declined? Which population segments are especially likely to live in poverty? Who else, aside from the poor, are the major populations in need of human services, and how well are they accessing those services? How many Jewish households and people — and of which sort — are at risk?

¹ Throughout this report, the eight-county area served by UJA-Federation of New York will be called the eight-county New York area or the New York area. The same eight counties were the focus of the 1991 and 2002 New York Jewish community studies. The eight-county area is a part of the much larger New York metropolitan area defined by the U.S. Census as the New York–Northern New Jersey–Long Island, NY–NJ–CT–PA Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA).

² Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. 1984. *The Jewish Population of Greater New York: A Profile*. New York: Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

- In an age of fluid group boundaries and malleable identities, how has the spectrum of Jewish engagement shifted over time? Which Jews are more or less engaged in Jewish life — and in what ways? Has intermarriage increased, decreased, or stabilized, and to what extent are intermarried families engaging in Jewish life?
- How many Jewish children receive different types of Jewish education, both in the classroom and in other settings?
- How have Jewish households altered their patterns of philanthropic giving to both Jewish and non-Jewish charities, and with respect to age, denomination, and other critical factors?
- How do various subpopulations — illustrative of the enormous diversity of New York Jewry — differ on all these dimensions?

About the Study: The Basics

The Jewish population estimates in this report are based on 5,993 telephone interviews with randomly selected Jewish households, conducted from February 8, 2011, through July 10, 2011. With this number of interviews, the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 is the largest Jewish community survey of its kind ever conducted outside of Israel.

The interview questions, as well as the screening questions used to determine if a household was Jewish, will be available at www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-of-new-york-2011. The complete data file, screener, and questionnaire will be available through the North American Jewish Data Bank at www.jewishdatabank.org/community.asp.

Definition of a Jewish Household

A household is defined as a Jewish household if it includes one or more Jewish adults ages 18 and over. For the purposes of this report, a Jewish adult is someone who self-identifies as a Jew or as partially Jewish with a Jewish parent, excluding messianic Jews, as discussed on pages 35 to 37.

Of the survey respondents, 83% consider themselves to be Jewish, and 11% viewed themselves as “partially Jewish” or “Jewish and something else/half Jewish.” In 5% of the interviews, the person who completed the survey is a non-Jewish member of the household living in the household with someone Jewish.

Potential respondents who reported that they were born to a Jewish parent but do not consider themselves Jewish — who identify with a religion other than Judaism, do not even partially identify Judaism as their religion, and consider themselves non-Jewish — are defined as “respondents of Jewish origin.” They were not asked to complete an extensive interview providing no other adult in the household considered themselves to be Jewish. Jewish-origin respondents did not enter into the analysis simply by having Jewish origins, but may have entered as a member of a household with a Jewish adult.

Random Sampling Design: Sample Segments

We designed the sampling methodology to include random samples of Jewish households consisting of two mutually exclusive groups:

1. Random samples of households in the target area.
2. Those on lists from a variety of Jewish organizations — a federation-supplied list.

Given that more than 25% of households in the United States now own only a cell phone, the survey used a design that resulted in more than 20% of all interviews being conducted by cell phone.

The random sample of households was divided in two: telephone numbers for which a published directory-listed phone line was associated with a distinctive Jewish name (DJN), such as Cohen or Friedman, and those with no DJN. The latter group included unpublished numbers, cell phone numbers, and published numbers, further divided by exchanges of expected high or low Jewish incidence. See the appendix for more detail.

Altogether, 1,498,834 phone calls were made to 389,312 different phone numbers in the eight-county New York area in order to identify Jewish households and then complete the Jewish household interviews.

In the eight-county New York area, 41,049 households gave the interviewers sufficient information for their religio-ethnic identity to be established; of these, 32,440 households are non-Jewish. The identification of non-Jewish households is an essential step in estimating the number of Jewish households in the study area. The screening questions were designed to first identify households as Jewish or non-Jewish, and then ask a few questions of non-Jewish households that are important for calculating Jewish household estimates.

Based on this design, the study interviewed a representative sample of 5,993 households in which at least one adult age 18 or over considered himself or herself Jewish. Overall, 56% of the interviews were from the random-digit dialing sample (landlines and cell phones), 36% were from the federation-supplied sample, and 8% were DJN.

Response Rates and Cooperation Rates

Two traditional measures of a Jewish community survey's quality are:

1. The survey's response rate during the screening phase used to locate and interview Jewish households.
2. The interview completion and cooperation rate.³

Response Rate

The response rate — or the percent of working phone numbers from which information on respondent religio-ethnic identity was collected during the screening phase of the study, using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's Response Rate 3 method⁴ — was 32% overall, 35% for landline interviews, and 30% for cell phones. These rates are widely regarded as acceptable response rates for contemporary research, as massive telemarketing since the early 1990s has resulted in numerous hang-ups as well as a generalized indifference to survey phone calls.

Cooperation Rate

Once a Jewish household was identified through the screening process, a cooperation rate (AAPOR Cooperation Rate 3) of 79% was obtained — 5,993 of the identified 8,609 Jewish households provided usable interviews (overall, 6,274 interviews were obtained, but 281 were later excluded from the analysis since they did not qualify as Jewish households).

Survey Sampling Error

The data in this study is subject to normal sampling errors as follows:

1. The estimate of the number of Jewish households in the eight-county New York area is accurate within a standard error of +/- 0.23% at the standard 95% confidence interval.
2. The survey data results reported for the entire interviewed sample of 5,993 Jewish households (such as the percentage of households that are congregation members) are accurate within a standard error of +/- 2.0% — a traditional 95% confidence level.

³ The distinction between screening response rates and interview cooperation and completion rates is not always evident. Both the response rate and the cooperation rate are important. A high interview cooperation rate of Jewish-identified households is critical; cooperation rates of 75% to 80% or more are typical. Response rates vary enormously, and high response rates (above 40% for landlines) are becoming increasingly difficult to achieve given the massive explosion of telemarketing and the reluctance of individuals to stay on the phone long enough to answer even one survey question. The appendix provides a complete sampling disposition.

⁴ The American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2011. *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*. Deerfield, IL: AAPOR. Available as PDF at http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Standard_Definitions2&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=3156.

Who Is a Jew Today?

The survey interviewers cast a wide net, as they interviewed respondents with any claim to Jewish identity as well as non-Jews married to Jews. Of the 6,274 interviews with eligible respondents, we determined that 281 were neither Jewish nor married to Jews. The vast majority of those disqualified were people without Jewish ancestry who identified as Jewish for Christian reasons (for example, when asked to provide more information about their Jewish identity, several people mentioned Jesus, with such comments as “Jesus was a Jew and that’s why I’m Jewish”).

To address the enormous variety and complexity of Jewish-identity claims advanced by the respondents, we drew on and examined several pieces of information from the survey to decide who should be regarded as a member of the Jewish population for purposes of this study:

- Considers self Jewish — Jewish, partially Jewish, not Jewish, not sure.
- Religious identity — Jewish, Jewish and something else, none, other religions, not sure.
- Number of parents who were Jewish — none, one, two.
- Verbatim responses — asked of those whose claims to Jewish identity seemed ambiguous or ambivalent.

Those respondents who qualified as Jewish fell into four categories. By far the largest category is “religion Jewish, with Jewish parentage.” Composing the vast majority (77%) of Jewish respondents, almost all of these respondents identify Judaism as their only religion, although a few (less than 1%) identify simultaneously with another religion. By definition, all of these respondents reported that one or both of their parents are or were Jewish.

The next largest group (16%) is the “ethnically Jewish, with Jewish parentage.” All of them, by definition, have Jewish parents and almost all consider themselves Jewish in whole or in part, although a few are not sure whether they identify as Jews. However, unlike the “religion Jewish” respondents, the ethnically Jewish do not see their religion as Jewish or Judaism. Most of the ethnically Jewish (78%) answer that their religion is “none,” while a minority (22%) identify with Christianity or another religion. But common to all the ethnically Jewish is their Jewish parentage and their claim to identifying as a Jew in some way.

Beyond those with Jewish parentage are two groups: “Jewish by conversion” and “Jewish by personal choice” (that is, those who did not formally convert). Both groups report that neither of their parents are or were Jewish. Together the two groups comprise 7% of the respondents who qualified as Jews. Of these, a small number (almost 2% of the total) became Jewish by way of conversion, and the rest (5%) by way of personal choice.

Exhibit 1 Jewish Qualifications for Jewish Respondents: By Religion, or Consider Self Jewish, or Conversion, or Personal Choice

	Percent of Respondents
Religion Jewish — All With 1 or 2 Jewish Parents	77%
Ethnically Jewish — Religion None or Not Judaism, All With 1 or 2 Jewish Parents	16%
Jewish by Conversion — No Parents Jewish, Converted	2%
Jewish by Personal Choice — No Parents Jewish, Identifies as Jewish, Did Not Convert	5%
Total	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Among the “Jewish by conversion” group, 86% see Judaism as their only religious identity, with the remainder distributed among those identifying with no religion or Christianity (small numbers in all cases). In other words, about 14% of converts may have left the Jewish religion to which they had at one point converted. Alternatively, given the wide range of reasons why people undergo conversion, perhaps when some converted they may have intended to maintain a dual religious identity.

In addition to the formal converts to Judaism, a significant number of people without Jewish parentage came to identify as Jewish in ways other than formally converting. Composing more than 5% of the total (about three times the number of formal converts), these “Jewish by personal choice” respondents became Jewish largely because of some family connection. They may report Jewish ancestry even if both their parents are not Jewish, as many reported a single Jewish grandparent. Alternatively, they may claim Jewish identity by virtue of their spouse (current, former, or deceased) or because of their children, or even their grandchildren. Some (37%) identify Judaism as their religion, more (45%) identify with another religion, and a few (18%) claim no religion.

The practice of JPAR researchers on numerous prior Jewish population studies since the 1990s, as well as the dominant current in contemporary social scientific thinking, argues for accepting respondents' social identity by self-declaration — in other words, if you say you're X then you are X. We adopted a more stringent definition. Where respondents manifested seemingly ambiguous claims to Jewish identity, we went beyond simple self-definition to take into account their parents, spouses, children, religious identities, and explanations as to why they regard themselves as Jews. We cast a wide net. For example, those with a single Jewish parent needed to meet two criteria to be excluded from the analysis: to consider themselves not Jewish and to identify with no religion or a non-Jewish religion. If they considered themselves partially Jewish or said they weren't sure, they were included in the analysis. Indeed, with more and more children of the intermarried in the adult population today, we noted a sizeable number of “partially Jewish” Jews, substantially more than their comparable number in 2002. Our definition of Jewish was broad enough to include children of a single Jewish parent who identify as “partially Jewish” while identifying their religious affiliation as Christian or another non-Jewish religion.

Even after setting aside those with dubious claims to Jewish identity (“Jesus was Jewish and, therefore, I'm Jewish too”), we were left with cases amounting to more than 5% (after weighting) of the Jewish respondents who we deemed Jewish albeit without having undergone conversion or having a Jewish parent (these two characteristics proximate the prevailing definitions of Jewish belonging used by most rabbis and much of the organized Jewish community). While among this 5% none had Jewish parents and none had converted, all had credible claims to having become at least “partially Jewish” by personal choice, or social osmosis, and thus were included in the data set.

Many Jews by personal choice maintain weak levels of connection to Jewish life, as we learned in intensive examination of their Jewish-engagement indicators. However, the frequencies of their Jewish-engagement indicators are remarkably similar to those of the ethnically Jewish with Jewish parentage. That is, those who are ethnically Jewish with Jewish parentage and those who are Jewish by personal choice without Jewish parentage score equally low on the measures of Jewish engagement.

In short, owing to the increasing complexity of defining who is Jewish, and the increasing fluidity in which people flow in and out of Jewish connection, we devote considerable effort to defining a boundary for including respondents and excluding some others. To be sure, no bright line divides the definitely Jewish from the definitively non-Jewish.

Historical Context

New York's Jewish community dates back to 1654, when 23 Jewish refugees arrived in New Amsterdam, establishing the first Jewish community in North America.² The New York area would, in time, become home to the largest Jewish community ever established outside of Israel, and the most diverse and variegated on so many levels.

Not long after its humble beginnings, New York's Jewish population began to grow — slowly at first and then gaining speed. For most of the 17th and 18th centuries, Jews constituted a mere 1% to 2% of New York City's total population, a time when Long Island and Westchester housed few people let alone many Jews. In the mid-1800s, those with Spanish and Portuguese ancestries were joined by a large influx of Ashkenazi Jews from Germany and Poland, bringing the Jewish population up to 3% to 4% of the city's population. By 1880, Jews numbered 80,000 out of 1.9 million people.

Explosive growth occurred from 1880 to 1920. The great migration from Eastern Europe brought more than a million Jews to these shores along with far smaller numbers of Jews of Syrian, Turkish, and Greek extraction. By 1920 or so, the Jewish population expanded twentyfold, to more than 1.6 million, fully 29% of the city's population. These largely Yiddish-speaking, often impoverished immigrants and their American-born children were markedly different both culturally and socioeconomically from their predecessors — so-called German Jews who constituted the community's elite in the first part of the 20th century.

Through the 1930s, New York City was home to the vast majority of Jews in the area. In 1940, fully 90% of New York State's 2.2 million Jews lived in the city, with fewer than 100,000 Jews in the immediately surrounding suburban counties.³ After World War II, suburbanization in the New York area (and around the country) began in earnest. In the 1950s, the city's Jewish population peaked at around 2.1 million; by then, Nassau housed 329,000 Jews, Suffolk 20,000, and Westchester 117,000, bringing the eight-county total to more than 2.5 million.⁴ Between 1950 and 1970, Jewish suburbanization intensified such that Jewish residence in New York City began a decline. In just 20 years, the city's Jewish population had dropped by 43% (to 1.23 million in 1970), while the surrounding counties grew by 17% (to 545,000), for a total of 1,775,000 in the eight-county area.

1 Note: All tables refer to the eight-county New York area in 2011 and to Jewish households (those with at least one adult Jew) unless otherwise noted. In some columns, due to rounding, figures may not add to exactly 100%, or to column totals.

2 American Jewish Committee. 2003. *Celebrating 350 Years of American Jewish Life*. New York: American Jewish Committee. Available as PDF at http://www.kintera.org/atf/cf/%7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395-D25925B85EAF%7D/350th_anniversary_web.pdf.

American Jewish Committee. 1903. "A Sketch of the History of the Jews in the United States." *American Jewish Year Book* 4: 63–77. Available as PDF at <http://bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=5452>.

3 Skolnik, Fred, and Michael Berenbaum, eds. 2006. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 15: 239–241. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.

4 Ritterband, Paul. 1997. "Counting the Jews in New York, 1900–1991: An Essay in Substance and Method." In *Papers in Jewish Demography*, edited by Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even, 199–228. Jerusalem: Hebrew University. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2762>.

Seligman, Ben B. 1958. "The Jewish Population of New York City: 1952." In *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group*, edited by Marshall Sklare, 94–106. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.

Cohen, Henry. 1956. *Jewish Population Trends in New York City: 1940–1970*. New York: Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York.

At various points between the early 1970s and the mid 1990s, hundreds of thousands of Jews arrived from the former Soviet Union, supplemented by immigrants from Israel, Iran, Syria, and elsewhere. With (or despite) this immigration, both the city and the suburbs experienced moderate declines in their Jewish populations through the 1970s and 1980s, with a shift in the 1990s to stabilization in the city and resumed growth in the suburbs.

In 1981, the area's Jewish population had fallen to 1,671,000,⁵ and as we report in Exhibit 1-1, by 1991 the area's Jewish population stood at 1,420,000, a drop of 20% from 1970. In 2002,⁶ the population total equaled 1,412,000, pointing to stability since 1991.

In so many ways, the diversity of New York's Jewish population continued to grow over the years — not only in periods of population growth but even as the total population declined or held steady. The diversity grew in terms of geographic origins and geographic distributions; religious ideology and ethnic identity; educational attainment, employment, wealth, and social class; and culture, politics, and family structure. Not only is New York Jewry large, but it is indeed both complex and challenging to comprehend.

Our analysis begins with the basics — just how large is the Jewish population in the eight-county New York area today? After discerning trends in population size here, in subsequent chapters we explore in depth the complexity of New York Jewry's diverse constituencies.

Growth in Jewish Households and in Jewish People

Since 2002, the eight-county New York Jewish population has experienced significant growth — in households, and in the numbers of Jews living in those households. This growth represents a significant turnaround from the prior four-decades-long decline and single decade of stability noted above. In the last nine years, the Jewish population of New York not only has grown in number but also, in many significant ways, has changed in character.

To elaborate, in 2011 the number of Jewish households in the eight-county New York area stood at 694,000. Of the 1.77 million people (both Jews and non-Jews) living in Jewish households, nearly 1.54 million are Jewish.

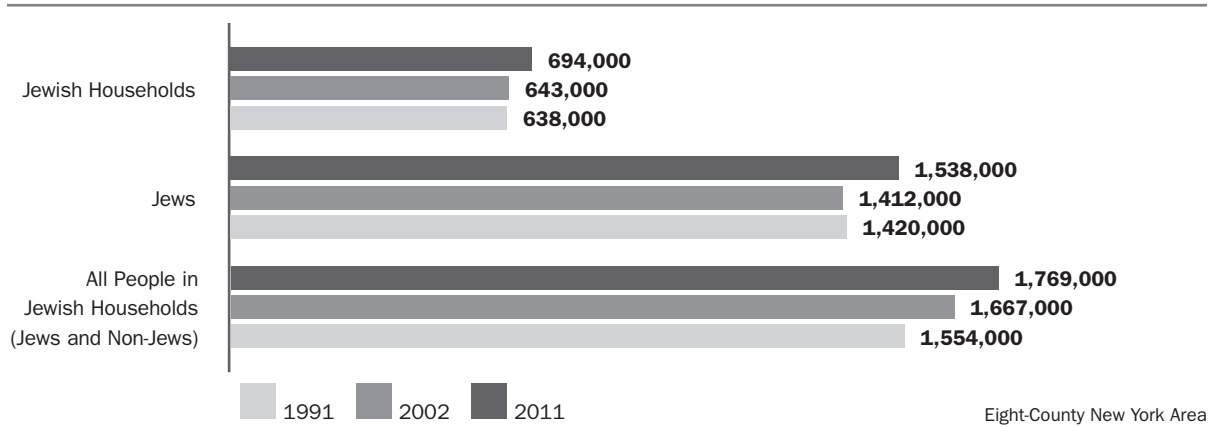
5 Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. 1984. *The Jewish Population of Greater New York: A Profile*. New York: Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York. Available as PDF at http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Archive/C-NY-New_York-1981-Report.pdf.

6 Since 1981, studies of the New York Jewish community have been conducted on a decennial basis with the exception of 2002, when the fall 2001 start date for administering the survey was delayed until March 2002 after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City.

Since 2002, the last time UJA-Federation of New York sponsored a Jewish community study, the number of Jewish households climbed from 643,000 to 694,000. The number of people in these households, both Jewish and non-Jewish, grew from 1.67 million in 2002 to 1.77 million in 2011. And the number of Jews grew from 1.41 million in 2002 to 1.54 million in 2011.

The population growth since 2002 was driven far more by the rise in the number of households than by an increase in the average number of Jewish people per household, a figure that has held nearly steady (standing at 2.20 in 2002 and 2.22 in 2011).

Exhibit 1-1 **Jewish Households, Jews, and All People in Jewish Households, Eight-County New York Area, 1991, 2002, and 2011**



* In 2002 and 2011, at least one adult is Jewish; in 1991, either an adult or child is Jewish.

Exhibit 1-2 **Average Number of Jews Per Household and Jews as a Percentage of All People in Jewish Households, 1991, 2002, and 2011**

	1991 ⁷	2002 ⁸	2011
Average Number of Jews Per Household	2.23	2.20	2.22
Jews as a Percentage of All People in Jewish Households	91%	85%	87%

Eight-County New York Area

Of course, Jewish households include not only Jews but non-Jews as well — including non-Jewish spouses in intermarried homes, children being raised as non-Jews, and non-Jewish roommates. In 2011, Jews compose 87% of people in Jewish households, compared with 85% in 2002, reversing the downward trend from 1991 to 2002 and contrasting sharply with trends noted in several other Jewish community studies around the country.⁹ In short, instead of seeing the Jewish proportion shrink largely due to intermarriage, as took place from 1991 to 2002, the Jewish composition of Jewish households stabilized between 2002 and 2011. As we will see, the rise in Orthodox households (which are nearly exclusively Jewish in composition) offset the rising rate of intermarriage in the non-Orthodox population.

The Growing Jewish Population: Reversing Earlier Decline

Since 2002, the number of Jewish households and number of Jewish people (individual Jews) grew by 8% and 9%, respectively. In the same period, the number of people (both Jews and non-Jews) in Jewish households grew by 6%.

These trends stand in contrast with the prior decade. From 1991 to 2002, the number of Jews in the eight-county New York area held steady, while from 2002 to 2011 it grew dramatically. The contrasting changes in the number of non-Jews in Jewish households — consisting mostly of spouses and children in intermarried homes — are even more striking. In the earlier period (1991–2002), the number of non-Jewish people in Jewish households almost doubled; since 2002, though, it has declined slightly, falling to 231,000. With respect to the slightly declining numbers of non-Jews in Jewish households, the Jewish population in the New York area sharply contrasts with most Jewish communities in the United States and, indeed, the entire Jewish world outside of Israel. In every other large Jewish diaspora community, rising intermarriage has brought increasing numbers of non-Jews — spouses, partners, and children — into Jewish households.¹⁰

7 See UJA-Federation of New York. 1993. *1991 New York Jewish Population Study*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at <http://www.jewishdatabank.org/study.asp?sid=18055&tp=2>.

8 See UJA-Federation of New York. 2004. *The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at <http://www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-2002>.

9 The North American Jewish Data Bank makes numerous studies available at <http://www.jewishdatabank.org>.

10 Reinharz, Shulamit, and Sergio DellaPergola, eds. 2009. *Jewish Intermarriage Around the World*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

The recent increase in the area's Jewish population marks a reversal in a long-term trend dating back to 1950. As noted earlier, the best available sources suggest that New York's Jewish population peaked at that time, with about 2.5 million Jews living in the eight-county New York area. By 1981, the estimated number of Jews in the area had dropped to 1.67 million, and in 1991 it fell yet again to 1.42 million. The decline over those 40 years can be attributed in part to Jews, both young and old, leaving New York for economic opportunity and retirement communities in the Sunbelt and to others leaving for New Jersey, Connecticut, Rockland County, and other nearby destinations.¹¹ The stable Jewish population in the 1990s (leading up to 2002) can, in large part, be attributed to the migration of Russian-speaking Jews and the growth of the Orthodox population.

In contrast with long-term decline and subsequent stabilization, the last decade (precisely 2002 to 2011) has been a period of substantial Jewish population growth. That growth partly derives from high birthrates among the Orthodox and most particularly among the *Haredi* Orthodox (further discussed in chapter 7), as well as from the increased longevity of a presumably healthier population. In addition, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of people who consider themselves “partially Jewish,” many the children of intermarriage.

Exhibit 1-3 Jewish Households, Jews, and All People in Jewish Households, 1991–2011

	1991	2002	2011	Net Change 1991–2002	Net Change 2002–2011	Percent Change 1991–2002	Percent Change 2002–2011
Jewish Households	638,000	643,000	694,000	+5,000	+51,000	+1%	+8%
Jews	1,420,000	1,412,000	1,538,000	–8,000	+126,000	–1%	+9%
Non-Jews	134,000	255,000	231,000	+121,000	–24,000	+90%	–9%
All People in Jewish Households	1,554,000	1,667,000	1,769,000	+113,000	+102,000	+7%	+6%

Eight-County New York Area

¹¹ Ritterband, Paul. 1997. “Counting the Jews in New York, 1900–1991: An Essay in Substance and Method.” In *Papers in Jewish Demography*, edited by Sergio DellaPergola and Judith Even, 199–228. Jerusalem: Hebrew University. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2762>.

Jews a Growing Proportion of the New York–Area Population

Jewish households compose 16% of all households in the eight-county New York area — about the same as in 2002, when it stood at 15%. Over the last 20 years, the number of households in the eight-county area has grown, from 4.05 million in 1991 to 4.41 million in 2011 (9%); and, proportionately, the number of Jewish households grew at the same rate (also 9%, almost all within the last nine years). As a result, the proportion of New York–area homes that are Jewish was 16% in 2011 (as it was in 1991), making the New York area the region with the highest percentage of Jewish households of any major Jewish community in the United States.¹²

Exhibit 1-4 Jewish Households and All Households, 1991–2011*

	1991	2002	2011	Net Change 1991–2002	Net Change 2002–2011	Percent Change 1991–2002	Percent Change 2002–2011
Jewish Households	638,000	643,000	694,000	+5,000	+51,000	+1%	+8%
All Households	4,052,000	4,275,000	4,405,000	+223,000	+130,000	+6%	+3%
Jewish Households as a Percentage of All Households	16%	15%	16%			–1%	+1%

Eight-County New York Area

* This exhibit compares U.S. Census data from 1990, 2000, and 2010 to Jewish population study data from 1991, 2002, and 2011. The 1991 Jewish estimate comes from UJA-Federation of New York's *1991 New York Jewish Population Study*. The 2002 total household estimate and Jewish estimates are based on April 1, 2002, Claritas household estimate updates. See UJA-Federation of New York's *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002*.

¹² Calculated from: Sheskin, Ira, and Arnold Dashefsky. 2011. *Jewish Population in the United States, 2011: Current Jewish Population Reports*. Storrs, CT: North American Jewish Data Bank. Available as PDF at http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Reports/Jewish_Population_in_the_United_States_2011.pdf.

The Jewish Population in the City and the Suburbs

Nearly 1.09 million Jews live in New York City, and 452,000 live in the three proximate suburban counties of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester. The 1.09 million Jews in New York City live in 496,000 households, and the 452,000 suburban Jews live in 198,000 households.

Accordingly, of the Jews living in the eight-county New York area, more than two-thirds of the Jewish households and Jewish people reside in New York City, with the rest in Westchester and Long Island. Since 2002, these proportions have remained nearly unchanged.

Among metropolitan areas in North America, with respect to the distribution between urban and suburban residence, the New York area’s Jewish households are rather distinctive in their relative urban concentration.

Exhibit 1-5 Jewish Households, Jews, and All People in Jewish Households, New York City and Suburban Counties, 2002 and 2011

	2002			2011		
	New York City	Suburban Counties	New York City Percent of Total	New York City	Suburban Counties	New York City Percent of Total
Jewish Households	455,000	188,000	71%	496,000	198,000	71%
Jews	972,000	440,000	69%	1,086,000	452,000	71%
All People in Jewish Households	1,135,000	532,000	68%	1,240,000	529,000	70%

Eight-County New York Area

More Growth in New York City Than in the Suburbs

Between 2002 and 2011, the Jewish population growth in New York City substantially exceeded growth in the suburbs. The number of Jewish people grew 12% in New York City and just 3% in the three suburban counties. The growth in New York City derives in large part from the growth of the Orthodox population in Brooklyn.

The greater population growth in the city as compared with the suburbs from 2002 to 2011 represents a sharp departure from the trends experienced between 1991 and 2002. In the earlier period, the New York City Jewish population declined while the suburban population increased markedly. Thus, over the 20-year period, the New York City Jewish population moved from declining to increasing. In the same period, the suburban Jewish population steadily grew, with a big spurt from 1991 to 2002 and far slower growth from 2002 to 2011.

Exhibit 1-6 **Jewish Households, Jews, and All People in Jewish Households, New York City and Suburban Counties, 1991–2011**

	1991	2002	2011	Percent Change 1991–2002	Percent Change 2002–2011
New York City					
Jewish Households	486,000	455,000	496,000	–6%	+9%
Jews	1,027,000	972,000	1,086,000	–5%	+12%
All People in Jewish Households	1,117,000	1,135,000	1,240,000	+2%	+9%
Suburban Counties					
Jewish Households	152,000	188,000	198,000	+24%	+5%
Jews	393,000	440,000	452,000	+12%	+3%
All People in Jewish Households	437,000	532,000	529,000	+23%	–<1%

Eight-County New York Area

Growing Number of Jews, Declining Numbers of Non-Hispanic Whites

Although a notable number of Jews are nonwhite or Hispanic (see chapter 7), the Jewish population is predominantly white and non-Hispanic. Accordingly, comparisons with the total white non-Hispanic population can provide a useful context for understanding the population dynamics of the Jewish population.

Over the last 20 years, relative to non-Hispanic whites, the Jewish population either declined less (in the 1990s) or grew more (in the last decade). In both periods, the Jewish population as a fraction of the area’s total non-Hispanic white population has been growing — both through a period of decline and in a period of expansion.

Specifically, from 1991 to 2002, the New York City Jewish population declined 5%, but non-Hispanic whites declined twice as much (11%). From 2002 to 2011, the New York City Jewish population grew 12%, even as non-Hispanic whites declined 8%, pointing to a truly dramatic divergence in the growth patterns of Jews and non-Hispanic whites in New York City’s five boroughs. In the suburbs, in both periods the Jewish population grew while non-Hispanic whites declined. One reason may be that the New York area holds special attractions and advantages for Jews as contrasted with other white ethnic and religious groups.

Exhibit 1-7 Percentage Change in Jews and Non-Hispanic Whites, New York City and Suburban Counties, in 1991–2002 and 2002–2011

	New York City		Suburban Counties	
	Change 1991–2002	Change 2002–2011	Change 1991–2002	Change 2002–2011
Jews*	-5%	+12%	+12%	+3%
Non-Hispanic Whites**	-11%	-8%	-5%	-3%

Eight-County New York Area

* Includes Hispanics and nonwhites.

** Includes Jews.

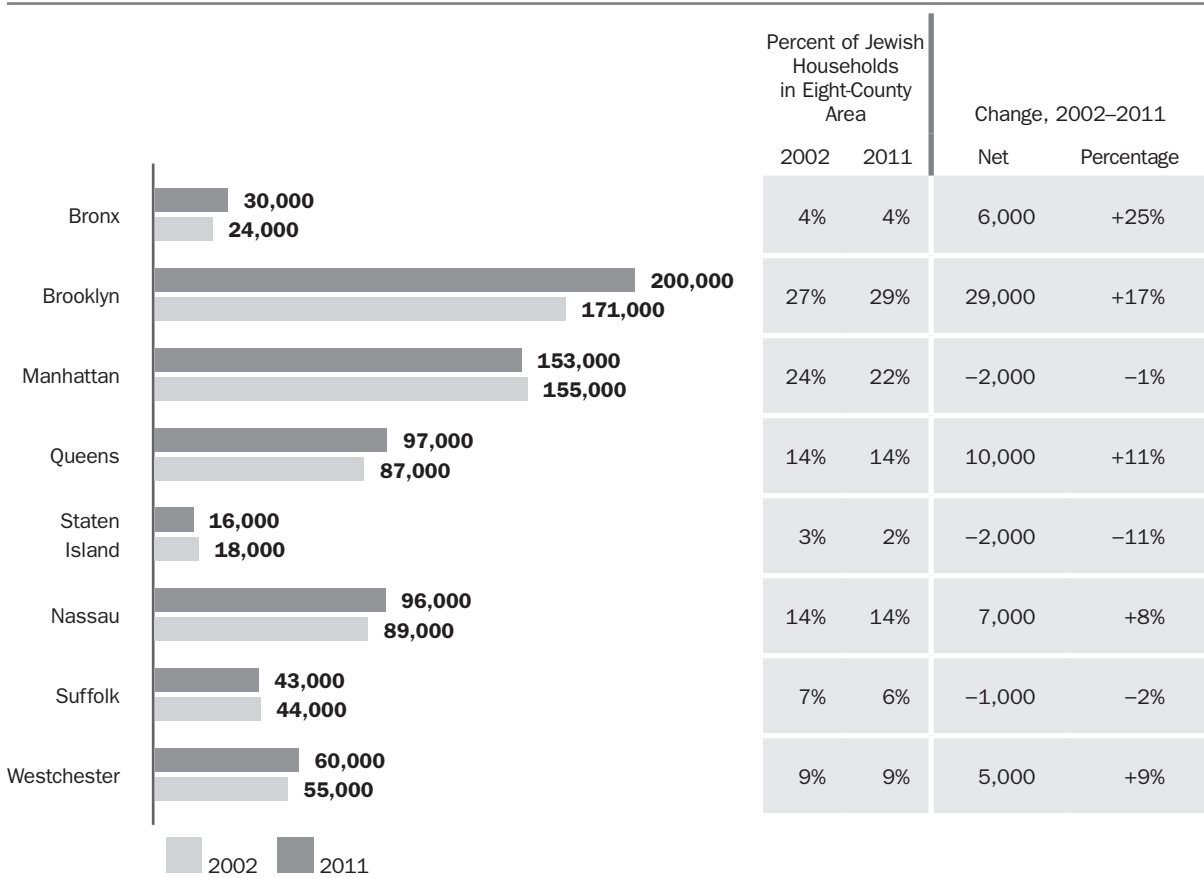
From 1950 to 1990, significant suburbanization in the New York area brought about dramatic declines in New York City’s white non-Hispanic population, along with a parallel but slightly smaller decline in the city’s Jewish population. Over the past 20 years, however, the Jewish population either declined at a much slower rate or, as we now see, has grown at a very fast clip in the last few years.

Brooklyn and Manhattan Home to Half the Area’s Jewish Households

Brooklyn contains 29% of the Jewish households in the eight-county area, with 200,000 households. In size order, next in line is Manhattan (22% and 153,000 households). Almost 100,000 Jewish households are found in Nassau, as well as in Queens. Following these areas is Westchester, with 60,000 Jewish households, and substantially smaller numbers of households are found in each of the other counties: Suffolk, the Bronx, and Staten Island, in descending order.

The growth of 51,000 Jewish households from 2002 to 2011 was spread over five counties. The three exceptions were Manhattan, Staten Island, and Suffolk. In terms of absolute numbers, Brooklyn experienced the greatest growth (29,000 households), in part reflecting the large Orthodox presence in the borough.

Exhibit 1-8 Jewish Households by County, 2002 and 2011



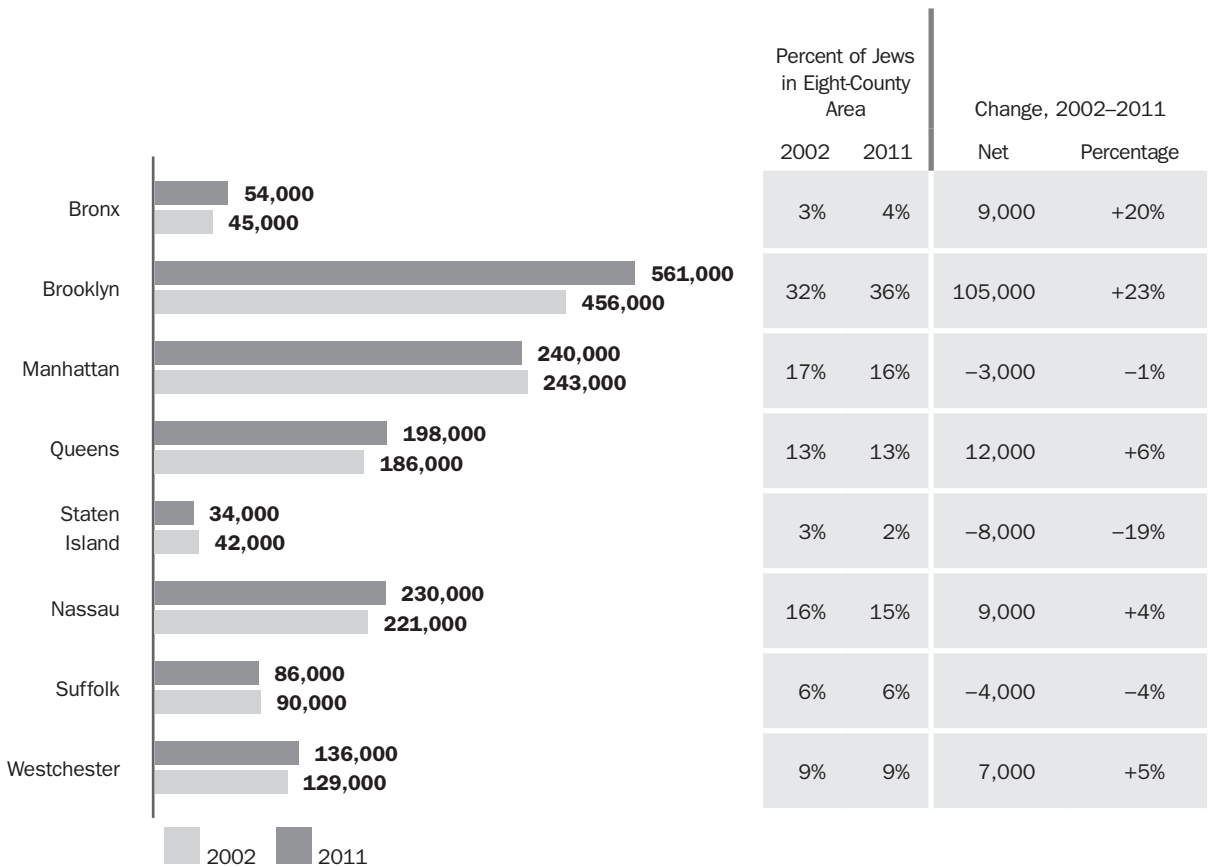
Eight-County New York Area

Most Jews in the Area Live in Brooklyn and Manhattan

Looking at Jewish *people* rather than Jewish *households*, Brooklyn is the most populous Jewish county by far. More than a third (36%) of the eight-county New York area’s Jewish people live in Brooklyn, and almost a sixth live in Manhattan. Taken together, a small majority of Jews in the eight-county area live in these two boroughs. At the same time, sizable numbers of Jewish people also reside in Nassau, Queens, and Westchester; far smaller numbers reside in Suffolk, the Bronx, and Staten Island.

From 2002 to 2011, the increase in Jewish people in the New York area amounted to 126,000 individuals, with five of eight counties experiencing Jewish population growth. Staten Island and Suffolk experienced declines; Manhattan remained about the same. The most notable change is that the Brooklyn Jewish population grew by 105,000 over the nine years, a further sign of the influence of its large Orthodox population. Its share of the area’s Jewish population grew as well, from 32% in 2002 to 36% in 2011. In comparison, the next largest numerical growth of any county was a mere 12,000 in Queens.

Exhibit 1-9 **Jews by County, 2002 and 2011**



Eight-County New York Area

Since 2002, Shifts in the Number of People in Jewish Households

In general, county-level changes in the number of Jews and non-Jews in Jewish households largely resemble changes in the number of Jewish people noted above — with a large increase in Brooklyn; slight increases in Nassau and Westchester; declines in Staten Island and Suffolk; and negligible changes in Manhattan and Queens. The one notable exception to this generalization is the Bronx, where the number of people in Jewish households increased by 25,000, and just 13,000 of that increase represented Jewish people. A surprising amount of the increase in Jews and non-Jews in Jewish households in the Bronx took place in parts of the Bronx outside the areas of relatively concentrated Jewish residence. These households report high rates of intermarriage and high rates of Jews identifying as partially Jewish (explored in chapter 4).

Exhibit 1-10 All People in Jewish Households by County, 2002 and 2011

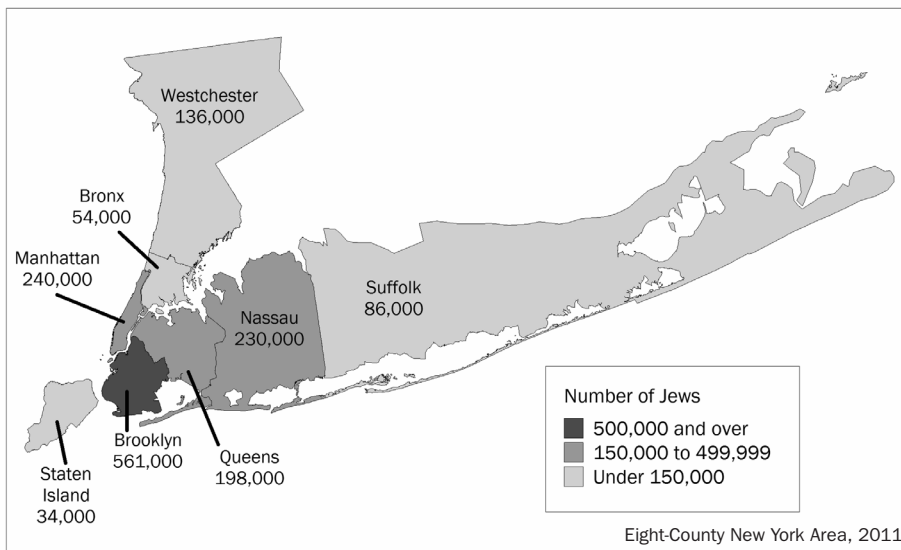
County	2002		2011		Change, 2002–2011	
	Number of All People in Jewish Households	Percent of All People in Jewish Households in Eight-County Area	Number of All People in Jewish Households	Percent of All People in Jewish Households in Eight-County Area	In Number of All People in Jewish Households	In Percentage Terms
Bronx	54,000	3%	79,000	4%	25,000	+46%
Brooklyn	516,000	31%	609,000	34%	93,000	+18%
Manhattan	292,000	18%	287,000	16%	–5,000	–2%
Queens	221,000	13%	223,000	13%	2,000	+1%
Staten Island	52,000	3%	42,000	2%	–10,000	–19%
Subtotal, New York City	1,135,000	68%	1,240,000	70%	105,000	+9%
Nassau	252,000	15%	256,000	14%	4,000	+2%
Suffolk	127,000	8%	112,000	6%	–15,000	–12%
Westchester	153,000	9%	161,000	9%	8,000	+5%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	532,000	32%	529,000	30%	–3,000	–1%
Total, Eight-County Area	1,667,000	100%	1,769,000	100%	102,000	+6%

Eight-County New York Area

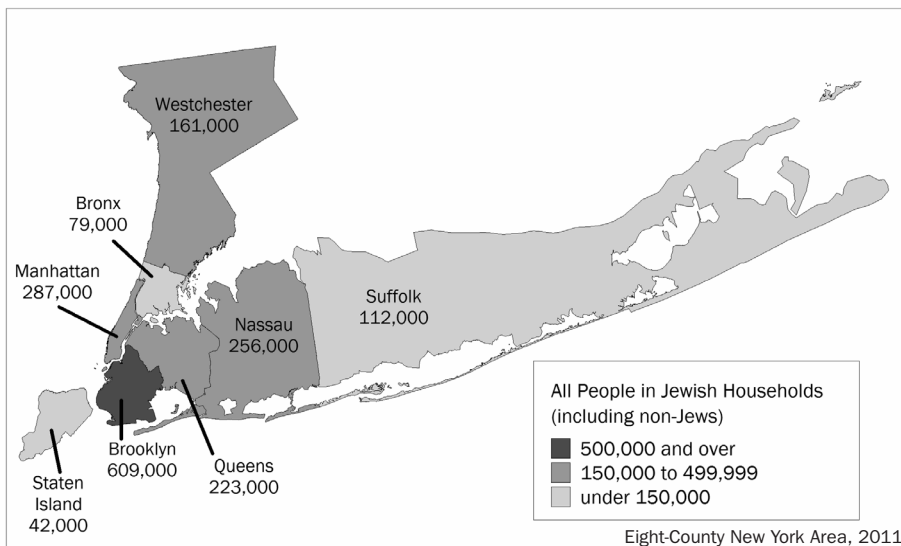
Exhibit 1-11 depicts the geographic distribution of Jews (top map) and all people in Jewish households (bottom map) by county. These maps show that the Jewish population is concentrated in the geographic center of the area: Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and Nassau. More detail on the distribution of the Jewish population within the counties by neighborhood and primary areas of Jewish residence can be found in the *Geographic Profile Report*, which will be published in fall 2012.

Exhibit 1-11 **Jews by County, and All People in Jewish Households by County**

Jews by County, 2011



All People in Jewish Households by County, 2011



If we cast our glance back 20 years to examine growth or decline from 1991 to 2002 and from 2002 to 2011, we see widely varying patterns across the counties. With respect to the number of Jewish people, some counties experienced Jewish population growth in both periods. The steadily growing counties are Brooklyn and Westchester, as well as Nassau, albeit at a slower pace of increase. Manhattan’s Jewish population declined in the period from 1991 to 2002, and essentially stabilized in 2002 to 2011. The pattern of a V-shaped reversal (decline succeeded by increase) characterizes Queens and the Bronx. The Bronx experienced the largest reversal: a decline of 45% in the first period followed by a 20% growth in the last nine years, possibly due to a larger number of “partially Jewish” people identifying as Jewish in 2011. (The cumulative effect of sampling errors in three surveys may affect portraits of changes over time.)

Exhibit 1-12 **Percentage Change 1991–2011, Jewish Households, Jews, and All People in Jewish Households by County**

County	Jewish Households, Change 1991–2002	Jewish Households, Change 2002–2011	Jews, Change 1991–2002	Jews, Change 2002–2011	All People in Jewish Households, Change 1991–2002	All People in Jewish Households, Change 2002–2011
Bronx	-40%	+25%	-45%	+20%	-40%	+46%
Brooklyn	+21%	+17%	+23%	+23%	+31%	+18%
Manhattan	-15%	-1%	-21%	-1%	-14%	-2%
Queens	-22%	+11%	-20%	+6%	-14%	+1%
Staten Island	+64%	-11%	+27%	-19%	+41%	-19%
Subtotal, New York City	-6%	+9%	-5%	+12%	+2%	+9%
Nassau	+17%	+8%	+9%	+4%	+16%	+2%
Suffolk	+19%	-2%	-8%	-4%	+10%	-12%
Westchester	+41%	+9%	+40%	+5%	+47%	+5%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	+24%	+5%	+12%	+3%	+22%	-1%
Total, Eight-County Area	+1%	+8%	-1%	+9%	+7%	+6%

Eight-County New York Area

Jewish Residential Density: Higher in Brooklyn, Nassau, and Manhattan

The eight counties vary substantially in density — that is, the percentage of all households that are Jewish. In terms of Jewish density by household, Brooklyn, Nassau, and Manhattan lead the others, in descending order. In these counties, Jewish households make up more than a fifth of the population.

Exhibit 1-13 Jewish Households as a Percent of All Households in Each County, 2002 and 2011

County	2002			2011		
	Jewish Households	All Households	Jewish Households as Percent of All Households	Jewish Households	All Households	Jewish Households as Percent of All Households
Bronx	24,000	463,000	5%	30,000	483,000	6%
Brooklyn	171,000	881,000	19%	200,000	917,000	22%
Manhattan	155,000	739,000	21%	153,000	764,000	20%
Queens	87,000	783,000	11%	97,000	780,000	12%
Staten Island	18,000	156,000	12%	16,000	166,000	10%
Subtotal, New York City	455,000	3,022,000	15%	496,000	3,110,000	16%
Nassau	89,000	447,000	20%	96,000	448,000	21%
Suffolk	44,000	469,000	9%	43,000	500,000	9%
Westchester	55,000	337,000	16%	60,000	347,000	17%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	188,000	1,253,000	15%	198,000	1,295,000	15%
Total, Eight-County Area	643,000	4,275,000	15%	694,000	4,405,000	16%

Eight-County New York Area

Substantial Growth in Jewish Population Density in Brooklyn

Overall, from 2002 to 2011, the Jewish population density in the eight-county area grew from 12% to 13%. But changes in Jewish density in terms of people from county to county were both small and uneven. The only large increase in density occurred in Brooklyn; the other seven counties remained nearly stable.

Exhibit 1-14 Jews as a Percent of All People Living in Each County, 2002 and 2011

County	2002			2011		
	Jews	All People	Jews as Percent of Total Population	Jews	All People	Jews as Percent of Total Population
Bronx	45,000	1,333,000	3%	54,000	1,360,000	4%
Brooklyn	456,000	2,465,000	18%	561,000	2,491,000	23%
Manhattan	243,000	1,537,000	16%	240,000	1,574,000	15%
Queens	186,000	2,229,000	8%	198,000	2,215,000	9%
Staten Island	42,000	444,000	9%	34,000	465,000	7%
Subtotal, New York City	972,000	8,008,000	12%	1,086,000	8,105,000	13%
Nassau	221,000	1,335,000	17%	230,000	1,330,000	17%
Suffolk	90,000	1,419,000	6%	86,000	1,481,000	6%
Westchester	129,000	924,000	14%	136,000	936,000	15%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	440,000	3,678,000	12%	452,000	3,782,000	12%
Total, Eight-County Area	1,412,000	11,686,000	12%	1,538,000	11,887,000	13%

Eight-County New York Area

Note: All entries exclude institutionalized people living in group quarters.

Concluding Comment: Growth in a Large Jewish Population

The sheer size of the New York Jewish population is genuinely unique. More Jews live in Brooklyn than in Paris and London combined (the two largest diaspora populations in any metropolitan area outside the United States), and Manhattan, Nassau, and Queens each have more Jews than London (195,000) and Toronto (180,000).¹³ More Jews live in the eight-county New York area than in the combined metropolitan areas of Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. It is no wonder that New York City is home to the lead institutions of the Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Jewish community centers movements; the headquarters of the major Jewish communal relations agencies; as well as the largest number of synagogues, Jewish day schools, and Jewish start-ups compared with any other American Jewish community.¹⁴

For years, the New York–area Jewish population has been uniquely large, eclipsing all other Jewish communities in the diaspora in size. And as we learn here, in recent years it has been growing — in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the population in general, and of the white non-Hispanic population in particular.

While the population declined from its probable peak of 2.5 million in 1950 to 1.4 million in 1990, and has held steady into the early 21st century, over the last decade the population has been on a clear growth path, with 126,000 more Jews in 2011 than in 2002. The largest difference between then and now was recorded in Brooklyn (105,000), which accounts for the preponderance of Jewish population growth since 2002. As we shall soon see, much of the increase derives from natural growth, with high birthrates among *Haredi* and other Orthodox and with Jewish seniors living longer. (See chapters 2, 4, and 7.) As well, the fluidity of cultural and religious identities in the larger society means that people more easily come to identify as Jews (even without formally converting), and even very unengaged Jews still identify at least partially as Jewish. (See introduction and chapters 4 and 5.)

13 DellaPergola, Sergio. *World Jewish Population, 2010: Current Jewish Population Reports*. Storrs, CT: North American Jewish Databank. Available as PDF at http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Reports/World_Jewish_Population_2010.pdf.

14 Levenson, Alan T. 2007. "New York and the Cosmopolitan Jewish City." *The Reconstructionist* 72 (1): 48–58. Available as PDF at <http://bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=4018>.

For example, 45% of the programs and organizations listed in *Slingshot '11–'12* are in the eight-county New York area. See: *Slingshot Fund. Slingshot '11–'12: A Resource Guide for Jewish Innovation*. 2011. New York: Slingshot Fund. Available as PDF at <http://www.slingshotfund.org/submissions2011/slingshot-11-12.pdf>.

The previous chapter focuses on the size, growth, and geographic distribution of the Jewish population in the eight-county New York area. In this chapter, we depict the socio-demographic diversity of this population, exploring its age, marital status, household composition, educational attainment, employment, income, nativity and related characteristics of Jewish households, and Jewish people in those households.

Growth at Both Ends of the Age Spectrum

In 2011, the Jewish population of the eight-county New York area included the same percentage of Jewish children under 18 as Jewish seniors over 65 (22%).

The 2011 age structure can be further illuminated by comparing it with the 2002 age structure. One striking change since 2002 is that the numbers of children and young people at all ages below 25 grew noticeably, from 432,000 in 2002 to 498,000 in 2011, a difference of 66,000, accounting for 52% of the total increase (126,000) in the Jewish population.

Exhibit 2-1 **Age Distribution of Jews, 2002 and 2011**

	2002		2011	
0-5	102,000	7%	110,000	7%
6-12	117,000	8%	130,000	8%
13-17	89,000	6%	98,000	6%
Subtotal, 0-17	308,000	22%	338,000	22%
18-24	124,000	9%	160,000	10%
25-34	169,000	12%	133,000	9%
35-44	165,000	12%	159,000	10%
45-54	209,000	15%	185,000	12%
55-64	150,000	11%	231,000	15%
Subtotal, 18-64	817,000	58%	868,000	56%
65-74	135,000	9%	134,000	9%
75+	153,000	11%	198,000	13%
Subtotal, 65+	288,000	20%	332,000	22%
Total	1,412,000	100%	1,538,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area

Note: In this and other tables, numbers and percentages may not add precisely due to rounding for presentation purposes.

Of Jews under 25, each single-year birth cohort averages approximately 20,000 Jews. For those ages 25 to 44, the comparable average falls short of 15,000. The bulge in the population under 25, then, is genuine and contributed significantly to the expansion of the Jewish population overall during the past decade.

As the number of young people increased, the proportion and number of Jews ages 75 and over also grew noticeably since 2002. As compared with 2002, 45,000 more Jews ages 75 and over were living in the area in 2011, accounting for 35% of the increase in the Jewish population.

In short, a substantial portion of the increase in the Jewish population from 2002 to 2011 — 126,000 in all — can be attributed in large part to increased numbers of young people under the age of 25 and seniors, together totaling 110,000.

Also noteworthy in the age distribution is the clear signs of baby boomers working their way through the population. The 2011 distribution contains a numerical bulge among those ages 55 to 64. Just as this group is the largest in 2011, their counterparts 10 years their junior in 2002 also composed the largest age group. By implication, the next 10 years will witness a steady growth in the postretirement and well-elderly population, producing shifting demands for community services along with the expanded potential for communal engagement in the 65–74 age group.

Ages of All People in Jewish Households: 2002 and 2011

As a matter of record, we include the age distribution for all people living in Jewish households (including Jews and non-Jews) in 2002 and in 2011. As compared with the distribution for Jews alone in 2011 (Exhibit 2-1), the distribution including non-Jews contains fewer seniors and more children. For example, 22% of all Jews are seniors, but of all people in Jewish households the proportion that is seniors drops to 20%. This minor variation reflects the lower levels of intermarriage among older Jews (see chapter 4) as well as the minority of children of the intermarried who are being raised as Jewish (see chapter 5).

Exhibit 2-2 Age Distribution of All People in Jewish Households

	2002	2011
0-5	8%	7%
6-12	9%	9%
13-17	7%	7%
Subtotal, 0-17	24%	23%
18-24	9%	10%
25-34	12%	9%
35-44	12%	11%
45-54	15%	12%
55-64	10%	15%
Subtotal, 18-64	58%	58%
65-74	9%	8%
75+	10%	12%
Subtotal, 65+	19%	20%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

Growth of the Senior Population Over the Last 20 Years

The sharp growth in seniors is a master theme in the demographic evolution of Americans generally, and of those living in prosperous countries.¹ Notwithstanding the rise in the number of children, we see a rise in the proportion of eight-county-area Jews who are 65 and over extending back at least 20 years. In 1991, the proportion of Jews ages 65 and over amounted to 16%; it rose to 20% in 2002 and 22% in 2011. The large number of baby boomers, and advances in health and longevity, promises to grow the population of those ages 65 and over even further in the years to come. The percentage of those ages 85 and over, while small in number, has increased steadily since 1991. As we detail in the next chapter, Jews in New York ages 85 and over have grown enormously in number, paralleling trends now being seen in other Jewish communities.

Exhibit 2-3 Age Distribution of Jews, 1991, 2002, and 2011

	1991*	2002	2011
0–17	22%	22%	22%
18–24	8%	9%	10%
25–34	15%	12%	9%
35–44	18%	12%	10%
45–54	11%	15%	12%
55–64	10%	11%	15%
65–74	11%	9%	9%
75–84	4%	8%	9%
85+	1%	3%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* As compared with the intervals for 2002 and 2011, the 1991 published categories were slightly different (ages 15 to 19 combined), requiring some interpolation. The percentages of ages 75 to 84 and ages 85 and over were derived by extrapolating from the 5% reported for those ages 75 and over.

1 Bloom, David E., David Canning, and Günther Fink. 2009. "The Graying of Global Population and Its Macroeconomic Consequences." PGDA Working Paper 47, Department of Global Health and Population, Program on the Global Demography of Aging, Harvard School of Public Health, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Available as PDF at http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/pgda/WorkingPapers/2009/PGDA_WP_47.pdf.

Youthful Brooklyn, Older Bronx

The age distributions of Jewish people vary dramatically by county.

Brooklyn is home to the largest proportion (33%) of Jewish children (ages zero to 17), followed by the suburbs of Westchester (21%) and Nassau (20%). At the other end of the age spectrum, we find that Brooklyn and Staten Island have the lowest proportion of Jewish seniors ages 75 and over with 9% each. The Bronx has the highest percentage of Jewish seniors ages 75 and over (19%), with Manhattan and Queens not far behind.

The youthful character of Brooklyn combined with the relatively small proportion that are elderly and the large number of Orthodox Jews (see chapter 4) strongly suggests that the recent growth of the Brooklyn Jewish population will continue in the years ahead. Among the factors fueling the likely expansion are high birthrates among the Orthodox (especially the *Haredim*), lower mortality rates, and the geographic rootedness of Orthodox Jews.

Other points of distinction in the county-specific age distributions include the relatively small number of children in Manhattan, known for its densely constructed housing and high costs of raising children. At the same time, Manhattan is home to a proportionately large number of those ages 18 to 44, reflecting its draw as a magnet for college students and young adults establishing their careers.

The age distributions in Suffolk, Nassau, and Westchester largely resemble that of the area at large, with Suffolk distinguished only by its relatively small number of Jewish children.

The Bronx population is distinguished by a large number of seniors ages 65 and older (34%, as compared with 22% for the area as a whole) and small number of children (10% versus 22%).

The distinctiveness of the Staten Island age distribution is in the large number of “middle-aged” people, with 39% of its Jewish people ages 45 to 64, versus 27% for all eight counties.

From 2002 to 2011, the age profiles of the Jewish population in most of the counties experienced small and non-uniform changes. The two clear exceptions are Suffolk and Staten Island. For example, Staten Island’s Jewish population experienced a sharp decline in children, dropping from 21% in 2002 to 13% in 2011, as well as a commensurate increase in its senior population, growing from 9% in 2002 to 19% in 2011.

Exhibit 2-4 Age of Jews by County

2011	0–17	18–44	45–64	65–74	75+	Total
Bronx	10%	29%	27%	15%	19%	100%
Brooklyn	33%	33%	19%	7%	9%	100%
Manhattan	10%	33%	27%	13%	17%	100%
Queens	17%	25%	33%	9%	16%	100%
Staten Island	13%	30%	39%	10%	9%	100%
Nassau	20%	24%	34%	8%	15%	100%
Suffolk	13%	29%	36%	10%	12%	100%
Westchester	21%	24%	32%	8%	14%	100%
All Eight-County-Area Jews	22%	29%	27%	9%	13%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

2002	0–17	18–44	45–64	65–74	75+	Total
Bronx	12%	32%	27%	10%	19%	100%
Brooklyn	30%	34%	19%	8%	10%	100%
Manhattan	11%	39%	27%	11%	12%	100%
Queens	19%	29%	23%	13%	16%	100%
Staten Island	21%	39%	31%	5%	4%	100%
Nassau	22%	28%	30%	10%	10%	100%
Suffolk	18%	34%	32%	10%	6%	100%
Westchester	26%	24%	31%	10%	9%	100%
All Eight-County-Area Jews	21%	33%	26%	9%	11%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2002

Minors Versus Seniors: Age Shifts in Suffolk and Staten Island

The relative numbers of Jewish children (under 18) and Jewish seniors (65 and over) provide a ready grasp of the relative balance of these two age groups by county. In these terms, as noted earlier, Brooklyn Jews are by far the youngest, owing in some measure to the large proportion of Orthodox households.

Exhibit 2-5 **Minors and Seniors by County**

	2002		2011	
	Under 18	65+	Under 18	65+
Bronx	12%	29%	10%	34%
Brooklyn	30%	18%	33%	16%
Manhattan	11%	22%	10%	29%
Queens	19%	29%	17%	24%
Staten Island	21%	9%	13%	19%
Nassau	22%	20%	20%	23%
Suffolk	18%	16%	13%	22%
Westchester	26%	18%	21%	22%
All Eight-County-Area Jews	21%	20%	22%	22%

Eight-County New York Area

In terms of the ratio of minors to seniors, the counties that saw the most aggregate aging since 2002 are Staten Island and Suffolk. In both counties, minors exceeded seniors in 2002; by 2011, the number of seniors substantially exceeded the number of minors.

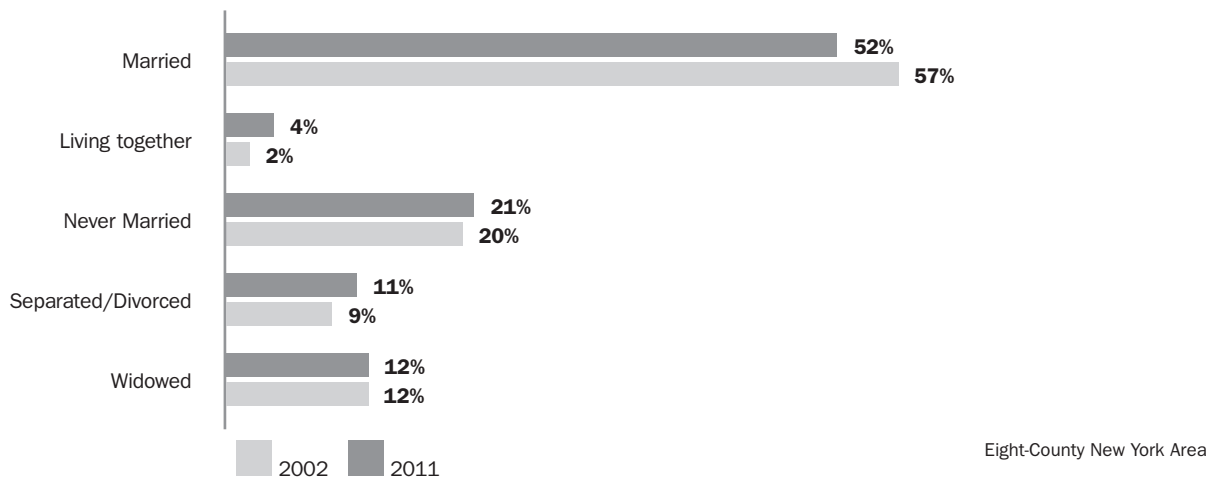
Declining Proportions Married

The shifting patterns of marital status from 2002 to 2011 reflect the declining centrality of marriage in American society in general. In ways that are consistent with larger trends, as compared with 2002, Jews in New York are more likely to be living together or separated or divorced, and less likely to be married. The differences are small, to be sure, but they do agree with long-range tendencies among Jews and the larger population.

Specifically, a slim majority (52%) of all respondents — Jewish and non-Jewish — in 2011 are married, fewer than the 57% who were married in 2002. The second largest group of respondents (21%) has never married. The remaining respondents are widowed (12%), separated or divorced (11%), or living together (4%). The percentage reporting living together, though small, has doubled since 2002 (4% in 2011 versus 2% in 2002).

Aside from the decrease in the percent of respondents married, these changes in marital status are certainly compatible with various societal trends. Americans are marrying later, more readily divorcing, and choosing cohabitation over formal marriage,² and so are Jews in the New York area.

Exhibit 2-6 **Marital Status of Respondents (Jews and Non-Jews)**



² Cherlin, Andrew J. 2009. *The Marriage-Go-Round: The State of Marriage and the Family in America Today*. New York: Knopf.

Single in Manhattan, Married in the Suburbs: Patterns of Marital Status by County

A third of all Manhattan respondents have never been married, almost as many as in 2002. Given the large size of the Manhattan Jewish population, the borough is home to the largest number of Jewish adults who have never been married.

In the Bronx, in addition to the big increase in those never married and those living together, there was also a huge drop in the percentage that is widowed, despite growth in the senior population.

Westchester saw significant changes in marital-status patterns since 2002, as the percentage of those never married nearly doubled. Concurrently, the percentage of those married dropped by more than 10 percentage points (the proportion married in Westchester still exceeds that in most other counties), and the separated or divorced rates went down by more than half.

Patterns of marital status in Brooklyn and Queens resemble those found for the eight-county area as a whole.

Staten Island saw a large increase in those never married and a decrease in those separated or divorced. Hardly any respondents in Staten Island report that they are living together.

The three suburban counties report relatively high rates of people who are married as well as low proportions of people never married, but more people are living together than in 2002.

Exhibit 2-7 **Marital Status of Respondents by County**

2011	Married	Living Together	Never Married	Separated/ Divorced	Widowed	Total
Bronx	33%	7%	34%	13%	13%	100%
Brooklyn	57%	3%	18%	11%	12%	100%
Manhattan	36%	6%	33%	13%	12%	100%
Queens	49%	3%	19%	13%	16%	100%
Staten Island	60%	1%	20%	7%	12%	100%
Nassau	64%	5%	12%	8%	12%	100%
Suffolk	65%	2%	12%	10%	11%	100%
Westchester	63%	4%	16%	7%	10%	100%
All Eight-County-Area Respondents	52%	4%	21%	11%	12%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

2002	Married	Living Together	Never Married	Separated/ Divorced	Widowed	Total
Bronx	38%	4%	23%	11%	24%	100%
Brooklyn	61%	1%	16%	9%	14%	100%
Manhattan	40%	4%	35%	13%	8%	100%
Queens	51%	1%	18%	10%	20%	100%
Staten Island	64%	1%	13%	13%	9%	100%
Nassau	70%	1%	12%	6%	11%	100%
Suffolk	69%	2%	13%	8%	7%	100%
Westchester	74%	1%	9%	16%	10%	100%
All Eight-County-Area Respondents	57%	2%	20%	9%	12%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2002

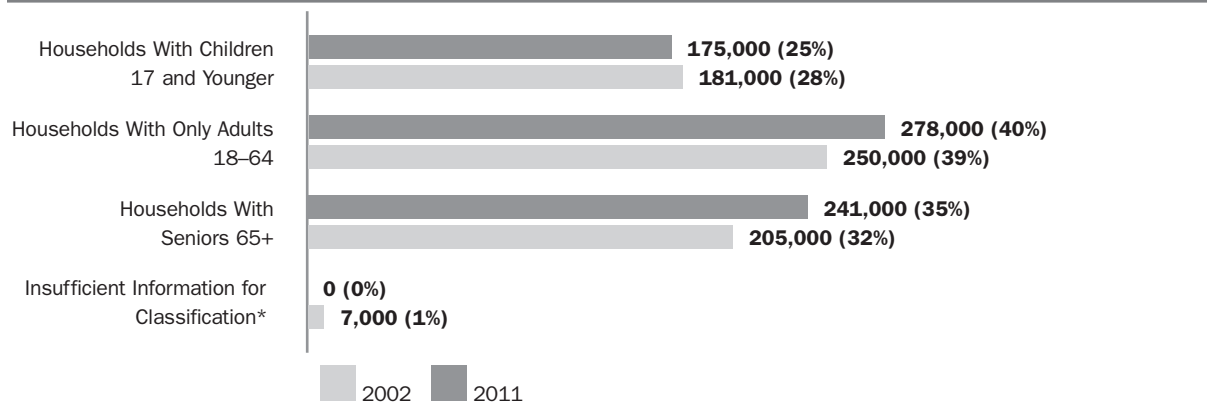
Household Composition: Homes With Children, With Seniors, or Neither

For analytic purposes, households can be usefully grouped into three major categories: households that include at least one child younger than 18, those with seniors, and those with non-senior adults only (for example, never-married adults, married couples without children, empty nesters, or those widowed or divorced under age 65). For many policy purposes, this household composition typology provides a useful albeit simplified way to categorize the 694,000 Jewish households in the eight-county New York area.

About 175,000 Jewish households report minors at home, amounting to a quarter of the households. More than a quarter million, 278,000 households, are homes without children and without seniors (40% of all households), and another nearly quarter million households are homes where at least one adult is age 65 or over (35%). Since 2002, the number of homes with children essentially held steady. All the expansion in the number of Jewish households from 2002 can be divided almost equally between the homes without children or seniors and those with seniors.

Although the number of homes with children slightly declined between 2002 and 2011, as we saw earlier, the number of Jewish children grew substantially, rising from 308,000 in 2002 to 338,000 in 2011. For homes with children, then, the average number of Jewish children in such homes increased from 1.7 in 2002 to 1.9 in 2011. This finding suggests a growth in the number of families with relatively large numbers of children, a pattern consistent with the growth of the Jewish population of Brooklyn (reported in the section above) and with the growing number of Orthodox families (reported in chapter 4).

Exhibit 2-8 **Household Composition**



Eight-County New York Area

* Households with both minor children and seniors have been included in the minor children in household designation. In 2002, a few households with insufficient information for classification were excluded from the analysis to simplify presentation; in 2011, comparable cases were resolved.

Variations in Household Composition by County

The eight counties have distinctive household configurations. Brooklyn is distinguished by its large proportion of homes with children (34%). At the other end of the age spectrum is the Bronx, with its large number of senior households (39%). Manhattan and Staten Island are distinguished by their large number of homes of non-senior adults only, where everyone is under age 65 — about half the homes in both counties. The three suburban counties loosely resemble one another and the area-wide household-type distributions.

Since 2002, relatively small changes in household composition were registered in Brooklyn. The three suburban counties show declining proportions of homes with children and increases in the senior population. The proportions of senior households declined in the Bronx and Queens but increased markedly in Staten Island and somewhat less so in Manhattan. Both Westchester and Staten Island became far less populated by families with children, while Queens experienced a jump in the largely young-adult households and households with no children and no seniors.

Exhibit 2-9 Household Composition by County

	2002				2011			
	Households With Children 17 and Younger*	Households With Only Adults 18–64	Households With Seniors 65+	Total	Households With Children 17 and Younger*	Households With Only Adults 18–64	Households With Seniors 65+	Total
Bronx	20%	35%	45%	100%	24%	37%	39%	100%
Brooklyn	34%	33%	33%	100%	34%	35%	31%	100%
Manhattan	15%	57%	28%	100%	14%	49%	37%	100%
Queens	26%	31%	43%	100%	20%	43%	37%	100%
Staten Island	38%	48%	14%	100%	21%	49%	29%	100%
Nassau	34%	33%	32%	100%	27%	36%	37%	100%
Suffolk	36%	42%	22%	100%	28%	42%	30%	100%
Westchester	39%	30%	31%	100%	28%	36%	35%	100%
All Eight-County Area Jewish Households	28%	39%	32%	100%	25%	40%	35%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* Households with both minor children and seniors have been included in the minor children in household designation.

High Levels of Educational Attainment, and Women Outpacing Men

Consistent with long-standing patterns for American Jews, respondents and spouses³ exhibit relatively high rates of educational attainment.⁴ Almost a quarter (24%) have never attended college. Almost three-fifths have earned an undergraduate degree, and most of these (33% of all respondents and spouses) have also earned a graduate degree. The proportion with a college degree fell noticeably — from 65% in 2002 to 57% in 2011 — in large part owing to the increasing proportion of *Haredi* adults in the population.

Among those ages 65 and over, men have higher levels of educational attainment than women, although the educational gender gap has narrowed since 2002. However, among those ages 18 to 64, women now take an unambiguous lead in educational attainment. Of special note is that while 30% of the men ages 18 to 64 have attained a postgraduate degree, for women the comparable figure reaches 37%. In fact, in detailed inspections of age-related data, women's lead over men in educational attainment is even more pronounced for those ages 25 to 54.

The relative gains of women's educational attainment resemble wider national trends, where girls and women are now outpacing boys and men in advancing through the educational system. They also reflect the gender-related patterns for the *Haredi* Orthodox population, where women's educational attainment, though lower than that of other women, surpasses that of *Haredi* men. In contrast, *Haredi* men report strikingly low levels of educational attainment, especially as compared with the rest of the Jewish population in the New York area.

3 The unit of analysis in this report shifts between households, respondents, respondents and spouses, adults, and children, as appropriate. Respondents provided extensive demographic information about their spouses, and only age, sex, relationship, and Jewish status about all other adults.

4 Hartman, Harriet, and Moshe Hartman. 2011. "Jewish Identity and the Secular Achievements of American Jewish Men and Women." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 50 (1): 133–153. Available as PDF at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-5906.2010.01556.x/pdf>.

The increased and growing presence of the *Haredim* in the New York-area Jewish population helps depress overall levels of educational attainment, especially among younger adults, where their numbers are proportionately larger than among older adults. Their increasing presence among younger adults helps explain why of all four age-sex groups in the table, only men ages 18 to 64 exhibit a sizeable decline in the educational attainment profile from 2002 to 2011. Among men ages 18 to 64, the proportion with a college degree dropped from 71% in 2002 to 58% in 2011. (See chapter 7 for more detail on differences in educational attainment by Orthodox type.)

Exhibit 2-10 **Educational Attainment by Gender, Ages 18–64 and 65+, Respondents and Spouses***

2011	Ages 18–64		Ages 65+		All Respondents and Spouses
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
High School Diploma or Less	22%	22%	25%	30%	24%
Some College/Associate's Degree	21%	17%	17%	23%	19%
Bachelor's Degree	28%	25%	21%	18%	24%
Master's Degree/Doctoral Degree	30%	37%	37%	29%	33%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

2002	Ages 18–64		Ages 65+		All Respondents and Spouses
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
High School Diploma or Less	17%	18%	26%	38%	22%
Some College/Associate's Degree	12%	14%	12%	17%	13%
Bachelor's Degree	32%	30%	25%	21%	29%
Master's Degree/Doctoral Degree	39%	38%	37%	24%	36%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2002

* Includes both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and spouses.

Employment Status and Gender Variations

Among respondents and spouses, about 5 in 8 are employed, and 3% are unemployed — that is, looking for work but not currently gainfully employed. Almost a quarter (24%) is retired, with small numbers reporting that they are students, disabled, or homemakers or volunteers.

Exhibit 2-11 **Employment Status by Gender, Ages 18–64 and 65+, Respondents and Spouses***

	Ages 18–64		Ages 65+		All Respondents and Spouses
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
2011					
Self-Employed	26%	14%	18%	7%	18%
Employed Full-Time	47%	43%	11%	8%	34%
Employed Part-Time	7%	14%	4%	5%	9%
Unemployed**	5%	5%	1%	1%	3%
Student	7%	2%	<1%	<1%	3%
Disabled	3%	4%	2%	1%	3%
Homemaker/Volunteer	1%	14%	<1%	6%	6%
Retired	4%	5%	65%	72%	24%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

	Ages 18–64		Ages 65+		All Respondents and Spouses
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
2002					
Self-Employed	25%	12%	14%	4%	15%
Employed Full-Time	57%	45%	12%	6%	38%
Employed Part-Time	2%	11%	4%	6%	6%
Unemployed**	6%	8%	1%	3%	6%
Student	4%	3%	<1%	<1%	3%
Disabled	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
Homemaker/Volunteer	<1%	15%	<1%	6%	7%
Retired	4%	4%	68%	72%	23%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2002

* Includes both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents and spouses.

** The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) calculates unemployment on a smaller base (jobless individuals who are seeking employment). The figures reported here do not exclude those not in the labor force (including retired individuals, those with disabilities, and homemakers), so the unemployment rate would be higher if the BLS definition were used.

Comparisons with the 2002 patterns reveal important trends that may persist in the coming years. First, we see a growth of self-employment for all age-sex categories. Jews have historically displayed high rates of entrepreneurship,⁵ and the tendency persists and intensifies in recent years. Second, more people under age 65 are engaged in part-time employment, reflecting a tendency that, like self-employment, allows for greater autonomy and flexibility. The increase in part-time employment might also reflect the paucity of full-time jobs in a recessionary economy. Third, among female seniors, participation in the workforce has grown since 2002: from 16% in 2002 to 20% in 2011, consistent with national trends. Fourth, for men under 65, the percentage that are full-time students jumped from 4% in 2002 to 7% in 2011 (small in absolute terms, but larger relatively), accompanied by a decline in full-time employment.

Among those ages 18 to 64, men and women differ in predictable ways. As many as 80% of the men are employed, but so are almost as many (71%) of the women. When employed, men and women differ in two distinctive ways: with respect to self-employment, the men lead women by almost 2 to 1; and with respect to part-time employment, women lead men by the same ratio. Among women under 65, 14% are primarily homemakers or volunteers, far exceeding men as homemakers or volunteers.

Not long ago, 65 was considered the conventional and typical retirement age. While the vast majority of men and women ages 65 and over are retired (65% and 72%, respectively), significant minorities of seniors are still in the labor force. As many as 33% of senior men are employed, as are 20% of women ages 65 and over, reflecting both gains in health and longevity as well as economic pressures that intensified with the Great Recession of 2008–2009 (and with effects still remaining).

While “only” 5% of adults under 65 are unemployed, a more detailed examination of the data uncovers relatively high unemployment rates of about 15% among those ages 18 to 24, and 8% among those ages 25 to 34. Men and women report roughly equal rates of unemployment, but noteworthy are the low rates of unemployment among Orthodox adults. As a general rule, the unemployment rates for the Orthodox run at about half those of their non-Orthodox age-sex counterparts (just over 6% of the non-Orthodox ages 18 to 64 are unemployed). In part, a good number of Orthodox men — especially the *Haredim* in their younger years — are staying out of the labor market by studying sacred texts full-time. Another explanation for low unemployment rates among the Orthodox entails the cohesiveness of the community and its ability to provide work opportunities for almost all of its members seeking work.

While only a small number of the overall population is classified as students, the rate reaches nearly half of those ages 18 to 24. (Some students may have declared their employment status as part-time or full-time employed, thereby depressing the number that is classified as students.)

⁵ Goldscheider, Calvin. 1986. “Self-Employment and Jewish Continuity.” *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 2: 191–207. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=2725>.

Men differ from women in the proportion of those ages 18 to 64 who are students (7% of men versus 2% of women). This gender gap partially reflects the tendency for *Haredi* and other young Orthodox men to continue their sacred studies well into their adult years. Among men ages 18 to 24, the proportion of the Orthodox who are full-time students is nearly double that among the non-Orthodox; for the non-Orthodox ages 18 to 24, the proportions are about the same for men and women. In other words, large numbers of young Orthodox men are students. Among those ages 25 to 34, the gender variations for Orthodox and non-Orthodox grow even wider. Hardly any Orthodox women older than 25 are students, as compared with a small number of non-Orthodox women. For men ages 25 to 34, the reverse is the case: almost twice as many Orthodox men are studying as are non-Orthodox men.

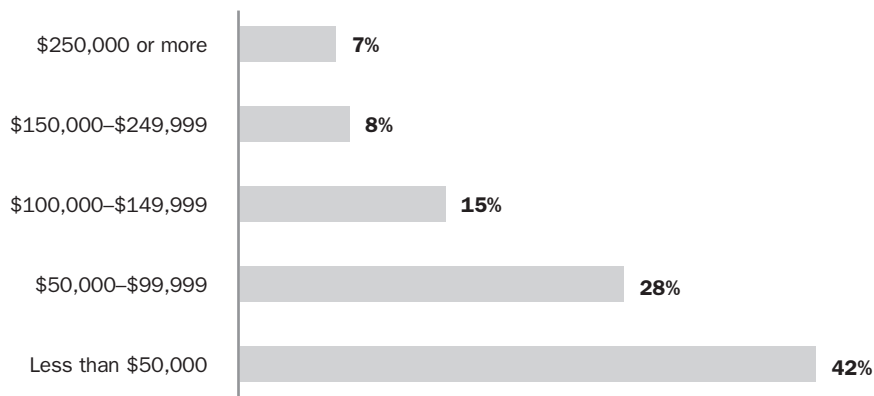
All of these patterns point to an ongoing and relatively long-lasting commitment to sacred studies among younger Orthodox men, with direct consequences for the extent to which they obtain secular education and skills that are marketable in the larger economy.

Sizeable Income Variations

Rather sizable income disparities characterize Americans in general (particularly over the last two to three decades), as well as New Yorkers. It is no surprise that large variations in income characterize the New York-area Jewish population. Although, as a group, American Jews are among those with the highest incomes,⁶ 42% of local Jewish households report incomes of under \$50,000, consistent with the large and growing number of Jewish households living in poverty (see chapter 3).

At the same time, 15% have household incomes in excess of \$150,000, including 7% reporting earnings of \$250,000 or more. We estimate a median household (not individual) income of approximately \$65,000.

Exhibit 2-12 Annual Household Income*



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Missing values for 2011 incomes were imputed from income ranges and predictive equations that drew on several variables correlated with income, consisting of the subjective assessment of financial condition, receipt of public assistance, lack of employment, low educational attainment, ages 85 and over, home ownership, total amount donated to charity, and marital status. In both 2002 and 2011, answers to the income questions were in the form of large intervals (as provided in the table above). Given the nature of the available responses and the cumulative inflation from 2002 to 2011, no meaningful comparisons can be drawn between the 2002 and 2011 income-frequency distributions. Imputing income allowed for more accurate analyses of the extent of poverty in the population, and avoided under-counting the number of poor and near poor owing to no response to the questions on income.

6 Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. 2008. *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious Affiliation: Diverse and Dynamic*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. Available as PDF at <http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf>.

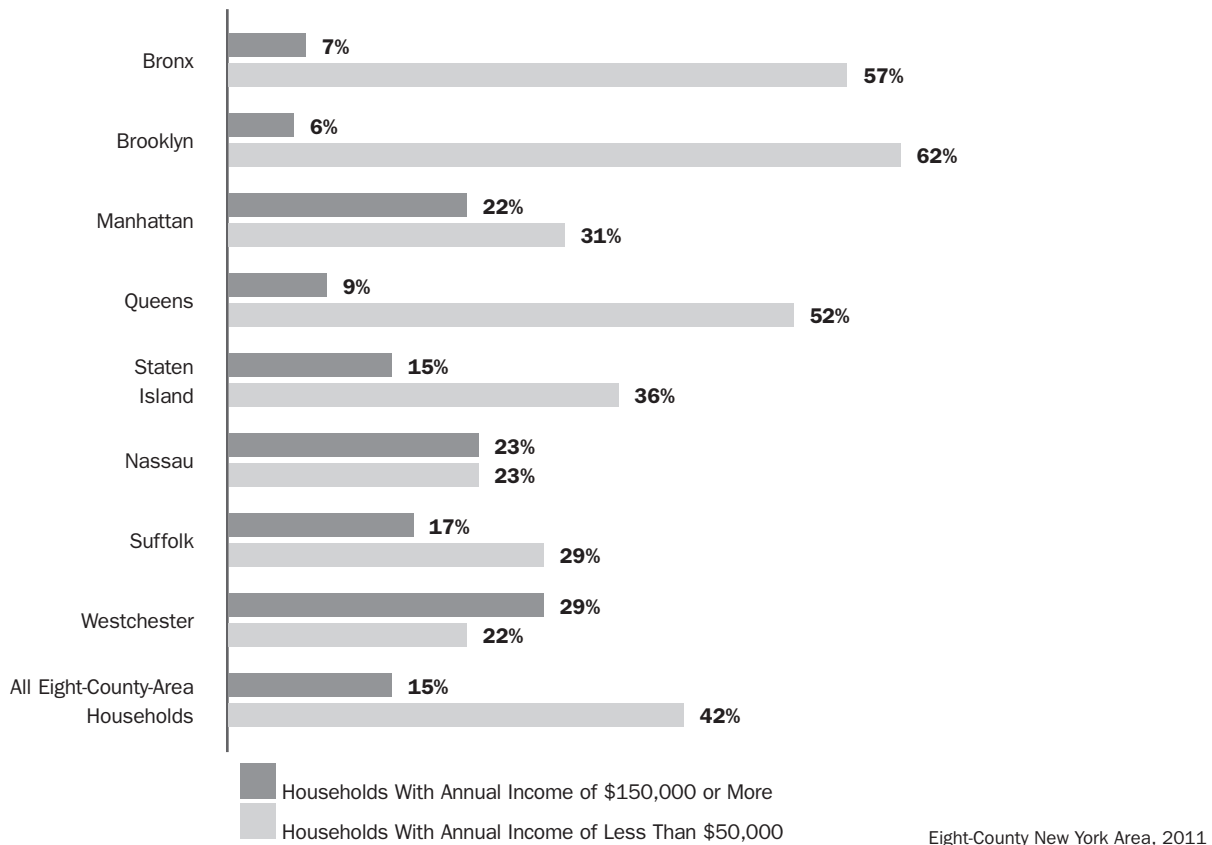
Wide Variations in High- and Low-Income Households by County

Income varies widely by county. At the upper end of the income spectrum is Westchester, followed by Nassau and Manhattan. All contain high proportions of households with incomes over \$150,000: 29% of households in Westchester, 23% in Nassau, and 22% in Manhattan. In contrast, the area-wide average amounts to just 15%, and runs as low as 6% in Brooklyn and 7% in the Bronx.

As for those earning under \$50,000, while 42% of the eight-county area’s Jewish households fall in this low-income group, the comparable rates in Westchester and Nassau are a little more than half as frequent. In short, on a proportional basis, compared with the other counties, households in Westchester and Nassau are far more frequently affluent and far less frequently low-income or poverty-stricken. Manhattan is also home to a relatively large high-income population.

At the other extreme are the boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens. In each of these counties, a majority of Jewish households earn under \$50,000 annually; in contrast, just 6% to 9% earn \$150,000 or more in income.

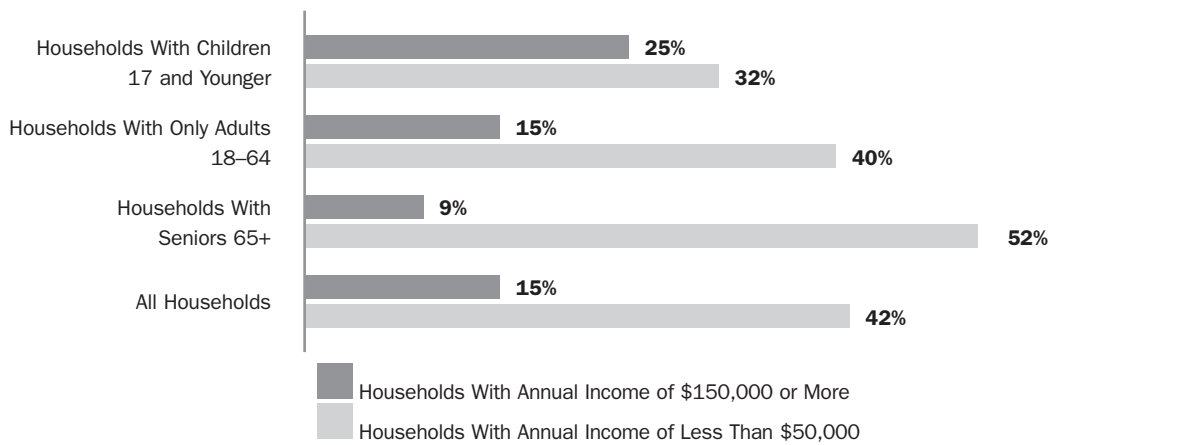
Exhibit 2-13 Household Annual Income by County



Income Variations by Household Composition

Income varies considerably by type of household. Among households with children, almost a third (32%) earn under \$50,000, and a quarter (25%) earn \$150,000 or more. In contrast, most senior households earn under \$50,000 annually, and just 9% report household incomes exceeding \$150,000.

Exhibit 2-14 Household Annual Income by Household Composition



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Perceptions of Financial Condition: From “Well-Off” to “Cannot Make Ends Meet”

Since income alone provides only a crude guide to economic circumstances, respondents were asked to characterize their households’ financial condition, yielding a wide distribution of responses over the five answer categories provided. A quarter provide upbeat answers: 9% are “well-off,” and 16% say they have “extra money.” A third say they have “enough money,” and somewhat more (37%) are “just managing.” A smaller percentage (5%) “cannot make ends meet.”

Subjective perceptions are closely tied to income, but they are not entirely predicted by income. For example, of those earning under \$50,000, 72% are just managing or cannot make ends meet. Of those earning \$250,000 or more, 80% say they have extra money or are well-off.

The parallel question in 2002 offered “wealthy” instead of “well-off” as one of the response categories, demanding a significant measure of caution in comparing results from the two surveys (even slight changes in wording of one response category can affect response probabilities for all other categories). With that in mind, we note that the proportion of households that are just managing or not making ends meet grew from 36% in 2002 to 42% in 2011, commensurate with the impact of the Great Recession and the increases in poverty and near poverty during the last decade, documented in the next chapter.

Exhibit 2-15 **Subjective Perception of Household Financial Condition**

	2002	2011
Cannot Make Ends Meet	4%	5%
Just Managing	32%	37%
Has Enough Money	38%	33%
Has Extra Money	22%	16%
Wealthy	4%	—*
Well-Off	—*	9%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* The question wording in 2002 and 2011 differs slightly and may have produced changes in response probabilities.

Home-Ownership Patterns

Over half (54%) of the Jewish households in the eight-county area own their homes.

Just 29% of those earning less than \$50,000 own their homes, as compared with 60% of those earning \$50,000 to \$100,000 and about 83% of those earning \$100,000 or more. Rates of home ownership in the suburban counties and Staten Island are about double those found in the other four boroughs. Moreover, home-ownership rates rise during the adult life cycle, ranging from 34% among those ages 25 to 34 to a high of 61% among those ages 45 to 54.

Exhibit 2-16 Home Ownership by Household Annual Income, County, and Age

Household Income	2011
Less Than \$50,000	29%
\$50,000–100,000	60%
\$100,000–150,000	78%
\$150,000–250,000	84%
\$250,000+	86%
County of Residence	
Bronx	41%
Brooklyn	37%
Manhattan	43%
Queens	44%
Staten Island	75%
Nassau	86%
Suffolk	82%
Westchester	83%
Respondent's Age	
18–24*	47%
25–34	34%
35–44	53%
45–54	61%
55–64	58%
65+	56%
All Households	54%

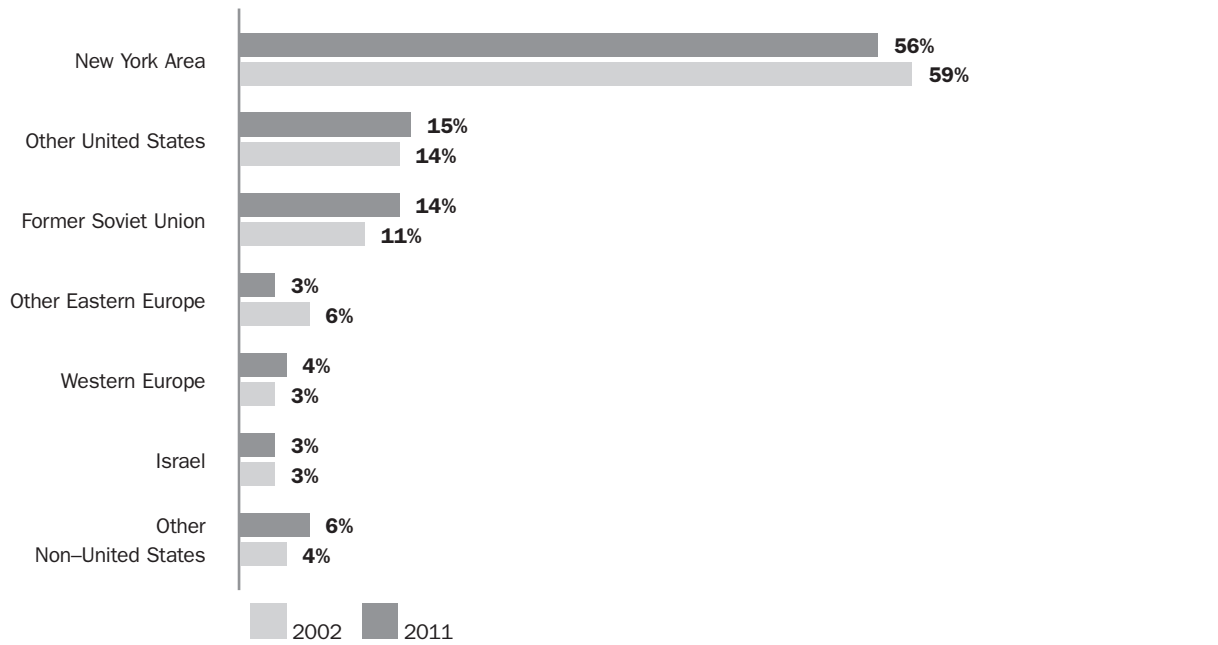
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Of respondents under 25, 48% live in their parents' households and report their combined household income and whether the home is owned or rented.

Place of Birth: The United States, the Former Soviet Union, and Elsewhere

Most respondents and spouses were born in the eight counties while, at the same time, as many as 30% are foreign-born. The 2011 pattern displays small differences with the 2002 figures.

Exhibit 2-17 **Place of Birth of Jewish Respondents and Spouses**



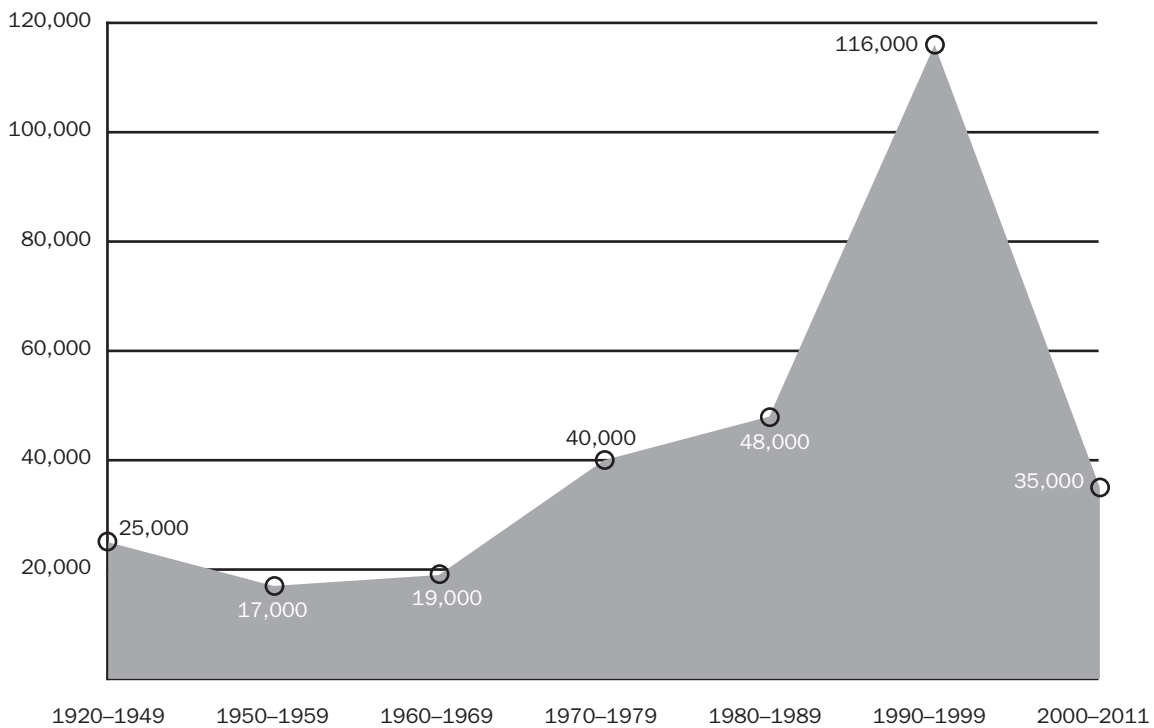
Eight-County New York Area

Years in the United States and in the Area: Fewer Recent Arrivals From Far or Near

Immigration of Jews and their households from abroad to the New York area surged in the 1990s and has subsided considerably since then. From 1970 to 1989, about 5,000 foreign-born people arrived in the United States annually and are now resident in the eight-county area (this calculation does not take into account subsequent emigration from the eight-county area or mortality since immigration). That number more than doubled to almost 12,000 annually in the 1990s. In the last decade, it plunged to just over 3,000 annually. Only 12% of all foreign-born Jewish respondents came to the New York area in the last decade, compared with at least 39% in the prior decade.

Thus, immigration of the foreign-born over the last 10 years is not directly responsible for much of the growth in the area’s Jewish population. At the same time, the surge of immigrants from the 1990s contributed to the expanded number of Jewish children and young adults who have since come of age after having arrived with their parents a decade or more ago.

Exhibit 2-18 **Year of Arrival in the U.S., Foreign-Born Jewish Respondents and Spouses***



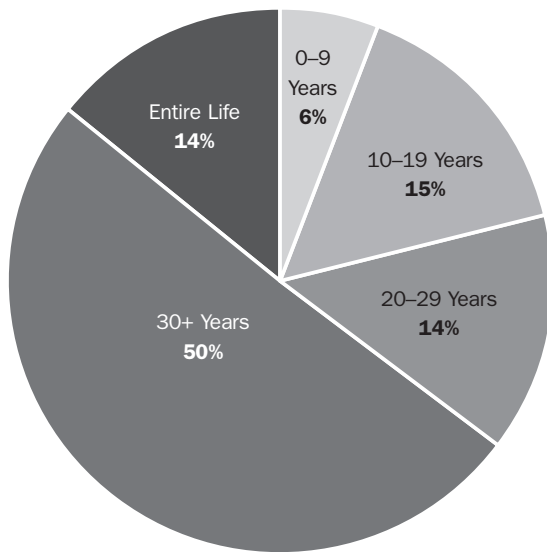
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* In addition to the 300,000 Jewish respondents and spouses recorded above, 41,000 “other adults” who are Jewish live in their households. An unknown portion of the 41,000 are also foreign-born (for these adults, nativity was not asked). As one indicator, among the spouses of the foreign-born respondents, 74% are themselves foreign-born. If this proportion applies to “other adults,” then an additional 30,000 adult members of Jewish households are foreign-born.

In addition to the decline of immigration from abroad, during the last decade the New York area’s Jewish population experienced a slowdown in migration from other parts of the United States. Part of the decline in recent arrivals to the New York area can be attributed to the decline in foreign immigration from the end of the 1990s. But beyond the issue of declining numbers of foreign-born immigrants, the number of adults in Jewish households who have moved to the New York area from other parts of the United States in the last 10 years trails the comparable number who arrived in the previous 10 years (and are still alive and locally resident). Of respondents, just 6% have lived in the eight-county area less than 10 years, as compared with 15% who have lived in the area 10 to 19 years.

Taken together, the patterns do suggest that net in-migration — from the United States or other countries — did not account for a major portion of the Jewish population growth over the last 10 years.

Exhibit 2-19 **Length of Residence in the Eight-County New York Area, Respondents***



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The frequency distribution for Jewish respondents only is the same as shown above.

Concluding Comment: The “Natural Growth” of the Jewish Population

Both the number of Jewish households and the number of Jews in the area surged in the last decade, following a decade of stability, which in turn followed four decades of population decline. Of all the counties, Brooklyn (with its large Orthodox population) experienced the largest increase.

The New York-area Jewish population is characterized by enormous diversity, containing significant numbers of households of varying composition, with an ever-widening spectrum of age from young to old and sharply varying socioeconomic characteristics. While well educated on average, the population contains significant (and possibly growing) numbers that are lacking college degrees, particularly among the *Haredi* population. While reasonably well-off on average, thousands of households report low levels of income and see themselves as financially wanting. (See the next chapter for an analysis of the major groups most affected by poverty.) Moreover, diversity in the population is reflected in considerable geographic differences: each county contains particular concentrations of one social configuration or another.

In addition to documenting the social diversity of New York Jewry, this chapter provides evidence that helps explain the source of Jewish population growth. Neither foreign-origin immigration nor the influx of new arrivals from around the United States emerge as major factors in expanding the local Jewish population. Rather, two other factors detailed in this chapter are key to understanding Jewish population growth. One is the expansion in the number of Jewish children, a result of birthrates that apparently have been surging over the last 25 years, partially as a result of the larger and youthful Orthodox population (see chapter 4). The other growth factors relate to the increasing longevity of the Jewish population, consistent with patterns seen throughout the United States and, indeed, the Western world. In addition, a third component of growth (examined in chapter 4) relates to the growing number of people who identify as Jewish (be it “partially Jewish” or otherwise) by virtue of the increasingly porous boundaries that characterize American religious and ethnic groups today.

The end of the 20th century saw the local Jewish population, which had been declining since midcentury, stabilized by the wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union, Israel, and elsewhere. In contrast, the beginning of the 21st century saw the local Jewish population grow in large part as a result of natural internal growth factors. The turn of events is reminiscent of David Ben-Gurion’s call in the 1950s for “internal aliyah” — the augmentation of the Jewish population in Israel by higher Jewish birthrates of domestic Jewish Israelis to complement the aliyah of Jews from abroad. The natural demographic processes envisioned by Israel’s first prime minister are operating to grow the Jewish population — in this case, in the New York area and especially in Brooklyn, where the Orthodox are most numerous.

In short, all of the major demographically relevant trends noted in this chapter — more children, more seniors, and more Orthodox — are changing not just the size of the Jewish population of the New York area but also its character, potential, and needs.

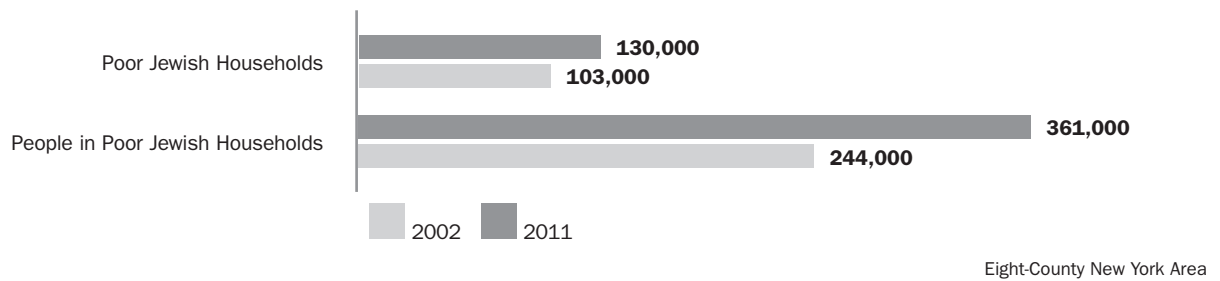
Caring for people in need is a fundamental Jewish value, a critical element of the mission of UJA-Federation of New York and many of the beneficiary agencies it supports. In this chapter, we identify and explore Jewish economic vulnerability in general — the poor and near poor— and we highlight several subpopulations in the eight-county area with high levels of economic vulnerability: large Orthodox families, seniors, Russian speakers, and single parents. We also explore those seeking human services, the ease or difficulty they experienced in accessing those services, and who receives such services from Jewish sources.

More Jewish Poor in New York City and the Suburbs

Using 150% of the federal poverty guideline as the definition of “poor,”¹ as many as 130,000 Jewish households in the eight-county area are poor.

Of the Jewish households in the eight-county New York area, about 1 in 5 is poor. In terms of individuals, 361,000 people (both Jews and non-Jews) live in poor Jewish households. Almost 19% of all Jewish households are poor, as are 20% of all people living in Jewish households.

Exhibit 3-1 **Numbers of Poor Jewish Households and People in Poor Jewish Households, 2002 and 2011**



¹ Using 150% of the federal poverty guideline to define poverty takes into account the high cost of living in the New York area, and is consistent with the definition used in the 2002 study. In the 2011 study, by this definition, a senior living alone would be considered poor with an income of \$15,434 or less; for a three-person household, such as a married couple with a child, \$27,465 or less qualifies as poor; and for a five-person family, the 150% threshold is \$38,685.

Exhibit 3-2 **Numbers of Poor Jewish Households and People in Poor Jewish Households, New York City and Suburban Counties**

	2002			2011		
	New York City	Suburban Counties	Total Eight-County Area	New York City	Suburban Counties	Total Eight-County Area
Poor Jewish Households	96,000	7,000	103,000	117,000	13,000	130,000
People in Poor Jewish Households	226,000	18,000	244,000	333,000	28,000	361,000

Eight-County New York Area

Although Jewish poverty is more prevalent in New York City than in the three suburban counties, the generally affluent suburbs report significant numbers of poor Jews as well. While 333,000 people live in the poor Jewish households of New York City, another 28,000 reside in the poor Jewish homes of Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk.

By all measures, the levels of Jewish poverty grew considerably since 2002. To take one key measure, the number of people living in poor Jewish homes grew 48%, surging from 244,000 in 2002 to 361,000 in 2011. While more people living in New York City Jewish households are poor, the rate of increase was even greater in the suburbs, where the number of poor people in Jewish homes grew by 56%.

The growth in Jewish poverty in the New York area is consistent with trends in New York and the larger society,² including growing income disparity between the rich and the poor, the hollowing out of the middle class, fewer people living in middle-class neighborhoods, more people living in affluent and poverty-stricken areas, as well as persistent high rates of unemployment and underemployment in the general population. U.S. Census reports point not only to increased poverty (whether using the official poverty thresholds or the recently formulated Supplemental Poverty Measure) but also to increased poverty in the affluent suburbs. Apparently, as with many social phenomena, growth in New York-area Jewish poverty reflects and at least loosely resembles trends in the larger society, in New York, and in the country.

2 See, for example: Roberts, Sam. 2011. "One in Five New York City Residents Living in Poverty." *New York Times*, September 22. <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/22/nyregion/one-in-five-new-york-city-residents-living-in-poverty.html>.

Rapid Growth in Jewish Poverty in Recent Years

In point of fact, the extent of Jewish poverty has been growing apace for the last 20 years, with a quickening of the increase in recent years. While as many as 58,000 people in New York City Jewish households joined the ranks of the poor in the 11 years from 1991 to 2002, the net addition to the number of poor people in Jewish households reached 107,000 in the nine-year period of 2002 to 2011. Thus, in the 11-year period from 1991 to 2002, the annual average increase in the number of individuals living in New York City's poor Jewish households amounted to 5,300. In the nine-year period from 2002 to 2011, the average increase more than doubled to 12,000 per year. For the suburbs, the average annual increase in the number of poor people in Jewish households also more than doubled from the 1991–2002 period to the 2002–2011 period.

In 2002, 15% of people in Jewish households were living in poverty across the eight-county area; by 2011, the figure rose to 20%.

Exhibit 3-3 **Numbers of Poor Jewish Households and People in Them, 1991–2011**

	1991*	2002	2011	Net Increase 1991– 2002	Net Increase 2002– 2011	Percent Increase 1991– 2002	Percent Increase 2002– 2011
Poor Jewish Households							
New York City	68,000	96,000	117,000	28,000	21,000	41%	22%
Suburban Counties	5,000	7,000	13,000	2,000	6,000	40%	86%
Total Eight-County New York Area	73,000	103,000	130,000	30,000	27,000	41%	26%
People in Poor Jewish Households							
New York City	168,000	226,000	333,000	58,000	107,000	35%	47%
Suburban Counties	12,000	18,000	28,000	6,000	10,000	50%	56%
Total Eight-County New York Area	180,000	244,000	361,000	64,000	117,000	36%	48%

Eight-County New York Area

* The numbers cited in this table reflect Ukeles Associates, Inc.'s recalculation of New York City 1991 poverty numbers reported in the *1991 Jewish Population Study of New York*. See the extended discussion of the recalculation of 1991 poverty numbers in UJA-Federation of New York and Metropolitan Council on Jewish Poverty's *Report on Jewish Poverty*, pages 64–68, found at www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-2002.

The Near Poor: More Than Half a Million People in Poor and Near-Poor Jewish Households

Beyond the 361,000 people living in Jewish households that are defined as poor (below 150% of the federal poverty guideline), an additional 204,000 people live in Jewish households that can be classified as “near poor.” These households report incomes between 150% and 250% of the federal poverty guideline.³

Altogether, 565,000 people live in poor and near-poor Jewish households in the eight-county area. In New York City, 507,000 people live in poor and near-poor Jewish households, while in the three suburban counties, 58,000 people live in poor and near-poor Jewish households. Just 8% of the Jewish poor in the area live in the suburbs (28,000 out of 361,000 people), but about 15% of the Jewish near poor live there (30,000 out of 204,000).

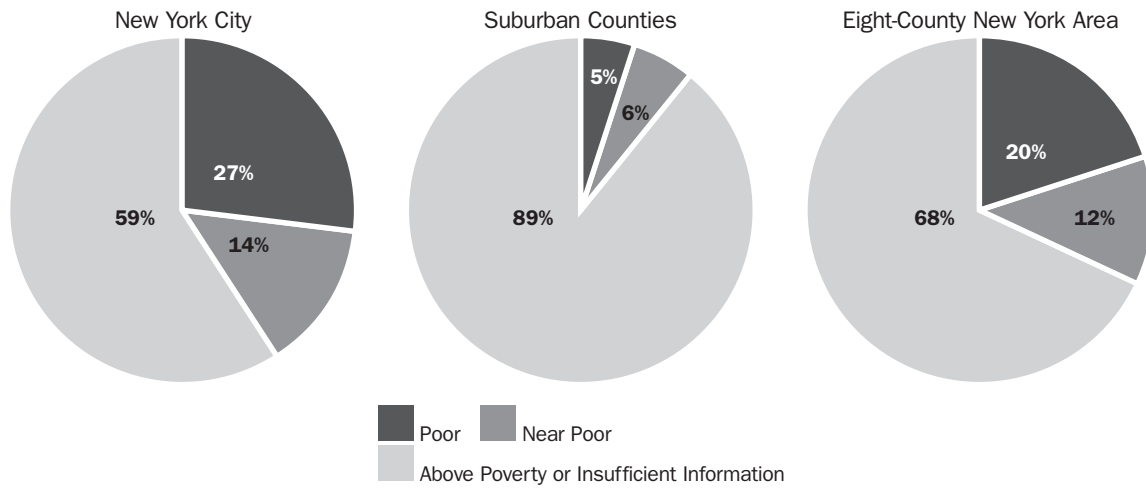
Exhibit 3-4 **Number and Percent of Poor and Near-Poor Jewish Households and People in These Households, New York City and Suburban Counties**

	New York City	Suburban Counties	Eight-County New York Area
Poor Jewish Households	117,000	13,000	130,000
Near-Poor Jewish Households	56,000	10,000	66,000
Poor and Near-Poor Jewish Households	173,000	23,000	196,000
Poor People	333,000	28,000	361,000
Near-Poor People	174,000	30,000	204,000
Poor and Near-Poor People	507,000	58,000	565,000
Percent of Jewish Households			
Poor	24%	7%	19%
Near Poor	11%	5%	9%
Poor and Near Poor	35%	12%	28%
Percent of People in Jewish Households			
Poor	27%	5%	20%
Near Poor	14%	6%	12%
Poor and Near Poor	41%	11%	32%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

³ Examples of near-poor households: a (non-senior) single-person household earning between \$16,742 and \$27,903; a family of three, such as a single mother with two children, earning between \$27,465 and \$45,775; a five-person household, such as two parents with three children, earning between \$38,685 and \$64,475.

Exhibit 3-5 Percent of People in Poor, Near-Poor, and All Other Jewish Households



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Concentrations of Poverty in Brooklyn and the Bronx

The residential concentration of poverty varies considerably by county. Almost two-fifths (39%) of the people in Brooklyn and Bronx Jewish households are poor, as are 15% of those in Queens. Of all the people living in poor Jewish households in the eight-county area, two-thirds (66%) live in Brooklyn (237,000). Sizable concentrations of poor Jewish households are found in Queens (34,000), the Bronx (31,000), and Manhattan (28,000).

Since 2002, the largest increase in the number of poor people occurred in Brooklyn, where the number of people in poor Jewish households in 2011 exceeded that found in 2002 by 81,000, a 52% increase. Over this time period, Jewish poverty tripled in the Bronx and Nassau and more than doubled in Manhattan. Queens is the only county where the percent and number of people in poor Jewish households declined over the last decade.

Exhibit 3-6 **People in Poor Jewish Households by County**

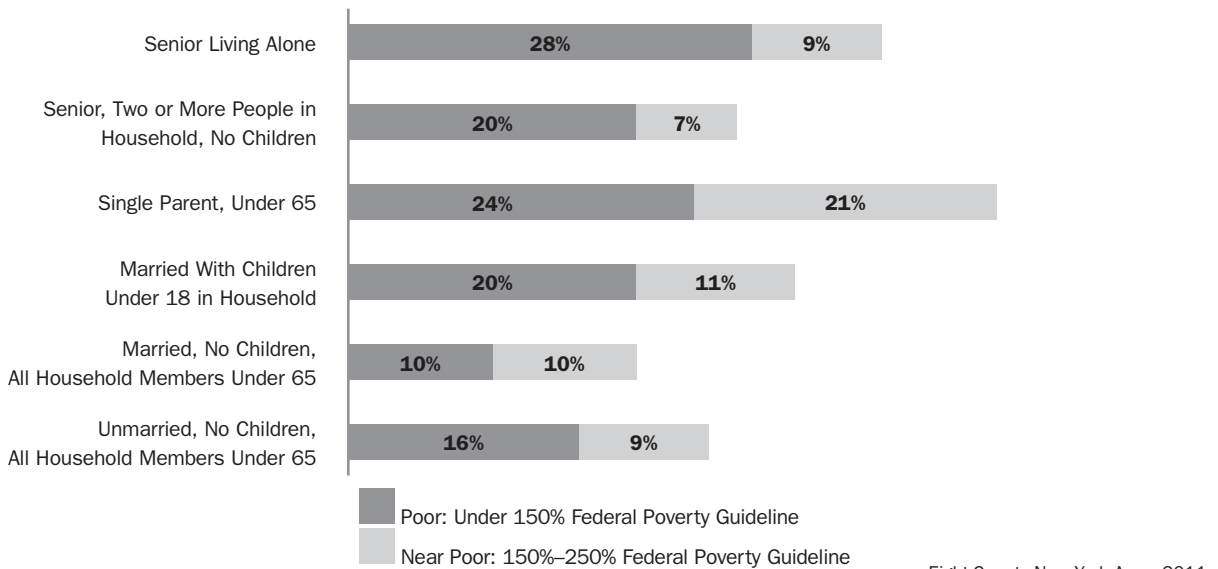
	2002			2011		
	People in Poor Jewish Households	People in All Jewish Households	People in Poor Jewish Households as a Percent of People in All Jewish Households	People in Poor Jewish Households	People in All Jewish Households	People in Poor Jewish Households as a Percent of People in All Jewish Households
Bronx	10,400	54,000	19%	31,000	79,000	39%
Brooklyn	156,200	516,000	30%	237,000	609,000	39%
Manhattan	12,800	292,000	4%	28,000	287,000	10%
Queens	42,700	221,000	19%	34,000	223,000	15%
Staten Island	3,900	52,000	8%	4,000	42,000	10%
Subtotal, New York City	226,000	1,135,000	20%	333,000	1,240,000	27%
Nassau	4,300	252,000	2%	12,000	256,000	5%
Suffolk	7,600	127,000	6%	9,000	112,000	8%
Westchester	6,000	153,000	4%	7,000	161,000	4%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	18,000	532,000	3%	28,000	529,000	5%
Total	244,000	1,667,000	15%	361,000	1,769,000	20%

Eight-County New York Area

Family Life Cycle and Poverty: Seniors Living Alone as a Prime Poverty Group

The rate of poverty in the New York–area Jewish population varies with age and family status. Seniors living alone are especially poverty prone, with a poverty rate of 28%. Single parents (unmarried with minor children at home) report the next highest rates of poverty (24%), and they report high rates of poverty and near poverty combined (45%) — surpassing the comparable rate for seniors living alone (37%). Among the married, those with children are far more likely to be living in poverty than those without children at home (20% with children versus 10% without children).

Exhibit 3-7 **Poverty Status of Jewish Households by Household Composition and Family Status**



The number of children is strongly related to the incidence of poverty. For households with three children, 20% qualify as poor. For those with four children, the poverty rate jumps to 37%; and among Jewish households with six or more children, a majority are living in poverty.

Groups in Poverty: Orthodox, Seniors, and More

Another way to segment the population is by drawing on features that bear a strong relationship with poverty: Orthodox status (often empirically associated with large families, as most families with four or more children are Orthodox), Russian speakers, single parenthood, aging, and employment status. Each of these features is associated with what may be seen as a risk factor for poverty. But, as we will see, these risk factors do not totally encompass all the poor Jewish households, as many poor households are poor for reasons having nothing to do with Orthodoxy, Russian origin, single parenthood, getting old, or being unemployed or disabled.

The Orthodox

Although most poor Jewish households are not Orthodox, Orthodox households — particularly those with large families — are the largest identifiable group in the Jewish community that is poor. Of all people in poor Jewish households, 42% are Orthodox (who are not Russian speakers and have no seniors in the household). Of all people in Orthodox households in the New York area, 35% are poor. This figure masks significant differences between Orthodox groups, as detailed in chapter 7: the poverty rate in Modern Orthodox households (15%) is a third of that in Hasidic households (43%).

Poor Seniors, Russian and Not Russian

The second largest socially identifiable group consists of people in poor senior households. A total of 88,000 people of all ages (mostly seniors, but some younger household members as well) live in these poor households, and they make up 24% of all people living in poor households. They divide between those who are in Russian-speaking homes (15% of poor people in Jewish households) and another 9% are poor seniors who are not Russian-speaking seniors (55,000 and 33,000, respectively).

Younger Russian Speakers

Younger (under age 65) Russian-speaking households in poverty contain another 32,000 people, or about 9% of all the people in poor Jewish households.

Single Parents

As many as 25,000 people live in poor single-parent Jewish households — that is, homes with minor children headed by an unmarried Jewish adult. Single-parent households compose 7% of all poor Jewish households in the New York area, and their relatively high rates of poverty are consistent with the tendency nationally for single parents (more mothers than fathers) to face the twin challenge of raising children alone while struggling with a single poverty-level income.

People With Disabilities and the Unemployed

As many as 14,000 people live in poor Jewish households in which at least one adult member has a disability; they account for 4% of the people living in poor Jewish households. Almost as many people — 9,000, or 3% of the total number of people in poor households — live in households where someone is unemployed.

The “Non-Predictable” Poor

While 89% of the poverty-stricken people in Jewish households fall within the discernible categories noted above, another 11% fit into none of these six categories. Aside from these identifiable groups, about 40,000 people live in other types of poor Jewish households that cannot be conveniently categorized. None is associated with being Orthodox, Russian speakers, senior citizens, single parents, those with disabilities, or the unemployed.

Rates of Poverty

Another way to look at the issue of who is poor is to examine the poverty rates among the different population segments that contain significant numbers of poor people. Indeed, of people in Russian-speaking households with seniors, 71% are poor. Their poverty rate leads all other groups, with people living in households that include a member with disabilities coming next, with a 48% poverty rate. Several groups have poverty rates ranging from 20% to 35%: non-senior Russian speakers, single parents, the unemployed, and the Orthodox (those who are neither seniors nor Russian speakers). Just 10% of non-Russian-speaking seniors are poor, but since they constitute such a large population group, the poor among them amount to 9% of all poor people in Jewish households. Of those without the major poverty risk factors (Orthodox affiliation, Russian speakers, seniors, single parents, those with disabilities, and the unemployed), just 7% are poor.

Exhibit 3-8 Jewish Groups in Poverty

Household Type	Number of Poor People in Household Type	Percent of All Poor People in Jewish Households	Percent of People in Household Type That Are Poor
Orthodox Households*	151,000	42%	35%
Russian Speakers, Senior Ages 65+ in Household	55,000	15%	71%
Senior Ages 65+ in Household, Not Russian-Speaking	33,000	9%	10%
Russian Speakers, All Adults Under Age 65	32,000	9%	20%
Single Parents, Under Age 65**	25,000	7%	27%
Disabled Person in Household, Under Age 65**	14,000	4%	48%
Unemployed Person in Household, Under Age 65**	9,000	3%	26%
Other Households, Under Age 65**	40,000	11%	7%
Total	361,000	100%	20%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Excluding Russian speakers and seniors; primarily, though not exclusively, large families.

** Not Orthodox and not Russian speakers.

High Rates of Poverty Among Russian-Speaking Households, Especially Seniors

Among Russian-speaking households, 45% are poor. Of all poor Jewish households, 36% are Russian-speaking.⁴

Exhibit 3-9 Poverty Among Russian-Speaking and Other Households

	Total Number of Households	Number of Poor Households	Percent of Households That Are Poor
Russian-Speaking Jewish Households	104,000	47,000	45%
Non-Russian-Speaking Jewish Households	590,000	83,000	14%
All Jewish Households	694,000	130,000	19%

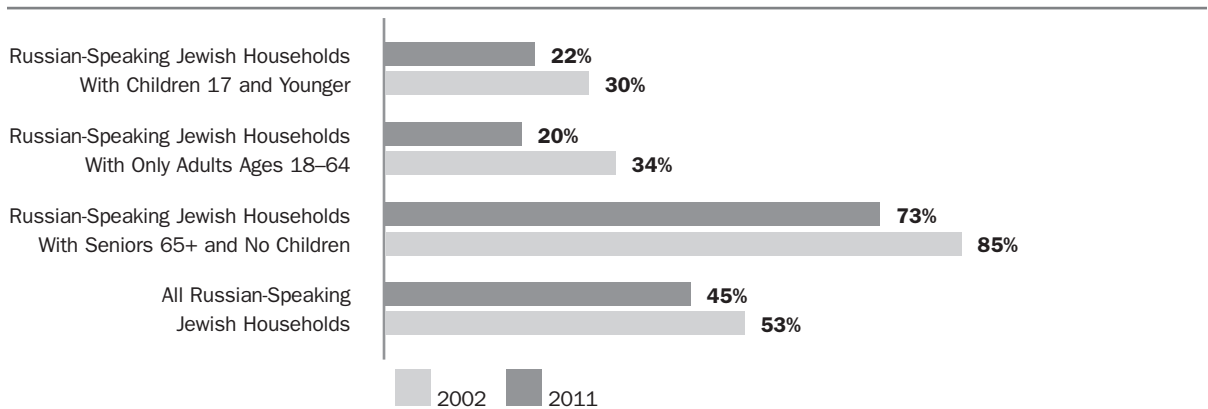
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The incidence of poverty among Russian speakers reaches extraordinarily high levels for households with people ages 65 and over. For Russian-speaking households with no seniors present, 20% qualify as poor. For Russian-speaking households with seniors, the poverty rate soars to 73%.

Comparisons with comparable data from 2002 demonstrate that rates of poverty among Russian speakers declined in all three household types. Overall, the poverty rate dropped from 53% in 2002 to 45% in 2011. For Russian-speaking households with seniors, it declined from 85% in 2002 to 73% in 2011; for households with children, from 30% to 22%; and for all others, from 34% to 20%.

All these declines were taking place at a time when poverty rates among the Jewish (and non-Jewish) population at large was on the incline.

Exhibit 3-10 Percentage of Russian-Speaking Jewish Households in Poverty, by Household Composition



Eight-County New York Area

⁴ Note that here we are presenting results in terms of households, rather than in terms of individuals.

Poverty in the Senior Population

In all, 85,000 seniors (Jews and non-Jews ages 65 or over) live in poor Jewish households. They compose 24% of all seniors in Jewish households in the New York area.

As compared with 2002, the number of seniors in poverty has remained about the same while the overall number of seniors has expanded, going from 317,000 in 2002 to 354,000 in 2011. As a result, the poverty rate among seniors has declined during the last nine years, dropping from 35% in 2002 to 24% in 2011. Though seniors are poor more frequently than others, seniors are relatively better off today than they were in 2002. At the same time, the total absolute numbers of seniors in poverty remained essentially stable over the nine-year period.

Exhibit 3-11 **Poverty Rates by Age for Jewish Households With Seniors**

	Number of Seniors in Jewish Households by Age	Number of Seniors in Poor Jewish Households by Age	Percent of Seniors in Poor Jewish Households by Age
65–74	146,000	34,000	23%
75–84	139,000	35,000	26%
85+	69,000	15,000	20%
All Ages 65+	354,000	85,000	24%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Widespread Use of Public Assistance

Significant numbers of people in Jewish households in the New York area rely on various forms of public assistance to make ends meet.

For example, as many as 11% of Jewish households (79,000)⁵ report receiving assistance from the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (formerly the food stamp program). These households are considerably larger than the average Jewish household as they contain 224,000 people, of whom 77,000 are children.

Medicaid also reaches a large number of Jewish households — at least 57,000 households, or 8% of the total; these house 165,000 people, of whom 58,000 are children. Other forms of public assistance reach thousands of Jewish households, as shown below.

⁵ The questions on public assistance were asked only of households with low income or who self-assessed their financial condition as challenged. Specifically, the 40% of all respondents who were asked these questions met any *one* of the following conditions: 1) income under \$50,000; 2) income between \$50,000 and \$99,999 with three or more household members; 3) income refused or unspecified but feels “cannot make ends meet” or “just managing to make ends meet.” Because of this filtering, a small number of respondents who were not asked these questions may also be receiving the various forms of public assistance. The narrative sets their number at zero, although strictly speaking a small number of more affluent households may be recipients of public assistance.

Exhibit 3-12 **Number of Jewish Households, and of All People and Children in Them, Who Receive Various Types of Public Assistance**

	Percent of All Jewish Households	Number of Jewish Households	All People in These Jewish Households	Children in These Jewish Households
SNAP (Food Stamps)	11%	79,000	224,000	77,000
Medicaid	8%	57,000	165,000	58,000
Supplemental Security Income	4%	25,000	46,000	4,000
Section 8 or Public Housing	3%	21,000	62,000	25,000
Child Health Plus	1%	9,000	39,000	21,000
Daycare Subsidies	1%	7,000	33,000	19,000
Any of the Above	15%	104,000	294,000	99,000

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Of those who report receiving public assistance, 96% report household incomes of under \$50,000; 34% of such very low-income households report receiving public assistance. Of those earning up to 100% of the federal poverty guideline, 71% report receiving a form of public assistance listed in Exhibit 3-12, as do 40% of those in the 100% to 150% federal poverty guideline level and 22% of the near poor (150% to 250% federal poverty guideline).

Some households defined as poor or near poor for the purposes of this report may not qualify for specific programs, while other households with incomes above our near-poverty threshold do qualify for some of these programs. These differences derive from the variation in eligibility thresholds used by different public assistance programs. For example, SNAP limits eligibility to households with a gross monthly income at or below 130% of the federal poverty guideline for most households; in contrast, Child Health Plus provides assistance to families with incomes up to 400% of the poverty guideline. In addition, some programs take into account financial resources beyond income to determine eligibility. (See the forthcoming *Report on Jewish Poverty* for more detail.)

Nevertheless, the extent of reliance on public assistance among Jewish households in the eight-county area may surprise some. In all, 104,000 Jewish households (or 15% of all the households) report receiving some form of public assistance. Approximately 294,000 people live in these households, of whom 99,000 are children. (By comparison, these numbers exceed the total Jewish populations of Chicago, Philadelphia, or Boston.) Food stamps, Medicaid, and other forms of public assistance are vital to a substantial number of people in Jewish households in the five boroughs of New York, Westchester, and Long Island.

Seniors Living Alone

Living alone increases vulnerability in all sorts of ways, particularly for older people. Those ages 65 and over who are married or share their household with others are more likely to have ready access to physical, psychological, and financial support.

By the Numbers

In the eight-county New York area, 107,000 Jewish seniors live alone in one-person households. Of these, 84,000 live in New York City and 23,000 live in the three suburban counties.

The number of seniors living alone has grown by more than 2,700 annually over the last nine years, rising from 82,000 in 2002 to 107,000 in 2011. The relative growth of seniors living alone in New York City and the suburbs has been about the same.

Seniors living alone are almost evenly divided among those ages 65 to 74, 75 to 84, and 85 and over. The likelihood of living alone increases with age. Of respondents ages 65 to 74, 37% live alone; of those 75 to 84, 44% live alone; and of those 85 and over, 68% are on their own.

Exhibit 3-13 **Jewish Seniors Living Alone**

Age	2002			2011		
	New York City	Suburban Counties	Total Seniors Living Alone	New York City	Suburban Counties	Total Seniors Living Alone
65-74	21,000	6,000	27,000	29,000	4,000	33,000
75-84	30,000	7,000	37,000	29,000	11,000	40,000
85+	15,000	3,000	19,000	26,000	8,000	34,000
Total	66,000	17,000	82,000	84,000	23,000	107,000

Eight-County New York Area

Poor Income and Poor Health

Of seniors (ages 65 and over) living alone, 28% live in poverty. At every age level, poverty rates for those living alone exceed the rates for those who live with other people. For example, of seniors ages 85 and over living with someone, 20% are living in poverty; for their counterparts living alone, the poverty rate climbs to 25%.

But poverty is not the only problem afflicting seniors living alone — poor health is another major challenge. While seniors in general often require social support and services, those living by themselves are even more in need of attention and assistance. The proportion in poor health reaches 27% among those ages 85 and over living alone, compared with 12% among peers their age who live with others. Among those under 85, the differences in the incidence of poor health between those living alone or living with someone are not pronounced or uniform.

Exhibit 3-14 **Poverty Rates and Poor Health for Seniors by Whether Living Alone and Age**

Living Status	Age of Senior Respondent	Percent of Households That Are Poor	Percent of Respondents Whose Health Is Poor
Lives Alone			
	All Respondents 65 and Over	28%	19%
	65–74	31%	15%
	75–84	27%	14%
	85+	25%	27%
Not Alone			
	All Respondents 65 and Over	21%	12%
	65–74	19%	10%
	75–84	24%	14%
	85+	20%	12%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Russian Disadvantage in Poverty and Health

As noted earlier, in terms of poverty (and many other issues) Russian speakers are worse off than others. Such is the case among seniors in general and among seniors living alone. Whether seniors are living alone or not, Russian speakers display much higher rates of poverty. For non-Russian-speaking seniors who live alone, just 16% live in poverty; among the comparable Russian speakers, poverty soars to 77%. As with poor income, so too with poor health: among senior non-Russian Jews living alone, poor health afflicts 13% of these individuals; for Russian speakers, the incidence of poor health is almost triple at 39%.

Exhibit 3-15 **Poverty Rates and Poor Health for Seniors by Whether Living Alone and Russian-Speaking Household**

	Living Status	Percent of Households That Are Poor	Percent of Respondents Whose Health Is Poor
Russian-Speaking Seniors	Live Alone	77%	39%
	Not Alone	74%	31%
	All Russian-Speaking Seniors	71%	35%
Non-Russian-Speaking Seniors	Live Alone	16%	13%
	Not Alone	8%	7%
	All Non-Russian-Speaking-Seniors	11%	10%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Accessible Adult Children

The potential for vulnerability may be diminished if an adult child lives in the New York area. The primary support network for many older adults is centered on an adult child. Among those ages 65 to 74 living alone, 48% have an adult child living in the New York area, as do 56% of their counterparts ages 75 to 84 and 69% of those ages 85 and over living alone.

Considering all these factors together, we find that just 43% of Jewish seniors living alone have a grown child in the New York area with whom they are in contact twice or more per week. At the other extreme of accessibility to a grown child, a nearly equal number of seniors living alone (41%) report that they have no grown children living in the area. Of these, 24% have no children at all, a number that is almost twice as many as among seniors who live with someone. Having no children nearby or at all leaves them potentially with less support and fewer resources to help them.

Exhibit 3-16 **Accessibility of Grown Children to Seniors Living Alone and Not Living Alone**

	Seniors Not Living Alone	Seniors Living Alone
Adult Children in New York Area, Contact Two or More Times a Week	52%	43%
Adult Children in New York Area, But Less Contact	15%	16%
Adult Children, But Outside New York Area	19%	17%
No Adult Children	13%	24%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

More Seniors Alone Soon

With increased longevity, increasing numbers of elderly Jews in the New York area will be finding themselves living alone. (Statistically, we will see many more elderly couples, but with increased longevity comes the increased likelihood of a single spouse surviving many years.) To the human-service support networks in the Jewish community, these potentially isolated elderly pose both an increasing challenge as well as an augmented opportunity to fashion and deliver needed human services.

Holocaust Survivors

Holocaust survivors and other victims of Nazi persecution amounted to 31,000 individuals living in 27,000 households. These figures for 2011 represent declines from 55,000 individuals and 43,000 households in 2002.⁶

Exhibit 3-17 Holocaust Survivors as a Percentage of All Jewish People

	2002		2011	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Holocaust Survivors	55,000	—	31,000	—
All Jewish Adults Born 1945 or Earlier*	377,000	15%	314,000	10%
All Jews in the Eight-County Area	1,412,000	4%	1,538,000	2%

Eight-County New York Area,

* Questions asked about Nazi-victim status were restricted to individuals born in 1945 or earlier; the youngest Nazi victim was 66 years old in 2011 (57 in 2002).

In keeping with the definitions employed by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and Selfhelp Community Services, this report uses the term *Holocaust survivor* to include all those who suffered Nazi persecution. For the purposes of this study, Holocaust survivors qualify as such if between 1933 and 1945 they had lived in or fled from an area that was under Nazi rule, under Nazi occupation, or under the direct influence or control of the Nazis.

Of those who are ages 66 and over in 2011 (that is, born in 1945 or earlier), the incidence of poor health rises to 21% among Holocaust survivors, compared with 15% for other seniors, and the proportion reporting that someone in the household needs help with daily tasks amounts to 36% for Holocaust survivors, against 23% for their age peers. Of the 31,000 Holocaust survivors,⁷ about 10,000 are seniors living alone, constituting a growing percentage in such circumstances since 2002.

The median age of Holocaust survivors in the New York area is 83. In terms of age distribution, 23% are ages 66 to 74, 40% are 75 to 84, and 37% are 85 and over. A slim majority (52%) are female. Female Holocaust survivors are older: 42% are ages 85 and over, as compared with 33% of their male counterparts.

6 UJA-Federation of New York. 2003. *The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002 — Special Report: Nazi Victims in the New York Area: Selected Topics*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at <http://www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-2002>.

Ukeles Associates Inc. 2003. *An Estimate of the Current Distribution of Jewish Victims of Nazi Persecution*. New York: International Commission on Holocaust-Era Insurance Claims. Available as PDF at http://www.claimscon.org/forms/allocations/An%20Estimate%20of%20the_Ukeles%20ICHEIC_.pdf.

7 For comparable estimates, see: Selfhelp Community Services. 2010. *Sixty-Five Years After Liberation: Holocaust Survivors in New York — Today Through 2025*. New York: Selfhelp Community Services, Inc. Available as PDF at http://www.selfhelp.net/sites/default/files/NVS_Whitepaper_0.pdf.

Holocaust Survivors in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens

By county, the major residential locations for Holocaust survivors are Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Queens — each with about a quarter of the victim population, with another quarter distributed among the other five counties.

Since 2002, the Holocaust-survivor population declined precipitously in Brooklyn (from nearly 30,000 in 2002 to 9,000 in 2011). As the 2002 report noted, older Russian speakers reported unusually high levels of poor health, an indicator borne out by their high levels of mortality over the last nine years.

Exhibit 3-18 Jewish Holocaust Survivors by County

	2002		2011	
	Estimated Number of Survivors*	Percent of All Survivors in New York Area	Estimated Number of Survivors*	Percent of All Survivors in New York Area
Bronx	2,000	4%	2,000	6%
Brooklyn	30,000	55%	9,000	30%
Manhattan	7,000	13%	6,000	20%
Queens	9,000	16%	7,000	24%
Staten Island	<1,000	<1%	<1,000	1%
Subtotal, New York City	48,000	87%	25,000	81%
Nassau	4,000	7%	1,000	4%
Suffolk	1,000	2%	<1,000	2%
Westchester	2,000	4%	4,000	13%
Subtotal, Suburban Counties	7,000	13%	6,000	19%
Total	55,000	100%	31,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* Estimates have been rounded to the nearest thousand. All figures approximate owing to small case size.

Russian-Speaking Holocaust Survivors

In 2002, 27,000 Holocaust survivors (then ages 57 and over) from outside the former Soviet Union lived in the New York area, as compared with the same number today. High rates of survival, aging, and some migration to the area help account for the approximate stability in this overall number.

However, the number of Holocaust survivors living in Russian-speaking households fell from 28,000 in 2002 to 4,000 in 2011. One likely reason for the decline in their number is differential rates of mortality, comporting with the poor health conditions of elderly Russian speakers reported in 2002.

Holocaust Survivors: Poorer in Health, But Not in Income

Of households with Holocaust survivors, 22% qualify as poor. This rate is actually surpassed by that (24%) found among households with comparably aged respondents, demonstrating that Holocaust-survivor status is not associated with especially high rates of poverty.

Health status is a similar matter. Holocaust survivors report about the same health profile as comparably aged seniors ages 75 and over.

Exhibit 3-19 **Health Status for Jewish Respondents Who Are Holocaust Survivors and Others Ages 75 and Over**

Health Status	Holocaust Survivor	Not a Holocaust Survivor
Excellent	17%	15%
Good	32%	38%
Fair	33%	31%
Poor	18%	16%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

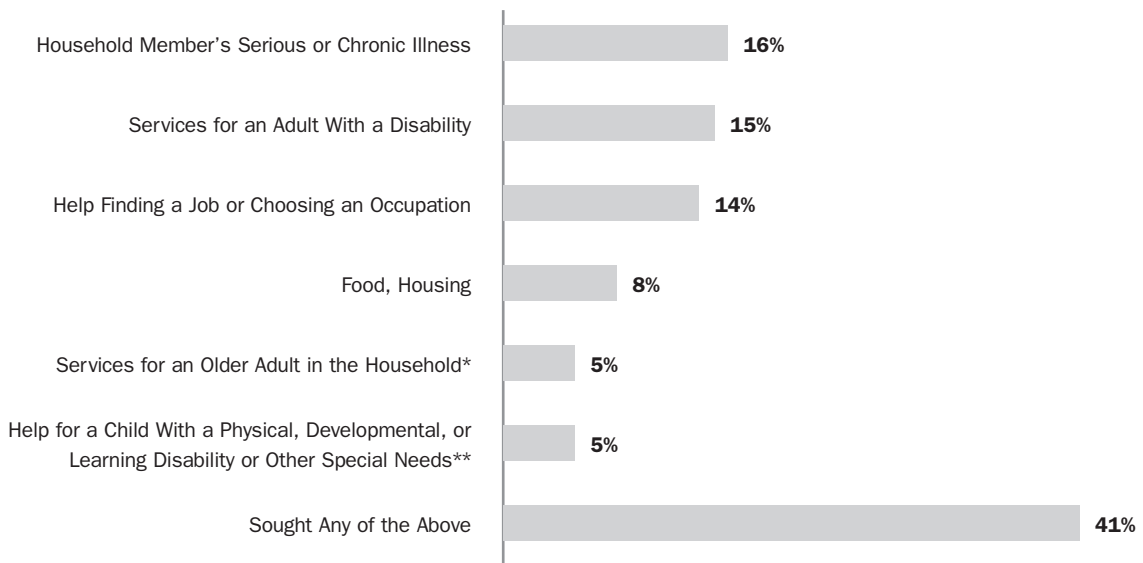
Seeking Assistance for Human-Service Needs

Survey respondents were asked whether they or anyone else in the household sought services or help from an organization or human-service agency in the prior 12 months for a variety of specific types of human-service needs.⁸

In terms of the sheer number of households, the prime cause for seeking assistance (of the six choices specifically mentioned) was the need for help in coping with a household member’s serious or chronic illness. In all, 112,000 households sought services related to this issue, composing 16% of the Jewish households in the New York area. Close behind in frequency were services for an adult with a disability (101,000 homes, or 15%) and help in finding a job or choosing an occupation (97,000, or 14%). The other three issues are listed in the exhibit below.

In all, 284,000 households sought at least one of the services listed; they amount to 41% of all Jewish households in the eight-county New York area. Undoubtedly, the aggregate number of service-seeking households would have been larger still had the survey asked about other human-service needs, but owing to time limitations, the survey contained only the six listed below.

Exhibit 3-20 Human-Service Seeking



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Asked of households where either respondent or spouse or another adult in the household is age 70 or older.

** Asked of households with minor children in the house.

⁸ Only three of these items appeared in the 2002 survey.

Types of Services Sought for Older Adults

The 37,000 households who sought services for older adults exhibit a wide variety of service needs and, when asked, often mention more than one type of need. By far the most common is home care, required by 24,000 households, or 65% of all those seeking services for an older adult. Almost as frequent is transportation, sought by 21,000 households. Far less frequent but still quite numerous are the households seeking nursing homes or assisted living (8,000) and help with dementia or Alzheimer’s (6,000).

Exhibit 3-21 **Households Seeking Specific Services for Older Adults in the Household**

	Number of Households	Percent of All Households With Seniors
Home Care	24,000	10%
Transportation	21,000	9%
Nursing Home or Assisted Living	8,000	3%
Dementia/Alzheimer’s	6,000	2%
Sought Any of the Above Services for Older Adults	37,000	15%
All Households With Senior Adults	249,000	

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Variation in Services Sought by Household Composition

The types of services sought vary for different household compositions.

Of senior households, 19% sought help coping with a household member’s serious or chronic illness, as did the same number of non-senior households with no children.

Noteworthy variations in seeking help include the low levels reported by seniors with respect to help in finding a job and help with food or housing. These particular types of help generally have less relevance to a population that has heavily withdrawn from the paid labor force and that has high rates of home ownership, as documented in chapter 2. At the same time, that about a fifth of the others sought job-related assistance demonstrates that job concerns certainly extend beyond the 5% who are currently unemployed.

Exhibit 3-22 **Percent Seeking Specific Human-Service Assistance by Household Composition**

	Households With Children 17 and Younger	Households With Only Adults 18–64	Households With Seniors 65+
Household Member’s Serious or Chronic Illness	9%	19%	19%
Services for an Adult With a Disability	11%	18%	14%
Help Finding a Job or Choosing an Occupation	17%	20%	5%
Food, Housing	10%	10%	6%
Services for an Older Adult in the Household*	—	—	18%
Help for a Child With a Physical, Developmental, or Learning Disability or Other Special Needs**	20%	—	—
Any of the Above	42%	45%	36%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Asked of households where either respondent or spouse or another adult in the household is age 70 or older.

** Asked of households with minor children in the house.

The Caregivers

We asked respondents whether they or anyone in their household “manage the care or personally provide care on a regular basis or for an aging family member or friend . . . [be it] for someone living in your household or somewhere else.” Fully 24% of the respondents answered in the affirmative, representing 164,000 households.

Half of all of those who report caregiving responsibilities are between the ages of 45 and 64. A substantial minority of this group populates the “sandwich generation” — more than 40% of those ages 45 to 64 with caregiving responsibilities also have children, including both minors and adults, at home.

Caregiving households and adults are fairly undifferentiated from the rest of the population in other ways. Few socio-demographic characteristics are related to the phenomenon. Caregivers hardly differ from other households in terms of education and income.

Among the more notable variations (though muted) are the following features found somewhat more often among caregiving households:

- Ages 45 to 64.
- Employed.
- Three or more adults in the home.
- Lives in Brooklyn or Queens.

Among the features associated with lower rates of caregiving:

- Ages 65 and over.
- Widowed.
- Retired or disabled.
- Single-person household.
- Lives in Manhattan and Suffolk.

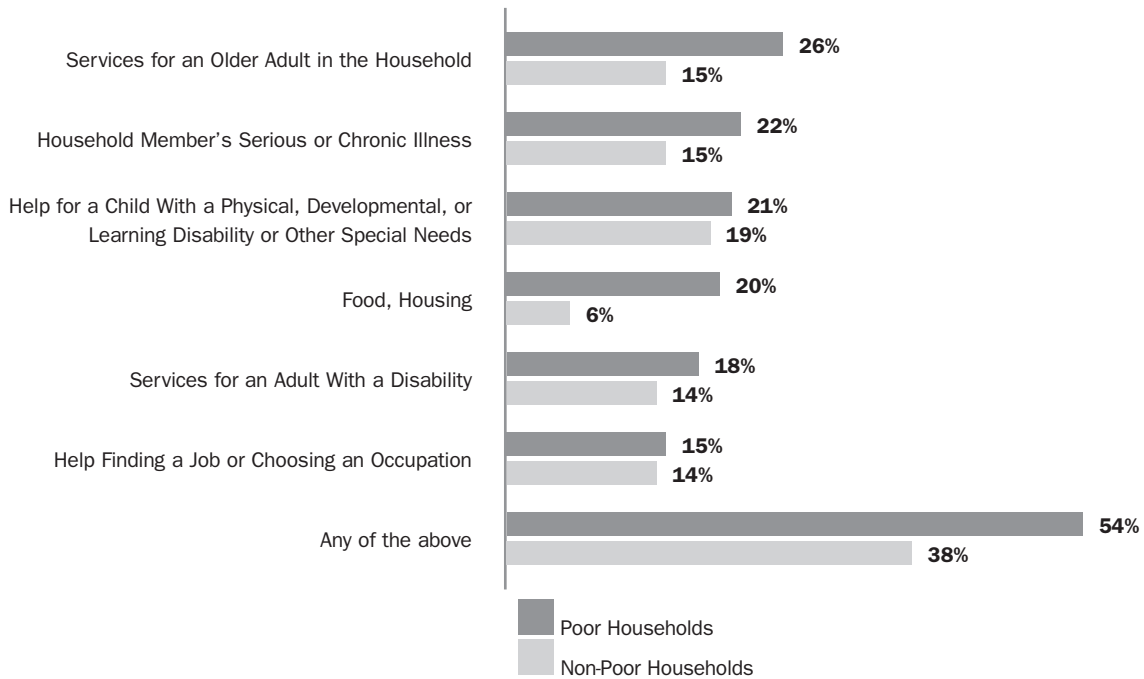
However, to be clear, caregiving is a widespread phenomenon, appearing among a wide variety of households with a broad array of socio-demographic characteristics.

The Poor Need More

For every kind of service queried, poor households reported turning to outside help more often than non-poor households. The gaps between the poor and the non-poor are small with respect to finding a job; however, they are substantial in all five other instances. Especially noteworthy are the frequencies in seeking help with food or housing: 20% for the poor in contrast to only 6% for all others.

Overall, as many as 54% of the poor households sought services as compared with 38% of non-poor households. In short, the poor have less — and need more.

Exhibit 3-23 **Percent of Poor and Other Households That Sought Human-Service Assistance**



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

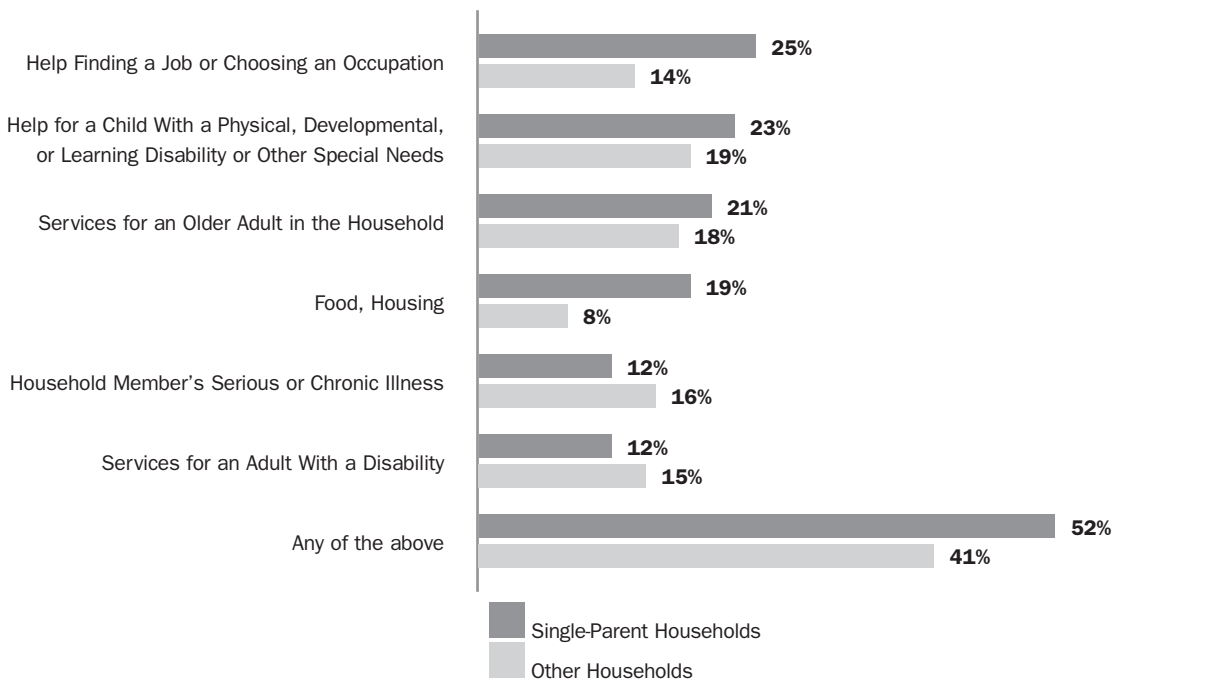
Single Parents and Their Need for Help

The 19,000 single-parent Jewish households in the New York area, like other vulnerable populations, have frequent need of human-service assistance. When compared with other households, single parents are somewhat more likely to seek four out of the six types of assistance examined.

The gaps are especially pronounced with respect to seeking help with jobs (25% of single-parent households compared with 14% for others) and to food or housing assistance (19% compared with 8%).

Single-parent households, then, are slightly more likely than other households to seek human and social services.

Exhibit 3-24 **Single-Parent and Other Households That Sought Human-Service Assistance**



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Difficulty in Getting Assistance: Variations by Type of Assistance and Poverty

Some types of human-service assistance are especially hard to find. For four of the six services, the proportions reporting it is “very difficult” to obtain the specified service range between 14% and 20%. However, for those seeking help with food or housing, the comparable figure reaches 34%; and for those seeking help in finding a job, it reaches 43%.

Not only does difficulty vary by type of service, but it also varies by the characteristics of the needy individual. Here we focus on the poor and their heightened difficulty in obtaining needed services, but the same pattern and logic extends to other especially vulnerable groups, such as single parents, Russian speakers, seniors, and those with lower levels of educational attainment.

For every type of service queried, the poor experience greater levels of difficulty than others in obtaining the needed service. Illustrative are the findings for services for an adult with a disability: for those who are non-poor and need such services, 17% report great difficulty in obtaining the service; for the poor, the comparable level rises to 30%. Gaps of similar size, more or less, characterize the differences between the poor and the non-poor for all the other service needs.

Exhibit 3-25 Percent Experiencing Difficulty in Getting Assistance for Human-Service Needs, Poor and Other Households

	Poor Households	Non-Poor Households	All Households Seeking Assistance
Help Finding a Job or Choosing an Occupation	59%	39%	43%
Food, Housing	38%	31%	34%
Help for a Child With a Physical, Developmental, or Learning Disability or Other Special Needs	34%	16%	20%
Services for an Adult With a Disability	30%	17%	20%
Household Member’s Serious or Chronic Illness	23%	11%	14%
Services for an Older Adult in the Household	18%	11%	14%
Among Those Seeking Any of the Above Services: Average Finding It “Very Difficult” to Obtain Any of These Services	27%	19%	21%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Accessing Services From Congregations, Rabbis, and Jewish Organizations

For those respondents who sought assistance in any of the six areas listed, we asked, “Did you get assistance from a synagogue, rabbi, or a Jewish organization for help with the issues or challenges you were facing?” Of those who were qualified to be asked this question, 19% answered affirmatively. Of the 284,000 (or 41%) Jewish households in the area that sought some human-service assistance in the 12 months prior to the survey, 54,000 (19% of the service seekers, and 8% of all New York-area Jewish households) received assistance from a congregation, rabbi, or Jewish organization.

Exhibit 3-26 Percent of Households Seeking Human-Service Assistance That Were Helped by a Synagogue, Rabbi, or Jewish Organization* by Orthodox/Non-Orthodox, Marital Status, and Age

	Percent Seeking Human-Service Assistance Who Were Helped by a Jewish Resource
Orthodox (all marriage statuses)	44%
In-Married, Non-Orthodox	18%
Intermarried, Non-Orthodox	6%
Not Married, 40+, Non-Orthodox	14%
Not Married, 18–39, Non-Orthodox	8%
Total	19%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Question: “Did you get assistance from a synagogue, rabbi, or a Jewish organization for help with the issues or challenges you were facing?”

Methodologically, it must be noted that the single question probably generated a low estimate of the number of households served or helped by all the congregations, rabbis, and Jewish organizations for these particular human-service needs in the 12 months prior to the survey. Respondents may have failed to recall assistance they received, or they may not have recognized that the human-service agency helping them was Jewishly affiliated. Thus, the results should be taken with considerable caution.

With these methodological concerns in mind, we learn that those who are more Jewishly committed and connected are more likely to have turned to Jewish resources for assistance. Thus, of the Orthodox respondents who sought help for any of these service needs, 44% turned to congregations, rabbis, and Jewish organizations — far more than any other denominational group. Among the non-Orthodox, the most powerful division is between the in-married and the intermarried. Among the non-Orthodox in-married, rates of turning to a Jewish resource for help are triple those for the intermarried (18% for in-married versus 6% for intermarried). The comparable rates for respondents who are not married fall between the very low rates for the intermarried and the somewhat higher rates for the in-married.

Concluding Remarks: Many Jews in Need, Many Groups in Need

The findings should serve as a potent reminder that tens of thousands of people in Jewish households are needy, vulnerable, using public assistance, and seeking services. Most prominent among them are certain identifiable population groups: the Orthodox, Russian speakers, seniors living alone, single parents, those with disabilities, Holocaust survivors, and others. Moreover, the range of need extends beyond poverty alone, although poverty is a condition that both exacerbates need and impedes access to assistance.

Over the years, some Jewish poverty groups have declined in size, owing to mortality in one case (Russian-speaking Holocaust survivors), a strong government-sponsored safety net (for the seniors), and other reasons. That said, the number of Jewish poor grew dramatically from 2002 to 2011, presenting new needs and new challenges for their families, their friends, the Jewish community, and society at large.

The American Context for Shifting Jewish Identity

Unlike almost all other group identities, being Jewish combines both ethnic and religious components. Thus, changes in both American ethnicity and religion can and do influence American Jewish identity.

In this context, probably the most critical development in the larger society is that Americans feel freer than in the past to define or assume both ethnic and religious identities. On the ethnic side, they invent “historic” traditions — customs to which they impute a history of practice — and redefine ethnic authenticity. On many levels, they partake of what sociologist Mary Waters has called “ethnic options,” and, as so many scholars of religion have shown, they also partake of religious options, with immediate consequence for Jews, Judaism, and Jewish collective identities.

Changes in the religious sphere — which can be readily extended to changes in the ethnic sphere — are equally illuminating and pertinent. As recently as the mid-20th century, most Americans adhered to a single religious identity that they maintained throughout their lives. Most married within their faith tradition, and for all their differences religious leaders from Protestant Christianity, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism largely agreed that people should practice religious endogamy. All that has changed.

Fluidity

Like ethnic identities, religious identities are far more fluid. More Americans feel they can freely choose whether and how to identify with a religious group.¹ We see evidence of this development in our survey. As one of our respondents told us: “The rest of my family is Jewish. I just choose another religion.” In fact, people feel free to choose religious and ethnic identities even without formal conversion. As one married woman told her interviewer, she came to identify as a Jew “because [her] husband is Jewish, and, besides, [she likes] Jewish religion and culture.” Still others spoke of former family relationships with Jews as the basis for their claim to Jewish identity. One woman related that she identified as a Jew because her “ex-husband was Jewish and the kids are Jewish.” These stories that exemplify fluidity of identity are not limited to isolated individuals. As noted in this volume’s introduction, fully 5% of survey respondents had no Jewish parents and came to identify as Jewish in ways other than formally converting, primarily because of some family connection.

1 Kosmin, Barry A., and Ariela Keysar. 2009. *American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS 2008) Summary Report*. Hartford, CT: Trinity College. Available as PDF at http://commons.trincoll.edu/aris/files/2011/08/ARIS_Report_2008.pdf.

Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. 2008. *U.S. Religious Landscape Survey: Religious Affiliation: Diverse and Dynamic*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. Available as PDF at <http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf>.

Malleability

Since Americans feel comfortable inventing religious and ethnic practices, religious and ethnic identities change and their meanings evolve. Similarly, more Americans change their religious identities over their lifetimes, and some do so more than once, again with parallels among Jews. As one of our respondents said, “I was born Jewish and years ago converted to Christianity, and then practiced Judaism again for my children.” Even within Judaism, as shown later in this chapter, a significant portion of American-born Jews who were raised in a particular denomination now identify with a different denomination.

Hybridity

Not only do we see more changes in religious identity and its meaning, but we also see more hybridity — that is, the confluence of multiple traditions not only in households but even within individuals. Today, more and more individuals feel comfortable adopting elements from multiple religious traditions, and even identifying with several traditions at once. As one of our respondents declared, “I am two religions.” In another case, our interviewer noted that the respondent derives from mixed upbringing and “identifies with both.” Another reported, “When I’m with my father, I’m Jewish; when I’m with my mother, I’m Catholic.” We see hybridity displayed by those who identify with multiple ethnic or religious identities — for example, those who identify as Jews ethnically and with non-Jewish religions religiously, or vice versa. Another illustration of hybridity is the 12% of Jewish respondents who consider themselves “partially Jewish,” consistent with the ethos of hybridity in American society generally and among Jews specifically.

Jewish Without Judaism

Unlike major religious groups in the United States, major segments of Jews do not necessarily identify being Jewish with Judaism as a religion. Significant numbers of Jews claim their religion as “none.” This configuration is particularly common among the intermarried, children of the intermarried, and less engaged Jews, as well as Russian-speaking Jews. However, Jewish identity without religion is by no means isolated to these Jews; it is also expressed by those influenced by certain Zionist and Yiddishist movements in the United States and Europe. Still others lay claim to Jewish identity even though they maintain religious identities tied to something other than Judaism.

Religious Intensification

While much if not all of the foregoing points to fuzzy and porous group boundaries, an equally important trend in the opposite direction has been at work as well. In the religious sphere (with parallels in political life), groups that are seen as more religiously rigorous, culturally conservative, and socially sectarian have been portrayed, with reason, as relatively vital and thriving. Thus, even as parts of America are given to fluidity, malleability, and hybridity, other parts display tendencies in the opposite direction. In this part of America, groups are erecting stronger boundaries, exacting more demanding norms and promoting even more social exclusivity.

Both trends are occurring simultaneously. And, as we will read below, both find their parallels in the Jewry of the New York area today.

Varieties of Jewish Engagement

Jewish engagement is expressed in many ways and in many domains. Among them are subjective feelings of salience, commitment, and importance; informal ties, including friends, associates, conversation, and socializing; formal ties, such as institutional affiliation, volunteering, and charitable donations; ritual behavior, be it at home, in synagogue, or elsewhere; cultural participation, such as music, art, learning, and studying; and an attachment to Israel.

The 2011 survey contained questions that touched on these areas. While by no means exhausting all the ways in which one can express Jewish engagement, the 24 items listed in the table below (in descending order of frequency among respondents in 2011) testify to rich quantitative and qualitative variation. Some items ask about the household (for example, belonging to a synagogue), others ask about someone in the household (lighting Shabbat candles), and still others ask about the respondent (such as attending services). Some of the questions were asked of both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents (such as having Jewish friends) and others were asked only of Jewish respondents (the importance of being Jewish).

Most survey questions on Jewish engagement appear in previous studies of New York's Jewish population. Some questions asked in the 2002 survey were dropped or changed, and a number of new questions were added to capture contemporary behavior (such as belonging to an online Jewish group) and to expand measures of informal and personal Jewish behavior (such as talking regularly about Jewish-related topics with Jewish friends and studying informally, alone, or with a friend or teacher).

Heading the list with greatest frequency are seasonal holiday practices associated with Chanukah, Passover, and Yom Kippur. These are marked by about two-thirds of the households or respondents. A majority of the respondents (57%) say that being Jewish is very important to them, and a majority of the households (55%) report making contributions to Jewish charitable causes other than UJA-Federation of New York.² About half of the respondents have close friends who are mostly Jewish, about the same proportion of Jewish respondents who went to a museum or Jewish cultural event in the last year. Almost half (46%) of the Jewish respondents participate at least sometimes in a Shabbat meal, and about the same number (44%) feel very attached to Israel, similar to the number of households (44%) that belong to synagogues. About a third of the households saw any member participate in a program sponsored by a Jewish community center at any point in the previous year, and an equal number usually or always light Shabbat candles.

In short, the results point to a wide diversity in the extent to which, and the manner in which, Jews of New York participate in Jewish life.

² The survey asked about charitable giving to three types of causes: "any charity or cause that is *not* specifically Jewish," to UJA-Federation of New York, and "(other than to UJA-Federation) to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or to a synagogue." The analysis here keeps the latter two categories separate. In other places, they are combined to look at all giving to Jewish causes (including UJA-Federation and other Jewish causes).

Exhibit 4-1 Indicators of Jewish Engagement, for Respondents and Households, Percent With Affirmative Responses, 2002 and 2011

	2002	2011	Change
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always [^]	77%	69%	-8
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always [^]	76%	68%	-8
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day [*]	65%	61%	-4
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent's Life [*]	65%	57%	-8
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave [^]	56%	55%	-1
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish ^{*^}	—	52%	—
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year [*]	—	49%	—
Shabbat Meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly [*]	—	46%	—
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community ^{* ^ †}	52%	44%	-8
Synagogue Member, Anyone in Household [^]	43%	44%	+1
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached [*]	—	44%	—
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends ^{*^}	—	43%	—
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher [*]	—	38%	—
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly [*]	—	38%	—
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot ^{* ^ †}	35%	36%	+1
Sabbath Candles Lit Friday Night in Household — usually + always [^]	31%	33%	+2
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year [*]	—	33%	—
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year [^]	34%	32%	-2
Kosher Home [^]	28%	32%	+4
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization, Respondent Past Year ^{* ^}	29%	31%	+2
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave [^]	28%	24%	-4
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household [^]	20%	24%	+4
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly [*]	—	23%	—
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs [*]	—	16%	—

Eight-County New York Area

* Questions refer to respondents, not to households.

[^] Items used in constructing Index of Jewish Engagement (see page 118 below).[†] Asked only of Jewish respondents in 2002; asked of all respondents in 2011.

Listed in rank order of percent with affirmative responses in 2011.

Since 2002: A Little Intensification and Considerably Lower Engagement

In 14 instances, questions were identically worded in 2002 and in 2011. Six indicators of Jewish engagement show declines of 4 percentage points or more since 2002; just two display increases as large as 4 points, while six remained essentially stable (change of 2 points or less). Especially large drops were registered with respect to the frequency of seder participation and Chanukah candlelighting, as well as the numbers for whom being Jewish is very important or being part of a Jewish community is very important. The drop of 4 percentage points in reported giving to UJA-Federation contrasted with the negligible change in giving to other Jewish charities. The two indicators with increases of 4 percentage points were keeping a kosher home and belonging to a Jewish organization.

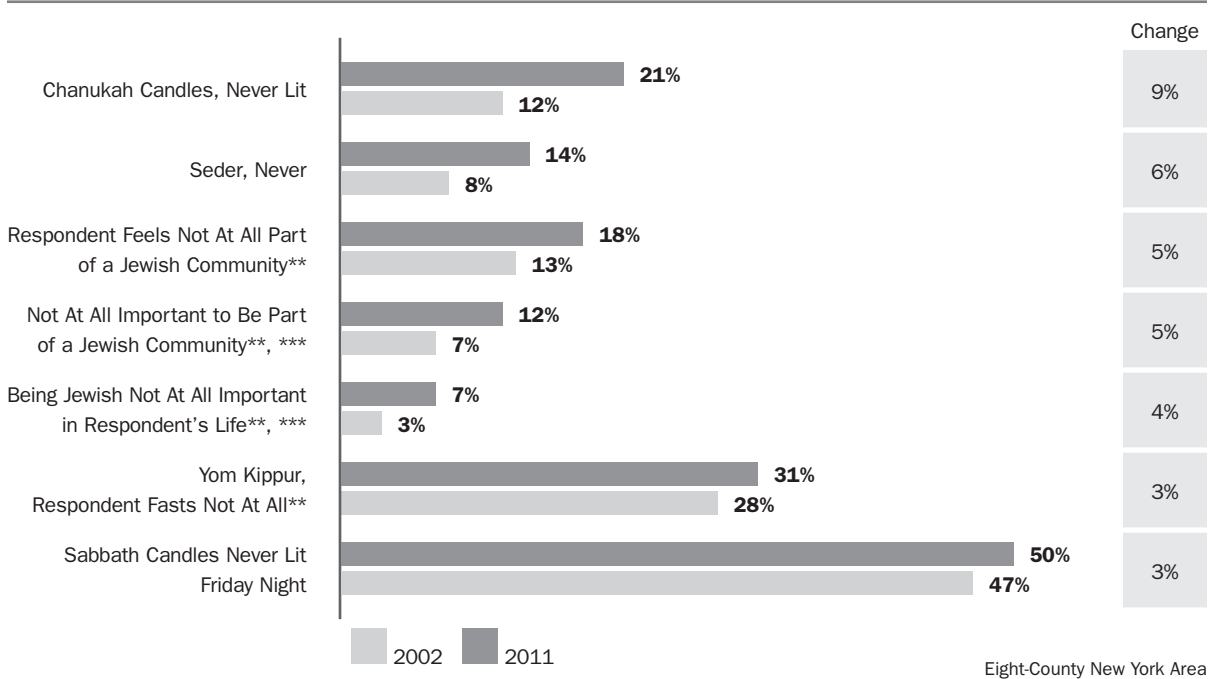
Growing Numbers With Very Low Engagement in Jewish Life

Comparisons between the 2002 and 2011 results point to a growing number of Jews who are less engaged in Jewish life. Below we examine those Jewish-engagement questions that can underscore the trend in that they allow for three or more response categories — for example, very important, somewhat important, a little important, or not at all important. While the prior exhibit focused on affirming answers to the Jewish-engagement questions, exhibit 4-2 focuses on the most extreme non-affirming answers (such as the household never participates in a Passover seder, or being Jewish is not at all important to the Jewish respondent).

In comparing levels of maximal disengagement on these traditional measures, we find consistent growth in disengagement (that is, less engagement) from 2002 to 2011. For example, almost twice as many households in 2011 as contrasted with 2002 never participate in a seder, and nearly twice as many never light Chanukah candles. The number who feel not at all connected to a Jewish community also grew (rising from 13% in 2002 to 18% in 2011).

In fact, for all available measures (that is, those questions repeated both years and containing more than two possible responses), the proportions with the most extreme forms of disengagement have grown substantially since 2002.

Exhibit 4-2 Indicators of Jewish Engagement*, for Respondents and Households, Percent With Most Pronounced Non-Affirmative Responses, Selected Repeated Questions, 2002 and 2011



* Listed in rank order by percentage point change from 2002 to 2011.

** Questions refer to respondents, not to households.

*** Asked only of Jewish respondents in 2002; asked of all respondents in 2011.

These patterns point to the rise of a sizeable minority of Jews who are ritually inactive and communally unconnected. As we will see, of the Jewish households in the eight-county New York area, approximately a fifth gave non-affirmative responses to all or almost all of the items in an Index of Jewish Engagement (see page 118).

Religious Service Attendance: Growth in Those Who Do Not Attend

Emblematic of the changes in Jewish engagement are the 2002 and 2011 distributions of frequency of religious service attendance, a widely used barometer of religious engagement in the United States. The percent attending services at least monthly held steady at 29%, while those attending weekly or daily slightly increased from 17% in 2002 to 19% in 2011. In contrast, consistent with the growth in disengagement suggested by the many declining indicators reported above, the proportion never attending services clearly increased from 16% in 2002 to 23% in 2011.

Exhibit 4-3 **Frequency of Attending Jewish Religious Services, Jewish Respondents**

	2002	2011
Weekly or Daily	17%	19%
1–3 Times a Month	12%	10%
3–9 Times a Year	15%	12%
Once a Year, Special Occasions, or High Holidays	40%	36%
Not at All	16%	23%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

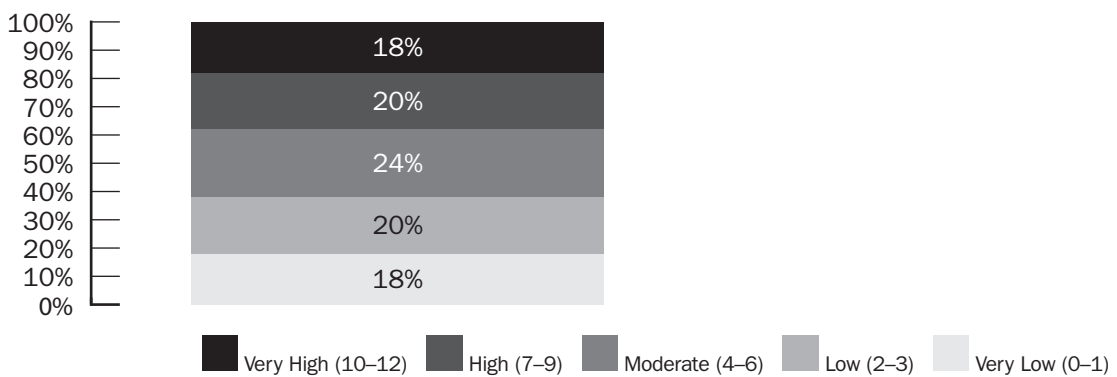
The patterns for religious service attendance vividly testify to two overall features of Jewish engagement in the New York area: great diversity, coupled with greater numbers situated at the lowest end of the engagement spectrum.

The Index of Jewish Engagement

This analysis makes use of an Index of Jewish Engagement, designed to provide a convenient summary classification. The index consists of 12 items that cover a variety of conceptual domains under the conceptual rubric of Jewish engagement. Items touch on communal affiliation, ritual observance, salience of Jewish life, and social interaction. Seven questions were asked about the entire household, and five were asked about the individual; all were asked of both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents in Jewish households. The items are attending a program or event at a YM-YWHA or Jewish community center; belonging to a synagogue; belonging to a Jewish organization; usually or always attending a Passover seder; usually or always lighting Sabbath candles; usually or always lighting Chanukah candles; feeling it's very important to be part of a Jewish community; regularly talking about Jewish-related topics with Jewish friends; feeling a lot a part of a Jewish community; volunteering for Jewish organizations or causes; having closest friends who are mostly or all Jewish; and contributing to any Jewish charity, including UJA-Federation of New York.

As can be seen from exhibit 4-4, the items readily allow for the classification of households into five broad categories, each encompassing between 18% and 24% of the population. In addition, the very shape of the distribution serves to underscore the striking diversity of levels of engagement in the Jewish population in the eight-county New York area. On the one hand, 18% of the households scored zero or one — meaning that either they affirmed none or just one of the 12 items listed, perhaps only participating in a Passover seder or only lighting Chanukah candles, two of the more widely affirmed items. At the same time, an equal number (18%) attained scores of 10 to 12, meaning they responded affirmatively to most questions.

Exhibit 4-4 Index of Jewish Engagement Distribution



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

How the Least Engaged Engage

Among those scoring very low, some signs of Jewish life remain, pointing to areas where the very unengaged are at least somewhat connected to Jewish life. On five indicators not included in the index, from 13% to 19% of very low-scoring respondents gave affirmative replies (in descending order) to going to a Jewish cultural event or museum, having been to Israel, fasting on Yom Kippur, studying on their own (or informally with a friend or teacher), and accessing Jewish websites. These indicators share one feature in common: they can be undertaken individually or with friends and family; they do not demand formal affiliation or collective action. Previous research has pointed to the appeal of Jewish cultural events and independent learning by young adults and disengaged Jews.³ These results are consistent with that research.

³ Kelman, Ari Y. 2010. *The Reality of the Virtual: Looking for Jewish Leadership Online*. New York: Avi Chai Foundation. Available as PDF at <http://avichai.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/The-Reality-of-the-Virtual-2.0-AYK.pdf>.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2008. *Uncoupled: How Our Singles Are Reshaping Jewish Engagement*. New York: Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies. Available as PDF at <http://www.acbp.net/About/PDF/uncoupled.pdf>.

Kelman, Ari Y., and Eliana Schonberg. 2008. *Legwork, Framework, Artwork: Engaging the Next Generation of Jews*. Denver: Rose Community Foundation. Available as PDF at <http://www.rcfdenver.org/reports/EngagingNextGen.pdf>.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2007. *The Continuity of Discontinuity: How Young Jews Are Connecting, Creating, and Organizing Their Own Jewish Lives*. New York: Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies. Available as PDF at <http://www.acbp.net/About/PDF/Continuity%20of%20Discontinuity.pdf>.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2005. *Cultural Events and Jewish Identities: Young Adult Jews in New York*. New York: The National Foundation for Jewish Culture. Available as PDF at <http://www.ujafedny.org/assets/documents/PDF/who-we-are/our-approach/JewishCultureStudy.pdf>.

Denominational Change: Conservative and Reform Decreasing, Orthodox and “Other” Growing

Shifting denominational allegiances have been a master theme in characterizing general — not specifically Jewish — American religious life over the years. Three patterns in particular are relevant to Jewish denominational patterns. First, more fundamentalist and socially conservative religious groups and denominations have maintained their share of the religious “market” and may even have grown. (Notably, some years ago, a scholar penned an article titled “Why Strict Churches are Strong.”)⁴ Second, so-called mainstream Protestant denominations have experienced falling membership along with considerable anxiety over the aging of congregations and the loss of younger adults and younger families. Third, the phenomenon of nondenominational or trans-denominational identity has grown, as fewer people identify with established churches and denominations and more abide no single identity in particular.

The parallels with American Jewry — including New York-area Jewry — are readily apparent. In New York, over a 20-year time period from 1991 to 2011, the percentage of households that are Orthodox has increased and now stands at 20%, just ahead of the Conservative percentage (19%) and not far behind the proportion who identify as Reform (23%). This pattern represents a marked shift from 1991, when Conservative and Reform proportions were each about two and a half times the size of the then much smaller Orthodox household percentage (13% in 1991). Over the last two decades, both Conservative and Reform household percentages have fallen, with the Conservative proportion falling even further than the Reform.

Commensurately, households with “other” identities (that is, religion “none” and “no denomination — just Jewish”) grew the fastest of all classifications, rising from 15% in 1991, to 25% in 2002, to 37% in 2011. The nondenominational households now comprise 3 in 8 Jewish households in the eight-county area, outnumbering every major denominational identity. The number of nondenominational households is nearly double that of either Orthodox or Conservative, although, as we’ll see below, differences in household size puts the Orthodox firmly in the lead in terms of the number of Jews.

4 Iannaccone, Laurence R. 1994. “Why Strict Churches are Strong.” *American Journal of Sociology* 99 (5): 1180–1211. Available as PDF at <http://majorsmatter.net/religion/Readings/RationalChoice.pdf>.

Exhibit 4-5 Denomination of Jewish Respondents*, 1991–2011

Respondents	1991**	2002	2011
Orthodox	13%	19%	20%
Conservative	34%	26%	19%
Reform	36%	29%	23%
Reconstructionist	2%	1%	1%
Other***	15%	25%	37%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* The surveys in 2002 and 2011 asked respondents only for their own denominations and not those of other household members. Some households include members who affiliate with different denominations. For the sake of simplicity and conforming with available data, the analysis uses the respondent's denominational identity to classify the household.

** Data published in 1991 has been recalculated to reflect the denomination of the respondent only and to eliminate "do not know" answers.

*** "Other" includes "just Jewish," "something else," "no religion," non-Jewish religion (but respondent is Jewish), "traditional," "Sephardic," "cultural," "secular," and other answers.

Several factors account for the rise of the nondenominational segment of the population. One factor noted earlier is a decreasing attachment to denominational (and other social) identities, including political parties, consumer brands, nations, and communities.⁵ Another is the increased number of adult children of intermarriage — among the adult children of the intermarried, 65% identify with no denomination or a minor denomination, in contrast with just 32% of the adult children of two Jewish parents. A third is the increasingly porous boundaries that allow the entry of people born non-Jewish but who become identified as Jews despite never having gone through conversion. (The emergence of post-denominational Judaism, such as embodied in *havurot* and independent *minyanim*, may be culturally significant particularly for the Jewishly educated, but, in the New York survey data, it is demographically insignificant, as only 0.1% answered "post-denominational or trans-denominational" in response to the denomination question.)

Insofar as America places a diminished emphasis on solid religious identities, as intermarriage rates persist or rise, and as Jewish group boundaries remain porous, we can expect further increases in the nondenominational, along with Jews who score low on indices of Jewish engagement.

5 Wuthnow, Robert. 1998. *Loose Connections: Joining Together in America's Fragmented Communities*, 288. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Almost Half a Million Orthodox Jews, and Conservative and Reform Declining

As much as the distribution of households has shifted toward the Orthodox since 1991, the distribution of population — the number of Jewish people — has shifted even more. In the last nine years, the fraction of households that are Orthodox remains around 20%, but the fraction of Jews that are Orthodox grew from 27% in 2002 to 32% in 2011.

Exhibit 4-6 Number of Jewish People by Denomination of Respondent*

	2002			2011		
	Average Number of Jews in Household	Number of Jews in Households	Percent of All Jewish People	Average Number of Jews in Household	Number of Jews in Households	Percent of All Jewish People**
Orthodox	3.4	378,000	27%	3.8	493,000	32%
Conservative†	2.1	318,000	23%	2.2	280,000	18%
Reform	2.1	345,000	24%	2.0	303,000	20%
Reconstructionist	2.3	19,000	1%	2.5	14,000	1%
Other††	1.8	269,000	19%	1.6	396,000	26%
Non-Jewish Respondent	1.5	78,000	5%	1.5	51,000	3%
No Answers	—	25,000	1%	—	—	—
Total	2.2	1,412,000*	100%	2.2	1,538,000*	100%

Eight-County New York Area

* The classification of household members is based on the respondents' reported denomination.

** Percentages are slightly inflated due to the exclusion of some unknown cases from the base.

† Includes "Conservadox."

†† Jews with no denomination, or no religion, or religion other than Judaism, or such infrequent responses as "traditional," "Sephardic," and "post- or trans-denominational," as well as no answers.

In terms of sheer numbers, the eight-county New York area is home to almost half a million Orthodox Jews. (The Orthodox population can be subdivided into three major groups: Modern or Centrist Orthodox, Yeshivish, and *Haredi* — see chapter 7.) The Orthodox population (493,000) is far larger than its Reform counterpart (303,000), which in turn slightly surpasses those in Conservative households (280,000). As many as 396,000 Jews live in nondenominational "other" homes — that is, where the respondent does not identify with Judaism as their religion or identifies as "no denomination," "just Jewish," "secular," or in some other way that abjures the major Jewish denominational labels. Another 51,000 Jews live in homes where the respondent was non-Jewish; denominational identity was not asked of these respondents.

Since 2002, the Orthodox population grew by 115,000, while the Conservative population shrank by 38,000, just shy of the decline in the Reform population (42,000). At the same time, the nondenominational “other” population (as defined above) increased by 127,000. In 2002, there were also 27,000 more Jews living in households with a non-Jewish respondent and an additional 25,000 who did not answer the denomination question — for both of these groups, denominational information is lacking for comparison with 2011.

One factor in Orthodox growth is the growth in mean Jewish household size, from 3.4 in 2002 to 3.8 in 2011, commensurate with the larger growth in the number of *Haredi* households and their far higher birthrates as compared with Modern Orthodox households (see chapter 7). So while the Orthodox compose 20% of all Jewish households and 32% of all Jews, 61% of Jewish children in the eight-county area live in Orthodox households, or about twice as many Jewish children who live in Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist households combined.

As demonstrated below, in the aggregate the Orthodox score the highest of all denominational categories in terms of Jewish engagement. In contrast, the nondenominational score the lowest. The sharp growth of these two groups, then, speaks to a growing bifurcation of the population in terms of these measures of Jewish engagement. On the Jewish-education spectrum, increases took place at both ends, along with a relative decline in the middle largely populated by Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews.

Denominational Transitions: From Generation to Generation

For United States-born respondents with at least one Jewish parent, we asked for the denomination in which the person was raised. Thus, for the 61% of the sample who provided usable answers on both denominational questions, we are able to chart the denominational transitions from childhood to adulthood, examining two related questions:

1. Of those who began their lives in a particular denomination, is their current denomination the same or did it change?
2. Of those who now identify with a particular denomination, how many originated in each of several childhood denominational identities?

Indeed, we find more denominational stability than switching over time, but the inter-denominational differences are noteworthy. Of those raised Orthodox, 64% remained Orthodox, and most of the others split between Conservative and nondenominational. Of those raised Conservative, just 46% remained Conservative — the lowest retention rate of all denominational groups — with most of the others becoming Reform and a large proportion not currently identifying with any denomination. Of the Reform, two-thirds remained Reform (even more “loyal” than the Orthodox), with the vast majority of the others becoming nondenominational.

Exhibit 4-7 Denomination Now by Denomination Raised, Jewish Respondents With Jewish Parents*

Current Denomination	Denomination Raised, of Those Raised as Jews				All Jewish Respondents
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	No Denomination and Other**	
Orthodox	64%	4%	2%	6%	21%
Conservative	17%	46%	7%	8%	22%
Reform	7%	29%	66%	13%	28%
Reconstructionist	<1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Other: No Denomination, Primarily**	12%	20%	24%	71%	28%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Read this table down, as in: “Of all respondents raised Orthodox, 17% currently identify as Conservative.”

* This table reports current denomination only for those respondents who had a Jewish parent and were raised in the United States.

** Includes “just Jewish,” “something else,” “no religion,” non-Jewish religion (but respondent is Jewish), “traditional,” “Sephardic,” “cultural,” “secular,” and other answers.

Those raised in no denomination (including a very few who were raised Reconstructionist) tend to remain identified with no denomination as adults (71%). The others are scattered among the other denominational options.

We can examine the same table along the rows rather than down the columns. Here we learn of each current denomination’s composition in terms of denomination raised.

Exhibit 4-8 Denomination Raised by Denomination Now, Jewish Respondents With Jewish Parents*

Current Denomination	Denomination Raised, of Those Raised as Jews				Total
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	No Denomination and Other**	
Orthodox	88%	5%	2%	5%	100%
Conservative	23%	63%	7%	7%	100%
Reform	7%	31%	53%	9%	100%
Reconstructionist	10%	43%	21%	27%	100%
Other: No Denomination, Primarily**	13%	21%	19%	48%	100%
All Jewish Respondents	29%	30%	22%	19%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Read this table across, as in: “Of all respondents now Conservative, 23% were raised Orthodox.”

* This table reports current denomination only for those respondents who had a Jewish parent and were raised in the United States.

** Includes “just Jewish,” “something else,” “no religion,” non-Jewish religion (but respondent is Jewish), “traditional,” “Sephardic,” “cultural,” “secular,” and other answers.

We find that the vast majority (88%) of today's Orthodox respondents were raised Orthodox, far more than those who were raised in the other denominations. For Conservative Jews, the comparable proportion is 63%, with most of the others coming from Orthodoxy. For Reform, just over half are Reform from birth, with most of the others coming from Conservative homes. Reconstructionists consist of Jews raised in a variety of denominational backgrounds. The nondenominational are made up of about half who were originally nondenominational, with the rest not quite evenly divided among the three major denominational groups.

For this self-contained group alone (of respondents born in the United States), in comparing current denomination with denomination raised, we see declines in Orthodox and Conservative affiliation and increases in Reform and nondenominational affiliation. These trends are inconsistent with population-wide trends in recent years for the Orthodox (expanding) and the Reform (declining). Thus, changes in affiliation do not explain the increase in Orthodox numbers, and the decline in Reform must be attributed to causes other than changes in denominational affiliation. Indeed, in both instances, the average number of Jewish children born works to drive up Orthodox representation, and to drive down the Reform representation in the population.

The Denominational Distribution: Distinguishing by Congregational Belonging

The major denominations differ widely in the extent to which their adherents join congregations. Of respondents who identify as Orthodox, 90% are congregational members, as contrasted with 60% of the Conservative respondents, 41% of those who identify as Reform, 66% of the Reconstructionists, and just 17% of all others. As we will demonstrate, in terms of Jewish engagement, congregational members of a particular denomination outscore their non-congregational counterparts. Hence, to truly understand the nature of "denominational," we need to differentiate denominational adherents who belong to a synagogue from those who do not belong.

In doing so, we learn that 306,000 households in the eight-county New York area belong to synagogues, comprising 44% of all households. With an average of just over three Jews per synagogue-affiliated household, they contain within them 927,000 Jews, or 60% of the Jewish population in the eight counties. In other words, while only a minority of households are congregationally affiliated, a majority of Jews are so affiliated. This observation derives from the fact that congregationally affiliated families tend to be larger Jewish households, owing in part to the tendency for Jews (and Americans) to join houses of worship when they have children, and also to the high rates of synagogue membership among the Orthodox, whose household size is about double that among non-Orthodox households.

Of the 927,000 Jews who dwell in congregationally affiliated homes, nearly half a million of them are Orthodox. Of the others, the number of affiliated Conservative Jews (191,000) exceeds the number of their Reform counterparts (154,000); Reconstructionist Jews number 10,000 in all. With respect to the number of Jewish children, affiliated Conservative homes also exhibit a slight lead over affiliated Reform homes (36,000 versus 32,000).

Whereas 3 in 5 Jews are congregationally affiliated, only 1 in 6 non-Jews living in Jewish homes is congregationally affiliated. The vast majority of people in congregationally affiliated households are Jewish (Orthodox, 99%; Conservative, 97%; Reform, 95%). Non-Jews in Jewish households disproportionately live in homes that are nondenominational and that do not belong to congregations.

Exhibit 4-9 Household Distribution of Synagogue Membership and Denominational Identities*

Synagogue Membership and Denomination	Households		Jews		Non-Jews		Percent Who Are Jewish**	Jewish Children	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Members									
Orthodox	116,000	17%	470,000	31%	3,000	1%	99%	205,000	61%
Conservative	77,000	11%	191,000	12%	6,000	3%	97%	36,000	11%
Reform	62,000	9%	154,000	10%	8,000	3%	95%	32,000	9%
Reconstructionist	4,000	<1%	10,000	<1%	1,000	<1%	90%	2,000	<1%
Other	47,000	7%	101,000	7%	20,000	9%	83%	14,000	4%
Nonmembers									
Orthodox	13,000	2%	23,000	1%	7,000	2%	69%	3,000	1%
Conservative	51,000	7%	89,000	6%	8,000	3%	91%	8,000	2%
Reform	89,000	13%	149,000	10%	23,000	10%	87%	15,000	4%
Other	235,000	34%	349,000	23%	155,000	67%	69%	23,000	7%
Total	694,000	100%	1,538,000	100%	231,000	100%	87%	338,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Denomination was determined only for Jewish respondents. Missing from the tabulations as an explicit category are non-Jewish respondents who, in the vast majority of cases, represent intermarried homes. Relative to others, the intermarried more often report not belonging to a congregation, and more often identify as Reform or nondenominational, equivalent to “other” above. These cases were assigned to the other/nonmember category.

** Number of Jews as a percent of all people in these households.

Jewish Engagement Varies Considerably by Denomination and Congregational Belonging

The differences between denominations, as well as between congregational members and nonmembers, are substantial. In terms of both attending synagogue and Jewish engagement, congregational members vastly outscore nonmembers of the same denomination. Among members or nonmembers, we find a familiar denominational gradient, with the Orthodox substantially leading Conservative adherents, who in turn somewhat surpass Reform Jews on measures of engagement and attendance.

While the Orthodox lead on these measures would be widely anticipated by observers of Jewish life, the differences between Conservative and Reform Jews may be less expected. Among the congregationally affiliated, Conservative respondents are substantially more likely to attend monthly services than their Reform counterparts (38% versus 22%). The differences extend to having Shabbat meals, number of Jewish friends, talking about Jewish matters, and accessing Jewish websites, to take a variety of selected measures. The differences extend to non-congregants as well, even though non-congregants are far less Jewishly engaged than congregants with the same denominational identity. In terms of those scoring very high on the measure of overall Jewish engagement, Conservative congregants score at this level almost twice as frequently as Reform congregants (30% versus 17%).

Of note are the patterns exhibited by nonmembers. Perhaps not surprisingly, hardly any unaffiliated of any denomination attend services monthly. In terms of overall Jewish engagement, we find the familiar denominational gradient: Orthodox, Conservative, and then Reform.

All said, a key point emerges in the inspection of the differences by denomination and congregational membership. Highly public and visible behavior (for example, attending services) displays larger differences by denomination and membership than do personal and private behaviors (for example, talking with friends about Jewish matters or accessing Jewish websites). In fact, visiting Jewish museums and attending cultural events does not quite vary along the lines of other indicators. These patterns demonstrate that the public domain (synagogues and other institutions) provide only a limited window on Jewish engagement, and that other areas such as culture, politics, social networks, and informal social life need to be recognized and followed to appreciate the variety and complexity of Jewish engagement today.

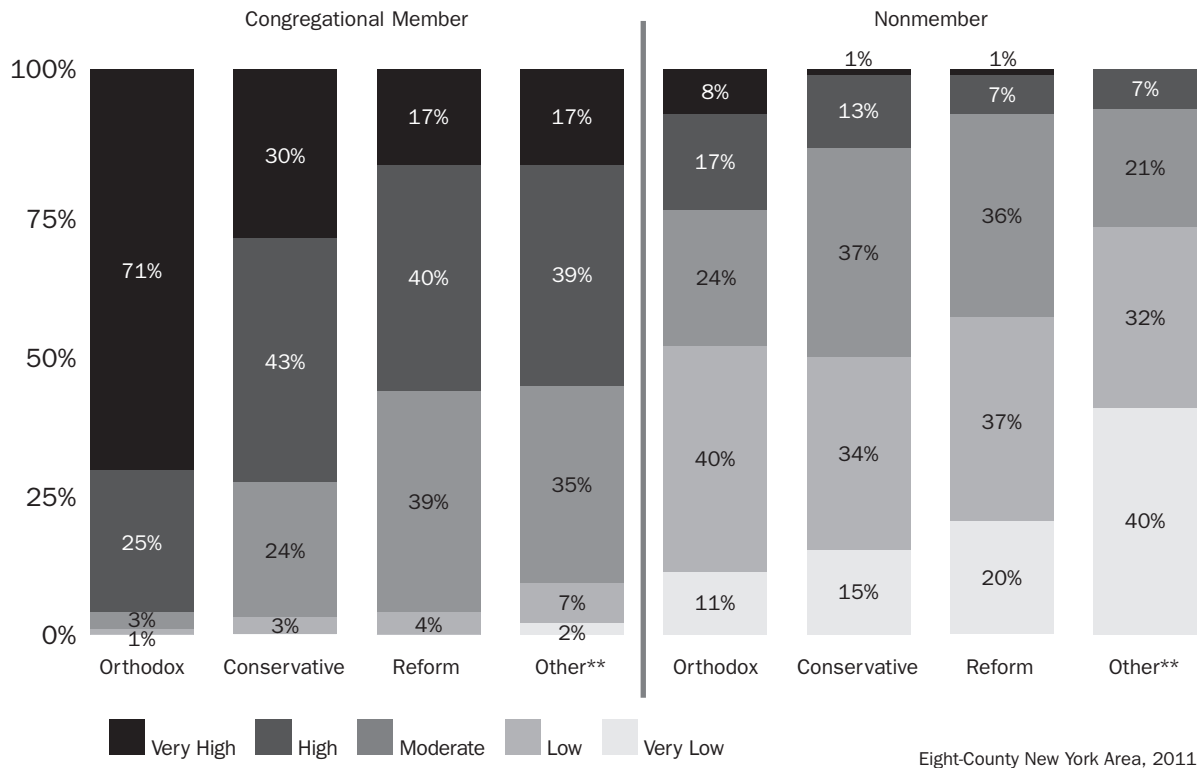
Exhibit 4-10 **Percent Affirming Selected Jewish-Engagement Activities by Denomination and Congregational Membership, Jewish Respondents**

	Attends Services Monthly or More	Shabbat Meal Sometimes or More Often	Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics	Jewish Websites, Sometimes or More Often	Museum Visit or Jewish Cultural Event, Past Year
Congregational Members						
Orthodox	77%	95%	92%	81%	58%	59%
Conservative	38%	70%	67%	60%	57%	69%
Reform	22%	59%	55%	43%	47%	68%
Other*	28%	61%	53%	51%	45%	58%
Nonmembers						
Orthodox	10%	53%	62%	39%	37%	38%
Conservative	4%	29%	44%	37%	40%	38%
Reform	2%	15%	42%	24%	25%	44%
Other*	5%	20%	32%	26%	22%	33%
All Jewish Respondents	23%	46%	52%	43%	38%	49%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Includes Reconstructionist, nondenominational, non-Jewish respondents, and no answers to denominational question.

Exhibit 4-11 Jewish Engagement by Denomination and Congregational Membership



* See page 118 for a definition of the index and the levels of Jewish engagement.

** Includes Reconstructionist, nondenominational, non-Jewish respondents, and no answers to denominational question.

Three Types of Nondenominational Jews

The “other” denomination category, primarily consisting of nondenominational Jews, is of great policy and scientific interest for several reasons. One is that they are a quickly growing part of the population. Second, as a group they score far lower on Jewish-engagement indicators than the denominationally identified.

Since they are such a large population (comprising at least 246,000 households, with at least 396,000 Jews within them), it behooves us to further segment this large population.⁶ The analysis pointed to the value of differentiating the nondenominational by their religious identification — that is, did they identify their religion as Jewish, or as none, or as a non-Jewish religion (Christianity and others, but who qualified as Jewish by virtue of credible claims of belonging to the Jewish group)?

⁶ Excluded from the analysis but also largely nondenominational are the households where a non-Jewish respondent answered. These 37,000 households contain 51,000 Jews. Almost all of these non-Jewish respondents are married to Jews, and we do not know how their Jewish spouses identify denominationally. We do know that 63% of intermarried households where the Jewish spouse was the respondent qualify as nondenominational. Many of the Jewish-engagement questions were asked only of Jewish respondents. To avoid complicating the analysis, non-Jewish respondents were excluded, but readers should recall that a major fraction of the households they represent are in fact nondenominational.

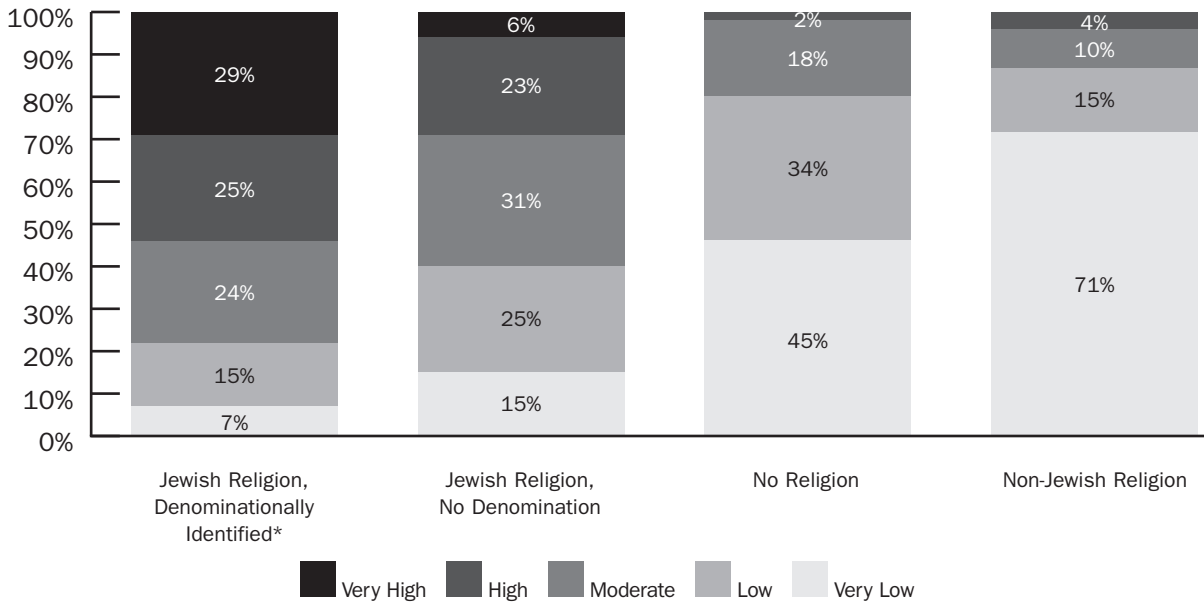
Hence, we have three nondenominational groups:

1. Religion Jewish, no denomination — 121,000 households with 215,000 Jews.
2. Religion none, and the respondent considers self Jewish (no denomination question asked) — 91,000 households and 131,000 Jews.
3. Religion non-Jewish, and the respondent considers self Jewish — 34,000 households and 49,000 Jews.

The Index of Jewish Engagement tabulations provide an overall portrait of the large differences in Jewish engagement among these three groups. The most engaged are those who identify with the Jewish religion: 29% score very high or high on the index compared with just 2% of those with no religion and 4% of those who identify with a non-Jewish religion. To be sure, all of these nondenominational groups are vastly surpassed by the denominationally identified, where a majority (54%) score high or very high.

At the low end of the engagement spectrum, we find sharp differences among the three nondenominational groups. Just 15% of the Jewish-religion group scores very low, as contrasted with 45% of the no-religion group and fully 71% of the non-Jewish religion category. At the same time, among the denominationally identified, only 7% score as low.

Exhibit 4-12 Jewish Engagement by Religion and Whether Denominationally Identified, Jewish Respondents



* Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist.

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Further insights into the intergroup differences in Jewish engagement can be gleaned from a detailed inspection of many Jewish-engagement indicators. Here we may ask two questions: First, which indicators display large contrasts among the nondenominational groups, and for which are the differences more muted? Second, for which indicators do nondenominational Jews score relatively high (or not so low) as compared with the denominationally identified? Answers to this latter question may point to the more promising points of intervention to enhance the Jewish engagement of nondenominational and other relatively unengaged Jews.

The various nondenominational groups engage differentially, scoring relatively high on some indicators of Jewish engagement. For those whose religion is Jewish but who have no denominational identity, we find relatively high observance of the three annual holidays of Passover, Chanukah, and Yom Kippur. They also report relatively high levels of having mostly Jewish close friends and feeling that being Jewish is important, and half feel very attached to Israel.

Those whose religion is “none” score considerably lower on all measures. About a third attend a seder, light Chanukah candles, go to Jewish cultural events, and have mostly Jewish close friends — all less often than those whose religion is Jewish.

Those with a non-Jewish religion score lower still on almost all measures. That said, about a quarter attend Jewish cultural events, feel very attached to Israel, and informally study aspects of being Jewish.

In sum, the activities that most appeal to the nondenominational groups are the seasonal holidays and those activities that may be undertaken individually (often conducted with families and friends).

Exhibit 4-13 Indicators of Jewish Engagement*, Percent With Affirmative Responses, by Type of Nondenominational Jewish Respondents

	Jewish Respondents			
	Jewish Religion, Denominationally Identified**	Jewish Religion, No Denomination	No Religion	Non-Jewish Religion
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	84%	66%	32%	19%
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	81%	65%	35%	14%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	74%	61%	20%	16%
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent's Life	69%	54%	18%	21%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	69%	48%	22%	20%
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	63%	53%	30%	11%
Synagogue Member, Anyone in Household	63%	26%	6%	5%
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community	58%	39%	12%	10%
Shabbat meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	58%	39%	12%	17%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	56%	44%	30%	24%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	52%	44%	19%	18%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	51%	50%	22%	28%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot	50%	22%	7%	8%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	46%	29%	18%	24%
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	46%	34%	16%	20%
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	44%	23%	8%	11%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	43%	31%	7%	7%
Kosher Home	43%	24%	9%	14%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	42%	19%	8%	16%
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	38%	29%	21%	10%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	34%	16%	2%	3%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	32%	18%	7%	5%
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	31%	18%	9%	6%
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	18%	16%	9%	9%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

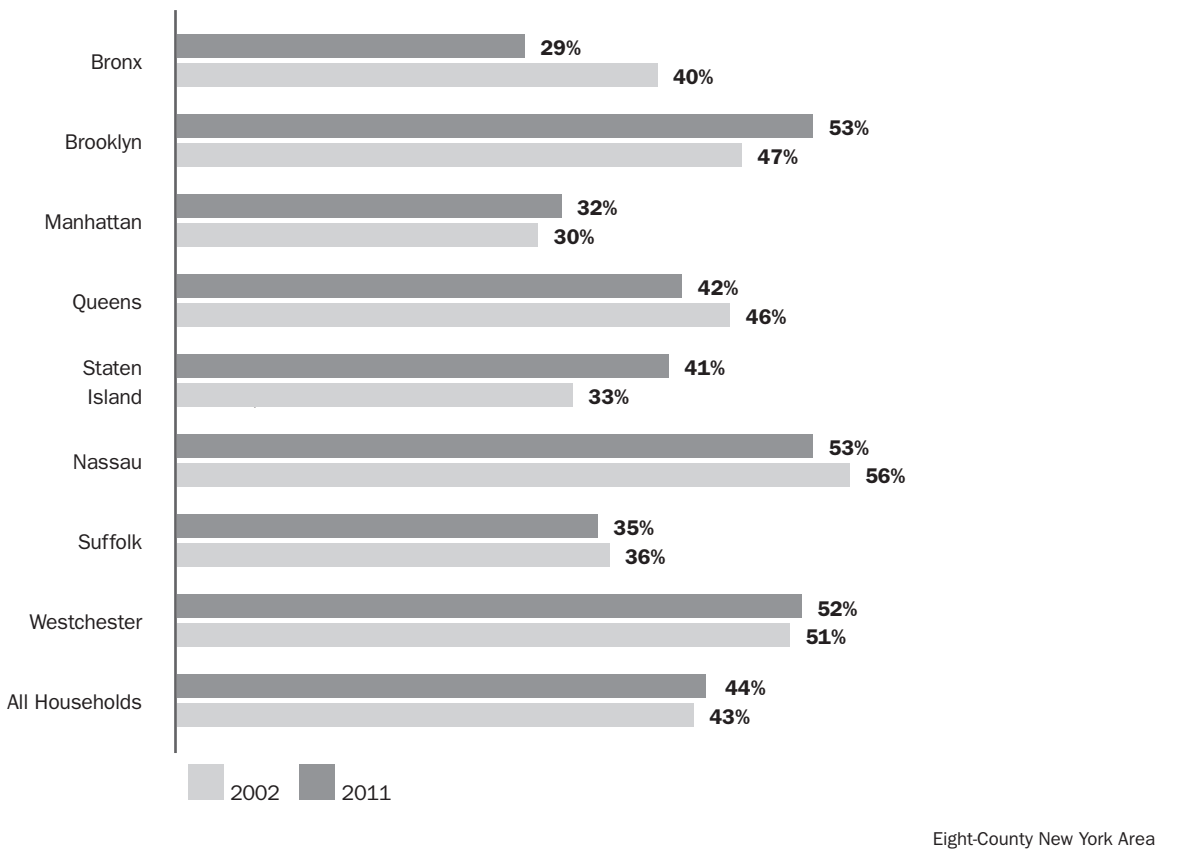
* Listed in rank order of the largest group: Jewish Religion, Denominationally Identified.

** Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist.

Congregational Affiliation: Higher Rates in Nassau, Westchester, and Brooklyn

Slim majorities of the Jewish households in Nassau, Westchester, and Brooklyn belong to congregations, while only about a third of their counterparts in the Bronx, Manhattan, and Suffolk are affiliated. Congregational affiliation rates in Queens and Staten Island are at intermediate levels (just over 2 in 5).

Exhibit 4-14 **Congregational Household Membership Rates by County**



These county-level variations reflect the underlying Jewish profile and socio-demographic composition of their respective populations. Both religious traditionalism and the presence of children drive affiliation upward, partially explaining the relatively high rates in Brooklyn. Relative affluence — such as that which characterizes significant portions of the older suburbs of Nassau and Westchester (see chapter 2) — also predicts congregational belonging. The relatively low proportions of the religiously traditional, children, and affluence (or two out of three) helps us understand why rates of affiliation in the Bronx, Manhattan, and Suffolk considerably trail those in Nassau, Westchester, and Brooklyn.

In six of the counties, the level of congregational membership changed by 4 percentage points or less between 2002 and 2011, a difference that might be attributable largely to sampling error. However, larger differences are found in the Bronx (a decline of 11 percentage points) and Staten Island (a rise of 8 points). The reasons for these shifts must remain speculative; but it is noteworthy that since the 2002 survey, the Bronx saw the emergence of a small number of households in areas outside of the major concentrations of Jews in Riverdale. A good number of these households are relatively unengaged in Jewish life, with many seeing themselves as partially Jewish, helping to explain the drop in congregational affiliation from 2002.

Introducing the Study of Intermarriage

In 1964, *Look* magazine ran a cover story titled “The Vanishing American Jew.”⁷ Since then, *Look* has vanished, but intermarriage has remained to command the attention of Jewish communal policymakers and practitioners. A long research literature⁸ covers such complex, and often controversial, issues as:

- How does one measure intermarriage rates — by individuals or by marriages, and at what point in the marriage?
- What are the causes or correlates of intermarriage — who intermarries more than others, in terms of location, social networks, parental upbringing, Jewish education, and other predictors?
- What are the consequences of intermarriage — for the individual, the couple, the children, the grandchildren, and the community?
- What are the implications for policy and practice — for communal leaders and institutions, as well as for families and individuals?

The findings below — much of which replicate and extend the 2002 study analyses — directly and indirectly address these and related questions.

7 Morgan, Thomas B. 1964. “The Vanishing American Jew.” *Look*, May 5: 42–46.

8 Beck, Pearl. 2005. *A Flame Still Burns: The Dimensions and Determinants of Jewish Identity Among Young Adult Children of the Intermarried*. New York: Jewish Outreach Institute. Available as PDF at <http://www.joi.org/flame/Children%20of%20Intermarriage%20Identity%20Study.pdf>.

Fishman, Sylvia Barack. 2004. *Double or Nothing?: Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage*. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.

Phillips, Bruce. 1997. *Re-Examining Intermarriage: Trends, Textures, and Strategies*. New York: American Jewish Committee. Available as PDF at http://www.ajcarchives.org/AJC_DATA/Files/808.pdf.

Definitions of In-Married, Intermarried, and Conversionary Households

By way of definition, we classify married couples into three categories.

- **In-Married** Jewish Couples or Households — both spouses are Jewish.
- **Conversionary In-Married** Jewish Couples or Households — in-marriages where at least one spouse is Jewish without having a Jewish parent. Not all such Jews converted formally; Jews by personal choice, in our terminology, acquired a Jewish identity by way of living in a Jewish family. To be clear, all “conversionary” marriages are in-marriages.
- **Intermarried** Jewish Couples or Households — one Jewish spouse is married to one non-Jewish spouse.

Where calculations divide couples, households, or individuals into two categories (in-married and intermarried), in-married includes both the in-married where both spouses are Jewish as well as the conversionary in-married.

The “couple rate” is always higher than the “individual rate.” A simple example will clarify the point: in a population with just two couples — one in-married and the other intermarried — the intermarried couple rate is 50%, as half of the two couples are intermarried; however, of the three Jews in the population, just one is intermarried. Thus, for the same imaginary population, a third of the Jewish individuals are intermarried, while half of the couples are intermarried.

In-Married, Intermarried, and Conversionary Households: Distributions

In 2011, 72% of all Jewish married couples in the eight county area were in-married, another 6% were conversionary in-married, and 22% were intermarried. This distribution is nearly identical to that found in 2002, when 22% of couples were intermarried and 7% were conversionary in-married. In 1991, 20% were intermarried. Over a 20-year period, then, intermarriage edged upward by a relatively small amount, but only in the first part of the period. In effect, the overall rate of intermarriage has stabilized in the eight-county New York area.

Exhibit 4-15 **In-Marriage Status Among Married Couples**

	2002	2011
In-Marriages	72%	72%
Conversionary Marriages	7%	6%
Intermarriages	22%	22%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

Intermarriage, Denomination, and Congregational Affiliation

Rates of intermarriage vary by denomination and by congregational membership. Among congregants, the individual rate of intermarriage (percent of married Jewish individuals who are married to non-Jews) follows the usual denominational gradient: Orthodox (1%), Conservative (2%), Reform (4%), and congregants with other identities such as no denomination or secular humanist (15%).

Intermarriage rates really jump among people who do not belong to a congregation. For those calling themselves Conservative, the rate stands at 8%; it's higher still for the self-defined Reform (15%) and reaches 35% for those who are “other,” generally no denominational identity.

Exhibit 4-16 **Rates of Intermarriage for Couples and Individuals by Denomination and Congregational Membership**

	Couple Rate	Individual Rate
Congregational Members		
Orthodox	1%	1%
Conservative	3%	2%
Reform	8%	4%
Other	26%	15%
Nonmembers		
Orthodox	1%	1%
Conservative	15%	8%
Reform	27%	15%
Other	51%	35%
All Members and Nonmembers	22%	12%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Among the Non-Orthodox Under 50, About 2 in 5 Couples Are Intermarried

By many perspectives, notwithstanding the ongoing rise in intermarriage in the country and among non-Orthodox Jews in New York, for the entire New York-area population, younger Jews actually exhibit lower rates of intermarriage than their elders. Thus, in 2011, of married couples where the respondent is age 35 to 49, 29% are intermarried; however, among those under 35, just 14% of married couples are intermarried. When comparing intermarriage rates in 2011 with those obtained in 2002, we find rather large increases in the intermarriage rates for those ages 50 and over, a pattern consistent with the finding that second marriages exhibit higher rates of intermarriage than first marriages. However, for those under 35, the intermarriage couple rate fell from 24% in 2002 to 14% in 2011.

From any perspective, the rate of intermarriage among those under 35 in 2011 emerges as remarkably low, but the low intermarriage rate of the youngest age group derives entirely from the large fraction of married young adults who are Orthodox. For those married under 35, 64% are Orthodox, as contrasted with 26% of their slightly older counterparts ages 35 to 49. Since intermarriage is so rare among the Orthodox (just 1%), their early age at marriage serves to drive down the intermarriage rate for those under 35.

In fact, among the small fraction of non-Orthodox Jews who are married in the 18–34 age range, fully 39% of the couples are intermarried. The figure slightly trails the comparable number in 2002 (42%), while among those ages 35 to 49, the intermarriage proportion is slightly higher in 2011 as compared with 2002. Taken together, these findings suggest that the rate of intermarriage has stabilized at about 2 couples in 5 for the non-Orthodox.

Exhibit 4-17 **Percent of Married Couples Who Are Intermarried, by Age of Respondent, for All Couples and for Non-Orthodox Couples Only**

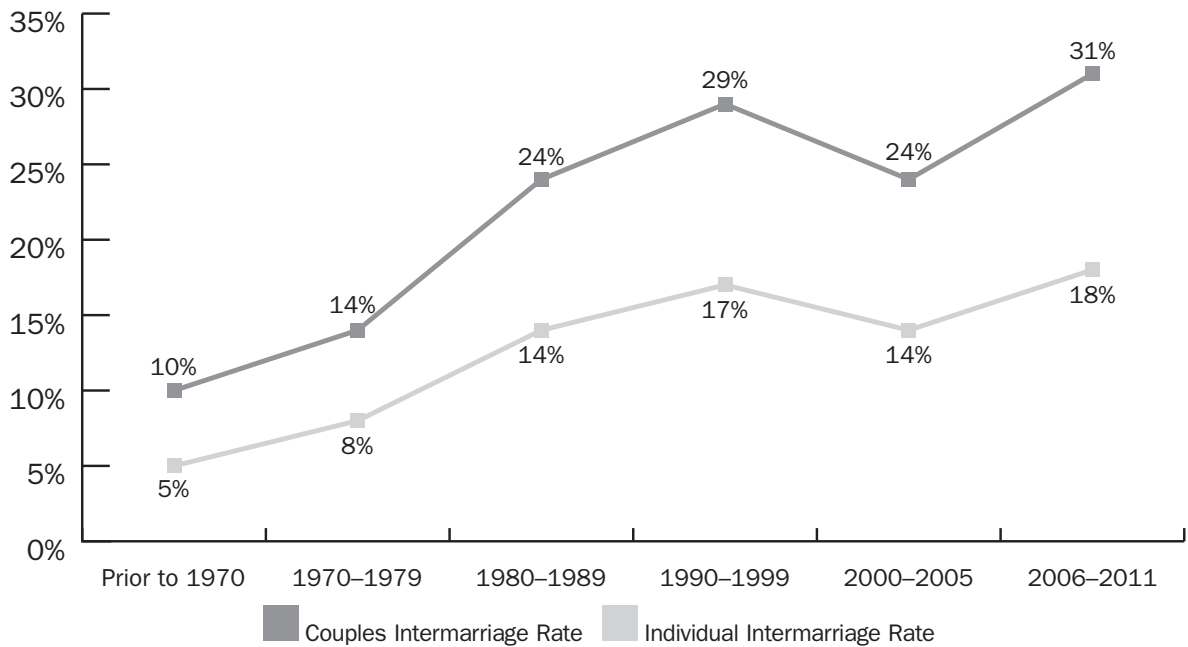
	2002		2011	
	All Currently Married Couples (Including Orthodox)	Non-Orthodox Couples Only	All Currently Married Couples (Including Orthodox)	Non-Orthodox Couples Only
18–34	24%	42%	14%	39%
35–49	30%	37%	29%	41%
50–64	21%	25%	24%	28%
65+	10%	12%	15%	17%

Eight-County New York Area

The Inter marriage Trajectory: Steadily Mounting Among the Non-Orthodox

Although we see stability in intermarriage rates by age, we see a different trend by the year of marriage. For the eight-county New York area, the couple intermarriage rate rises from a low of 10% for those marriages contracted before 1970 to three times that number — or 31% — for the most recent marriages between 2006 and 2011.

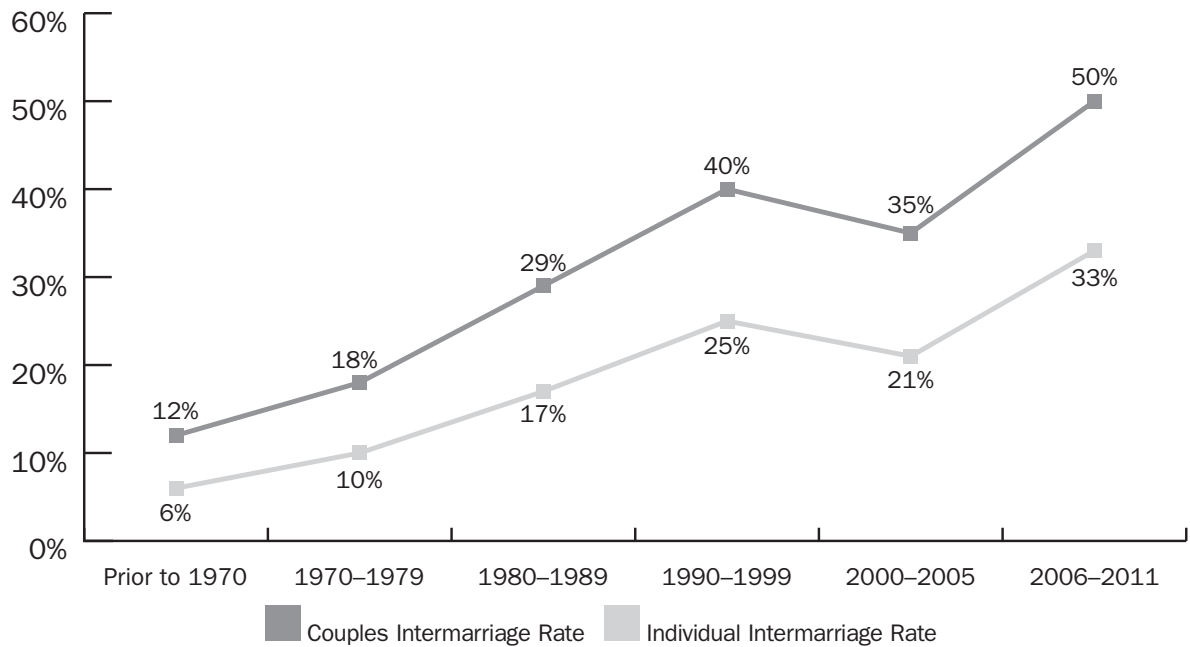
Exhibit 4-18 Couple and Individual Rates of Intermarriage by Year Married



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

As much as intermarriage has risen unevenly over the last 50 years or so for the entire population, the rate of increase is even steeper for the non-Orthodox, among whom the intermarriage rate for couples who married before 1970 stands at 12%. By the 1980s, the couple rate for the non-Orthodox rose to 29%. For the most recently conducted marriages, those who wed between 2006 and 2011, as many as 50% of non-Orthodox couples intermarried. This rate represents the first time that the intermarriage couple rate reached the halfway point, attaining a level almost three times that found in the 1970s.

Exhibit 4-19 **Couple and Individual Rates of Intermarriage by Year Married, Non-Orthodox Only**



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

For the same period, 2006 to 2011, the individual rate of intermarriage of current Jews stands at 33%. That is, of all non-Orthodox Jews who married in the last five years or so, a third married non-Jews.

Persisting Low Jewish Engagement Among the Intermarried

On nearly all measures of Jewish engagement, the intermarried trail the in-married.⁹ Illustrative of the size of the gaps in Jewish-engagement indicators between non-Orthodox in-married and intermarried households are several measures where the in-married lead the intermarried by a ratio of roughly 2:1 (see exhibit 4-20). Examples include fasting on Yom Kippur, volunteering for a Jewish organization, attending adult Jewish education programs, and regularly talking about Jewish matters with one's Jewish friends. Even larger gaps of approximately 3:1 or more characterize several other indicators; they include feeling that being Jewish is very important, feeling that it's very important to be part of a Jewish community, feeling part of a Jewish community, participating in a Jewish organization, sometimes having a Shabbat meal, and feeling attached to Israel. The largest gaps are associated with yet other indicators: belonging to a congregation, lighting Shabbat candles, attending services at least monthly, and having closest friends who are mostly Jewish.

The comparison with 2002 offers clues to a critical question: To what extent has the Jewish community made progress in closing the engagement gaps associated with intermarriage? We focus on changes in the levels of 14 Jewish-engagement indicators that were identically worded in the two surveys.

Among the intermarried, we find changes ranging from an increase of 5 percentage points (giving to a Jewish cause other than UJA-Federation) to a decline of 16 percentage points (importance of being Jewish). Double-digit declines also characterize Chanukah candlelighting (-13%) and participating in a Passover seder (-12%).

In eight of 14 instances, the gaps observed in 2002 widened by five percentage points or more. As an example, with respect to feeling that being Jewish is very important, in-married and intermarried Jewish respondents differed by 32 percentage points in 2002; by 2011, the gap grew to 42 percentage points.

In short, from 2002 to 2011, the intermarried became more distant from Jewish life, especially when compared with the in-married.

⁹ For purposes of these comparisons, Orthodox respondents have been excluded. Had they been included, the gaps between in-married and intermarried would be even wider.

Exhibit 4-20 Indicators of Jewish Engagement* for Non-Orthodox In-Married and Intermarried Respondents

	2002		2011		Change	
	In-married	Inter-married	In-married	Inter-married	In-married	Inter-married
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	88%	65%	82%	52%	-6%	-13%
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	86%	58%	81%	46%	-5%	-12%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	69%	38%	69%	33%	0%	-5%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	68%	26%	66%	31%	-2%	+5%
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	—	—	64%	16%	—	—
Being Jewish is Very Important in Respondent's Life	69%	37%	63%	21%	-6%	-16%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	—	—	58%	36%	—	—
Synagogue Member	51%	16%	52%	15%	+1%	-1%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	—	—	50%	17%	—	—
Shabbat Meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	—	—	49%	13%	—	—
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community**	54%	18%	49%	13%	-5%	-5%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	—	—	48%	21%	—	—
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	—	—	41%	31%	—	—
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	41%	27%	41%	27%	0%	0%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot**	37%	10%	36%	9%	-1%	-1%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	—	—	32%	25%	—	—
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	—	—	32%	14%	—	—
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	40%	14%	35%	12%	-5%	-2%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	29%	9%	33%	7%	+4%	-2%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	31%	16%	30%	14%	-1%	-2%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	27%	7%	28%	10%	+1%	+3%
Kosher Home	21%	5%	26%	6%	+5%	+1%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	—	—	21%	4%	—	—
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	—	—	17%	11%	—	—

Eight-County New York Area

* Listed in rank order by 2011 in-married.

** Asked only of Jewish respondents in 2002; asked of all respondents in 2011.

Distinguishing the Affiliated Intermarried From the Unaffiliated

The vast majority of intermarried Jews are relatively unengaged in Jewish life: 70% score low or very low on the Index of Jewish Engagement (see Exhibit 4-22) as compared with just 22% of the non-Orthodox in-married.

However, not all intermarried Jews are so disengaged. Those who are congregationally affiliated, albeit a small minority of the intermarried (12,000 households, or 15% of all the intermarried households), score higher than the unaffiliated on almost all measures of Jewish engagement.

In fact, the affiliated intermarried are far more likely than the unaffiliated in-married to participate in adult Jewish learning programs or study informally alone or with a friend or teacher. They are also twice as likely to volunteer for a Jewish organization and visit Jewish websites, and are more likely to regularly participate in Shabbat meals, feel part of a Jewish community, give to Jewish charities (other than UJA-Federation), and attend services or a program at a Jewish community center. However, the affiliated intermarried are less likely than the unaffiliated in-married to have mostly Jewish close friends, feel very attached to Israel, or talk about Jewish topics with Jewish friends, suggesting that the Jewish social networks of the in-married are stronger, and the institutional networks of the affiliated are stronger.

Also intriguing are the comparisons between the non-Orthodox in-married and the intermarried among the congregationally affiliated. In what ways are the two groups similar, and where do they still differ?

To be sure, the non-Orthodox congregationally affiliated in-married lead the affiliated intermarried on almost all measures of Jewish engagement (studying informally, with a single percentage point gap, is the one exception). For all other indicators where the intermarried consistently trail, some gaps are relatively smaller than others. These indicators with relatively smaller gaps denote areas where the small population of affiliated intermarried are relatively active in Jewish life. Among them, the three seasonal holidays, accessing Jewish websites, and belonging to online Jewish groups, as well as contributing to Jewish charities other than UJA-Federation, attending Jewish cultural events, and participating in a program at a Jewish community center.

At the same time, even among those who belong to congregations, the intermarried trail the in-married on most Jewish indicators by considerable amounts. Most notably, the non-Orthodox in-married outpace the congregationally affiliated intermarried by ratios of about 2:1 with respect to talking about Jewish matters with friends and giving to UJA-Federation. Even larger gaps of about 3:1 characterize having mostly Jewish friends, attending services monthly, lighting Shabbat candles, and feeling attached to Israel.

Exhibit 4-21 Indicators of Jewish Engagement*, Percent With Affirmative Responses, by Inter-marriage Status and Congregational Affiliation, Non-Orthodox Respondents

	Affiliated		Not Affiliated	
	In-Married	Inter-married	In-Married	Inter-married
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	94%	79%	67%	40%
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	92%	87%	71%	46%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	86%	78%	45%	23%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	80%	77%	57%	27%
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent's Life	77%	58%	48%	15%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	71%	56%	43%	33%
Shabbat meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	69%	43%	28%	9%
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community	69%	30%	27%	11%
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	68%	23%	59%	14%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	59%	17%	41%	17%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	58%	30%	37%	19%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot	57%	20%	13%	7%
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	56%	52%	25%	28%
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	54%	43%	27%	24%
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	50%	40%	12%	11%
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	48%	21%	22%	11%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	47%	28%	13%	12%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	45%	46%	18%	22%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	44%	12%	20%	5%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	38%	23%	18%	8%
Kosher Home	36%	8%	16%	5%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	34%	13%	8%	2%
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	22%	17%	11%	10%
Christmas Celebrated in Any Way by Someone in Household**	—	87%	—	92%
Christmas Celebrated as Religious Holiday by Someone in Household**	—	61%	—	49%
Attends Christian Worship Services, Someone in Household**	—	51%	—	47%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Sorted by in-married affiliated.

** The 2002 survey did not ask this question. In 2011, it was asked only of households in which the respondent or spouse or partner is Christian.

Christmas and Christian Worship

For households with non-Jewish adults present (essentially, intermarried households), we also asked about Christmas celebration and attending Christian worship services. In about 9 in 10 intermarried households, congregationally affiliated or not, Christmas is usually celebrated by a household member; in about half of these households, affiliated or not, Christmas is usually celebrated by someone as a religious holiday. Consistent with this finding, in about half of these households, both those that are members of Jewish congregations and those that are not, a household member attends Christian worship services at least a few times a year.

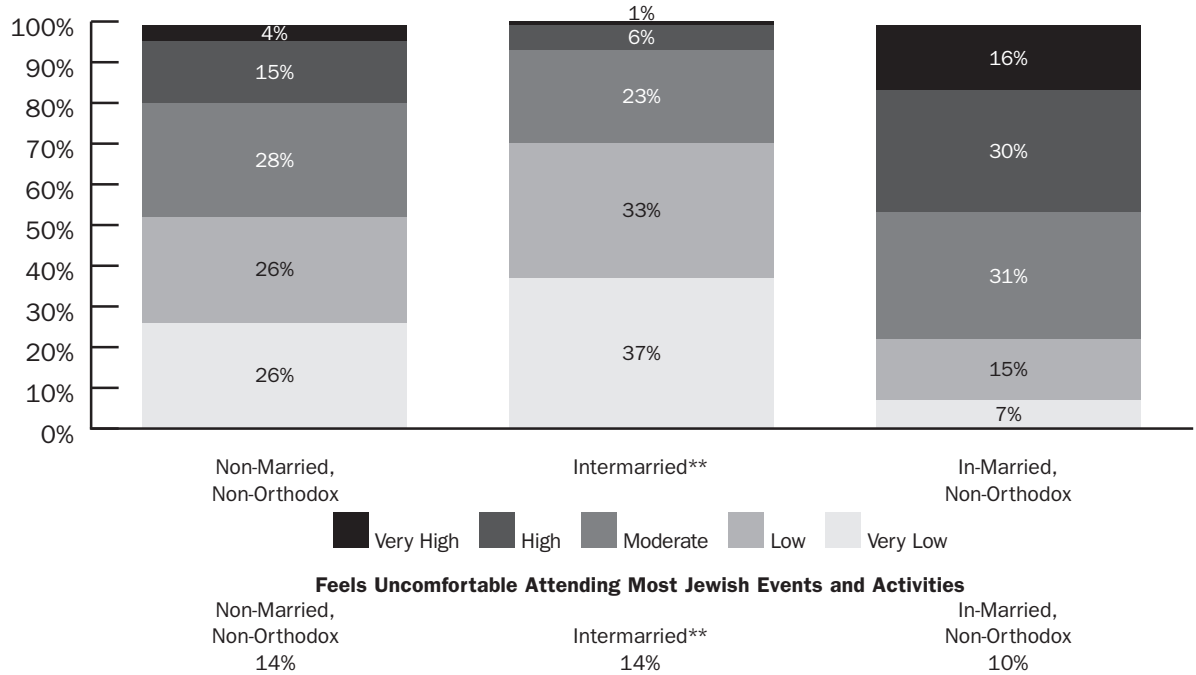
In short, for the intermarried, synagogue affiliation bears no relationship with the likelihood that Christmas is celebrated or that someone attends Christian worship services. The results for Christian practices, then, run counter to the relationship of congregational belonging with many aspects of Jewish engagement, where the congregationally affiliated intermarried exhibit higher levels of Jewish involvement than their unaffiliated counterparts.

The Intermarried Are Far Less Engaged — But Not Because of Lack of Comfort

The Index of Jewish Engagement reflects the same patterns described above. With respect to those scoring very high, the non-Orthodox in-married outscore the intermarried 16% to 1%. Nearly half (46%) of the non-Orthodox in-married score high or very high on the Index of Jewish Engagement, but only 7% of the intermarried score as high. Just 7% of the non-Orthodox in-married score very low on Jewish engagement, but among the intermarried, more than five times as many (37%) score as low.

In fact, the non-Orthodox non-married are more engaged in Jewish life than the intermarried. Of the non-married, 19% score high or very high on the index, nearly three times the number (7%) among the intermarried.

Exhibit 4-22 **Jewish Engagement and Feeling Comfortable at Jewish Events for Non-Orthodox In-Married, Intermarried, and Non-Married Respondents***



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Includes only those with a Jewish parent who were raised in the United States and are under age 70.

** Includes a small number who self-identify as Orthodox.

As shown in exhibit 4-21, even among the synagogue-affiliated intermarried, just 20% feel very much part of a Jewish community, compared with 57% of affiliated in-married respondents. Aware of these sentiments, many communal leaders who are focused on outreach to the intermarried voice concern about how comfortable the intermarried feel in Jewish institutions. The data from this survey demonstrates that the vast majority of intermarried respondents say that they do not feel uncomfortable attending most Jewish events and activities. In fact, their responses differ just slightly from the other two groups examined here. The intermarried only slightly outscored the in-married (14% versus 10%), and their discomfort level equaled that of the non-married (14%). Thus, expressed discomfort with Jewish events and activities is not very widespread, nor do the intermarried express more discomfort than others.

Distancing From Israel: Visiting, Peoplehood, Alienation, or Inter-marriage?

A line of research dating back to the early 1980s documents the diminished attachment to Israel by younger adults.¹⁰ A long literature documents the close relationship of Israel attachment with almost all measures of Jewish engagement; and here, too, in the New York area in 2011, we found a host of the anticipated relationships between Jewish-engagement indicators of all sorts and the single-item question on Israel attachment.

Yet another area of consensus among researchers is that the matter of putative distancing of young adults from Israel is primarily a question for those other than the Orthodox, as Orthodox Jews remain deeply attached to Israel. Consistent with this generalization, in the New York area the extent to which the Orthodox are “very attached” to Israel (69%) and have ever traveled to Israel (79%) is approximately double the levels found among the non-Orthodox population. (For some exceptions to this generalization, see the next section.)

Consistent with the body of previous research, among non-Orthodox Jews in the eight-county New York area, Israel attachment does rise with age (that is, diminish with youth). Those saying that they are very attached to Israel reach 42% or more of respondents ages 50 and over. For those under 50, though, only 25% are very attached to Israel. (Young adults who live with their parents express higher levels of attachment than those living on their own: 37% for those ages 18 to 34 living with parents versus 25% for those living independently.)

One explanation offered for the depressed levels of Israel attachment among young people is that they have yet to experience travel to Israel. Israel travel has been shown to elevate attachment, presumably for many years. Young people have had fewer years for the opportunity to visit Israel. But, in fact, among those ages 18 to 34 living on their own, the proportion that has been to Israel (42%) exceeds that among those ages 50 to 64 (38%). Certainly, the putative paucity of Israel travel among the young cannot serve as the primary reason for their diminished attachment to Israel.

10 Farber, Esther, and Idon Natazon. 2011. “Are Young American Jews in the Diaspora Distancing From Israel?” Report of a colloquium organized by the American Jewish Committee, New York, NY, March 2011. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=10993>.

Solomon, Jeffrey, and Leonard Saxe. 2011. “Ten Years Later, Birthright Still Reaching Young Jews.” *Jewish Week*, May 24. Available at http://www.thejewishweek.com/editorial_opinion/opinion/ten_years_later_birthright_still_reaching_young_jews.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2010. “Thinking About Distancing From Israel.” *Contemporary Jewry* 30 (2–3). Available as PDF at http://www.contemporaryjewry.org/resources/2_cohen_kelman.pdf.

Sasson, Theodore, Benjamin Phillips, Charles Kadushin, and Leonard Saxe. 2010. *Still Connected: American Jewish Attitudes About Israel*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University. Available as PDF at <http://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/pdfs/still.connected.08.25.10.3.pdf>.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2007. *Beyond Distancing: Young Adult American Jews and Their Alienation From Israel*. New York: Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies. Available as PDF at <http://www.acbp.net/About/PDF/Beyond%20Distancing.pdf>.

Other theories to explain a weaker attachment of young people to Israel include their relative detachment from collective Jewish identity. Indeed, some evidence in support of this reasoning can be seen in the diminished (albeit non-uniform) expression of a “very strong” sense of belonging to the Jewish people among those under age 50. Unfortunately, for this hypothesis, the results for those under 35 do not follow the same contour as does the attachment to Israel engagement item. Thus, shifts in feeling a sense of belonging to the Jewish people is, at best, only a weak, partial explanation for why Jews under 50 are less attached to Israel than those over 50.

A last explanation focuses on disgruntlement with the policies of the Israeli government. Observers have noted that Jewish young adults and not-so-young adults are displeased with the Israeli government’s policies in several areas, including the handling of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, challenges to the recognition of Conservative/Masorti and Reform Judaism, civil liberties, and the status of women in Jewish life.¹¹ To test this hypothesis, albeit imperfectly, the survey asked respondents whether they thought that Jewish organizations were too quick to defend Israel, designed as an indicator of generalized unhappiness about Israeli policies. About a quarter of Jews under 50 agreed, but their number was not that much more than among older Jews, and certainly inadequate to explain the diminished attachment to Israel among Jews under 50.

Exhibit 4-23 **Attachment to Israel and Visited Israel by Age for Non-Orthodox Respondents**

	18–34, Living With Parent	18–34, Not Living With Parent	35–49	50–64	65+
Very Attached to Israel	37%	25%	26%	42%	46%
Visited Israel	31%	42%	34%	38%	52%
Belong to Jewish People “Very Strong”	23%	38%	31%	43%	51%
Organizations “Too Quick” to Defend Israel	27%	24%	24%	21%	18%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

11 Cohen, Steven M. 2011. *JTS Rabbis and Israel, Then and Now: The 2011 Survey of JTS Ordained Rabbis and Current Students*. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=13348>.

Beinart, Peter. 2010. “The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment.” *New York Review of Books*, June 10. Available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment>.

Cohen, Steven M. 2010. “Comments on Beinart.” Response to Peter Beinart’s “The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment” above. Available as PDF at <http://bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=8277>.

Distancing From Israel and the Impact of Inter-marriage

Earlier research¹² points to growing intermarriage and the increasing distance of intermarried Jews from Israel as depressing the overall average levels of Israel attachment among younger non-Orthodox Jews. The patterns in the New York area show similar dynamics at work.

Of couples under 50, the intermarriage rate is more than twice that found among couples ages 65 and over. Moreover, rates of attachment to Israel are much higher among the in-married than the intermarried. Hence, the rising numbers of intermarried couples among younger Jews means a shifting balance away from a group with relatively high rates of Israel attachment (the in-married) toward a group with relatively low rates of Israel attachment (the intermarried).

Exhibit 4-24 **Intermarriage Couple Rates by Age, and Attachment to Israel by Age, for Non-Orthodox In-Married, Intermarried, and Non-Married Respondents**

	18–34*	35–49	50–64	65+
Percent Intermarried	39%	41%	28%	17%
Percent Very Attached to Israel				
Intermarried	7%	13%	23%	22%
In-Married	48%	40%	55%	51%
Non-Married	27%	22%	37%	46%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Not living with a parent.

But yet another factor is at work, also one observed in previous research in another context. The gap in Israel attachment between the in-married and intermarried is growing even larger than it was before. For example, in comparing Israel-attachment rates for the non-Orthodox, we find a spread of 55% for the in-married versus 23% for the intermarried among those ages 50 to 64; in contrast, for their counterparts under 35, the gap grows to 48% versus 7%. The attachment of intermarried Jews to Israel declines markedly with younger age. The comparable contour for the in-married is non-uniform.

In short, a major reason for the drop in Israel attachment among the young is that so many more of them are intermarried and, in addition, younger intermarried Jews are more distant from Israel than their older counterparts. Even more than in the past, intermarriage today is associated with a decreased attachment to Israel.

12 Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2010 "Thinking About Distancing From Israel." *Contemporary Jewry* 30 (2–3). Available as PDF at http://www.contemporaryjewry.org/resources/2_cohen_kelman.pdf.

Cohen, Steven M., and Ari Y. Kelman. 2007. *Beyond Distancing: Young Adult American Jews and Their Alienation From Israel*. New York: Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies. Available as PDF at <http://www.acbp.net/About/PDF/Beyond%20Distancing.pdf>.

Reactions to Children Intermarrying Sharply Divides the Population

Over the years, opposition in the Jewish population to intermarriage and one's children intermarrying has steadily declined. Changes in the society at large (its increasing acceptance of intergroup marriage), acceptance by Jews into mainstream America, and the prevalence of intermarriage itself have all worked to soften and diminish the extent to which Jews — and their institutions — express opposition to intermarriage.

To learn how attitudes to this issue are distributed in the population, we asked Jewish respondents the following question:

“Say a child of yours married a non-Jew who did not convert to Judaism. Would you be upset with that, or would that *not* upset you? [WAIT FOR ANSWER. IF UPSET, ASK:] Would you be very upset, or somewhat upset?”

The Jewish respondents' answers were split almost evenly, with 50.5% not upset and 49.5% upset (33% of the total would be very upset). However, variations among the respondents by demographic and Jewish-engagement characteristics speak to very wide differences in the population. In general, more engaged Jews express greater concern with intermarriage, as do the more traditional. For example, among the synagogue affiliated, the extent of people upset follows the usual denominational gradient: Orthodox (98%), Conservative (66%), and Reform (52%). More than three-fifths (61%) of people who report they contribute to UJA-Federation would be upset. Since the Orthodox are almost uniformly upset with the idea of their children intermarrying, younger Jews in New York are actually more upset with intermarriage than older Jews. Almost three-quarters (73%) of the respondents who say being Jewish is very important would be upset. A majority (56%) of non-Orthodox in-married Jews would be upset with their children intermarrying.

In contrast, several groups report very low levels of upset with intermarriage. Most notably, only 6% of intermarried Jews would be upset, as would only 12% of the converts to Judaism, 30% of the synagogue unaffiliated, and 20% of Jews whose religion is “none.”

In short, feelings about intermarriage vary widely and are closely connected with one's degree of involvement in Jewish life.

Peaking With Parenting: Family Status and Jewish Engagement

The general contour of Jewish engagement rises and falls through the life cycle. As detailed in exhibit 4-25 for the non-Orthodox, the emergence or departure of Jewish family members promotes or depresses Jewish engagement.

The married dramatically outscore the non-married on Jewish engagement. The former are almost three times as likely to score high or very high as the non-married (33% for married versus 13% for non-married), and they are much less likely to score very low (19% versus 32%).

As compared with married couples with no children, those with children present score even higher on the Index of Jewish Engagement. With children present, 38% score high or very high, as compared with 33% with no children present.

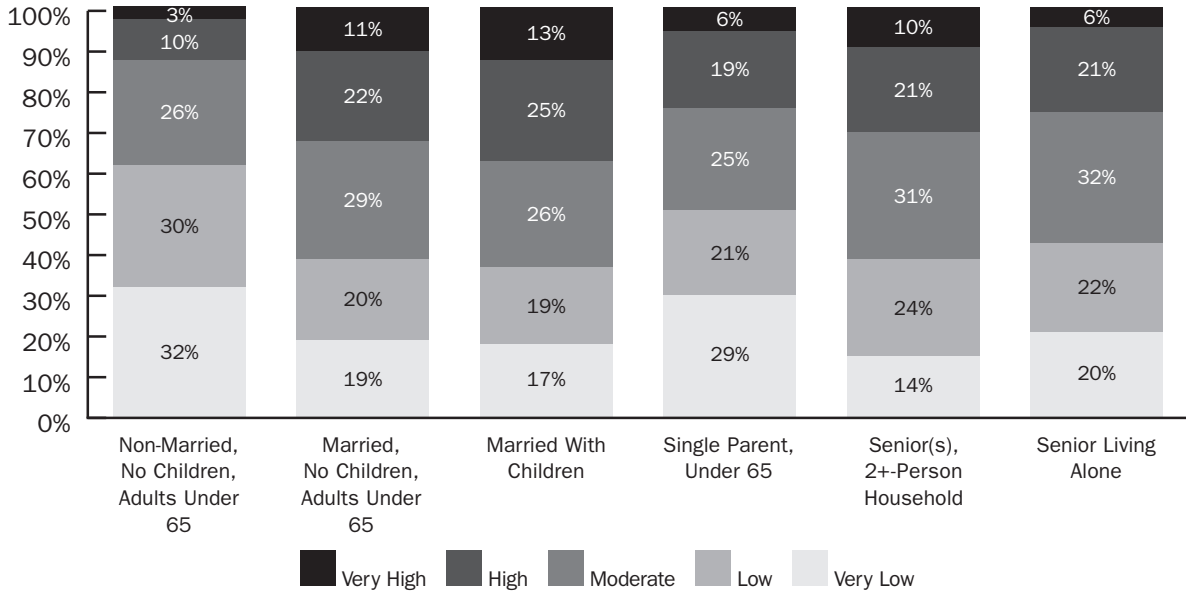
Of special interest is the low Jewish-engagement profile of single parents. Not only are single parents far less Jewishly engaged than married couples with children at home, but they are less engaged than married couples with no children at home. In fact, Jewish-engagement levels of single parents only slightly exceed those displayed by the non-married without children.

One plausible explanation for these low rates of Jewish involvement is that single parents shoulder family responsibilities alone, leaving them with less free time than spouses in married couples. Single-parent households have lower incomes than two-parent households and are more frequently poor (see chapter 3); as shown below, poverty may also depress Jewish engagement. But time and money may not be the only factors. As compared with the non-Orthodox non-married with no children, non-Orthodox single parents are less likely to report having been raised by two Jewish parents (48% versus 69% for the non-married with no children), or to have received any Jewish schooling as a child (54% versus 65%). Thus, in part, the low levels of Jewish engagement of single parents might be attributed to their lower levels of childhood Jewish socialization and education.

In addition, the absence of a Jewish spouse or partner in the household also deprives them of added opportunities and motivation to participate in Jewish life, an inference borne out in part by a comparison of two groups of seniors: one living with others (generally spouses and partners) and the other living alone.

Seniors living with other people report Jewish-engagement scores resembling those for the group that is married with no children present. The differences in Jewish-engagement levels between the two groups are small. In comparison, seniors living alone report somewhat lower levels of Jewish engagement. Thus, for those living with someone else, 31% report high or very high Jewish-engagement scores, as compared with 26% for those living alone.

Exhibit 4-25 Jewish Engagement by Household Composition and Family Status for Non-Orthodox Households



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Two important inferences can be drawn from these life cycle–related changes in Jewish engagement. One is that changes in household composition and family status do indeed provoke both rises and falls in Jewish engagement. Jewish engagement is socially situated; it is not solely an individual trait, but one that finds expression in and is shaped by the social context. A second observation is that the presence of other Jews in the household provokes higher levels of Jewish engagement. Jewish spouses, children, and parents all serve to connect individuals with Jewish life in a variety of ways. *Life is With People*¹³ is the title of an important anthropological study of Eastern European Jewish life; it also serves as a useful reminder of important and demonstrable features of American Jewish life today — including life in the eight-county New York area.

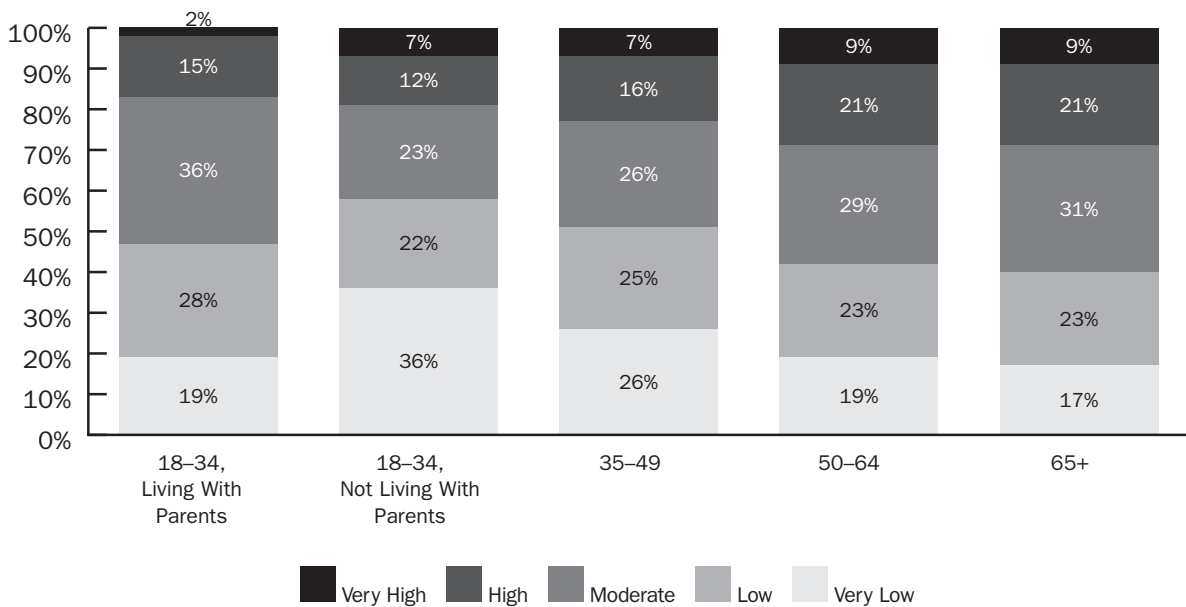
13 Zborowski, Mark, and Elizabeth Herzog. 1952. *Life Is With People: The Jewish Little-Town of Eastern Europe*. New York: International Universities Press.

Older Jews Are More Jewishly Engaged

Among the non-Orthodox, levels of Jewish engagement rise somewhat with age. From younger to older age groups, we find the following percentages who score high or very high on the Index of Jewish Engagement: 19% of those ages 18 to 34 not living with their parents, 23% of ages 35 to 49, 30% of ages 50 to 64, and 30% of ages 65 and over. At the other end of the spectrum, those scoring very low run in the opposite direction: 36% of ages 18 to 24 not living with their parents, 26% of ages 35 to 49, 19% of ages 50 to 64, and 17% of ages 65 and over. Clearly, older non-Orthodox Jews are more engaged than their younger counterparts.

One critical finding concerns those under age 35: they divide fairly sharply between those who live at home with their parents and those who are on their own. Among the former, 19% score very low on engagement; among those living independently, almost twice as many (36%) score as low. As a general rule, Jews who live with more Jews score higher on Jewish engagement. The rule applies to young people living with their parents, as it does for married people living with Jewish or non-Jewish spouses and older people living alone or with a Jewish spouse or partner.

Exhibit 4-26 Jewish Engagement by Age Group for Non-Orthodox Respondents



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The changes in Jewish engagement over the life cycle can be attributed to two intertwining dimensions: the impact of over-time birth cohort variations, and the impact of the family life cycle.

A more detailed inspection of how individual Jewish-engagement items vary by age provides insight into precisely how older and younger Jews differ in their patterns of involvement. Two overall patterns of interest emerge from the findings. First, the general decline in Jewish engagement from old to young derives from some indicators, but not all. Specifically, the steepest declines are associated with Jewish charitable giving; feelings of attachment to being Jewish, the Jewish community, and Israel; and social connections with other Jews. In broad terms, younger Jews are more detached from other Jews and Jewish life, in terms of both their interactions and their feelings; however, at the same time, younger people manage to act independently in some ways. Thus, second, the frequencies for three of the indicators — independent study, adult Jewish education, and belonging to an online Jewish group — actually are higher among younger adults than among older adults.

In short, younger non-Orthodox Jews, when compared with their elders, are simultaneously more Jewishly detached (to a large extent) and may be more Jewishly seeking (to a small extent).

Exhibit 4-27 Indicators of Jewish Engagement* by Age Group for Non-Orthodox Respondents

	18–34, Living With Parents	18–34, Not Living With Parents	35–49	50–64	65+
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	62%	58%	61%	68%	64%
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	70%	55%	62%	64%	61%
Respondent’s Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	35%	30%	27%	42%	60%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	38%	28%	41%	51%	54%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	47%	52%	52%	58%	52%
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent’s Life	29%	38%	44%	50%	52%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	44%	44%	48%	47%	46%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	37%	25%	26%	42%	46%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	28%	28%	28%	41%	38%
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community	23%	21%	33%	34%	38%
Shabbat Meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	22%	33%	34%	36%	36%
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	10%	8%	13%	24%	36%
Synagogue Member, Anyone in Household	41%	29%	32%	36%	34%
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	32%	31%	33%	33%	32%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot	12%	17%	20%	26%	29%
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	32%	34%	38%	41%	26%
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	30%	28%	22%	23%	25%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	40%	35%	30%	32%	24%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	18%	17%	16%	20%	24%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	23%	24%	25%	22%	21%
Kosher Home	26%	19%	18%	19%	17%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	25%	19%	16%	21%	17%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	11%	8%	11%	14%	14%
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	37%	32%	19%	14%	6%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Items listed in rank order by the 65+ age group.

Jewish Engagement Somewhat Higher Among Women

The social science literature is replete with examples of higher levels of religiosity among women as compared with men.¹⁴ One review of research in more than 100 countries shows that in all countries, in all religious groups surveyed, women outscored men. Among American Jews, women lead men (and girls lead boys) in all areas of Jewish engagement, with two notable exceptions. First, among the Orthodox, gender-defined roles strongly influence the manner in which and the sphere in which Orthodox men and women express their Jewish commitment. Second, men tend to lead women in roles reflecting the exercise of power (for example, serving as lay and professional heads of major Jewish organizations or in the philanthropic arena) or in roles bestowing honor and recognition (leading services and serving on boards and as committee chairs). In all other spheres, women are more active and committed to Jewish life than their male counterparts.¹⁵

The results for non-Orthodox Jews in the eight-county New York area in 2011 comport with these findings. For 18 of the 24 Jewish-engagement indicators, women lead men; for the other six, women and men report essentially equal scores. Women lead with respect to numerous questions pertaining to the individual, such as reporting having a Shabbat meal, fasting on Yom Kippur, having closest friends who are mostly Jewish (a particularly noteworthy gap: 50% of women versus 38% of men), and feeling that being Jewish is very important. But the differences extend even to household-related measures, such as synagogue membership or Shabbat candles lit in the home. Among the Orthodox, gender-related differences are few and non-uniform. Men do attend services more often than women, but, reviewing the list of indicators, women hold a very slight edge.

The conclusion is inescapable that in the eight-county New York area among the non-Orthodox, women are more Jewishly engaged than men.

14 See, for example:

Sullins, D. Paul. 2006. "Gender and Religion: Deconstructing Universality, Constructing Complexity." *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (3): 838–880.

Francis, Leslie J. 1997. "The Psychology of Gender Differences in Religion: A Review of Empirical Research." *Religion* 27 (1): 81–96.

Thompson, Edward H. 1991. "Beneath the Status Characteristics: Gender Variations in Religiousness." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30 (4): 341–394.

De Vaus, David A., and Ian McAllister. 1987. "Gender Differences in Religion: A Test of the Structural Location Theory." *American Sociological Review* 52 (4): 472–481.

15 See, for example:

Bronznick, Shifra, Didi Goldenhar, and Marty Linsky. 2008. *Leveling the Playing Field: Advancing Women in Jewish Organizational Life*. Cambridge, MA: Advancing Women Professionals and the Jewish Community and Cambridge Leadership Associates.

Fishman, Sylvia Barack, and Daniel Parmer. 2008. *Matrilineal Ascent/Patrilineal Descent: The Gender Imbalance in American Jewish Life*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University. Available as PDF at http://bir.brandeis.edu/bitstream/handle/10192/22985/Gender_Monograph_Complete%5b1%5d.pdf?sequence=1.

Hartman Halbertal, Tova L., and Steven Cohen. 2001. "Gender Variations in Jewish Identity: Practices and Attitudes in Conservative Congregations." *Contemporary Jewry* 22: 37–64. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=183>.

Horowitz, Bethamie, Pearl Beck, and Charles Kadushin. 1997. "The Roles of Women and Men on the Boards of Major American Jewish Organizations: A Research Report." New York: City University of New York. Available as PDF at <http://bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=4288>.

Exhibit 4-28 Indicators of Jewish Engagement* by Gender, for Orthodox and Non-Orthodox Respondents

	Non-Orthodox		Orthodox	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	60%	68%	91%	96%
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	57%	67%	92%	96%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	52%	55%	92%	94%
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent's Life	42%	53%	92%	96%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	44%	51%	88%	89%
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	38%	50%	87%	91%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	43%	50%	50%	64%
Shabbat Meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	33%	37%	91%	91%
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community	31%	36%	89%	93%
Synagogue Member, Anyone in Household	31%	37%	89%	92%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	37%	39%	69%	69%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	34%	37%	75%	80%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	29%	29%	79%	69%
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	34%	34%	59%	53%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot	22%	28%	85%	85%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	17%	24%	86%	92%
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	21%	28%	72%	70%
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	29%	36%	35%	31%
Kosher Home	19%	17%	91%	95%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	22%	23%	68%	64%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	19%	18%	47%	51%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	14%	12%	84%	55%
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	21%	26%	21%	24%
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	15%	15%	24%	20%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Items listed in rank order by incidence in the total sample as reported in Exhibit 4-1.

Affluence Means More Belonging

Overall, among the non-Orthodox, affluence is somewhat related to Jewish engagement. While the poor and near poor hardly differ from low- and moderate-income households, both groups are less active in Jewish life than middle-income and affluent households. See note on page 159 for definitions of these socioeconomic classifications.

Detailed inspection of the relationship of individual Jewish-engagement indicators with income demonstrates that some are indeed related to affluence, but, at the same time, many others are *not* tied to family income. As a general rule, indicators of formal affiliation with Jewish institutions are income-sensitive, but other forms of Jewish engagement are not at all tied to financial means.

Those measures that are at least moderately related to higher income are a collection of indicators, all reflecting institutional involvement:

- Going to museums or Jewish cultural events.
- Going to Jewish community center programs.
- Attending Jewish educational programs.
- Accessing Jewish websites.
- Belonging to synagogues.
- Belonging to Jewish organizations.
- Giving to Jewish causes, both UJA-Federation and others.
- Volunteering under Jewish auspices.
- Celebrating Passover and Chanukah (family-oriented holidays).

Among the items not related to income are:

- Shabbat-meal frequency.
- Monthly service attendance.
- Keeping kosher at home (higher among the poor).
- Lighting Shabbat candles (higher among the poor).
- Fasting on Yom Kippur.
- Having close friends who are Jewish.
- Feeling attached to Israel.

- Feeling that being Jewish is very important.
- Talking with friends about Jewish matters.

Not surprisingly, feelings of being part of a Jewish community in New York rise with household income, from 19% of the poor and near poor who answer “a lot” to 36% of the affluent group.

In short, as compared with the affluent, low- and moderate-income Jewish New Yorkers feel just as Jewishly engaged and act just as Jewishly engaged in their private and social lives. However, financial and social barriers, if not the pressures of daily living, work to restrain and constrain the participation of the less affluent in Jewish communal life, in matters ranging from belonging, to attending programs, to volunteering. The absence of affiliation should not be taken automatically and reliably as an absence of interest.

Exhibit 4-29 Indicators of Jewish Engagement* by Socioeconomic Classification**

	Poor and Near Poor	Low and Moderate Income	Middle Income	Affluent
Seder, Someone in Household — usually + always	54%	61%	75%	75%
Chanukah Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	57%	58%	71%	71%
Yom Kippur, Respondent Fasts All Day	56%	50%	56%	56%
Being Jewish Very Important in Respondent's Life	51%	47%	44%	49%
Jewish Charities Other Than UJA-Federation, Household Gave	35%	45%	58%	65%
Respondent's Closest Friends Are Mostly Jewish	48%	41%	44%	50%
Went to a Jewish Museum or Jewish Cultural Event, Respondent in Past Year	32%	44%	60%	62%
Shabbat meal, Respondent Participates — sometimes + regularly	40%	31%	35%	39%
Very Important to Be Part of a Jewish Community	36%	30%	34%	40%
Synagogue Member, Anyone in Household	24%	31%	43%	50%
Israel, Respondent Feels Very Attached	47%	35%	33%	40%
Respondent Talks Regularly About Jewish-Related Topics With Jewish Friends	39%	34%	34%	37%
Respondent Studies Informally, Alone, With Friend, or With Teacher	27%	28%	31%	36%
Jewish Websites, Respondent Accesses — sometimes + regularly	28%	32%	40%	42%
Respondent Feels Part of a Jewish Community — a lot	19%	23%	29%	36%
Sabbath Candles Lit in Household — usually + always	33%	16%	15%	19%
Adult Jewish Educational Programs, Respondent Engaged in Past Year	16%	23%	32%	35%
JCC: Anyone in Household Went to a Program, Past Year	18%	33%	40%	45%
Kosher Home	26%	17%	13%	14%
Volunteered for a Jewish Organization — Respondent Past Year	15%	21%	29%	33%
Jewish Organization, Belong/Regularly Participate, Anyone in Household	14%	17%	23%	26%
Respondent Attended Services, More Than Monthly	14%	12%	13%	15%
UJA-Federation of New York, Household Gave	13%	23%	31%	39%
Online Jewish Group, Respondent Belongs	12%	14%	19%	15%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* "Items listed in rank order by incidence in the total sample as reported in Exhibit 4-1.

** "Poor and near poor" are those who earn up to 250% of the federal poverty guideline.

"Low and moderate income" comprise others (not poor or near poor) earning under \$100,000.

"Middle income" refers to those earning \$100,000 to \$149,999, as well as those earning \$150,000 to \$249,999 not defined as affluent below.

"Affluent" refers to those earning \$250,000 or more, as well as those earning \$150,000 to \$249,999 who meet at least two of three conditions: feels "well-off" financially, is a homeowner, and has a postgraduate education.

Isolated or Connected? Jewish Social Networks Strongly Tied to Jewish Engagement

The organized Jewish community has an abiding interest in the Jewishly unengaged, those Jews with little attachment to Jews, Judaism, Jewish life, or Jewish institutions. The foregoing has pointed to some of the features of the least engaged: they do score low on all measures of Jewish engagement; however, in some areas they are relatively more engaged. These consist of Jewish activities they can undertake on their own — independent study, attending cultural events, accessing the Internet, and going to Jewish community center programs. That said, can we learn more about the unengaged; how or why they came to be unengaged; and, perhaps paradoxically, how or why they sustain their Jewish disengagement in an area with so many Jews, so many engaged Jews, so many Jewish institutions, and so many diverse opportunities for Jewish engagement?

As a context for addressing this question, we should recall Judaism's positive valuation of Jewish social connectedness: the Jewish people, the nation, community, and family among them. The history, religion, and culture of Jews are replete with normative emphasis on the conduct of Jewish life in concert with other Jews. Examples include the aspiration for Jews to live in the land of Israel, liturgical praise for those who are involved with the affairs of the community, and the preference for prayer to be conducted with at least 10 adults present. "Don't separate yourself from the community" intones *Pirkei Avot* (*The Ethics of Our Fathers*) 2:5. More than other Western religions, Judaism embraces a huge variety of rites, rituals, and ceremonies that take place in the home, ideally with other Jewish family members present.

Social scientists also have long emphasized the power of intimate association with like-minded people to sustain a minority religious group or subculture. Peter Berger, one of the century's leading thinkers on society and religion, once famously wrote that religious believers need to "huddle together with like-minded fellow deviants — and huddle very closely indeed. Only in a counter-community of considerable strength does cognitive deviance have a chance to maintain itself."¹⁶ Just in the last decade, a small cottage industry of social scientists have turned to the study of social networks (real, not virtual), demonstrating that family and friends strongly influence a wide range of behaviors and characteristics, among them smoking, voting, promiscuity, obesity, and happiness.¹⁷

Against this background, it should come as no surprise that the most intimate social relationships — the people with whom one lives and one's closest friends — strongly relate to Jewish engagement. Given the policy interest in the engagement of younger adult Jews, we focus the analysis on those respondents ages 25 to 39 and younger, exploring how levels of Jewish engagement relate to the number of Jews in one's very immediate social circle.

¹⁶ Berger, Peter. 1969. *A Rumor of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural*. New York: Doubleday & Company.

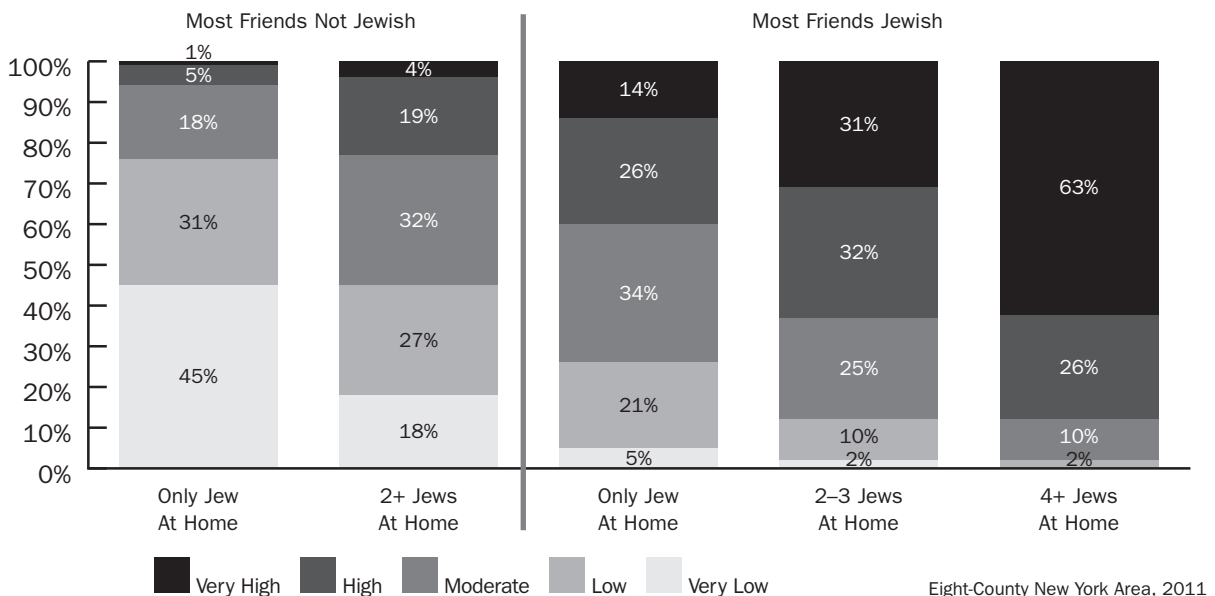
¹⁷ Christakis, Nicholas A., and James H. Fowler. 2009. *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

As a measure of one’s Jewish social circle, we draw on two sets of significant others in people’s lives: their closest friends and the people with whom they live. The latter includes, of course, spouses, partners, children, parents, other family members, roommates, and others. Of these, spouses and children make up the largest fraction of those with whom people live. We developed a measure that relies on a count of Jewish housemates and a simple division between those whose closest friends are mostly Jews, and those where such is not the case. Thus, we have five types of Jewish respondents ranging from the least to the most socially connected to other Jews (frequencies among respondents ages 25 to 39 appear in parentheses):

1. Most friends not Jewish, no other Jew in the household (33%).
2. Most friends not Jewish, two or more Jews in the household — that is, at least one other housemate is Jewish (18%).
3. Most friends Jewish, no other Jews in the household (8%).
4. Most friends Jewish, two to three Jews in the household (15%).
5. Most friends Jewish, four or more Jews in the household (27%).

These five groups vary tremendously in the extent to which they and their households are Jewishly active, connected, and committed. As we compare the Jewish-engagement scores for these five levels of Jewish social embeddedness for those ages 25 to 39, we find a very close and powerful association of Jewish social connection with level of Jewish engagement.

Exhibit 4-30 Jewish Engagement by Jewish Social Networks for Respondents Ages 25 to 39



Thus, proceeding from the most Jewishly isolated Jewish respondents to the households with increasing numbers of Jews and of Jewish friends, we see large and steady rises in the percentage with very high levels of Jewish engagement: 1%, 4%, 14%, 31%, and an astounding 63% for those with mostly Jewish friends and four or more Jews at home. Similarly, in the same transitions, from Jewishly isolated to Jewishly connected, we see nearly steady declines in the percent scoring low or very low on the Index of Jewish Engagement: 76%, 45%, 26%, 12%, and 2%.

Of course, the chicken and the egg here are difficult to discern: Do people with many Jewish intimates acquire and sustain Jewish engagement, or do Jewishly engaged people form and sustain Jewish friendships and family relationships? This data cannot directly address this vexing question. For help in thinking about this issue, we can turn to social scientists working on social networks in recent years. By following changing behaviors and changing connections, they have largely concluded that while what we do affects who we know (smokers come to associate with other smokers), it is also the case that who we know affects what we do and who we are (overweight friends cause weight gain among their friends).¹⁸

Whatever the causal relationships for Jewish life, we do know that Jewish social isolation is at least tied in the moment to Jewish inactivity, and Jewish social connection is tied to active Jewish living.

By extension, the demonstration of the close ties between Jewish social networks and Jewish engagement helps partly explain why the intermarried as a group score lower on Jewish engagement than the in-married as a group, and yields implications for policies designed to elevate their engagement and that of others. It is of some consequence that the intermarried maintain very few Jewish social connections. Among the intermarried ages 30 to 39, fully 77% live fairly isolated from other Jews — no one else is Jewish in their homes and only 4% have mostly Jewish friends. In contrast, their in-married age peers not only have Jewish spouses and most have Jewish children at home — the vast majority (74%) also has mostly Jewish friends. Thus, with Jewish spouses come Jewish friends, and with Jewish friends come Jewish spouses. The same is true for the close relationship between non-Jewish spouses and non-Jewish friends.

These patterns suggest that one approach to enhancing the Jewish engagement of intermarried households (or others with low levels of Jewish engagement) is to focus on two objectives:

1. Connect the intermarried socially to other Jews.
2. Work toward helping them decide to raise their children as Jews (which would immediately raise the number of Jews in their households, among other salutary effects).

¹⁸ Christakis, Nicholas A., and James H. Fowler. 2009. *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

More broadly, as we see in the next chapter, policies that connect Jews with other Jews — such as through intensive Jewish educational experiences — are critical for furthering Jewish engagement in the next generation. Such experiences promote Jewish engagement in the adult years and improve the chances of in-marriage by fostering association among unmarried young people.

In sum, the number of Jews in one's immediate social circle — family members, housemates, and friends — is strongly tied to one's level of Jewish engagement, promoting or reflecting that level of engagement. The fundamental validity of this inference is supported by its very unexceptionality. This data is far from the only evidence linking Jewish social connection with Jewish engagement. Classic Jewish tradition, the Bible, and the rabbis of the Talmud, along with contemporary social theorists and social scientists, have all reached similar conclusions. While they may not always agree, as this data demonstrates, they are all right to argue that having family and close friends who are Jewish strongly links with one's Jewish choices and level of Jewish involvement.

The transmission of Jewish commitment and engagement to the next generation is a fundamental tenet of Judaism. The very first paragraph of the *Shema*, often seen as Judaism's central prayer, contains the command: "And you shall teach them [these words of faith and devotion] to your children." Learned observers have highlighted the survivalist ideology of the Jewish group, and have noted that Jews were the one major immigrant group to come to the United States with a pre-American commitment to group survival in a larger society.¹ In recent years, concerns of Jewish continuity and assimilation have animated the discourse of communal leaders, practitioners, and scholars. While the previous chapter explores the current profile of Jewish engagement in the eight-county New York area, this chapter focuses on the intergenerational processes of transmission, matters bearing on the question of how Jewish parents, educators, and communities operate to assure Jewish engagement and commitment in the next generation.

In the Hebrew language, the word for parent (*horeh*), for teacher (*moreh*), and *Torah* (the Five Books of Moses, but often used to signify the full corpus of Jewish life and teaching) are all linguistically related, implicitly conveying both the premise and major findings of this chapter — all three are intimately related and deeply intertwined. As we will see:

- Parents committed to Jewish life are more likely to advance Jewish educational experiences (for example, school, camp, and Israel travel) for their children.
- Parents committed to Jewish life display higher probabilities of raising children who are Jewishly committed.
- Jewish educational experiences, for their part, enhance the probabilities that children will emerge as Jewishly committed adults.

The Jewish family and the various instruments of Jewish education — both formal, as in school, and informal, such as Jewish summer camp — are central to the mission of transmitting Jewish commitment and engagement. Accordingly, this chapter begins with examining how variations in parental characteristics in the last generation — the parents of the adult respondents — appear to have influenced the Jewish-engagement outcomes of their children. Insofar as possible, it seeks to understand how certain Jewish educational experiences may have influenced Jewish identity outcomes among today's Jewish adults. The chapter then moves on to how the Jewish-engagement levels of today's parents (the respondents) influence the educational choices they are making for their children, and provides the distributions of Jewish educational experiences today.

¹ Glazer, Nathan. 1972. *American Judaism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Throughout the analysis, we find the intertwining and mutual influences of parental Jewish characteristics, the Jewish engagement of the parental home, the Jewish status of the children, Jewish educational choices and participation, and the eventual Jewish engagement of the adult. As we will see, these elements are closely tied to one another both in the current generation of parents and children as well as retrospectively in the relationship between the Jewish engagement of current adults with their respective parents' characteristics.

The Impact of Parents: Jewish Upbringing and Current Jewish Engagement

A long social scientific literature demonstrates the lasting effects of parental Jewish engagement and Jewish education on patterns of their children's Jewish engagement when they are grown. Consistently, this literature points to the more powerful effects of parents' engagement as compared with educational experiences.²

In so many ways, respondents in the New York area visibly demonstrate the lasting power of parental Jewish engagement. We have only two crude markers of parental Jewish engagement and characteristics in our data: denomination in which the respondent was raised and parental in-marriage. Independently, both are related to the Jewish engagement of adult children years later. (Methodologically, crude and imprecise indicators serve to understate findings. Thus, if parents' denomination and in-marriage matter somewhat, we can be sure that overall parents' Jewish involvement — which these two features crudely measure — matters a lot.)

2 Cohen, Steven M. 1995. "The Impact of Varieties of Jewish Education Upon Jewish Identity: An Inter-Generational Perspective." *Contemporary Jewry* 16: 1–29. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=202>.

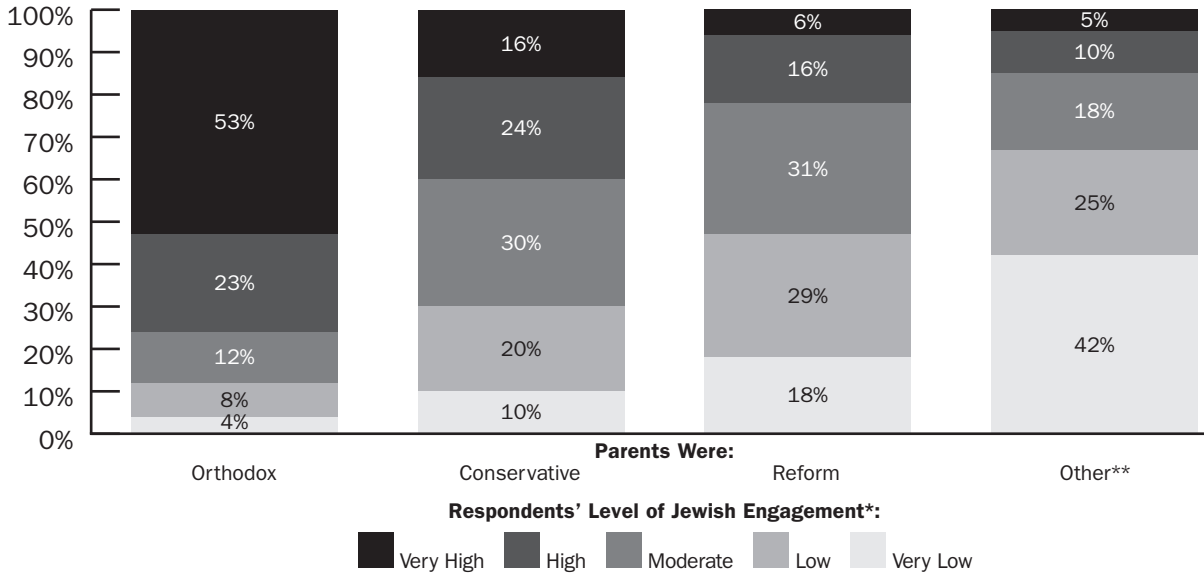
Fishman, Sylvia Barack, and Alice Goldstein. 1993. "When They Are Grown They Will Not Depart: Jewish Education and the Jewish Behavior of American Adults." Research Report 8, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

Bock, Geoffrey. 1976. "The Jewish Schooling of American Jews: A Study of Non-Cognitive Educational Effects." Doctoral Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Cohen, Steven M. 1974. "The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice." *Jewish Social Studies* 36: 316–326.

Greeley, Andrew M., and Peter H. Rossi. 1966. *The Education of Catholic Americans*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Exhibit 5-1 Jewish Engagement* of U.S.-Born Adult Jewish Respondents by Their Parents' Denomination

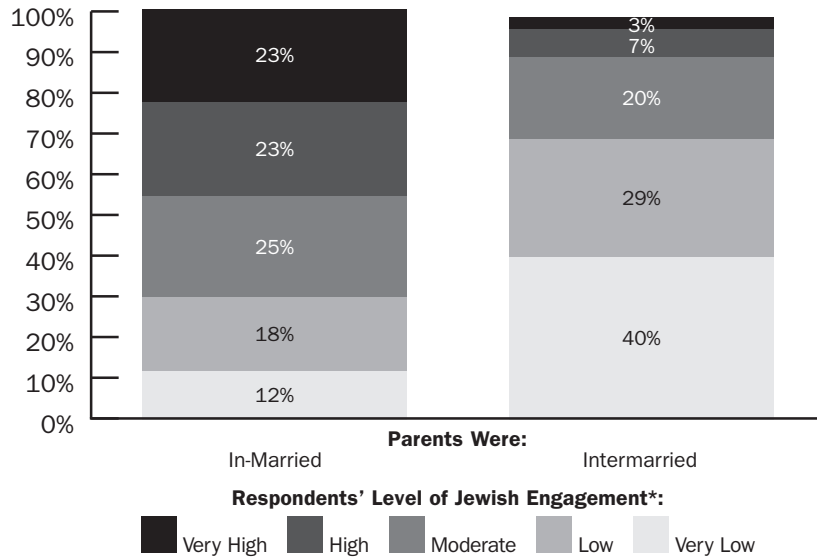


Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* See chapter 4 for a description of the Index of Jewish Engagement and a definition of the levels of Jewish engagement.

** Includes any denomination other than the three listed above as well as no denomination.

Exhibit 5-2 Jewish Engagement of U.S.-Born Adult Jewish Respondents by Their Parents' In-Marriage Status



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Both parents' denomination and parents' in-marriage are strongly related to the current Jewish-engagement levels of their adult children — the respondents, all of whom were born in the United States. For example, just over half the children of Orthodox parents score very high on Jewish engagement, in contrast with just 16% of Conservative offspring and 6% of those raised Reform. At the other end of the spectrum, more than 2 in 5 of those raised in no denomination ("other" in exhibit 5-1 above) score very low, as do 18% of those raised Reform, 10% of those raised Conservative, and just 4% of those who grew up in Orthodox homes.

The adults who answered these questions were raised decades ago. Yet the simple denominational differences in their backgrounds continue to strongly predict their Jewish-engagement levels.

In like fashion, parents' in-marriage is highly predictive of Jewish-engagement scores years later. The children of the in-married score high or very high more than four times as frequently as the children of the intermarried (46% for in-married versus 10% for intermarried). As for those scoring very low, the ratio is also close to 4:1, but this time with the children of the intermarried leading 40% to 12%).³

Not only is parents' Jewish involvement tied to their adult children's Jewish engagement, but it is also tied to the intensiveness of Jewish educational experience undergone by the children. The extent of going to day school is sharply influenced by parents' denomination — for example, 70% for those raised Orthodox versus 7% for children of Reform parents. So too is going to Jewish camp: 79% for the Orthodox, which is about double the number among children of Conservative and Reform parents.

Having been to Israel may have occurred at any point, not just in pre-adult years, yet here too the familiar denominational ranking is evident. Taglit-Birthright Israel is a young-adult program for which those who have been to Israel on a peer-group trip or for study are ineligible. Significantly, young adults in Conservative homes participated in Birthright more than twice as much as those with Reform parents. Finally, we may look at those with no Jewish schooling whatsoever. This indicator of distance from Jewish upbringing mounts steadily from Orthodox to Conservative to Reform homes and leaps upward to 64% among the children of the nondenominational, about triple the number with a Reform upbringing.

³ These results are underscored by a methodological consideration: the children of the intermarried who were interviewed are those who identify as Jews rather than those who ceased identifying as Jews. Since previous research has demonstrated that only a minority of intermarried couples' children grow up to identify as Jews (and, as we will see, only a minority of today's children of intermarriage are being raised as exclusively Jewish), we can surmise that survey respondents who are the children of the intermarried represent an upwardly biased selection of the children of the intermarried. After all, these are the probable minority who grew up to identify as Jews; non-Jews with such upbringing would not have entered the survey.

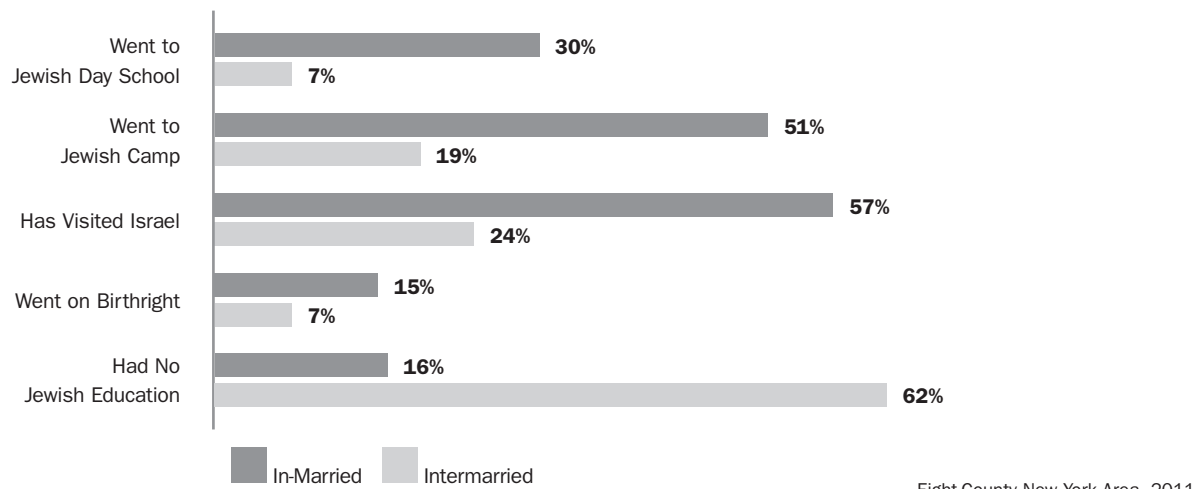
Exhibit 5-3 Jewish Education Indicators of U.S.-Born Adult Jewish Respondents by Their Parents' Denomination

Parents Were:	Adult Jewish Respondent:				
	Went to Jewish Day School	Went to Jewish Camp*	Has Visited Israel	Went on Birthright	Had No Jewish Education
Orthodox	70%	79%	74%	8%	4%
Conservative	14%	40%	54%	27%	13%
Reform	7%	32%	36%	11%	20%
Other	5%	29%	32%	14%	64%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The survey asked respondents "Did you ever attend an overnight summer camp with Jewish content?"

Exhibit 5-4 Jewish Education Indicators of U.S.-Born Adult Jewish Respondents by Their Parents' In-Marriage Status



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

We see similar and expected patterns with respect to parents' in-marriage status. The children of the in-married received far more Jewish educational experience than the Jewish children of the intermarried.

In short, even with indirect and crude measures of parental Jewish involvement, we find strong evidence linking parental characteristics with intensiveness of Jewish education. As we will see, we find strong evidence of other links between and among indicators of parental involvement (such as in-marriage or denomination), the nature of children's upbringing (for example, as exclusively Jewish), the quality of their Jewish education (schooling, camping, and so forth), and the eventual Jewish-engagement outcomes manifest in the adult years.

Wide Variations in Childhood Jewish Education of Today's Jewish Adults

Jews in the New York area display an extraordinary range and diversity of Jewish schooling experiences, as seen below in Exhibit 5-5. About a quarter of respondents with Jewish parents had attended day school in their childhood years, and about a quarter had no formal Jewish schooling whatsoever as a youngster. The rest — almost half — had some form of supplemental Jewish education, with more of them having attended twice or more per week than just weekly.

In comparing younger respondents with older respondents, we find that the intensity of Jewish education has increased. Of those ages 55 to 69, just 16% had a day school education, while among those ages 18 to 34 almost half went to day school. Most of the increase in day school students came at the expense of supplemental schools, but the proportion with no Jewish schooling edged downward from 31% among the oldest group to 24% for the youngest. Thus, overall, it appears that Jewish educational intensity and sheer coverage are increasing.

Yet the undifferentiated population masks some very crucial differences from those raised in Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and nondenominational homes. For those with the three denominational upbringings, younger respondents report more intensive and extensive educational experiences than their older counterparts. For the Orthodox, this intensification trend means the movement over time from supplemental schooling to Jewish day schools. For those raised Conservative, it means a movement toward day schools and supplemental schools meeting twice a week or more, and a movement away from schools meeting only weekly or no schooling whatsoever. Reform-raised younger respondents are more likely than their older counterparts to have attended twice-a-week supplemental schools and less likely to have attended once-a-week schools or none at all.

Only among the nondenominational do we find a movement toward less Jewish education, and only among them do we find many reporting no Jewish schooling in their childhood years.

Thus, in line with many other trends discerned in this chapter and the prior chapter, the education trends point to movement in both directions. Comparing younger with older respondents, the denominationally identified display increasing levels of Jewish education over time. Moreover, the changes are especially pronounced among the children of Orthodox parents. In contrast, those raised in nondenominational homes moved in the other direction.

Exhibit 5-5 Respondents' Jewish Schooling by Age and Denomination Raised, for Those U.S.-Raised With Jewish Parents, Ages 18–69

Denomination Raised		Age			Total
		55–69	35–54	18–34	
Orthodox	Day School	48%	70%	81%	70%
	Religious School Twice+ Weekly	30%	11%	5%	13%
	Religious School Weekly	11%	9%	10%	10%
	Tutor	5%	5%	1%	3%
	None	6%	4%	3%	4%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Conservative	Day School	11%	14%	27%	14%
	Religious School Twice+ Weekly	50%	59%	58%	55%
	Religious School Weekly	16%	14%	9%	14%
	Tutor	6%	2%	4%	4%
	None	18%	10%	2%	13%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Reform	Day School	9%	5%	9%	7%
	Religious School Twice+ Weekly	23%	24%	38%	26%
	Religious School Weekly	38%	46%	31%	40%
	Tutor	7%	7%	6%	7%
	None	23%	18%	17%	20%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Other (nondenominational)	Day School	4%	5%	6%	6%
	Religious School Twice+ Weekly	16%	7%	3%	9%
	Religious School Weekly	17%	11%	13%	14%
	Tutor	9%	6%	8%	8%
	None	54%	70%	70%	64%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total	Day School	16%	25%	46%	27%
	Religious School Twice+ Weekly	32%	28%	17%	27%
	Religious School Weekly	21%	21%	14%	19%
	Tutor	7%	5%	4%	6%
	None	24%	22%	20%	22%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Mounting Jewish Camp Enrollment

We see somewhat similar patterns with respect to Jewish overnight camp enrollment. Overall, for all denominationally raised respondents, the Jewish camp experience is more prevalent among the younger respondents than the older respondents. For all respondents, the Jewish camp experience grew from 37% among those ages 55 to 69 to fully 60% among those ages 18 to 34. Yet among the nondenominational, the youngest respondents were the least likely to have been to Jewish overnight camp. Similar to the patterns registered with education, the Orthodox showed the greatest movement in the differences between the oldest and youngest adult respondents.

Exhibit 5-6 **Jewish Overnight Camp Experience* by Age and Denominational Upbringing**

Denomination Raised	Ages 55–69	Percent With Camp Experience		Total
		Ages 35–54	Ages 18–34	
Orthodox	62%	80%	87%	79%
Conservative	37%	40%	51%	40%
Reform	27%	35%	40%	32%
Other (nondenominational)	26%	36%	24%	29%
Total	37%	48%	60%	47%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The survey asked respondents “Did you ever attend an overnight summer camp with Jewish content?”

Thus, combining the trends associated with schools and with camps, the increased Jewish educational preparation among younger adults in the overall Jewish population is heavily due to an expanding Orthodox-raised population, and one that has undertaken significant increases in Jewish educational participation — both formal and informal — over the years. Among the adults raised Conservative and Reform, the increases in educational participation were also fairly strong for camping, but more muted in terms of schooling. Among the nondenominational, educational levels declined, albeit to a small extent. In terms of Jewish education — and engagement — the population is becoming more diversified, with growth in the wings and diminution in the middle.

Outcomes of Day School and Supplemental School: A Cautious Assessment

To what extent do the graduates or “alumni” of the major alternatives in Jewish schooling differ? How do the products of day schools, supplemental schools, and no Jewish schooling differ years later as adults? The answers to these questions can provide clues as to the impact of day school and supplemental Jewish education on Jewish engagement in the adult years, and find patterns consistent with a long research literature on Jewish educational impact.⁴

To be clear, the data we have available cannot accurately determine the impact of Jewish schooling. As a vast literature demonstrates — and as further substantiated with the New York data presented above — more Jewishly engaged parents select more Jewishly intensive schooling options for their children. Hence, the emergence of differences in Jewish engagement among grown adults with different educational experiences is due in large part to differences in their family background. However, the lack of truly complete information on the parents precludes understanding the extent to which, say, in-married Conservative parents who sent their children to day school in fact differed from their counterparts who sent their children to supplemental schools. As social scientist Adam Gamoran has noted:

Education researchers have become increasingly aware of the challenges of measuring the impact of educational practices, programs, and policies. Too often what appears to be cause and effect may actually reflect pre-existing differences between program participants and non-participants. A variety of strategies are available to surmount this challenge, but the strategies are often costly and difficult to implement.⁵

As noted earlier, this survey provides two crude ways of differentiating home background: parental denomination and in-marriage status.

4 Cohen, Steven M. 2007. “The Differential Impact of Jewish Education on Adult Jewish Identity.” In *Family Matters: Jewish Education in an Age of Choice*, edited by Jack Wertheimer, 34–58. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press.

Cohen, Steven M., and Laurence Kotler-Berkowitz. 2004. *The Impact of Childhood Jewish Education on Adults’ Jewish Identity: Schooling, Israel Travel, Camping and Youth Groups*. New York: United Jewish Communities. Available as PDF at http://www.jewishdatabank.org/Archive/NJPS2000_The_Impact_of_Childhood_Jewish_Education_on_Adult_Jewish_Identity.pdf.

Cohen, Steven M. 1995. “The Impact of Varieties of Jewish Education Upon Jewish Identity: An Inter-Generational Perspective.” *Contemporary Jewry* 16: 1–29. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=202>

Himmelfarb, Harold S. 1979. “Agents of Religious Socialization Among American Jews.” *The Sociological Quarterly* 20 (4): 477–494.

Himmelfarb, Harold S. 1974. “The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education Upon Adult Religious Involvement.” Doctoral Thesis, The University of Chicago, Chicago, IL.

5 Gamoran, Adam. 2010. “Impact or Bias?: Measuring Cause and Effect in Jewish Education.” Presentation at Berman Jewish Policy Archive at NYU Wagner, New York, February 1. Available as PowerPoint at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=4372>.

To undertake the analysis, we divided the parents into in-married and intermarried. We further divided the in-married into four denominational groups: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and other. Within each group, we further divided respondents into three educational groups: day school, supplemental school (combining once a week and twice or more a week), and none. Some combinations failed to produce sufficient cases for reliable analysis.

Controlling for parental denomination, day school alumni significantly outscore the graduates of supplemental school. In comparing day school alumni with supplemental school alumni from Conservative backgrounds, we find that 32% of the former score very high on the Index of Jewish Engagement, in contrast with just 12% of the latter.

It is among the Reform-raised respondents and those from intermarried homes where we have a sufficient number of cases to compare the supplemental school alumni with their counterparts who never went to Jewish school. Among the Reform-raised respondents, the differences in Jewish engagement between the supplemental school and no-school group are minimal, or nearly nonexistent.

Exhibit 5-7 Jewish Engagement by Parents’ Denomination, Parents’ In-Marriage Status, and Jewish Schooling When Growing Up, for Jewish-Raised Respondents Ages 18–49*

Level of Jewish Engagement**	Orthodox In-Married		Conservative In-Married		Reform In-Married		Intermarried	
	Day School	Supplemental	Day School	Supplemental	Supplemental	None	Supplemental	None
Very High	77%	72%	32%	12%	5%	2%	13%	1%
High	21%	16%	34%	20%	20%	24%	6%	7%
Moderate	2%	4%	16%	38%	32%	31%	36%	17%
Low	<1%	8%	7%	21%	26%	30%	25%	34%
Very Low	<1%	<1%	11%	9%	16%	12%	20%	42%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Configurations with insufficient case sizes (for example, Orthodox parents, no Jewish education; Conservative parent, no schooling; Reform parents, day school) not shown.

** See chapter 4 for a description of the Index of Jewish Engagement and a definition of the levels of Jewish engagement.

For the children of the intermarried, though, the differences between the two school groups are quite substantial and in the expected direction. That is, among the children of the intermarried, those who were sent to supplemental schools outscore their nonschool counterparts on current Jewish-engagement levels.

What can explain the different patterns for the children of Reform parents versus children of the intermarried? That is, for those raised Reform, we find little difference between supplemental school and no-school respondents. For the intermarried, the two school groups differ. Why?

Two possible explanations come to mind. One possibility, however fanciful, is that supplemental schools “work” for the children of the intermarried but are of little value in promoting Jewish engagement among their Reform counterparts with two Jewish parents. Another more plausible explanation is that the choice of sending one’s child to a Jewish school indicates for the intermarried home a choice to raise the child as affirmatively Jewish, and differentiates them from the other intermarried parents.

The results presented here cannot fully substantiate these inferences, but they are useful in that they coincide with conclusions drawn in the past using more comprehensive data from surveys designed for the purpose of assessing Jewish educational impact. They point to the power of parental background in shaping Jewish-engagement outcomes; they also buttress the literature on the impact of Jewish education that argues that supplemental schools seem to have little, if any, impact on adult Jewish engagement. On the other hand, day schools do seem to matter, at least insofar as their choice betokens a strong Jewish commitment on the part of the parents.

The Potential Impact of Camp and Camp Families on Jewish Engagement

By way of a similar analytic strategy, we can cautiously assess the approximate impact of Jewish camping on adult Jewish engagement. For those raised Orthodox and Conservative by in-married parents, those who went to an overnight summer camp with Jewish content but not to day school display distributions on the Index of Jewish Engagement that resemble those of the same denomination who went to day school (and may have gone to a Jewish camp as well). In other words, in terms of this index, having a Jewish summer camp experience produces results very similar to having a day school experience. This pattern speaks either to the influence of the camp, or to the types of parents who choose camp, or both.

Exhibit 5-8 Jewish Engagement by Jewish Schooling and Whether Went to Jewish Camp*, Parents' In-Marriage Status, and Denomination, for U.S.-Raised Respondents With Jewish Parents, Ages 18–49**

Parents In-Marriage Status and Denomination	Orthodox In-Married		Conservative In-Married			Reform In-Married		Intermarried		
	Jewish Schooling and Whether Went to Jewish Camp	Level of Jewish Engagement	Day School	Camp, No Day School	Day School	Camp, No Day School	Supplemental, No Camp	Camp	Supplemental, No Camp	Camp
Very High	77%	79%	32%	23%	6%	7%	2%	9%	4%	
High	21%	18%	34%	26%	17%	32%	14%	2%	7%	
Moderate	2%	3%	16%	31%	41%	27%	33%	31%	20%	
Low	<1%	<1%	7%	13%	25%	24%	29%	31%	32%	
Very Low	<1%	<1%	11%	6%	10%	10%	21%	26%	37%	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The survey asked respondents “Did you ever attend an overnight summer camp with Jewish content?”

** Configurations with insufficient case sizes (for example, Orthodox parents, no Jewish education; Reform parents, day school) not shown. Day school columns include respondents who went to camp.

Similarly, we can compare adults who went to a Jewish summer camp with those with a supplemental education but no Jewish camp. We find that ex-campers substantially outscore non-campers on the Index of Jewish Engagement.

As we know from several prior studies, families who choose Jewish camp are more Jewishly engaged than those who do not.⁶ But we also know that even controlling for parental Jewish engagement with many more indicators than are available in the New York data, an overnight summer camp with Jewish content appears to exert a long-term and wide-ranging positive influence on adult Jewish-engagement outcomes.⁷ The results here certainly cannot prove this point, but they do comport with earlier studies attesting to the educational and socialization value of Jewish camping.

Israel Travel (Including Taglit-Birthright Israel): Higher Levels of Jewish Engagement

Taglit-Birthright Israel takes thousands of Jews ages 18 to 26 to Israel for 10-day trips. Started in 1999, the program has provided Israel experiences to more than a quarter of a million Jews. As of 2011, the oldest Birthright Israel alumni found in this survey were 37 years old.

Several prior studies of Birthright alumni conducted a few years after the experience demonstrated enduring effects of the experience on in-marriage and other Jewish-engagement measures.⁸ In the 2011 New York data, we can examine evidence that relates to long-term impact. In doing so, we need to again recognize the inability of this data to shed much light on causality owing to the limited amount of data on respondents' childhood Jewish education and parental socialization.

- 6 Cohen, Steven M., and Judith Veinstein. 2010. *Recruiting Jewish Campers: A Study of the Midwestern Market*. New York: Foundation for Jewish Camp. http://www.jewishcamp.org/sites/default/files/u5/NEW%20Midwest_Research_Report_FINAL.pdf.
- Cohen, Steven M. 2007. *Jewish Overnight Summer Camps in Southern California: A Marketing Study*. New York: Foundation for Jewish Camp.
- 7 Cohen, Steven M., Ron Miller, Ira M. Sheskin, and Berna Torr. 2011. *Camp Works: The Long-Term Impact of Jewish Overnight Camp*. New York: Foundation for Jewish Camp. Available as PDF at http://www.jewishcamp.org/static/website/uploads/Camp_Works_for_Web.pdf.
- Keysar, Ariela, and Barry A. Kosmin. 2005. *Research Findings on the Impact of Camp Ramah: A Companion Study to the 2004 "Eight Up" Report on the Attitudes and Practices of Conservative Jewish College Students*. New York: National Ramah Commission.
- Saxe, Amy L., and Leonard Saxe. 2004. *"How Goodly Are Thy Tents": Summer Camps as Jewish Socializing Experiences*. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press.
- Saxe, Amy L., and Leonard Saxe. 2002. *Limud by the Lake: Fulfilling the Educational Potential of Jewish Summer Camps*. New York: Avi Chai Foundation.
- Keysar, Ariela, and Barry A. Kosmin. 2001. *The Camping Experience—The Impact of Jewish Summer Camping on the Conservative High School Seniors of the "Four Up" Study*. New York: National Ramah Commission.
- Cohen, Steven M. 2000. *Camp Ramah and Adult Jewish Identity: Long-Term Influences on Conservative Congregants in North America*. New York: National Ramah Commission. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2>.
- Himmelfarb, Harold. 1989. "Evaluating the Effects of Jewish Summer Camping in the United States." *Papers in Jewish Demography* 19: 383–394.
- 8 Kelner, Shaul. 2011. *Tours That Bind: Diaspora, Pilgrimage, and Israel Birthright Tourism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Saxe, Leonard, Theodore Sasson, Shahar Hecht, Benjamin Phillips, Michelle Shain, Graham Wright, and Charles Kadushin. 2011. *Jewish Futures Project—The Impact of Taglit-Birthright Israel: 2010 Update*. New York: Brandeis University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/pdfs/jewish%20futures/Jewish.Futures.02.08.11.pdf>.
- Saxe, Leonard, Benjamin Phillips, Theodore Sasson, Shahar Hecht, Michelle Shain, Graham Wright, and Charles Kadushin. 2009. *Generation Birthright Israel: The Impact of an Israel Experience on Jewish Identity and Choices*. New York: Brandeis University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/pdfs/Taglit.GBI.10.22.09.final.pdf>.
- Saxe, Leonard, Charles Kadushin, Shahar Hecht, Mark I. Rosen, Benjamin Phillips, and Shaul Kelner. 2004. *Evaluating Birthright Israel: Long-Term Impact and Recent Findings*. New York: Brandeis University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.brandeis.edu/cmjs/pdfs/evaluatingbri.04.pdf>.

We limit the analysis to adults born in the United States in 1974 or thereafter, the oldest people who were ever eligible for a Birthright Israel trip. We compare Jewish respondents according to how often they have been to Israel (never, once, twice, or more) and, of those who have been to Israel, whether they have been on Birthright.

For the purposes of analysis, we exclude those raised Orthodox, a population with unusually high levels of Jewish engagement and attachment to Israel. Very few Orthodox-raised Jews participated in Birthright, and their presence in other analytic categories would produce higher levels of Jewish engagement and Israel attachment.

Among those raised non-Orthodox, the association of Israel travel in the past with adult Jewish engagement in the present is quite visible. The generalization holds true both for Birthright alumni and for those who have been to Israel but never participated in Birthright. For example, of the one-time visitors to Israel who went on Birthright and were not raised Orthodox, 29% score high or very high on Jewish engagement, as compared with 15% of those who never went to Israel but are about the same age and were also not raised Orthodox. At the other extreme of the Jewish-engagement spectrum, just 9% of the one-time Birthright alumni score very low in contrast with fully 34% of those who have never been to Israel.

Part of the reason Birthright alumni outscore those who never traveled to Israel is that the latter comprises many more people whose parents were intermarried: just 16% for the Birthright one-time travelers versus 34% for those who have never been to Israel. In other words, over the years, Jewish children of the intermarried have significantly underparticipated in Birthright as compared with the children of the in-married. That said, even when the comparisons are limited to the children of in-married parents, Birthright alumni continue to outscore non-travelers to Israel on Jewish engagement, as do other one-time travelers who have visited Israel under auspices other than Birthright. The data does not permit an accurate attribution of causality owing to the demonstrated differences in Jewish backgrounds between travelers and non-travelers.

Those who have been to Israel twice or more are clearly more engaged in Jewish life than those who have been only once. Among Birthright alumni, 49% of those who returned (or may have gone to Israel before) score high or very high on engagement, versus 29% for those who have been to Israel just once on Birthright.

Of note are the differences in apparent rates of return travel to Israel. Among Birthright alumni, somewhat more have been to Israel once than have been twice or more (6,000 one-timers versus 5,000 who have been twice or more). Among those non-Orthodox-raised Jews under 37 years old who have been to Israel but never on Birthright, the balance is tipped heavily in the direction of repeat travelers (6,000 one-timers versus 14,000 who have been twice or more). The research literature⁹ points strongly to the power of the second trip, a finding confirmed here as well. The patterns suggest the value of converting more one-time travelers — Birthright or otherwise — into repeat visitors to Israel.

With all proper caution, then, the data does suggest (though certainly does not prove) that Israel travel plays an important role in elevating Jewish engagement years later. Both Taglit-Birthright Israel and other ways of getting to Israel in the aggregate appear effective in engendering Jewish engagement years later, especially if they lead to a second trip. Repeated trips to Israel are associated with even higher levels of Jewish engagement, suggesting that such experiences both reflect and promote increased involvement in Jewish life.

The previous chapter notes lower levels of Israel attachment among non-Orthodox young adults notwithstanding the modest rise in Israel travel, due in part to the advent of the Birthright Israel program in 1999. While only 18% of those who have never visited Israel feel very attached to Israel, the comparable number is higher (23%) among Birthright alumni who have been to Israel once, and even higher (25%) among those who have been to Israel once in ways other than Birthright.

The extraordinary group consists of those who have been on Birthright and subsequently returned (although a few may have gone even before Birthright). This group expresses very high levels of attachment (73%), a finding consistent with the research cited earlier on the impact of a second trip to Israel.

Exhibit 5-9 Jewish Engagement by Birthright Experience and Number of Trips to Israel, for Jewish Respondents Born 1974 or After in the U.S. (Birthright Eligible) and Not Raised Orthodox

Level of Jewish Engagement	Never Been to Israel	Went Once to Israel, Only on Birthright	Went Once to Israel, But Not Birthright	Went 2+ Times to Israel, Once on Birthright	Went 2+ Times to Israel, But Never on Birthright
Very High	3%	5%	8%	19%	30%
High	12%	24%	10%	30%	22%
Moderate	23%	28%	42%	32%	25%
Low	28%	34%	27%	13%	8%
Very Low	34%	9%	13%	7%	14%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

⁹ Cohen, Steven M., and Ezra Kopelowitz. 2010. *Journeys to Israel: The Impact of Longer-Term Programs Upon Jewish Engagement and Israel Attachment*. New York: Jewish Agency for Israel. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=7495>.
Cohen, Steven M. 1991. *Committed Zionists and Curious Tourists: Travel to Israel Among Canadian Jewish Youth*. New York: CRB Foundation. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=171>.

Exhibit 5-10 **Parents’ In-Marriage Status and Respondent’s Attachment to Israel, by Birthright Experience and Number of Trips to Israel, for Jewish Respondents Born 1974 or After in the U.S. (Birthright Eligible) and Not Raised Orthodox**

	Never Been to Israel	Went Once to Israel, Only on Birthright	Went Once to Israel, But Not Birthright	Went 2+ Times to Israel, Once on Birthright	Went 2+ Times to Israel, But Never on Birthright
Percent With Parents Who Were Intermarried	34%	16%	17%	9%	11%
Percent Who Are “Very Attached” to Israel	18%	23%	25%	73%	58%
Number of Respondents	48,000	6,000	6,000	5,000	14,000

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The Impact of Parents’ In-Marriage on the Jewish Status of Their Children

Evidence for the impact of parents’ characteristics on the Jewish upbringing of their children extends to the current generation as well. Fundamental to how children are raised is how they are defined in group terms — Jewish, Jewish and something else, not decided, and not Jewish.

As we learn from Exhibit 5-11, intermarriage is indeed strongly related to the Jewish (or non-Jewish) status of children raised in the various types of households. Among the in-married, almost all children are raised exclusively as Jews (as opposed to “Jewish and something else”).

In conversionary homes, the proportion being raised exclusively Jewish drops to 71%, and as many as 20% are raising their children as non-Jews. The data does not yield a firm explanation for the presence of non-Jewish children. One possibility is that they are children from prior marriages; another possibility is that some converts retain their prior religious identity; and yet another is that parents converted after having begun to raise their children as non-Jews. Among single parents, a slight majority (55%) of the children are being raised as exclusively Jewish, and as many as 32% are raising their children as non-Jews, possibly as a result of some divorced parents raising their children in accord with the identity of the non-Jewish former spouse.

Of the four marriage configuration groups, the intermarried report the lowest levels of raising their children as exclusively Jewish (31%); almost half (46%) of their children are being raised as entirely non-Jewish, with the remaining few about evenly split between undecided (13%) and “Jewish and something else” (11%). With respect to the percent raising their children as exclusively Jewish, among the various marital configurations we find the same rank order and a fairly similar contour in both 2002 and 2011.

Exhibit 5-11 **How Children Are Being Raised in In-Married, Conversionary, Intermarried, and Single-Parent Jewish Households**

2011		Parents are:			
Children Are Being Raised:	In-Married	Conversionary	Single Parent	Intermarried	All Parents
Jewish	98%	71%	55%	31%	81%
Jewish and Something Else	<1%	4%	3%	11%	2%
Not Jewish	<1%	20%	32%	46%	13%
Undecided	<1%	6%	8%	13%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

2002		Parents are:			
Children Are Being Raised:	In-Married	Conversionary	Single Parent	Intermarried	All Parents
Jewish	99%	80%	70%	30%	83%
Jewish and Something Else	<1%	3%	4%	18%	4%
Not Jewish	1%	15%	21%	49%	12%
Undecided	<1%	2%	5%	4%	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

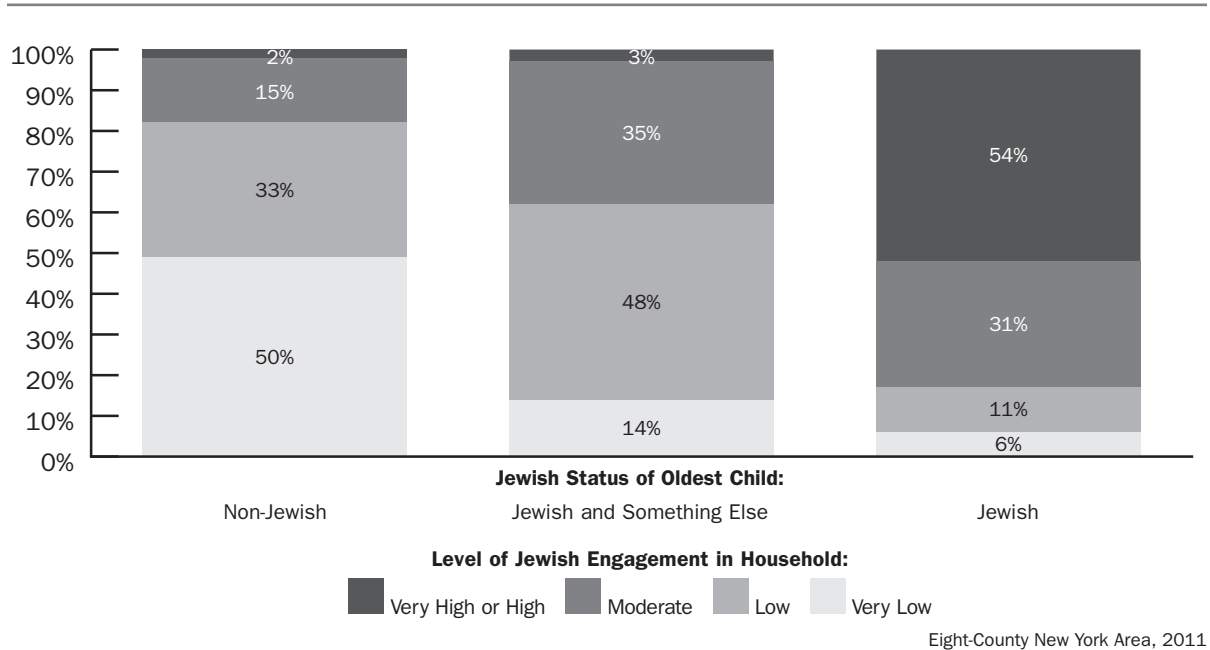
Low Jewish Engagement in Homes Where Children Are Not Raised Exclusively Jewish

The analysis above draws a sharp distinction between children raised exclusively as Jewish and those raised in any other fashion, including “Jewish and something else.” Is that distinction warranted? Should “Jewish and something else” be seen as a somewhat qualified form of Jewish upbringing, or a functional equivalent of non-Jewish socialization, or an intermediate category?

Specifically, do the homes raising children as “Jewish and something else” more resemble those raising children as exclusively Jewish, or do they more closely approximate those raising children as non-Jewish? In fact, we find that these homes hardly resemble those raising children exclusively as Jewish and, instead, display Jewish-engagement patterns characteristic of households raising children as non-Jews. Looking only at the non-Orthodox where the child is exclusively Jewish, most of the parents exhibit high to very high levels of Jewish engagement. The figure plummets to 3% where the child is Jewish and something else, and to just 2% where the child is non-Jewish. Among those raising their children as Jewish, 17% score low or very low on Jewish engagement; for those raising children as Jewish and something else, the comparable figure reaches 62%.

Hence, we can infer that the “Jewish and something else” response signifies very weak levels of Jewish socialization.

Exhibit 5-12 Jewish Engagement of the Household by Jewish Status of the Oldest Child in Non-Orthodox Households



The Impact of Parents Today: Most Jewish Children Found in In-Married Households

The decisions parents make to raise their children as Jews or non-Jews strongly influence the number of Jewish children living in different varieties of homes. Indeed, more than two-thirds of children in Jewish households in the eight-county New York area are being raised in in-married households. These 282,000 children amount to more than five times the number (50,000) who are being raised in intermarried homes.

Since 2002, the number of children in intermarried homes declined about 18% even though the number of intermarried couples grew. Whereas in 2002 the children of the intermarried constituted 16% of all children in Jewish households in the area, their proportion fell by about a fifth, declining to 12% of children in Jewish households in 2011. While the number of children in single-parent and other households increased, differences in classification between the 2002 and 2011 regarding treatment of the “other” component suggest that we treat this increase with some caution.

Exhibit 5-13 Numbers of Children* Living in In-Married, Intermarried, and Single-Parent Jewish Households

	2002		2011		Percent Change, 2002–2011
	Number of Children	Percent	Number of Children	Percent	
In-Married (including conversionary)	258,000	70%	282,000	69%	+9%
Intermarried	61,000	16%	50,000	12%	–18%
Single-Parent Households, Others**	51,000	14%	73,000	18%	+43%
Total	370,000	100%	405,000	100%	+9%

Eight-County New York Area

* Ages zero to 17, including both Jewish and non-Jewish children.

** Refers in part to adult children (ages 18 and over) who answered the survey and reported the number of minor children in the household.

Parents’ Denomination Linked to Distinctive Patterns of Children’s Jewish Schooling

As we saw in the previous generation, denominational identity strongly influences Jewish educational choices made for the children. Thus, in looking at the current generation of parents, we find that the Orthodox overwhelmingly send their children to day schools (93%). The near uniformity of their opting for day schools coupled with their large families mean that Orthodox youngsters make up fully 92% of the day school population, as compared with the far smaller proportions from Conservative (6%), Reform (1%), and other backgrounds (1%).

Conservative and Reform parents differ markedly in the educational choices they make for their children. Among Conservative families, 34% of the children have attended day schools, as compared with only 14% among Reform families. In contrast, in Conservative homes, 18% of the children were never educated in a full- or part-time Jewish school, versus 34% among Reform households. In short, levels of Jewish education and of more intensive forms of Jewish education are substantially higher in Conservative homes, as a group, than in Reform households.

The Jewish nondenominational group’s distribution of educational choices approximates those of Reform families, albeit with some very minor variations.

Clearly the major denominational categories strongly differentiate parents with respect to Jewish educational choices.

Exhibit 5-14 Jewish Education of Children Ages 5–17 Being Raised Jewish or Jewish and Something Else, by Denomination* of Jewish Respondent

Jewish Schooling	Respondent’s Denomination			
	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Nondenominational and Religion None or Non-Jewish
Current Day School	93%	28%	8%	15%
Previous Day School	<1%	6%	6%	5%
Current Supplemental School	3%	38%	36%	23%
Previous Supplemental School	<1%	10%	16%	10%
Tutoring or Other Form of Jewish Education	2%	5%	12%	13%
No Jewish Education	<1%	13%	22%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Reconstructionists not shown due to an insufficient number of cases.

Exhibit 5-15 **Numbers and Percent of Children Ages 5–17 Being Raised Jewish or Jewish and Something Else Currently in Day School and Supplemental School, by Denomination* of Jewish Respondent**

	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Nondenominational and Religion None or Non-Jewish	Total
Total Number of Children Ages 5–17*	142,000	25,000	30,000	13,000	212,000
Number of Children Ages 5–17 Currently in Day School	133,000	8,000	3,000	3,000	145,000
Percent of Children Ages 5–17 in Day School	92%	6%	1%	1%	100%
Number of Children Ages 5–17 Currently in Supplemental School	5,000	11,000	14,000	4,000	35,000
Percent of Children Ages 5–17 in Supplemental School	14%	31%	40%	11%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Excluded from these totals is the small number of respondents (representing 8,000 youngsters) who failed to provide answers on their children’s Jewish schooling. Included in the totals are the Reconstructionist households whose insufficient case size precludes separate tabulation.

County Variations in Jewish Education: Brooklyn Leads in Use of Day Schools

Consistent with the denominational variations in Jewish school choice and with the geographic patterns associated with each denomination, we find distinctive patterns for the distribution of Jewish educational choices for children by county. Of all the counties, Brooklyn is home to the most Jewishly intensive educational profile — as many as 89% of the Jewish children there have been educated in day schools, far greater than in any other county. Very few children in Brooklyn have received no formal Jewish schooling whatsoever (5%).

Queens is next in terms of day school usage (61%). The Bronx is distinguished by a polarized pattern: 55% have attended day schools, and 43% have never been to a Jewish school of any sort; as a corollary, households in the Bronx hardly make use of supplemental school (3%). Manhattan and Nassau both include a good number of day school students (39% in Manhattan and in Nassau), along with a notable minority who have never gone to Jewish school. Westchester is distinguished by the highest use of Jewish supplemental schools (53%) of all eight counties.

Staten Island and Suffolk are distinguished by an extraordinary number of children who have not received any Jewish education.

Exhibit 5-16 Jewish Education of Children Ages 5–17 Being Raised Jewish or Jewish and Something Else, by County

	Current Day School	Previous Day School	Current Supplemental School	Previous Supplemental School	Tutoring or Other Form of Jewish Education	No Jewish Education	Total
Bronx	55%	<1%	1%	2%	33%	10%	100%
Brooklyn	88%	1%	6%	1%	2%	3%	100%
Manhattan	38%	1%	24%	9%	8%	19%	100%
Queens	57%	4%	10%	4%	9%	15%	100%
Staten Island	27%	14%	9%	4%	18%	28%	100%
Nassau	34%	5%	27%	13%	5%	16%	100%
Suffolk	12%	7%	32%	12%	12%	27%	100%
Westchester	21%	1%	42%	11%	11%	15%	100%
Total Eight-County New York Area	62%	2%	15%	5%	5%	10%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Public School, Jewish Day School, or Private School?

The counties vary widely in the schooling preferences of their respective populations. Public-school use is far higher in the suburbs and Staten Island. Private-school use, while an infrequent option, is most frequent in Manhattan and the Bronx, with Westchester a distant third. Note that in contrast to the prior section, the below table reports on schooling of all children in Jewish households whether or not they are being raised Jewish.

Exhibit 5-17 **Type of Schooling of All Children Ages 5–17 in Jewish Households, by County**

	Public School	Jewish Day School or Yeshiva	Other Private Schools	At-Home Full-Time Schooling	Already Completed School
Bronx	50%	17%	28%	<1%	6%
Brooklyn	15%	80%	5%	<1%	<1%
Manhattan	45%	25%	29%	1%	<1%
Queens	42%	51%	7%	<1%	<1%
Staten Island	76%	16%	6%	2%	<1%
Nassau	62%	30%	8%	<1%	<1%
Suffolk	88%	7%	4%	1%	<1%
Westchester	70%	18%	12%	<1%	<1%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Among Jewish Children of the Intermarried, Most Receive No Jewish Schooling

The Jewish educational patterns of the children of the intermarried bear directly on the prospects for identity transmission in the next generation. With only a minority of their children being raised Jewish or Jewish and something else, their patterns of education today can give us some idea as to their likely connection with being Jewish years from now.

By way of comparative context, among non-Orthodox in-married households, a sizable fraction (20%) of children receives a day school education, and most (53%) receive Jewish supplemental schooling. The children of single parents actually display a more polarized Jewish education profile, with 37% receiving day school education and as many as 26% getting no Jewish education whatsoever (not even tutoring). This high level of day school enrollment may in part be due to day schools providing scholarships for indigent families, making them an attractive and affordable option for single parents, many of whom earn low incomes.

Even limiting the analysis to those children raised Jewish or Jewish and something else, we find very low levels of Jewish education among the children of the intermarried. Just 2% have attended day schools; just over a third (35%) have attended supplemental schools; and more than half (53%) receive no Jewish education whatsoever (not even tutoring) — more than three times the comparable number found among the non-Orthodox in-married households.

While these patterns characterize the intermarried generally, they do not apply to the small number (only 15%) who are synagogue members. If the intermarried do join synagogues, they almost invariably send their children to supplemental schools, as do about 90%.

Exhibit 5-18 Jewish Education of Children Ages 5–17 Being Raised Jewish or Jewish and Something Else, for In-Married, Single-Parent, and Intermarried Households

	Non-Orthodox In-Married	Single Parent	Intermarried
Currently in Day School	15%	29%	<1%
Previously in Day School	5%	8%	2%
Currently in Supplemental Jewish Education	39%	17%	25%
Previously in Supplemental Jewish Education	14%	11%	10%
Tutoring or Other Form of Jewish Education*	10%	9%	10%
Received No Jewish Education	16%	26%	53%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Other Jewish education at present or in the past; includes receiving regular tutoring at home.

Large Variations Between the In-Married and Intermarried in Children’s Informal Jewish Education

The characteristics of the home also strongly influence the chance that children will experience various forms of informal Jewish education. More than 9 in 10 Orthodox families have sent their children to a Jewish preschool, as compared with nearly three quarters of Conservative families, half of Reform families, and a quarter of nondenominational families. The in-married are almost four times as likely as the intermarried to send their children to Jewish preschools.

For Jewish summer camp use, we find the highest rates among the Orthodox (just over half), followed by Conservative and Reform families (about a third), and followed in turn by the nondenominational households (almost 1 in 6). In-married couples are more than three times as likely as intermarried families to send their children to Jewish camp.

Travel to Israel also is closely tied to parents’ denomination. More than 2 in 5 Orthodox families have sent their children to Israel, as compared with almost a third of Conservative families, just over a sixth of Reform families, and even fewer among the nondenominational households.

The gaps in sending children to Israel between in-married and intermarried households are truly outstanding. Of the in-married, 33% have sent their children to Israel; among the intermarried, that figure falls to under 4%, far lower than even among single parents (26%). While in-married families surpass the intermarried on almost all measures of Jewish engagement, the gaps are especially large with respect to indicators reflecting Israel attachment. Children’s travel to Israel is certainly one of them.

Exhibit 5-19 Informal Jewish Educational Experiences of Any Children Ages 5–17 in Household, by Denomination, for In-Married, Intermarried, and Single-Parent Households

	Jewish Preschool*	Jewish Camp**	Travel to Israel
Orthodox	92%	54%	42%
Conservative	73%	37%	32%
Reform	51%	34%	18%
Other***	23%	15%	12%
In-Married	79%	43%	33%
Intermarried	21%	14%	4%
Single-Parent Household	46%	32%	26%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* For any child now age 5 to 17 in the household who has ever had this experience.

** For each child in the household ages 5 to 17, the survey asked respondents if this child ever “attended or worked in a summer overnight camp with Jewish content,” so the categorization of the camp as Jewish is based on the respondents’ perceptions.

*** Reconstructionists not shown due to an insufficient number of cases with children home.

High Use by Orthodox and Conservative Households of Jewish Preschool and Day Care

For children through age 4, respondents were asked if the child was currently enrolled in a Jewish preschool or Jewish day care. Of the 97,000 children being raised Jewish in this age group in eight-county New York Jewish households, about 37,000, or 38% of them, are being exposed to Jewish experiences in a Jewish preschool or daycare program.

The extent of use of Jewish preschools and day care follows the familiar denominational gradient, with Orthodox households leading (48%), followed by Conservative (44%), Reform (22%), and other households (8%).

Exhibit 5-20 Percent and Number of Jewish Children Ages 0–4 Who Are Enrolled in a Jewish Preschool or Daycare Program, by Denomination

Denomination	Percent of Children Enrolled in Jewish Preschool or Day Care	Number of Children Enrolled in Jewish Preschool or Day Care	Percent of All Children Enrolled in Jewish Preschool or Day Care
Orthodox	48%	28,000	76%
Conservative	44%	6,000	16%
Reform	22%	2,000	5%
Other*	8%	1,000	3%
Total	38%	37,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Includes Reconstructionists.

Due to the sheer number of children in Orthodox households, Orthodox Jewish children compose three-quarters of all Jewish children in these settings. About 1 in 6 is Conservative, and very small numbers are Reform or Jewish in other ways.

Conclusion: Parents Matter and Education Matters

Several patterns emerge repeatedly throughout this chapter. One clear lesson is that parental characteristics matter a great deal in so many ways. In particular, both denomination and in-marriage or intermarriage strongly predict future Jewish engagement and are closely linked with Jewish educational experiences. These characteristics strongly influence whether children are raised as Jews, Jewish and something else, or non-Jewish. They affect the Jewish-engagement level of the home of origin, and they affect the Jewish educational choices for the children — whether they attend day schools, supplemental schools, or not at all, as well as whether they participate in Jewish camping, travel to Israel, and Jewish preschool or day care.

The evidence also points to the long-term influence of many forms of Jewish education. Adult respondents today appear to show the positive long-term effects of day school, of Jewish summer camp, and of trips to Israel (be they with Taglit-Birthright Israel or not) on Jewish engagement.

Other Jewish educational experiences (such as youth group) may also make long-term contributions to adult Jewish engagement, but it appears that supplemental education does not seem to be one of them, consistent with a large research literature. Even with crude controls for parental Jewish background, the “graduates” of supplemental Jewish schooling hardly differ in terms of contemporary Jewish engagement from those of a similar background who never went to a Jewish school.

Not only is Jewish education effective, especially when complementing Jewishly engaged parents, but we also find that for the denominationally identified, the use of Jewish education has been increasing. Thus, the results point to the wisdom of a long-standing policy of the Jewish community and Jewish parents cited at the outset: “And you shall teach them [these words of faith and devotion] to your children.” Parents and education, both formal and informal, working together do indeed engender Jewish engagement in the next generation.

Several major themes in recent research on Jewish charitable giving have emerged, some of which point to major challenges facing Jewish philanthropy. The major relevant points of that literature are:

- Jews are devoting more of their giving to nonsectarian rather than specifically Jewish causes, as seen in the behavior of younger Jews versus older Jews and in the behavior of Jews more recently as compared with earlier points in history.¹
- The *Haredi* Orthodox population, while generously giving to Orthodox Jewish causes, has participated far less in giving for more generalized Jewish purposes.²
- The number of Jewish philanthropic causes and organizations has proliferated, in line with similar trends in the larger society.³
- The donor base for Jewish federations in North America has diminished, partially as a result of the foregoing trends and partially as a result of intentional shifts in fundraising strategies aimed at maximizing the total contributions to federation campaigns and endowments.

These overall findings provide the conceptual context for our exploration of Jewish philanthropic giving in the New York area.

1 Charendoff, Mark, and Yossi Prager. 2009. "New Thinking for a Changing Philanthropic Climate." In *Toward a Renewed Ethic of Jewish Philanthropy*, edited by Yossi Prager, 309–371. New York: Yeshiva University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=8858>.

Tobin, Gary A., and Aryeh Weinberg. 2007. *A Study of Jewish Foundations*. San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=3523>.

Cohen, Steven M. 2004. *Philanthropic Giving Among American Jews: Contributions to Federations, Jewish and Non-Jewish Causes*. New York: United Jewish Communities. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2834>.

Wertheimer, Jack. 1997. "Current Trends in American Jewish Philanthropy." In *American Jewish Year Book*, edited by David Singer and Ruth R. Seldin, 3–92. New York: American Jewish Committee.

2 Schick, Marvin. 2009. "Orthodox Involvement in Jewish Communal Philanthropy." In *Toward a Renewed Ethic of Jewish Philanthropy*, edited by Yossi Prager, 139–156. New York: Yeshiva University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=8858>.

Ukeles, Jacob B. 2009. "Philanthropic Behavior of Orthodox Households." In *Toward a Renewed Ethic of Jewish Philanthropy*, edited by Yossi Prager, 3–30. New York: Yeshiva University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=8858>.

3 Across the United States, the number of religious, charitable, and similar organizations registered with the IRS grew by 150% from 1991 to 2010, reaching nearly 1.3 million. From "Charting the Tax-Exempt World," the Chronicle of Philanthropy, accessed April 5, 2011, <http://philanthropy.com/article/Charting-the-Tax-Exempt-World/127014>.

Key Survey Questions

The analysis draws heavily on survey questions that asked about three domains of total household giving to:

- “Any charity or cause that is **not** specifically Jewish — like the United Way, a cancer charity, a university, etc.”
- “UJA-Federation of New York.”
- “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

In addition to asking about whether the household contributed to these causes in 2010, the survey also asked for the amount donated within specified ranges of total dollar amounts. These questions replicated those asked in 2002, and they have been asked of respondents in many studies of other Jewish communities conducted over the last decade.

Historical Context

In assessing shifts from 2002 to 2011, we need to bear in mind the changing context. As noted in the 2002 report: “The attack against the World Trade Center complex...on September 11, 2001, in New York City not only profoundly altered America and the world, but may have also changed (temporarily) philanthropic contribution patterns of survey households.” The 9/11 attacks were so recent, with survey interviewing started exactly six months after the attacks in downtown Manhattan, that a separate question on contributions to 9/11 charities was added to the 2002 study. Indeed, 67% of households reported contributing to a 9/11 charity, more than to any other cause, including about 7% of respondents who gave only to 9/11 charities — meaning that the proportion of those who made any donations in 2002 was expanded by the charitable response to the 9/11 tragedy.

In assessing the findings in 2011, we cannot ignore the Great Recession and its impact on charitable giving of all types. Edith A. Falk of the Giving USA Foundation reported in June 2011 that “2008 and 2009 saw the largest drops in giving in more than 40 years as a result of the Great Recession,” and that after a drop of 13% in 2008 and 2009, giving rose by just 2.1% in 2010.⁴ As a result, giving levels are still deflated in comparison with earlier years.

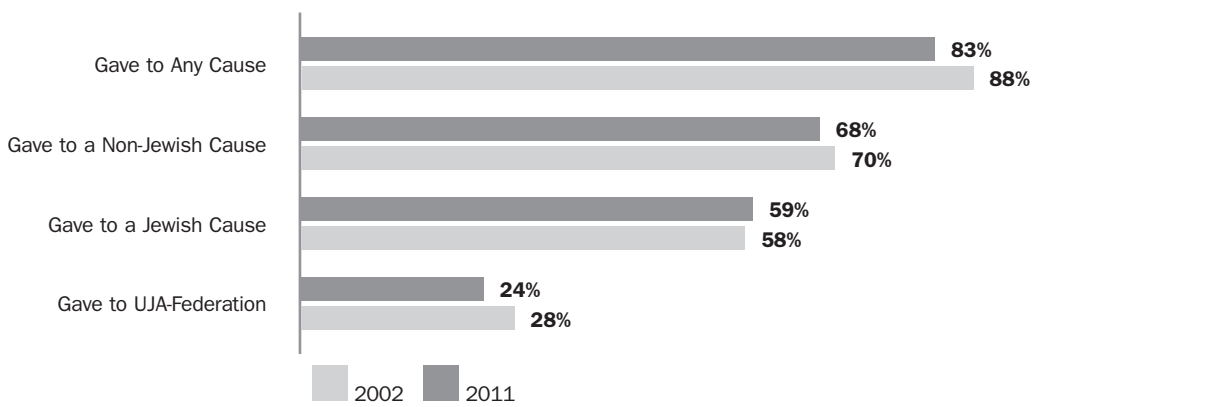
⁴ The Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University. 2011. “U.S. Charitable Giving Shows Modest Uptick in 2010 Following Two Years of Declines.” Accessed April 16, 2012. <http://www.philanthropy.iupui.edu/news/2011/06/pr-GUSA.aspx>.

Since 2002, Decline in Philanthropic Participation

In the 2011 survey, 83% of households reported making a charitable donation of some sort in 2010.⁵ This level represents a decline in philanthropic participation from the 88% of households in 2002 reporting a charitable donation in 2001.

More Jewish households donated to a non-Jewish cause (68%) than to a Jewish cause (59%). The largest percentage (44%) contributed both to Jewish and non-Jewish causes. Another 24% contributed to non-Jewish causes only, and 15% contributed to Jewish causes only.

Exhibit 6-1 Philanthropic Contribution Patterns of Jewish Households, 2002* and 2011



Eight-County New York Area

* The 9/11 charities in 2002 are viewed as non-Jewish for the analyses above, even though some may have been sponsored by Jewish organizations. If 9/11 charities are excluded, the 2002 contribution patterns are 41% for both Jewish and non-Jewish, 17% for Jewish only, 23% for non-Jewish only, and 19% for no contribution.

⁵ A methodological comment is in order: survey respondents are thought to over-report socially approved behavior. One study, for example, demonstrated that the number of worshippers actually attending church on a given Sunday in Ohio was about half that reported in a recently conducted survey. (See Hadaway, C. Kirk, Penny Long Marler, and Mark Chaves. 1993. "What the Polls Don't Show: A Closer Look at U.S. Church Attendance." *American Sociological Review* 58: 741–52; Hadaway, C. Kirk, Penny Long Marler, and Mark Chaves. 1998. "Overreporting Church Attendance in America: Evidence That Demands the Same Verdict." *American Sociological Review* 63: 122–30.) In like fashion, claims by survey respondents to having made charitable contributions inevitably exceed actual numbers of gifts. Changes in reports of giving, then, reflect actual giving behavior as well as the normative power of charitable behavior; thus, changes in reported levels of giving signify, in part, actual shifts in the number of gifts, as well as shifts in the felt importance of appearing to give in a social interaction, even with a telephone interviewer with whom the respondent has no prior connection.

Exhibit 6-2 **Philanthropic Contribution Patterns of Jewish Households, 2002 and 2011**

	2002	2011
Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Contributions	41%	44%
Jewish Contributions Only	17%	15%
Non-Jewish Contributions Only	29%	24%
No Contributions	12%	18%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

In comparison with 2002, the proportions giving to non-Jewish causes and giving to Jewish causes each remained about the same. In contrast, the proportion of Jewish households reporting a contribution to UJA-Federation of New York dropped from 28% in 2002 to 24% in 2011. This decline in UJA-Federation giving may reflect both demographic and cultural shifts, which we will explore in this chapter, as well as the decision by UJA-Federation to pursue more efficient fundraising strategies, focusing on high-potential donors.

Higher Income Means More Giving to Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Causes

The percentage of households that are donors rises along with increases in income. Among those earning \$250,000 or more, almost all (97%) report engaging in some form of philanthropic giving. That said, as many as two-thirds of those earning under \$50,000 also report charitable gifts. (To further illustrate this trend, of those living in poverty as defined in chapter 3, 63% report making charitable contributions.)

The incidence of giving to Jewish causes also rises somewhat with income. Nearly half (49%) of those earning under \$50,000 report making contributions to Jewish causes. The incidence of Jewish giving rises only partway up the income scale, nearly leveling off at \$100,000 to \$149,000 in income, where 69% contribute to Jewish causes. Among the wealthiest (those earning \$250,000 or more), the incidence of Jewish charitable giving is not much higher, reaching 74%. This figure means that a quarter of the wealthiest Jewish households in the New York area report making no gift whatsoever to any Jewish cause.

Exhibit 6-3 **Philanthropic Contribution Patterns by Household Income**

	Less Than \$50,000	\$50,000– \$99,999	\$100,000– \$149,999	\$150,000– \$249,999	\$250,000+
Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Contributions	27%	47%	61%	60%	70%
Jewish Contributions Only	22%	13%	8%	7%	4%
Non-Jewish Contributions Only	20%	29%	25%	29%	23%
No Contributions	32%	11%	5%	5%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Fewer Donors to Jewish Causes Among Those Under 50

The 2002 survey uncovered a widely noted pattern in Jewish social research: younger people are less inclined than their elders to make donations to Jewish causes.⁶

In the 2011 survey, a similar pattern emerges: less giving to Jewish causes by those under 50. While 68% of those ages 75 and over give to Jewish causes, the incidence of such donors drops steadily, falling to 52% of those ages 35 to 49. However, in the youngest adult age group (18–34), the decline in Jewish giving levels off, holding at 53%. Moreover, this young group exhibits a curious phenomenon: the proportion that makes contributions only to Jewish causes (26%) is roughly twice as high as that for each older age group. One explanation for the strength of Jewish giving among those ages 18 to 34 lies in the increase of Orthodox representation among young adults. Among the non-Orthodox, younger Jews are less likely to make Jewish contributions than older Jews.

Another tendency is also at work here. Donors in general and younger donors in particular are thought to have grown more selective in their giving. Consistent with this observation, we find that younger donors in the New York area are more inclined than their elders to restrict their giving to Jewish-only or non-Jewish-only causes. As an example, of those ages 65 to 74, 34% give to exclusively Jewish causes or to exclusively non-Jewish causes; among those ages 35 to 49, this figure reaches 43%; and this figure rises to 50% among those ages 18 to 34.

⁶ See, for example:

Cohen, Steven M. 2004. *Philanthropic Giving Among American Jews: Contributions to Federations, Jewish and Non-Jewish Causes*. New York: United Jewish Communities. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2834>.

Ritterband, Paul, and Steven M. Cohen. 1979. *Will the Well Run Dry?: The Future of Jewish Giving in America*. New York: National Jewish Conference Center. Available as PDF at <http://bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=370>.

Exhibit 6-4 **Philanthropic Contribution Patterns by Age of Respondent**

	18–34	35–49	50–64	65–74	75+
Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Contributions	27%	40%	47%	45%	55%
Jewish Contributions Only	26%	12%	13%	12%	13%
Non-Jewish Contributions Only	24%	31%	26%	22%	14%
No Contributions	23%	18%	14%	21%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Young Non-Orthodox Adults: Fewer Donors and Less to Jewish Causes

As with other Jewish social phenomena analyzed in previous chapters, the presence of the Orthodox, and especially their growing fraction of the population among younger adults, serves to mask age-related patterns pertaining to the non-Orthodox. In the case of philanthropic giving, fully 89% of Orthodox Jews make contributions to Jewish causes, as compared with 52% of non-Orthodox Jews. To test for the possibility of age-related declines in Jewish giving, we need to focus on the non-Orthodox.

When we limit the analysis to the non-Orthodox, the familiar and anticipated pattern emerges clearly. Giving to Jewish causes drops steadily by age, from those ages 75 and over (66%), to those ages 50 to 64 (56%), to those ages 35 to 49 (42%), and finally to those under 35 (31%). In the full population, the presence of the Orthodox masks the drop-off in Jewish giving among the youngest non-Orthodox adults.

Exhibit 6-5 **Philanthropic Contribution Patterns by Age of Respondent, Non-Orthodox Only**

	18–34	35–49	50–64	65–74	75+
Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Contributions	24%	36%	46%	44%	54%
Jewish Contributions Only	7%	6%	10%	10%	12%
Non-Jewish Contributions Only	39%	37%	29%	24%	16%
No Contributions	31%	21%	15%	23%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

While less likely to give to Jewish causes, the youngest non-Orthodox adults are distinguished in two other relevant ways from the older age groups: first, fewer young people are donors at all; second, more than any older group, more of them give exclusively to non-Jewish causes.

Many Small Gifts

A large number of reported charitable gifts in all three domains — non-Jewish, UJA-Federation, and other Jewish causes — amount to less than \$100. The proportion of such donations to UJA-Federation (39%) exceeds the comparable number to other Jewish causes (22%), repeating a pattern found in the 2002 study as well.

For non-Jewish charities and UJA-Federation, 5% to 6% of the reported gifts reach \$5,000 or more; for other Jewish giving, relatively twice as many of the reported gifts are that large.

Exhibit 6-6 **Size of Philanthropic Contributions, Three Philanthropic Domains, Donors Only**

Amount Reported Donated in 2010	Philanthropic Domain		
	Non-Jewish Charities	UJA-Federation	Other Jewish Causes*
\$10,000+	3%	3%	6%
\$5,000–\$9,999	3%	2%	6%
\$1,000–\$4,999	15%	8%	24%
\$100–\$999	51%	48%	41%
Less than \$100	28%	39%	22%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

This pattern is also consistent with the strategy and actual experience of UJA-Federation’s campaign, in which the majority of individual contributors indeed give in the “less than \$100” and “\$100–\$999” ranges, while the bulk of funds raised comes from a small but significant number of major donors.

Amount of Philanthropic Giving by Income

In all three domains, the amounts given increase with income. Lower-income Jewish households are relatively more generous to Jewish causes than non-Jewish causes; the relationship reverses among the more affluent households, where progressively more charitable funds are devoted to non-Jewish causes. For example, using \$1,000 or more as a standard, of those earning under \$100,000, we find at least twice as many donations to Jewish causes as to non-Jewish causes. Among the higher-income donors, the percent making gifts of \$1,000 or more to non-Jewish causes only slightly trails the number giving gifts of this size to Jewish causes.

Also noteworthy is the difference in the income-related contours for reported UJA-Federation giving and giving to other Jewish causes. For the latter, the frequency of larger gifts rises gradually and steadily as incomes increase. For UJA-Federation giving, the amounts reported hardly rise until we reach the highest-earning households, with a dramatic increase occurring in the transition to those earning \$250,000 or more.

Exhibit 6-7 **Percent of Jewish Households Giving Gifts of \$1,000+ to Non-Jewish Causes, UJA-Federation, and Other Jewish Causes, by Household Income**

Income	Gave \$1,000+ to Non-Jewish Causes	Gave \$1,000+ to UJA-Federation	Gave \$1,000+ to Other Jewish Causes*
Under \$50,000	3%	1%	8%
\$50,000–\$99,999	9%	1%	17%
\$100,000–\$149,999	16%	2%	25%
\$150,000–\$249,000	26%	4%	30%
\$250,000+	60%	14%	48%
All Jewish Households	13%	2%	18%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

Donors to UJA-Federation and Donors to Other Jewish Causes

Age, denomination, household composition, and in-marriage status all strongly correlate with giving to UJA-Federation, to other Jewish causes, or both.⁷ As in 2002, almost all the standard indicators of Jewish commitment relate to the likelihood of making gifts to Jewish causes in general and to UJA-Federation in particular. The indicators also predict the generosity of those gifts, as indicated by the size of the donation relative to income. Almost any such indicator can be included here: travel to Israel, self-assessed importance of being Jewish, synagogue membership, and so forth.

Beyond these predictable relationships are some important and policy-relevant relationships of Jewish giving and UJA-Federation giving with age. Notably, while the age of the respondent is strongly related to UJA-Federation giving, it is *not* related to donating to other Jewish causes — that is, we find a decrease in UJA-Federation giving from old to young, both in 2002 and in 2011. For giving to other Jewish causes, though, age-based variation is negligible.

7 A methodological comment is in order: in comparing giving patterns to one organization with giving patterns to any (and all) other Jewish organizations, we learn about the broadest philanthropic trends but are unable to assess how giving patterns to the single organization compare with giving patterns to other individual organizations, or what specific types or organizations and causes in the “other Jewish causes” category are stronger or weaker (for example, giving to local, national, or international Jewish charities, or giving to synagogues, day schools, or Jewish political advocacy groups).

Notably, the age-related shift in UJA-Federation giving is not due particularly to the low giving rates among the younger adults; rather, the decline in UJA-Federation giving occurs in every transition from an older to a younger age group. Nor is the selectively lower participation in UJA-Federation's campaign by young adults primarily a function of income. Even among those with incomes of \$150,000 and more, UJA-Federation donations of \$1,000 or more are far less frequent for those under 35 than among those of their parents' age, but such is *not* the case for giving to other Jewish causes.

The clear age-related decline in UJA-Federation giving found in 2011 repeats a pattern noted in 2002. The aging of the federation donor world is not confined to New York; rather, it is consistent with a national pattern, as a strong correlation between age and federation contributions has been found in many local Jewish community studies, in the last national study in 2001, and in New York in 2002.⁸

While the principal reasons for the age-related decline in UJA-Federation giving undoubtedly resemble those affecting federation giving in other major American communities, also critical in the New York context is the size, youthful profile, and distinctive philanthropic behavior of the Orthodox population in the eight-county area.

To elaborate, we find that denomination bears a very different relationship with UJA-Federation giving than with giving to other Jewish causes. For Jewish giving to causes other than UJA-Federation, we find a familiar denominational gradient, one seen in many other measures of Jewish engagement: the Orthodox lead, followed in turn by Conservative, then Reform, and finally nondenominational Jews. However, for UJA-Federation giving we find a notable exception to the usual pattern: Conservative Jews are the most frequent donors to UJA-Federation's campaign, significantly surpassing Reform-identified households, who in turn vastly outstrip the nondenominational.

The major variation here is the low participation of the Orthodox in UJA-Federation's campaign, placing the Orthodox, in the aggregate, behind the Reform households. However, it should be noted that the Modern Orthodox differ sharply from the *Haredi* Orthodox in their giving patterns. Both groups exhibit high rates of giving to Jewish causes; however, they part company with respect to UJA-Federation giving, with Modern Orthodox giving reaching 37% (almost as high as Conservative Jews) and *Haredi* giving at only 11%, the lowest of all denominational groups except those respondents who identify either as secular or with no religion. Thus, the decline among the Orthodox from 31% in 2002 to 23% in 2011 in UJA-Federation giving (as compared with their extensive participation in Jewish giving generally) in large part reflects the significant growth of the *Haredi* fraction of the Orthodox population since 2002.⁹

8 UJA-Federation of New York. 2004. *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at <http://www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-2002>.

9 The 2002 study did not inquire directly about subclassifications within the Orthodox population.

Households with children display extraordinary gaps between the low rates of participation in UJA-Federation giving (16%) and the high rates of participation in other forms of Jewish giving (67%). These gaps again point to the large proportion of *Haredi* Orthodox, who make up 26% of the New York area's Jewish households with children, and who exhibit low rates of giving to UJA-Federation and high rates of giving to other Jewish causes.

In comparing the denomination-specific 2011 patterns of giving to Jewish causes other than UJA-Federation with 2002 counterparts, we find small and uneven changes even as the denominational ranking remained the same.

For changes over time in UJA-Federation giving, in contrast with patterns of overall decline, it is noteworthy that three groups largely held steady: Conservative, Reform, and nondenominational (the group that says, in effect, "My religion is Jewish and my denomination is none"). However, the two other denominational groups showed significant drop-offs in UJA-Federation giving: the Orthodox and the secular or no-religion respondents. Explanations for both come readily to mind.

In comparison with 2002, the Orthodox of 2011 contain within them many more *Haredim*, who do not particularly participate in UJA-Federation giving.

The secular and no-religion population not only has grown in size, but also appears to contain individuals who are more distant from Jewish life than their counterparts in 2002. As noted at the outset, about 5% of Jewish respondents (weighted) had no Jewish parents and never formally converted. They are part of the growing number of Jews, generally with lower levels of Jewish engagement, who make up a substantial number of the no-religion respondents.

Exhibit 6-8 Contributed to UJA-Federation and to Other Jewish Causes, by Selected Characteristics

Donated to:	2002		2011	
	UJA-Federation	Other Jewish Causes*	UJA-Federation	Other Jewish Causes*
All Households	28%	56%	24%	55%
Respondent Age				
75+	45%	58%	42%	62%
65–74	39%	61%	29%	51%
50–64	31%	58%	24%	56%
35–49	21%	55%	14%	52%
18–34	12%	47%	10%	54%
Respondent Denomination				
Orthodox**	31%	87%	23%	89%
<i>Haredi</i> Orthodox (Yeshivish + Hasidic)	—	—	11%	91%
Modern Orthodox	—	—	37%	83%
Other Orthodox	—	—	10%	72%
Conservative	41%	70%	41%	67%
Reform	29%	50%	30%	54%
Nondenominational	17%	39%	18%	42%
Secular or No Religion	15%	28%	9%	22%
Household Composition				
Households With Seniors 65+	42%	60%	37%	58%
Households With Only Adults 18–64	20%	46%	17%	45%
Households With Children 17 and Younger	23%	64%	16%	67%
Intermarriage Status				
In-Married Non-Orthodox Households	40%	68%	35%	66%
Intermarried Households***	14%	26%	12%	32%

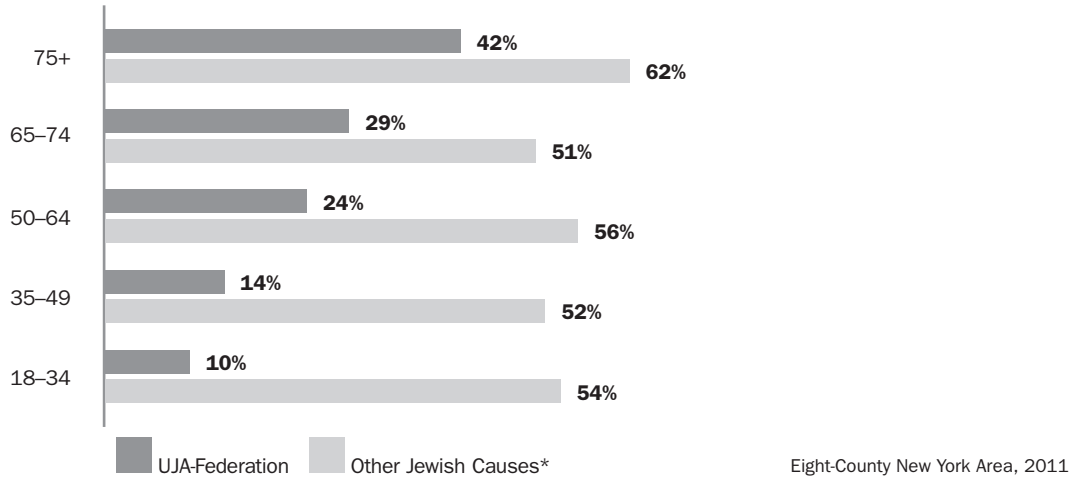
Eight-County New York Area

* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

** In 2011, respondents who identified as Orthodox were asked to classify themselves as “Modern Orthodox,” “Yeshivish,” “Hasidic,” or “other,” as well as other labels they could have volunteered. The 2002 survey did not ask this question. Typically, “Modern Orthodox” and “other Orthodox” exhibit similar characteristics and are grouped for analysis. In this instance, their philanthropic behavior is different, requiring that the two groups be treated separately.

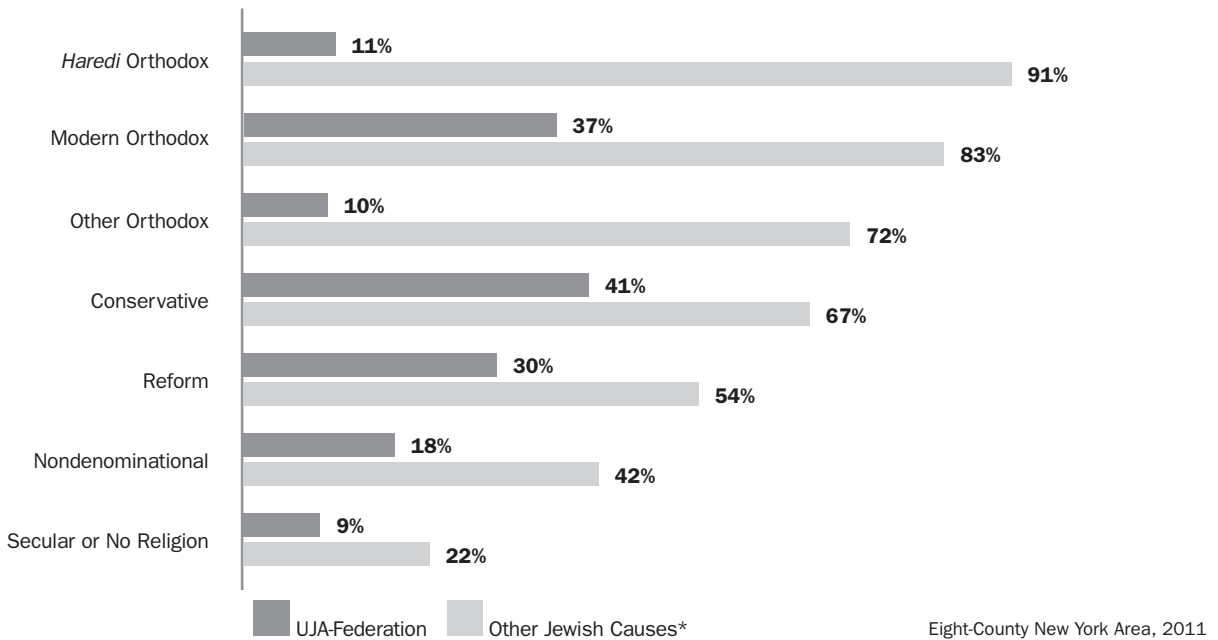
*** The few Orthodox intermarried households were included in this category in 2011 (but not in 2002) since they generally displayed the Jewish-engagement characteristics more typical of the intermarried than of the Orthodox.

Exhibit 6-9 Contributed to UJA-Federation and to Other Jewish Causes, by Respondent Age



* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

Exhibit 6-10 Contributed to UJA-Federation and to Other Jewish Causes, by Denomination



* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

In-Married Versus Intermarried: Contrasts in Philanthropic Giving

As with denomination, age, affluence, and other key social characteristics, in-marriage status (whether one is in-married or intermarried) has emerged as a major axis of differentiation in the Jewish population. As such, examining the reported philanthropic behavior of the in-married and intermarried over time provides insight both into shifting patterns in philanthropy as well as into the changing connections of the in-married and intermarried to Jewish life.

As compared with the non-Orthodox in-married, the philanthropic behavior of intermarried households is distinguished in three ways:

- Many more contribute only to non-Jewish causes — 51% for the intermarried compared with 15% for the in-married.
- Far fewer contribute to Jewish causes (UJA-Federation giving and giving to other Jewish organizations combined) — 34% compared with 72%.
- Slightly fewer make any contributions.

The patterns in 2002, though slightly different, yield similar substantive inferences: at that time as well, giving to Jewish causes among the intermarried significantly trailed that among the in-married. One notable change from 2002 to 2011 is the drop in giving to any cause among the intermarried, from 90% to 85%, even as giving to both Jewish and non-Jewish causes increased (from 26% to 30%).

Exhibit 6-11 **Philanthropic Contribution Patterns by In-Marriage Status, Non-Orthodox Only**

	2002		2011	
	Non-Orthodox In-Married Households	Intermarried Households	Non-Orthodox In-Married Households	Intermarried Households
Both Jewish and Non-Jewish Contributions	56%	26%	60%	30%
Jewish Contributions Only	16%	5%	12%	4%
Non-Jewish Contributions Only	20%	59%	15%	51%
No Contributions	9%	10%	13%	15%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

UJA-Federation Donors: Primary Characteristics

While about a quarter of Jewish households in the eight-county area report contributing to UJA-Federation, reported giving increases substantially among a population defined by four features:

- Affiliated with a synagogue or other Jewish organization.
- In-married.
- Household income of \$100,000 or more.
- Non-*Haredi*.

In fact, a majority (53%) of households with all of these characteristics report giving to UJA-Federation. This high-potential population, households with all four characteristics, number 72,000 and constitute 10% of Jewish households in the eight-county area.

Communal affiliation, in-marriage, household income, and *Haredi* identification are each independently associated with the likelihood of reporting a gift to UJA-Federation. By combining these features in various ways, we arrive at a useful typology of households consisting of four groups: the high-potential affiliated, the other affiliated, the unaffiliated, and the *Haredim*.

For this analysis, the *Haredim* are defined as a group of its own and are not part of the definitions of the high-potential affiliated, other affiliated, and unaffiliated groups. Those who belong to neither synagogues nor Jewish organizations are defined as unaffiliated. Of some note, among the non-*Haredim*, unaffiliated households exceed all the affiliated (high potential and other) by a margin of 342,000 to 278,000.

The high-potential affiliated differ from the other affiliated in that they bear two additional features: they are in-married *and* have household incomes of \$100,000 or more. The other affiliated are affiliated but they earn under \$100,000, or they are not married, or they are intermarried — or any combination thereof.

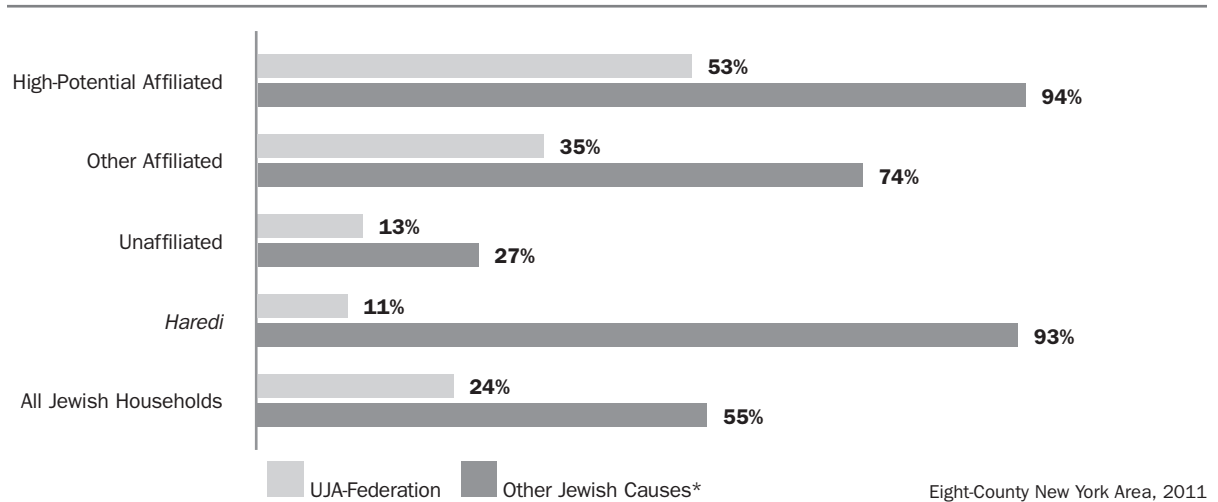
Exhibit 6-12 **Distribution of High-Potential Affiliated, Other Affiliated, Unaffiliated, and *Haredi* Households**

	Number	Percent
High-Potential Affiliated	72,000	10%
Other Affiliated	206,000	30%
Unaffiliated	342,000	49%
<i>Haredi</i>	74,000	11%
Total	694,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The charitable-giving patterns of the four groups differ dramatically, with each presenting a distinctly different configuration of giving to UJA-Federation and to other Jewish causes.

Exhibit 6-13 **Percent Giving to UJA-Federation and to Other Jewish Causes for High-Potential Affiliated, Other Affiliated, Unaffiliated, and *Haredim***



* The survey asked respondents whether anyone in the household had contributed “[Other than to UJA-Federation] ... to any other Jewish charity, cause, organization, or ... congregation.”

It is among the high-potential affiliated — those who are in-married and earn at least \$100,000 in annual household income — that we find high levels of giving both to UJA-Federation and to other Jewish causes. A majority (53%) of this key group of affiliated, in-married, and somewhat higher earning Jews report making donations to UJA-Federation. In addition, almost all (94%) participate in giving to Jewish causes other than UJA-Federation. In other words, this type of Jewish philanthropic giving is as common among this group as among the *Haredim*; however, unlike the *Haredim*, they also widely report supporting UJA-Federation.

The other affiliated — those with some formal Jewish membership but who earn under \$100,000 or are not in-married (meaning they are either not married or are intermarried) — display levels of Jewish philanthropic involvement that are lower than the high-potential affiliated but higher than those of the unaffiliated. Three-quarters give to Jewish causes other than UJA-Federation, and 35% report donations to UJA-Federation.

The unaffiliated, the largest group in the population, report relatively low rates of participation in giving to Jewish causes other than UJA-Federation and smaller rates of giving to UJA-Federation. In comparison with the other affiliated, only a third participate in each type of giving. It is noteworthy, though, that of those in this group who do give to Jewish causes, the frequency of reported giving to UJA-Federation runs at about half the rate of giving to other Jewish causes (13% versus 27%).

Almost all (93%) of the *Haredim* participate in “other” Jewish giving, but a very small number (11%) report giving to UJA-Federation. Their giving patterns bespeak a sectarian commitment, with strong ties to fellow *Haredim* and weak ties to the larger Jewish community.

In short, giving to UJA-Federation may be said to remain normative among in-married affiliated Jews with annual household incomes of at least \$100,000. Thus, UJA-Federation continues to enjoy excellent market penetration among this group. The challenge for the future rests in the shrinking of the size of this philanthropically loyal demographic base. Among the vast majority who are not *Haredi*, we are seeing declines in affiliation and in-marriage, along with greater poverty. These and related demographic trends may pose new challenges to UJA-Federation’s annual campaign.

Wills

The 2011 survey questions related to wills were restricted to those who reported making donations of \$1,000 or more to UJA-Federation or to other Jewish causes. For this strategically situated constituency, we find that only 56% reported having a will. Of those who have a will, the vast majority have no charity provision in the will. Of the small number with a charity provision, the vast majority have some sort of Jewish charity provision, but these donors represent only 10% of what may be considered significant donors to Jewish charities.

Exhibit 6-14 Jewish Households With Charitable Provisions in a Will*

No Will	44%
Will, But No Charity Provision	40%
Will, Non-Jewish Charity Provision Only	2%
Will, With Jewish Charity Provision	10%
Will, But No Answer Regarding Provisions	4%
Total	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Asked only of donors of \$1,000 or more to UJA-Federation or to other Jewish charities.

The proportion of donors with wills rises rapidly in the later years. Of those ages 65 to 74, 77% have a will, and the figure rises to 94% for those who are ages 75 and over. Similarly, the proportion with a Jewish charity provision also rises with age, reaching 12% of significant donors ages 65 to 74 and 20% of those ages 75 and over.

Exhibit 6-15 Charitable Provisions in a Will*, by Age of Respondent

	18-34	35-49	50-64	65-74	75+
No Will	89%	52%	37%	23%	6%
Will, But No Charity Provision	7%	36%	48%	56%	61%
Will, Non-Jewish Charity Provision Only	<1%	1%	2%	3%	4%
Will, With Jewish Charity Provision	4%	7%	11%	12%	20%
Will, But No Answer Regarding Provisions	<1%	4%	3%	6%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* Asked only of donors of \$1,000 or more to UJA-Federation or to other Jewish charities.

Edging Toward Philanthropic Fragmentation?

Several signs point to a move toward what may be called philanthropic fragmentation. The move is not sweeping and comprehensive, but the signs are clear and undeniable.

Among the patterns discerned in the comparisons over time and over age:

- A slight decline in giving overall, though possibly the result of the particular historical contexts — specifically, a possible temporary lift in 2001 giving due to 9/11 and a possible dampening of giving in 2011 due to the residual effects of the Great Recession.
- A small shift by those born after 1960 away from Jewish giving, albeit stabilized over time.
- An increasing number of givers to Jewish causes who do not give to UJA-Federation, the *Haredim* being a major subpopulation reflecting this trend.
- A significant shrinkage in UJA-Federation's donor base, especially among younger adults, but reflecting the current campaign strategy as well as a long-term historic process of shrinkage from older to middle-aged to younger people.
- More frequent giving by those ages 18 to 34 to exclusively Jewish or exclusively nonsectarian causes, a pattern that mirrors the age-related contours in the Jewish-identity spectrum over time. That is, a major fraction of those ages 18 to 34 are *Haredim* and Modern Orthodox, both of which are more likely to specialize in giving to Jewish causes. In addition, more 18- to 34-year-olds are Jewishly unengaged and nondenominational, groups that are more likely to confine their giving to non-Jewish causes.

In sum, philanthropic trends reflect Jewish-engagement trends. The nature and magnitude of Jewish engagement influence the nature and magnitude of philanthropic giving. Jewish philanthropic giving is stronger when Jewish engagement is stronger, and Jewish philanthropic giving is more communal (and less sectarian) when engaged Jews are more communal and less sectarian.

As the foregoing chapters have demonstrated, New York Jewry is far from homogenous. Rather, its long history, waves of immigration, social-class differences, geographic spread, increasingly porous boundaries, and ideological variation all help to make the New York Jewish population incredibly heterogeneous and polyglot — and perhaps increasingly so in recent years.

In this chapter, we explore features of the diversity of New York Jewry, profiling the diversity within two of the largest subpopulations: the Orthodox and Russian speakers — the term applied to those who emigrated from the former Soviet Union. In addition, we provide basic descriptions of four smaller population groups, each defined along a different axis of social differentiation. Two — Israelis and the Syrian population — are defined largely by national ancestry; a third — LGBT households — by sexual orientation; and the fourth — biracial, Hispanic, and other nonwhite households — by race and ethnicity.

ORTHODOX JEWS IN NEW YORK

Orthodox Jews differ dramatically from non-Orthodox Jews.¹ In terms of predicting the extent and character of Jewish engagement, the simple Orthodox–non-Orthodox divide is as important as any two-way classification. The gaps in many measures of Jewish engagement between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews are larger than those separating Reform and Conservative Jews, or the congregationally affiliated and unaffiliated, or the in-married and the intermarried.

Not only are the Orthodox so thoroughly different from others, but wide variations differentiate the more traditional Orthodox from the more modern Orthodox.²

1 Heilman, Samuel. 2008. "Thoughts on the Study of the Orthodox Community: After Thirty-Five Years." *AJS Perspectives: The Magazine of the Association for Jewish Studies*, Spring: 16–18. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2663>.

Heilman, Samuel C. 2005. "Jews and Fundamentalism." *Jewish Political Studies Review* 17 (Spring): 1–2. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2224>.

2 No accepted and felicitous term is available to designate Orthodox Jews situated at either end of the traditional–modern continuum. For the more traditional, we have such nomenclature as ultra-Orthodox, rigorously Orthodox, *Haredim*, Hasidim, Litvish, and Yeshivish Orthodox. For the more modern Orthodox, we have the term Modern Orthodox (seen as problematic by some since it connotes less than full commitment to Orthodoxy). This narrative below uses "Modern Orthodox" to refer to those who call themselves Modern or some other classification not elsewhere specified. *Haredi* or *Haredim* (plural) refer to a category that embraces Hasidic and Hasidim, along with Yeshivish.

See also, for example:

Bayme, Steven. 2006. "New Conditions and Models of Authority: Changing Patterns Within Contemporary Orthodoxy." In *Rabbinic and Lay Communal Authority*, edited by Suzanne Last Stone, 113–128. New York: Yeshiva University Press. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=5576>.

Waxman, Chaim I. 1998. "The Haredization of American Orthodox Jewry." *The Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints* 376 (February): 1–5. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=2373>.

More than geography separates the Hasidic Jews of Williamsburg (and elsewhere) from the Modern Orthodox Jews of the Upper West Side (and elsewhere). Moreover, the centuries-old social and ideological tensions between *hasid* (“pious”) Jews and their *misnagdic* (“oppositional”) counterparts remain in play. The various Hasidic communities are distinguished from *misnagdic* groups that often designate themselves as “Yeshivish” (for their dedication to yeshiva studies) or other terms. Both camps, in turn, fall under the rubric of *Haredi* (“tremblers” before God).

Viewed from the outside, if not from afar, the Orthodox may appear undifferentiated. The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 included questions that enable us to segment the Orthodox into these groups so that we can better understand their characteristics.

Hasidic, Yeshivish, and Modern Orthodox Jews: By the Numbers

We asked respondents who were Orthodox, “Do you most closely identify with Modern, Hasidic, Yeshivish, or some other type of Orthodox?” In addition to these answers, we received an assortment of other terms that were volunteered by the respondent. Among the more common were “Other Orthodox” (that was eventually grouped with the Modern Orthodox); “*Haredi*, Agudah, Litvish/Lithuanian” (subsumed under Yeshivish Orthodox); and “Satmar, Bobov, Belz, Chabad, or Lubavitch” (placed with the Hasidic group). The term *Haredi* is used to refer to the Hasidic and Yeshivish groups together and in contrast to the Modern Orthodox, consistent with respondents’ self-ascribed identities.

Exhibit 7-1 **Number of Households and Jews by Orthodox Type**

	Number of Households	Percent of All Jewish Households, Eight-County New York Area	Number of Jews	Percent of All Jews, Eight-County New York Area
Hasidic	50,000	7%	239,000	16%
Yeshivish	23,000	3%	97,000	6%
Modern Orthodox	55,000	8%	157,000	10%
Subtotal — Orthodox	129,000	19%	493,000	32%
Non-Orthodox	565,000	81%	1,045,000	68%
Total	694,000	100%	1,538,000	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The Modern Orthodox are the largest of the Orthodox groups by household count (55,000), followed closely by Hasidic households (50,000), with Yeshivish Orthodox having the smallest number of households (23,000). Because of differences in household size (see the discussion that follows), the Hasidim take the lead among the Orthodox groups in the number of Jews; they number 239,000 Jews, followed in turn by the Modern Orthodox (157,000) and the Yeshivish (97,000).

As we will see, three main patterns emerge in the findings presented below.

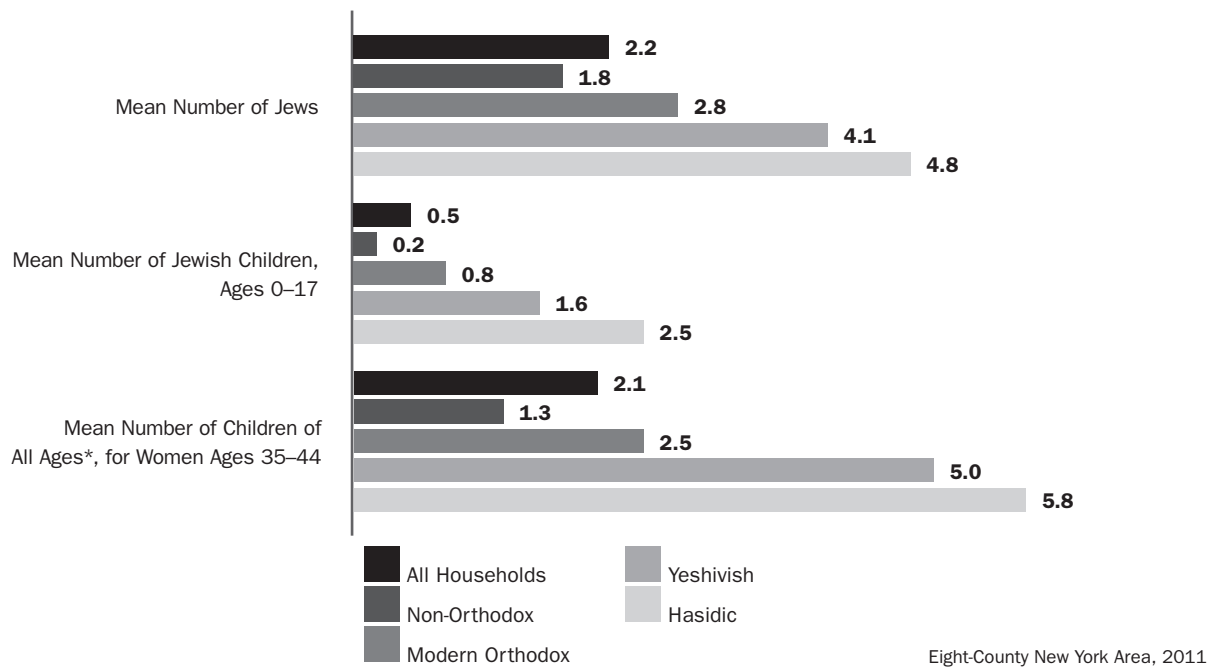
1. The three Orthodox groups differ dramatically from the non-Orthodox in many ways.
2. They may be arrayed on a traditional-modern continuum, with the Hasidim at one end and the Modern Orthodox at the other.
3. The Yeshivish are situated in between the Hasidic and Modern Orthodox poles, albeit much closer in many ways to the former than the latter.

Very Large Hasidic and Yeshivish Households

By any measure, Hasidic households are the largest in the New York-area Jewish population. In terms of number of Jews, Hasidic homes are far more than twice as large as non-Orthodox households (4.8 for Hasidic versus 1.8 for non-Orthodox), while Yeshivish households, with 4.1 Jews, are nearly as large as Hasidic families. Modern Orthodox homes are somewhat smaller (2.8), but still much larger than non-Orthodox households.

As large as the gaps are between overall numbers of Jews, they are even larger with respect to numbers of Jewish children. On average, Hasidic households are home to 2.5 Jewish children, while the averages for Yeshivish and Modern Orthodox homes are smaller (1.6 for Yeshivish and 0.8 for Modern Orthodox); although all three groups are still much higher than for the non-Orthodox (0.2). Comparing two extremes, Hasidic households are home to 12 times the number of children as non-Orthodox homes. Even Modern Orthodox households are home to four times the number of children as the non-Orthodox.

Exhibit 7-2 **Mean Numbers of Jews, and of Jewish Children Ages 0–17 per Household**



* Includes all minors ages zero to 17, as well as other adults in the household ages 18 and over who are the sons or daughters of the respondents.

While the survey did not inquire about the total number of live births per woman, indirect evidence on the size of the next generation can be obtained from the number of children of all ages residing in the home for women respondents and wives or partners ages 35 to 44. In this age range, for the most part, children are too young to have left the home (although some certainly have done so, especially among Hasidic and Yeshivish households). Also, women have not completed bearing children, although among non-Orthodox women ages 36 to 45, only about 1 in 14 gave birth in the year prior to the survey, and very few did so after age 36. At the same time, these estimates include all children in the household, including stepchildren, and not just those children who are Jewish. Thus, the entries provide very approximate estimates of children born to women (female respondents and the wives or female partners of male respondents) ages 35 to 44.

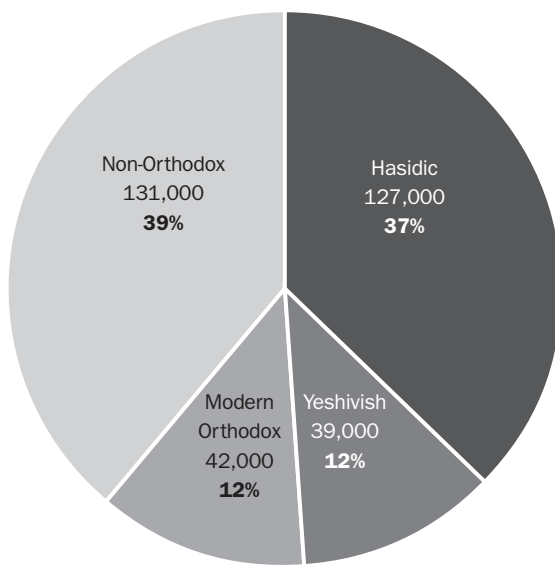
To maintain a population at current levels, demographers look for a rate of 2.1 births per woman, roughly equivalent to the figure reported for the entire population (2.1 rounded in the above exhibit, or 2.06 to be more precise). The estimated non-Orthodox rate of 1.3, insofar as it approximates completed Jewish fertility, clearly falls in the region of negative population growth.

In contrast, the Modern Orthodox estimated fertility rate is firmly situated in the region of positive population growth, while the *Haredim* are experiencing explosive population growth. These fertility (and attendant intermarriage) patterns are reshaping the complexion of New York Jewry. They directly underlay the sharp increases in Orthodox population (in particular, its *Haredi* subpopulation), and they underlay the decline in the numbers identifying with Conservative and Reform Judaism reported in chapter 4.

Hasidic Children Almost as Numerous as All Non-Orthodox Jewish Children

The Hasidim make up the majority of Orthodox and a major share of all Jewish children in the area. The total number of Hasidic children alone (127,000) almost equals the total number of Jewish children in all non-Orthodox households (131,000).

Exhibit 7-3 **Numbers of Jewish Children by Orthodox Type**



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Orthodox Jews Residentially Concentrated, Hasidic Most Concentrated

As with many religiously committed communities, the Orthodox are residentially concentrated. Moreover, the more traditionally oriented Orthodox are even more concentrated than the more modern Orthodox. Brooklyn is the capital of New York-area Hasidic and Yeshivish Orthodox Jews. While 21% of non-Orthodox Jewish households live in Brooklyn, the number rises to 27% for Modern Orthodox, 71% for Yeshivish, and 94% for Hasidim.

Exhibit 7-4 **County of Residence of Households by Orthodox Type**

	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Bronx	<1%	1%	7%	5%
Brooklyn	94%	71%	27%	21%
Manhattan	1%	3%	21%	25%
Queens	1%	17%	17%	15%
Staten Island	<1%	1%	3%	3%
Nassau	1%	6%	14%	15%
Suffolk	<1%	<1%	1%	7%
Westchester	1%	1%	9%	10%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Educational Attainment: Lower for the Hasidim, Higher for the Non-Orthodox

Hasidic men and women by far report the lowest levels of educational attainment of all three Orthodox groups, while the non-Orthodox levels slightly surpass those of the Modern Orthodox. To illustrate, among men 16% of the Hasidim earned a college degree, as compared with 45% of Yeshivish men, 55% of Modern Orthodox, and 63% of non-Orthodox. The women's educational levels follow similar contours, although Modern Orthodox women exhibit a somewhat higher level of educational attainment than their non-Orthodox counterparts.

Among Hasidim, the proportions that earned a bachelor's degree are greater for men than women, as is true for the Yeshivish, although to a lesser extent. Among the Modern Orthodox, women's levels of bachelor's degrees surpass their male counterparts.

Exhibit 7-5 **Educational Attainment by Orthodox Type**

Male Respondents and Spouses	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
High School or Less	63%	37%	27%	18%
Some College	21%	18%	18%	20%
Bachelor's	11%	21%	24%	28%
Master's, M.D., Ph.D., Law, etc.	5%	24%	31%	35%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Female Respondents and Spouses	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
High School or Less	75%	29%	22%	19%
Some College	13%	29%	16%	19%
Bachelor's	6%	20%	23%	24%
Master's, M.D., Ph.D., Law, etc.	5%	21%	41%	37%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Hasidic Men: More Study and Fewer Work

Among Hasidic men, fully 25% are students, against 18% among Yeshivish, 7% among Modern Orthodox, and just 2% of non-Orthodox. In contrast, among Orthodox women, just 1% to 2% are students. The large number of students among the Orthodox men, then, reflects the large number that engages in the full-time study of sacred text.

Exhibit 7-6 **Employment Status by Orthodox Type and Gender**

Male Respondents and Spouses	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Self-Employed	23%	21%	21%	24%
Employed Full-Time	35%	37%	45%	36%
Employed Part-Time	9%	10%	4%	6%
Unemployed	2%	4%	3%	4%
Student	25%	18%	7%	2%
Disabled	1%	<1%	3%	3%
Homemaker or Volunteer	2%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Retired	4%	10%	19%	24%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Female Respondents and Spouses	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Self-Employed	8%	8%	11%	12%
Employed Full-Time	25%	21%	33%	33%
Employed Part-Time	25%	23%	14%	9%
Unemployed	2%	2%	3%	4%
Student	2%	1%	2%	2%
Disabled	1%	<1%	2%	3%
Homemaker or Volunteer	30%	22%	10%	9%
Retired	6%	23%	25%	28%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Low-Income Hasidim

Two-thirds of Hasidic households earn under \$50,000 per year, as contrasted with about one-third to two-fifths of Yeshivish, Modern Orthodox, and non-Orthodox households. The large number of low-income households among the Hasidim is consistent with their low levels of educational attainment and male workforce participation. At the other end of the spectrum, just 5% of Hasidic households earn \$150,000 or more annually, as do three to four times as many homes among the other categories of Orthodox households.

Exhibit 7-7 Household Income by Orthodox Type

Household Income	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Less Than \$50,000	66%	34%	38%	41%
\$50,000–\$99,999	23%	35%	25%	28%
\$100,000–\$149,999	6%	16%	18%	16%
\$150,000–\$249,999	2%	4%	10%	9%
\$250,000+	3%	11%	9%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Hasidim have high rates of poverty: 43% are poor and another 16% are near poor, with poverty defined as having a household income below 150% of the federal poverty guideline, and near poverty defined as having a household income below 250% of the guideline (see chapter 3). The proportion of Hasidic households that are poor or near poor (59%) vastly exceeds comparable rates among Yeshivish (31%), Modern Orthodox (22%), and non-Orthodox (25%) households.

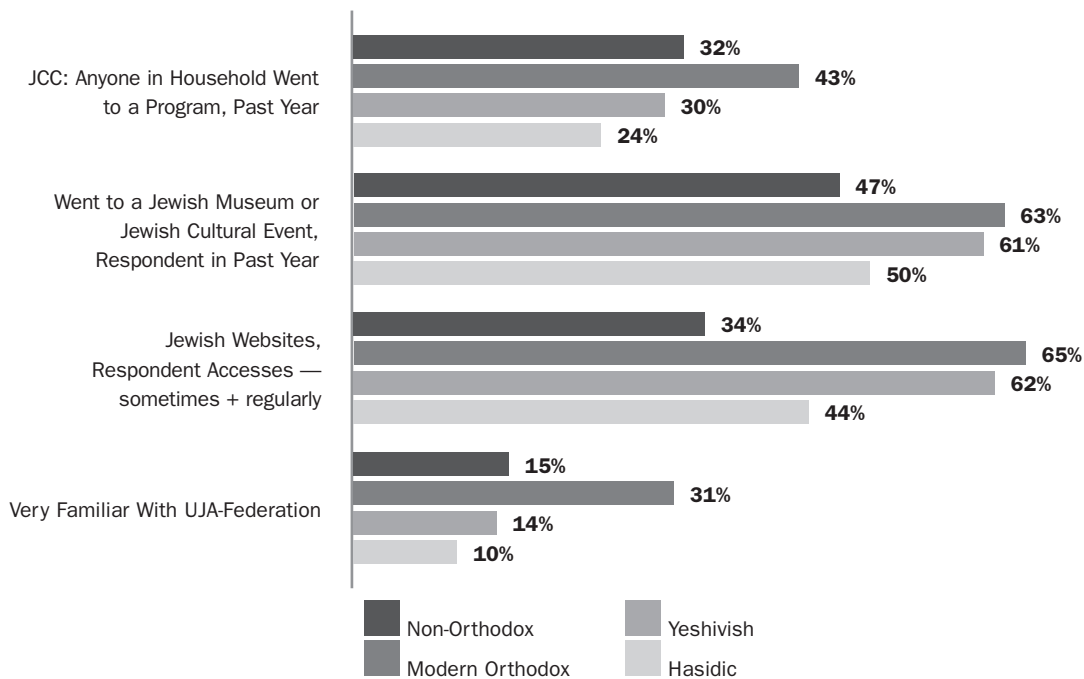
Higher Modern Orthodox Participation in Some Aspects of Jewish Life

Haredi Jews outscore Modern Orthodox Jews on several indicators of Jewish engagement. For example, the former are more residentially clustered, participate more often in full-time text study (if male), and attend religious services more often (if male).

Yet there are some ways in which the Modern Orthodox actually are more engaged than their *Haredi* (Hasidic and Yeshivish) counterparts. To take four examples, the Modern Orthodox report greater participation in Jewish community center programs, somewhat more visits to museums or Jewish cultural events, more use of the Internet for Jewish purposes, and more familiarity with UJA-Federation of New York. Taken together, these four items point to a greater involvement among the Modern Orthodox in wider Jewish life, and they point to their greater interaction with non-Orthodox Jews than the *Haredim*.

In addition, it should be noted that the Modern Orthodox are more active in Jewish community centers, cultural events, and Jewish Internet browsing than non-Orthodox Jews. This difference derives, in large part, from the higher overall levels of engagement of Modern Orthodox Jews in wider Jewish life as compared with their non-Orthodox counterparts.

Exhibit 7-8 JCC Participation, Cultural Participation, and Jewish Website Use by Orthodox Type



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Philanthropy: Differences Within Giving to Jewish Causes

The higher levels of professed familiarity with UJA-Federation on the part of the Modern Orthodox (higher than both *Haredi* and non-Orthodox respondents) is but one indicator of their more positive orientation toward philanthropic support of Jewish life beyond Orthodoxy. Approximating their *Haredi* counterparts, 80% of Modern Orthodox Jews say that they devote most of their charitable giving to Jewish causes.

But, unlike the *Haredim*, Modern Orthodox Jews devote far less of their Jewish giving to solely Orthodox causes. Among the Hasidim, 55% devote all or almost all of their Jewish giving “to specifically Orthodox causes, charities, synagogues, or organizations.” The figure is even higher for the Yeshivish Orthodox (58%); but Orthodox sectarianism in Jewish giving is far less frequent among the Modern Orthodox, standing at only 25%. In fact, while only 6% of *Haredi* Jewish donors give most of their Jewish charity outside of Orthodoxy, fully 20% of Modern Orthodox Jews do so.

These philanthropic patterns also speak to the greater levels of involvement in the wider Jewish community on the part of the Modern Orthodox, as compared with their Yeshivish or Hasidic counterparts.

Exhibit 7-9 **Percent of Jewish Charitable Giving That Goes to Specifically Orthodox Causes By Orthodox Type**

“Of your household’s charitable giving to Jewish causes, about what portion goes to specifically Orthodox causes, charities, synagogues, or organizations?”	Modern Orthodox	Yeshivish	Hasidic	Total
All or Almost All	25%	58%	55%	44%
Most	35%	25%	26%	29%
About Half	21%	11%	12%	15%
Less Than Half	10%	3%	4%	6%
None or Very Little	10%	3%	2%	5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Some Hasidim Are Distant From Israel

While Orthodox Jews in general maintain extraordinarily close ties to Israel, the theology of some Hasidic groups contains some reservations about the State of Israel.³ Indeed, when asked to express their level of emotional attachment to Israel, all Orthodox groups surpass the non-Orthodox, among whom 38% say they feel very attached to Israel. In contrast, we find about twice that number among the Modern Orthodox (75%) and the Yeshivish (82%). However, in part reflecting the non-Zionist (if not anti-Zionist) theology of some Hasidim, the attachment figure for the Hasidim comes in at 56% — higher than among the non-Orthodox and lower than among the Yeshivish.

Of significance is that not all Hasidim are of one mind about Israel, and their views vary greatly by neighborhood, meaning that they vary greatly by Hasidic subcommunity. The Hasidim in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn are the most attached to Israel (85%), and those in Borough Park are somewhat less attached (61%). Strikingly, those in Williamsburg, home to many Satmar Hasidim, compose the one large neighborhood cluster of Hasidim with low attachment scores (31% say they are very attached to Israel).

The resistance among some Hasidim to expressing attachment to Israel does not derive from weak collective Jewish identity. But, while the Hasidic level of attachment to Israel is somewhat muted, their feelings of very strongly belonging to the Jewish people are nearly unanimous at 99%.

Exhibit 7-10 **Attachment to Israel, Belonging to the Jewish People, and Visits to Israel, by Orthodox Type**

	Hasidic	Yeshivish	Modern Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Respondent Feels Very Attached to Israel	56%	82%	75%	38%
Belonging to Jewish People Is “Very Strong”	99%	97%	80%	42%
Times Visited Israel, Excluding Israel-Born				
Lived in Israel	11%	31%	17%	5%
Three or More Visits to Israel	38%	39%	43%	10%
Visited Israel Twice	8%	5%	5%	7%
Visited Israel Once	19%	13%	12%	19%
Never Been to Israel	25%	12%	23%	59%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

³ Mintz, Jerome R. 1992. *Hasidic People: A Place in the New World*. Cambridge, MA: President and Fellows of Harvard.

Another strong predictor of Israel attachment is prior visits to Israel. For all but the Hasidim, the levels of attachment to Israel approximate the percentages that have ever been to Israel (38% versus 41% for the non-Orthodox, 75% versus 77% for the Modern Orthodox, and 82% versus 88% for the Yeshivish). But for the Hasidim, rates of attachment fall well below the proportion that has been to Israel (56% versus 75%).

In short, evidence of restrained attachment to Israel among the Hasidim seems confined to certain groups, particularly those heavily concentrated in Williamsburg. The restraint derives neither from a weak attachment to the Jewish people nor from limited exposure to Israel; rather, it derives from a theology that does not ascribe a sense of holiness to the secular State of Israel.

Concluding Comment

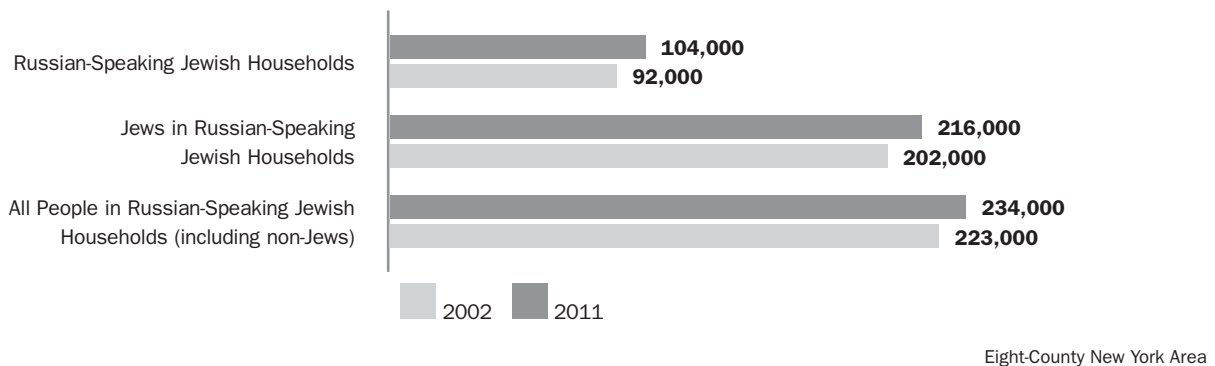
With all the features that differentiate Orthodox from non-Orthodox Jews — be they in demographic growth, residential concentration, sex-role differentiation, day school enrollment, Jewish engagement, or philanthropic patterns — almost as large differences divide Modern Orthodox Jews from *Haredi* Orthodox Jews. Both groups are Orthodox, but in some ways they can be as far apart from each other as Orthodox Jews are from the non-Orthodox.

RUSSIAN-SPEAKING JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS

More Russian-Speaking Jews in 2011

Approximately 104,000 Russian-speaking Jewish (RSJ) households live in the eight-county New York area.⁴ More than 234,000 people live in these RSJ households, of whom 216,000 are Jewish. These figures all increased over comparable levels in 2002. (For stylistic purposes, we use the designation *RSJ* to refer to Russian-speaking Jewish people and households. All references to “Russian speakers” or “Russian-speaking” signify Jews or Jewish households unless explicitly stated otherwise.)

Exhibit 7-11 Russian-Speaking Jewish Households, Jews, and All People, 2002 and 2011



⁴ “Russian-speaking Jewish households” are defined as those where at least one member is Jewish and at least one member either speaks Russian with family or friends or was born anywhere in the former Soviet Union. The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002 definition differs slightly: “respondent born in the former Soviet Union or completed interview in Russian.” These operational definitions are too small to make any appreciable difference in comparing the two surveys’ Russian-speaking populations.

Jews in New York City: Higher Percentage in Russian-Speaking Homes

The 216,000 Jews in Russian-speaking Jewish households compose about 14% of all Jews in the eight-county New York area. Within New York City, about 18% of all Jews live in an RSJ household, about the same as the 2002 proportion of 19%. Russian-speaking Jews still represent a very small proportion of suburban Jews (4%), as they did in 2002.

Exhibit 7-12: **Jews in Russian-Speaking Jewish Households as a Percent of All Jews, New York City and Suburbs**

	2002		2011	
	Number	Percent of Total	Number	Percent of Total
New York City	186,000	19%	199,000	18%
Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester	16,000	4%	17,000	4%
Total	202,000	14%	216,000	14%

Eight-County New York Area

Most Russian-Speaking Jews in Brooklyn

New York City is home to 91% of all Russian-speaking Jews in the eight-county New York area. A sizable majority of Russian-speaking Jews in the area reside in Brooklyn (121,000, or 56% of all Jews in RSJ households). At the same time, over the past nine years, the number of Jewish Russian speakers grew considerably in Queens (from 39,000 to 55,000), making it (as in 2002) the second largest county of residence of Russian-speaking Jews in New York. Additionally, the number of Jews residing in Russian-speaking households grew substantially in Manhattan, from 9,000 in 2002 to 12,000 in 2011. The remaining Russian-speaking Jewish population is scattered among the other six counties.

Exhibit 7-13 Jews in Russian-Speaking Jewish Households, Number and Percent, by County

	2002			2011		
	Number of Jews in Russian-Speaking Households	Percent of All Russian-Speaking Jews in Eight-County Area	Percent of All Jews in the County	Number of Jews in Russian-Speaking Households	Percent of All Russian-Speaking Jews in Eight-County Area	Percent of All Jews in the County
Bronx	3,000	1%	7%	3,000	1%	5%
Brooklyn	124,000	61%	27%	121,000	56%	22%
Manhattan	9,000	4%	4%	12,000	6%	5%
Queens	39,000	19%	21%	55,000	26%	28%
Staten Island	11,000	5%	26%	7,000	3%	21%
Nassau	10,000	5%	4%	10,000	5%	4%
Suffolk	2,000	1%	2%	1,000	1%	1%
Westchester	5,000	2%	4%	6,000	3%	5%
Total	202,000	100%	100%	216,000	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area

Large Proportions of Jews in Queens, Brooklyn, and Staten Island Are Russian-Speaking

As a fraction of the Jewish population, Russian-speaking Jews are the most relatively numerous in Queens, where they make up 28% of the Jewish population in the county; close behind are Brooklyn (22%) and Staten Island (21%).

As in 2002, Staten Island represents an interesting phenomenon. While the borough has only 3% of all Russian-speaking Jews in the New York area, that 3% represents 21% of Staten Island's relatively small Jewish population.

Russian-Speaking Jews in Specific Brooklyn and Queens Neighborhoods

The areas with the greatest concentrations of Russian-speaking households are Brighton Beach/Sheepshead Bay, where 17% of all Russian speakers reside, followed by Bensonhurst/Gravesend/Bay Ridge (more than 11%) and Rego Park/Forest Hills, an area containing 13% of all Russian-speaking Jews. These three areas alone make up close to 41% of all Russian-speaking Jews in the eight-county New York area. In contrast, very few Russian speakers reside on the Upper East Side, in several areas of Suffolk, in north-central and northwestern Westchester, and in Williamsburg. (See *The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 Geographic Profile* for more detail.)

The percent of Jews who are RSJs is the greatest in Brighton Beach/Sheepshead Bay and Bensonhurst/Gravesend/Bay Ridge, where about 55% of all individuals residing in Jewish households are Russian speakers — slightly more than in Rego Park/Forest Hills, a third area of high RSJ density (44%).

Russian-Speaking Jews: Many Senior Adults

The Russian-speaking Jewish population is older than the general eight-county Jewish population — 32% of Jews in Russian-speaking households are seniors ages 65 and over, compared with 20% of all other eight-county Jews. As a proportion of their respective populations, Russian-speaking Jews outnumber other Jews both among those ages 75 and over as well as those ages 65 to 74. At the same time, relatively few Jews in RSJ households are children under 18 — 14% versus 23% in non-RSJ households. These patterns resemble those found in 2002.

Exhibit 7-14 **Age Distribution of Jews in Russian-Speaking Households Compared to Age Distribution of Jews in All Other Households**

	Jews in Russian-Speaking Households	Jews in All Other Households
0–17	14%	23%
18–24	7%	11%
25–34	9%	9%
35–44	10%	10%
45–54	13%	12%
55–64	15%	15%
65–74	14%	8%
75+	18%	12%
Total	100%	100%

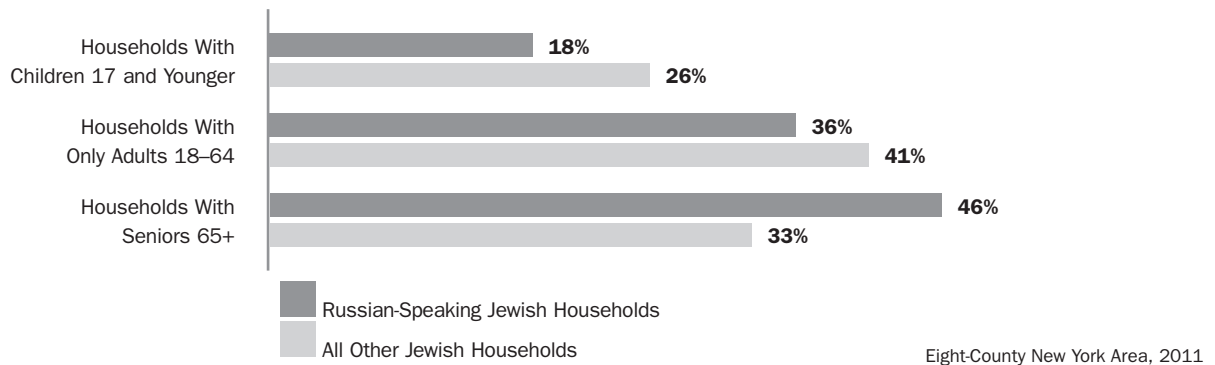
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

That RSJs are older than the general Jewish population is not because they are unusually healthy (they're not; see chapter 3) or extraordinarily well taken care of (RSJs report higher rates of poverty); rather, the older age distribution of the current population derives in large measure from the age distribution during the periods of large-scale immigration some 20 or 30 years ago. Relatively small numbers of those immigrants included small children. Most were at least teenagers; many were married couples without children, and many brought their elderly parents and grandparents. While some of today's RSJ population includes toddlers born here to young Russian-speaking parents, most of the adult respondents are from the immigrant population that arrived in large numbers in the late 1970s and early 1990s.

Russian-Speaking Jewish Community: Household Composition

The composition of Russian-speaking households differs somewhat from that of all other Jewish households. Fewer RSJ households contain children under 18 (owing in part to lower birthrates), and more RSJ households contain seniors over 65 (in line with the older age distribution among RSJ people).

Exhibit 7-15 Household Composition: Russian-Speaking Households and Others



Educational Attainment: Level With Larger Jewish Population

The levels of educational attainment among Russian-speaking Jews resemble those of other New York-area Jews, both among men and women. Russian-speaking Jewish men and women report similar educational levels. That said, among both men and women, twice as many non-Russian speakers as RSJs have earned the highest postgraduate degrees, such as M.D.s and Ph.D.s.

Overall, educational attainment among Russian-speaking Jewish household members markedly increased as compared with levels reported in 2002.

Exhibit 7-16 **Educational Attainment of Respondents and Spouses in Russian-Speaking and Other Households**

Male Respondents and Spouses Highest Degree	Respondents and Spouses in Russian-Speaking Jewish Households	Respondents and Spouses in All Other Jewish Households
High School/Technical College or Less	26%	22%
Some College/Associate's Degree	22%	19%
Bachelor's Degree	25%	26%
Master's Degree	20%	19%
Doctoral or Law Degree, M.D., etc.	7%	13%
Total	100%	100%
Female Respondents and Spouses		
Highest Degree		
High School/Technical College or Less	23%	25%
Some College/Associate's Degree	22%	18%
Bachelor's Degree	22%	23%
Master's Degree	30%	27%
Doctoral or Law Degree, M.D., etc.	3%	7%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Employment Status: More Retired, Otherwise Similar to Other Jews

As for employment status, aside from the larger number of retirees among men and women in Russian-speaking households, only small variations differentiate RSJ adults from others.

Rates of self-employment are almost equivalent among Russian-speaking and other households. Almost a third of all respondents and spouses in Russian-speaking Jewish households (both men and women) are employed full-time (but not self-employed), a percentage very close to the full-time employment status of non-RSJ respondents and spouses. Similarly, RSJ and non-RSJ respondents and spouses are employed part-time at similar levels (with part-time occupation levels of women nearly twice that of men).

Unemployment is slightly higher for RSJ respondents and spouses.

The number of respondents and spouses in Russian-speaking Jewish households who are retired exceeds the number among non-RSJ respondents (consistent with the larger number of older Russian-speaking Jews as compared with the non-RSJ population). Approximately three times fewer RSJ women are homemakers or volunteers as compared with non-RSJ females.

Exhibit 7-17 **Employment Status of Respondents and Spouses in Russian-Speaking Jewish Households and All Other Jewish Households**

Male Respondents and Spouses	Respondents and Spouses in Russian-Speaking Jewish Households	Respondents and Spouses in All Other Jewish Households
Self-Employed	22%	24%
Employed Full-Time	30%	38%
Employed Part-Time	5%	6%
Unemployed	5%	3%
Student	2%	5%
Disabled	3%	3%
Homemaker or Volunteer	<1%	<1%
Retired	32%	20%
Total	100%	100%
Female Respondents and Spouses		
Self-Employed	7%	12%
Employed Full-Time	33%	32%
Employed Part-Time	8%	12%
Unemployed	4%	3%
Student	2%	1%
Disabled	4%	3%
Homemaker or Volunteer	5%	12%
Retired	37%	24%
Total	100%	100%

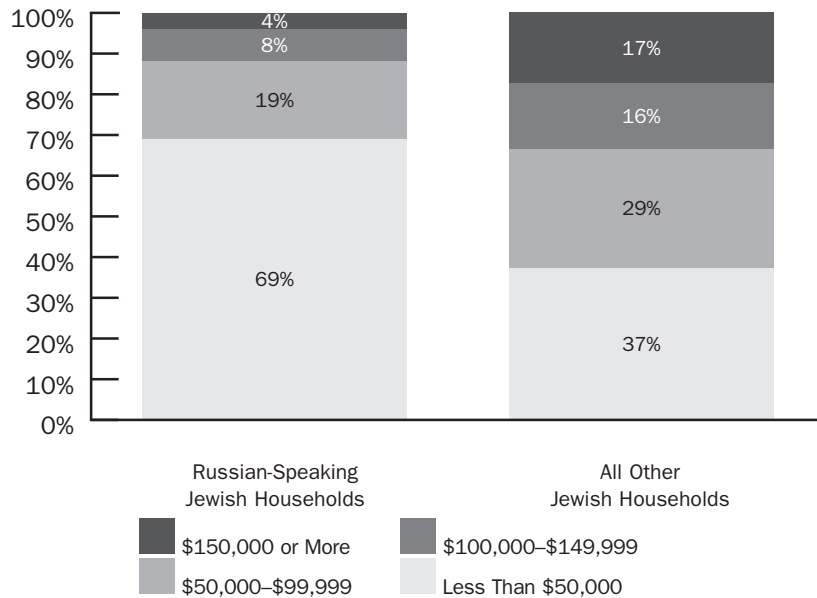
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Many Low-Income Russian-Speaking Jewish Households

Given the recent immigration of many Russian-speaking Jewish households to the United States and their older age distribution, it is not surprising that Russian-speaking Jewish households on average have lower incomes than the general eight-county Jewish population. Russian-speaking Jewish households are almost twice as likely as other Jewish households to report annual household incomes of less than \$50,000, and four times less likely to report household incomes of at least \$150,000.

Overall, these patterns resemble those found in 2002, albeit with signs of higher income levels, suggesting that the immigrant Russian-speaking Jewish population has undergone socioeconomic advances in the last nine years.

Exhibit 7-18 Income Distribution of Russian-Speaking Households and All Other Jewish Households



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Consistent with these income findings, Russian-speaking households report far more poverty than do non-Russian-speaking Jewish households (45% of RSJs are poor as compared with 14% for all; see chapter 3).

Russian-Speaking Jewish Community: Identity and Affiliation

Many studies of the Russian Jewish population testify to particular configurations of Jewish-identity characteristics, among them high levels of cultural Jewish identity and ties to Israel alongside weaker religious affiliation.⁵ Decades of life in the former Soviet Union left their imprint on the thousands of Russian speakers now residing in the New York area. Among the critical contextual elements to recall is that religious instruction was banned in the U.S.S.R. and religious expression was repressed. As a result, RSJs who arrived in the United States and Canada were largely unfamiliar with Jewish practice. At the same time, Jews in the FSU experienced reinforced feelings of ethnic distinction and cohesiveness, albeit without opportunities to participate in voluntary organizations. Accordingly, American Jewish associational patterns represent a foreign arena for the RSJs.⁶

Recent research provides a lens for understanding the nature of American–Jewish–Russian identity, demonstrating that ethnicity and culture continue to be more important than religion for RSJs.⁷ Among younger RSJs in New York, researchers found that while some had become observant, many others avoided being involved in Jewish educational and religious institutions because they felt that these institutions would pressure them into becoming more observant. Similarly, Dmitri Liakhovitski in 2005 and Svetlana Shmulyian in 2008 and 2009 found Russian heritage to be very important to younger Russian speakers (for example, speaking Russian at home, purchasing Russian foods, and making frequent trips back to their country of origin) — however, cultural Jewish identity was as, if not more, important. According to this recent research, young Russian (or Ukrainian and so forth) immigrants in particular considered themselves “Russian Jews” who want their children to be “Jewish Russians.”⁸

5 Shmulyian, Svetlana. 2009. *Educational Needs Analysis and Feasibility of Creating a Jewish Day School for the Russian-Speaking Jews in New York*. Report sponsored by Genesis Philanthropy Group and UJA-Federation of New York.

Shmulyian, Svetlana. 2008. *Programmatic Needs of the Russian-Speaking Jewish Community*. Report sponsored by UJA-Federation of New York in collaboration with Anthony Knerr and Associates.

Simon, R. J. 2006. *The Adjustment and Integration of Soviet Jews in the United States in the 1980s*. Report sponsored by the American University Center for Israeli Studies.

Liakhovitski, Dimitri. 2005. *Community Conversations With Young Russian-Speaking Jewish Professionals: Main Findings*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York.

Avineri, Shlomo, Michael Chlenov, and Zvi Gitelman. 1997. *Jews of the Former Soviet Union: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. New York: American Jewish Committee. Available as PDF at <http://www.jewishfederations.org/getfile.asp?id=50122>.

Shmulyian, Svetlana. 1996. *National Study of Russian Grassroots Organizations and Media*. Report sponsored by the Consulate General of Israel in New York.

Gold, Steven J. 1994. “Soviet Jews in the United States.” *American Jewish Year Book* 94: 3–57.

Chiswick, Barry R. 1993. “Soviet Jews in the United States: An Analysis of their Linguistic and Economic Adjustment.” *International Migration Review* 27 (2): 260–285.

Kosmin, Barry A. 1990. *The Class of 1979: The “Acculturation” of Jewish Immigrants from the Soviet Union*. New York: Council of Jewish Federations.

6 Markowitz, Fran. 1993. *A Community in Spite of Itself: Soviet Jewish Émigrés in New York*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

7 Zeltzer-Zubida, Aviva, and Philip Kasinitz. 2006. “The Next Generation: Russian Jewish Young Adults in Contemporary New York.” *Contemporary Jewry* 25: 193–225.

8 Shmulyian, Svetlana. 2009. *Educational Needs Analysis and Feasibility of Creating a Jewish Day School for the Russian-Speaking Jews in New York*. Report sponsored by Genesis Philanthropy Group and UJA-Federation of New York.

The qualitative evidence points to the lack of interest by Russian-speaking Jews in engaging with formal Jewish institutions, such that few of the immigrants of 1979 and 1989 belong to organizations created by Russian-speaking Jews.⁹ However, in recent years, more Russian Jewish grassroots initiatives have sprouted throughout North America, led by young RSJs and financially supported by established United States philanthropic institutions.¹⁰ Russian-speaking Jews have become active in existing American community service organizations.¹¹

Many Russian-Speaking Jews Identify Their Religion as “None”

While Russian-speaking Jews identify strongly with being Jewish, almost a fourth of respondents consider themselves belonging to no religion, as compared with 16% among non-Russian and non-Orthodox respondents. This finding is consistent with prior research that the strong Jewish identity of RSJs is largely cultural in nature, and that they tend to reject religious affiliation and labels.

Exhibit 7-19 **Religious Affiliation Among Russian-Speaking Jewish Households and Others**

	Russian-Speaking Jewish Household	Non-Orthodox Non-Russian-Speaking Jewish Household
Jewish	74%	71%
Jewish and Something Else	<1%	1%
None	23%	16%
Christian, Other	3%	13%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

9 Markowitz, Fran. 1993. *A Community in Spite of Itself: Soviet Jewish Émigrés in New York*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

10 Shmulyian, Svetlana, Dimitri Liakhovitski, and Pearl Beck. 2009. “North American Russian Jewish Emerging Lay and Professional Leaders.” (Unpublished study, sponsored by Genesis Philanthropy Group and Center for Leadership Initiatives.)

11 Liakhovitski, Dimitri. 2005. *Community Conversations with Young Russian-Speaking Jewish Professionals*. Unpublished report prepared for UJA-Federation of New York.

Russian-Speakers Resist Denominational Affiliation

Consistent with their history and their relatively weak attraction to religious affiliation, Russian speakers resist identifying with mainstream Jewish denominational identities. Compared to the non-Russian non-Orthodox, Russian speakers are far more likely to identify as something other than Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. Among Russian speakers, 28% identify with one of the three major denominations; in contrast, among their non-Orthodox non-Russian counterparts, the comparable figure is double that (55%).

Exhibit 7-20 **Denomination and Congregational Membership Among Russian-Speaking Jewish Households and Others**

	Russian-Speaking	Non-Orthodox, Non-Russian-Speaking
Orthodox Member	6%	N/A
Conservative Member	6%	15%
Reform Member	6%	12%
Other Member	13%	8%
Nonmember, Orthodox	<1%	N/A
Nonmember, Conservative	5%	10%
Nonmember, Reform	5%	18%
Nonmember, Other, Religion Jewish	33%	13%
Nonmember, Religion None or Not Jewish	23%	23%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

High In-Marriage Among Russian-Speaking Jewish Households

As compared with other Jewish households, in-marriage rates (87%) are far higher and intermarriage rates (13%) are far lower among Russian-speaking households, roughly half the rate for non-RSJ households. In fact, while intermarriage among non-RSJ non-Orthodox households increased somewhat since 2002, the rate for RSJ households declined from 17% in 2002 to 13% in 2011.

This pattern of low intermarriage reflects and is consistent with the immigrant status of RSJs, their residential concentration, and their relatively strong ethnic identity.

Exhibit 7-21 **In-Marriage and Intermarriage Among Russian-Speaking Jewish Households and Others**

	Russian-Speaking Jewish Households	All Other Jewish Households
In-Married	87%	76%
Intermarried	13%	24%
Total	100%	100%

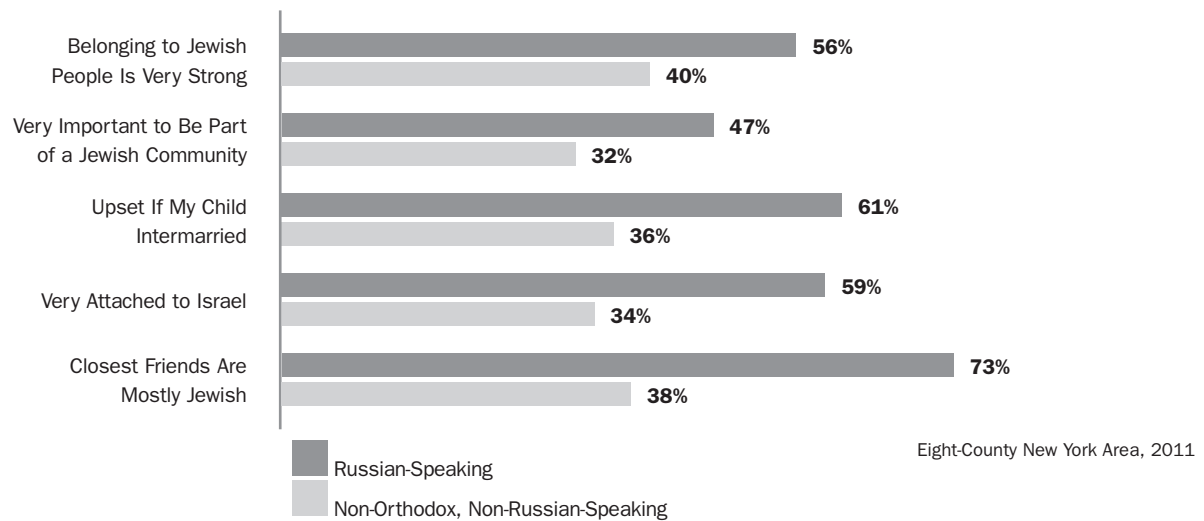
Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Russian-Speakers Exhibit Very High Levels of Ethnic Belonging

Russian speakers score high on indicators of Jewish ethnic belonging. Relative to non-Orthodox non-Russian speakers, RSJs more frequently claim that their feelings of belonging to the Jewish people are “very strong.” They also place more importance on being part of a Jewish community. Conceptually and empirically related are attitudes toward in-marriage and Israel — here, too, Russian speakers outscore their non-Russian-speaking counterparts. As many as 61% of the Russian speakers would be upset if their child intermarried, far more than the 36% among their counterparts. Attachment to Israel displays a similar gap: 59% for Russian speakers to 34% for their counterparts. Perhaps most significantly, Russian speakers overwhelmingly report having Jews as their closest friends, exceeding non-Russian-speaking non-Orthodox Jews by a 2:1 ratio — 73% to 38%. All five issues — Jewish peoplehood, Jewish community, in-marriage, Israel, and friendship — relate to different aspects of ethnic belonging.

For native-born American Jews, high rates of Jewish social network embeddedness along with attachment to Jewish family, Jewish community, the Jewish State, and the Jewish people usually translate into high rates of affiliation with voluntary organizations and involvement with Jewish charitable giving. For Russian-speaking Jews, this is not the case. Relatively low levels of income may be a reason they refrain from joining communal organizations; another is that this immigrant subpopulation derives from a society, the FSU, where Jewish voluntary associations were rare, if not illegal.

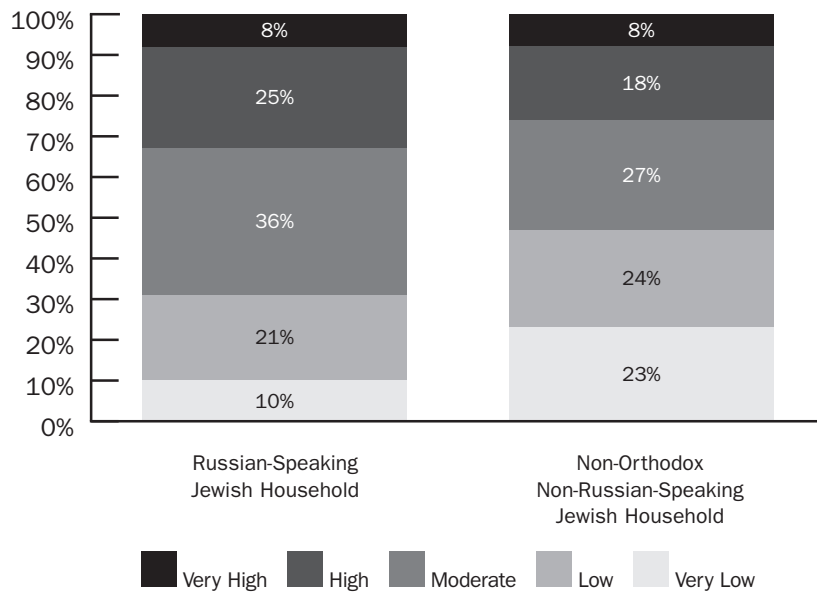
Exhibit 7-22 **Ethnic-Belonging Indicators for Russian-Speaking Jewish Respondents and Others**



Jewish Engagement: Russian-Speakers Moderate to High

The overall profile on the Index of Jewish Engagement places Russian-speaking Jews as a group at somewhat more highly engaged than the non-Orthodox that do not speak Russian. More than two-thirds of Russian speakers score moderate or higher as compared with about half of their counterparts. Conversely, half as many Russian speakers score very low as among the non-Orthodox non-Russian speakers.

Exhibit 7-23 Jewish Engagement* for Russian-Speaking Jewish Households and Others



Eight-County New York Area, 2011

* The Index of Jewish Engagement is detailed in chapter 4.

The relatively high scoring on this index by Russian-speaking Jews is driven mostly by their high levels of belonging to the Jewish people, as well as their practicing such widely observed Jewish rituals as Chanukah candlelighting and seder, rather than by belonging to formal Jewish associations.

ISRAELIS, SYRIAN COMMUNITY, LGBT, AND BIRACIAL AND NONWHITE HOUSEHOLDS

The Orthodox and Russian-speaking populations share four distinguishing characteristics simultaneously.

- They are large in number.
- They are culturally distinguished from the larger Jewish population.
- They are moderately to highly cohesive as subgroups.
- They present special policy challenges — and opportunities — to the New York Jewish community.

To lesser degrees, other subpopulations present the same configuration of characteristics.

Given the history of immigration, the widening gap between rich and poor in the larger society (and among Jews as well), increased intermarriage among the non-Orthodox, and the Jewish-identity polarization, New York's Jewish community is arguably more diverse than ever before. In light of this fundamental feature of the Jewish population, we selected four subpopulations that are each critical in their own right, but taken together serve to illustrate the multilevel diversity of New York's Jewish population.

We present basic information critical to understanding four distinguishable Jewish subgroups in the eight-county New York area: Israelis; the Syrian population; LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) households; and biracial, Hispanic, and nonwhite households. In all four cases, the analysis will present basic demographic information and will call attention to instances where the characteristics of the subgroup differ notably from the larger Jewish population.

Israelis in New York

An estimated 41,000 households with a Jewish Israeli adult live in the New York eight-county area. They make up 6% of all Jewish households in the area and contain within them 121,000 Jews and 127,000 people (Jews and non-Jews). An Israeli household is defined as one where either the respondent or spouse was born in Israel, or one in which the respondent had lived in Israel but was not born in the United States, so as to exclude American Jews who had spent several months or more in Israel and then returned to the United States.¹² In 2011, 29,000 Jews born in Israel lived in the eight-county New York area, approximating the 31,000 reported in the 2002 study.

Exhibit 7-24 **Israelis: Population Estimates, Household Composition, Educational Attainment, and Poverty, in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Israeli Households	Percent of Eight-County Total
Households	41,000	6%
Jews	121,000	8%
People (Jews and Non-Jews)	127,000	7%
Household Composition	Israeli Households	All Other Households
Households With Children 17 and Younger	42%	24%
Households With No Minors, No Seniors	31%	41%
Households With Seniors 65+	28%	35%
Respondent's Educational Attainment		
High School or Less	39%	23%
Some College	11%	23%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	50%	55%
Poverty		
Poor Households	24%	18%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

¹² For some background literature on Israelis in the United States, see:

Cohen, Steven M., and Judith Veinstein. 2009. *Israeli Jews in Greater New York: Their Numbers, Characteristics, and Patterns of Engagement*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at

http://www.ujafedny.org/assets/documents/PDF/who-we-are/ISRAELIJEWSINGREATERNEWYORK_FINAL03-2009.pdf.

Rebhun, Uzi. 2009. "The Israeli Jewish Diaspora in the United States: Socio-Cultural Mobility and Attachment to Homeland." In *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the Advent of a New (Dis)Order*, edited by Eliezer ben-Rafael and Yishak Strenberg. Boston: Brill.

Gold, Steven. 2007. "The Place of Israel in the Identity of Israelis in the Diaspora: An Ethnographic Exploration." In *Israel, the Diaspora, and Jewish Identity*, edited by Danny Ben-Moshe and Zohar Segev. Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press.

Gold, Steven J. 2002. *The Israeli Diaspora*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Cohen, Yionon, and Yitchak Haberfeld. 1997. "The Number of Israeli Immigrants in the United States in 1990." *Demography* 34 (2): 199–212.

Gold, Steven, and Bruce A. Phillips. 1996. "Israelis in the United States." *American Jewish Yearbook* 96: 51–101.

Israeli households are more concentrated in Brooklyn than are other Jewish households (45% of Israelis versus 28% of others) and distributed among the other seven counties much like the rest of the New York-area Jewish population. Within Brooklyn, they are disproportionately represented in Borough Park and Flatbush. Their age profile highly resembles that of non-Israeli Jews, but more of their households are home to minor children (42% among Israelis versus 24% for others), with the reverse pattern for the senior households (28% versus 35%).

Levels of educational attainment for Israelis fall below those of non-Israelis — about 39% never advanced past high school as contrasted with about 23% of non-Israelis. Their employment patterns and income distributions resemble those of non-Israelis, but they do have a higher proportion of poor households than other New York-area Jews (24% versus 18%). If we add together the poor with the near poor, Israeli households also substantially outpace others (39% versus 28%).

Israelis: Jewish Engagement and Connections

Israelis in the United States have acquired an undeserved reputation for being distant from Jewish life. Studies have demonstrated that, in fact, Israelis are more engaged in Jewish life than the average native-born Jew, and this generalization extends to the eight-county New York area as well.¹³

Israelis in New York's eight counties are twice as likely to identify as Orthodox (38% for Israelis versus 18% for others) as other Jews. They are also half as likely to identify as Reform (12% versus 24%), in part reflecting the small appeal of Reform Judaism to Israelis. Of those married, just 9% are intermarried, in contrast with 23% among non-Israelis. More Israelis than other households belong to synagogues (65% versus 43%). They outpace other Jews in New York in all measures of ethnic belonging — not just attachment to Israel, but also belonging to the Jewish people, having Jewish friends, and others. They make extensive use of day schools: for the oldest child under 18 years old in the household, 72% of Israeli children are enrolled in day schools, versus 45% of children in other homes. In terms of philanthropic giving, Israelis are more likely than others to give to other Jewish causes (64% versus 55%), but just 17% report making gifts to UJA-Federation as compared with 24% for other households.

In accord with these assorted observations, the contrasting profiles on the 12-item Index of Jewish Engagement amply testify to the high levels of Jewish engagement among Israelis. Twice as many Israelis score at the highest rung (10 to 12 items affirmed out of 12) — 35% of Israelis versus 17% of others. Simultaneously, for those scoring very low (0 to 1 items affirmed), Israelis are half as likely as other New York-area Jews to score so low (6% versus 18%).

¹³ Cohen, Steven M., and Judith Veinstein. 2009. *Israeli Jews in Greater New York: Their Numbers, Characteristics, and Patterns of Engagement*. New York: UJA-Federation of New York. Available as PDF at http://www.ujafedny.org/assets/documents/PDF/who-we-are/ISRAELIJEWSINGREATERNEWYORK_FINAL03-2009.pdf.

Exhibit 7-25 **Israelis: Selected Characteristics in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Israeli Households	All Other Households
Orthodox	38%	18%
Conservative	21%	19%
Reform	12%	24%
Reconstructionist	<1%	1%
Other	28%	38%
Total	100%	100%
Intermarried, Percent of Those Married	9%	23%
Mostly Jewish Friends	74%	51%
Synagogue Member	65%	43%
Jewish Engagement		
Very High	35%	17%
High	25%	20%
Moderate	23%	24%
Low	11%	21%
Very Low	6%	18%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Syrian Jews

Syrian Jews began arriving in New York in 1900, establishing a close-knit community that evolved into the one now centered in Brooklyn with branches in Deal, New Jersey, and elsewhere. Most of today's community traces their ancestral roots to the Syrian capital of Damascus or to Aleppo, long recognized as the center of Jewish life in the region; many arrived in New York after long-standing residence in Spain and Italy.

Syrian Jews settled first in the Lower East Side, along with other Jewish immigrants. They earned a living in business and the trade of various goods. Relations with European-origin Jewish communities were often strained. Eventually, Syrian Jews began relocating to Bensonhurst, Brooklyn. The community continued to grow and attained a measure of affluence in the 1960s. The early 1990s brought another wave of immigration from Syria.¹⁴

Today's Syrian Jewish community, while composed primarily of Jews of Syrian descent, also embraces a variety of Sephardic Jews with ancestries that are geographically proximate to Syria. Among these are Jews of Egyptian and Lebanese background, as well some with other Middle Eastern ancestries. Beyond these groups, others in the community consist of Sephardim whose current residence puts them physically proximate to concentrations of Syrian-descent Jews.

Given the fluidity of boundaries surrounding Syrian Jewish identity in New York, Syrian Jewish households were defined as those where either the respondent or spouse was born in Syria, Egypt, or Lebanon, or where the respondent reported ancestry from those locations or "other Asia" (based on the analysis of response patterns) and where the respondent attested to Sephardi identity or Middle Eastern ancestral origins (similarly detailed information was not available for spouses).

Defined in this fashion, we find 12,000 Syrian Jewish households in the eight-county area.¹⁵ They contain 41,000 people, of whom 38,000 are Jewish.¹⁶ About half of these households live in Brooklyn (roughly twice as concentrated there as are non-Syrians). On a neighborhood level, Syrian Jewish households are especially concentrated in Flatbush and Bensonhurst/Kings Bay, with smaller clusters on the Upper East Side and the eastern North Shore of Nassau County.

14 Zicht, Gloria. 1996. "The Immigration of Syrian Jews to New York 1992–1994: An Agency's Adaptation to a Different Culture." *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 72 (4): 256–262. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=1799>.

15 The analysis of this subpopulation is based on 83 interviews and, as such, inferences should be treated with caution.

16 Beyond the Syrian population are an additional 79,000 Sephardi households containing 204,000 Jews.

Exhibit 7-26 **Syrians: Population Estimates, Household Composition, Educational Attainment, and Poverty, in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Syrian Households	Percent of Eight-County Total
Households	12,000	2%
Jews	38,000	2%
People (Jews and Non-Jews)	41,000	2%
Household Composition	Syrian Households	All Other Households
Households With Children 17 and Younger	46%	25%
Households With No Minors, No Seniors	34%	40%
Households With Seniors 65+	20%	35%
Respondent's Educational Attainment		
Bachelor's or Higher, Respondent and Spouse	43%	55%
Poverty		
Poor Households	11%	18%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The Syrian Jewish population is relatively young. About twice as many Syrians as other Jewish respondents are ages 18 to 34 (37% of Syrians versus 16% of others). Many more Syrian households than others contain minor children (46% versus 25%), and many fewer are households with seniors (20% versus 35%).

The educational levels of Syrian Jews trail those of the population at large, with somewhat fewer men having earned a bachelor's degree (40% of Syrian Jews versus 58% for others). At the same time, a very large number of Syrian men are full-time students (21% versus 5% for others). In other ways, their employment patterns closely resemble those of non-Syrian Jews in the New York area. Not a large number of the women are students; rather, Syrian women are heavily engaged as homemakers or volunteers (37% versus 11% for others). These gender variations in employment patterns resemble those for *Haredi* Orthodox Jews and in all likelihood derive from the reported increased presence of *Haredi* Orthodoxy among Syrian Jews in Brooklyn and elsewhere.

The income distributions of Syrian Jewish households largely resemble those of other Jews. In fact, they report relatively low rates of poverty (11% versus 18% for non-Syrian households).

Syrian Jews: Jewish Engagement and Connections

Syrian Jews are heavily Orthodox (47% versus 19% for others), and their other denominational choices are distributed similar to the Jewish population at large. Of the Syrians identifying as Orthodox, just under a third identify as *Haredi* and the others as Modern or other types of Orthodox. Correlatively, more Syrians than other Jews belong to synagogues (69% versus 44%). They score high on ethnic-belonging measures, and they make frequent use of day schools — among the oldest minor children in their homes, 73% attend day schools as against 47% of the other households' oldest minor children.

Intermarriage among Syrian Jews is drawn almost entirely from those who do not identify with any Jewish religious denomination (no Syrian Orthodox Jews in the survey reported that they were intermarried).

As a whole, they are heavily engaged in Jewish life. As many as 38% score very high on the 12-point Index of Jewish Engagement as compared with just 18% for other households, and just 3% score very low as contrasted with 18% among non-Syrian households.

Exhibit 7-27 **Syrians: Selected Characteristics in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Syrian Households	All Other Households
Orthodox	47%	19%
Conservative	12%	19%
Reform	18%	23%
Reconstructionist	<1%	1%
Other	23%	38%
Total	100%	100%
Mostly Jewish Friends	63%	52%
Synagogue Member	69%	44%
Jewish Engagement		
Very High	38%	18%
High	15%	20%
Moderate	27%	24%
Low	17%	20%
Very Low	3%	18%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

LGBT Jews: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Households¹⁷

Toward the end of the interview, interviewers asked:

On another topic, [IF SINGLE PERSON HH:] do you consider yourself **or** [IF 2+ PERSONS IN HH:] do you consider yourself or does anyone in the household consider themselves to be gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender?

Respondents representing 33,000 households — about 5% of all Jewish households in the eight-county New York area — answered affirmatively. In all, 75,000 people live in these households, and of them 50,000 are Jewish, more than 3% of the Jewish population.¹⁸ In all likelihood, respondents under-reported the presence of LGBT individuals in their households, consistent with the tendency for people to give “socially desirable” responses to strangers interviewing them over the phone.

Exhibit 7-28 **LGBTs: Population Estimates, Household Composition, Educational Attainment, and Poverty, in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Households With LGBT Individuals	Percent of Eight-County Total
Households	33,000	5%
Jews	50,000	3%
People (Jews and Non-Jews)	75,000	4%
Household Composition	Households With LGBT Individuals	All Other Households
Households With Children 17 and Younger	14%	26%
Households With No Minors, No Seniors	69%	39%
Households With Seniors 65+	17%	36%
Respondent's Educational Attainment		
Bachelor's or Higher, Respondent and Spouse	60%	55%
Poverty		
Poor Households	17%	19%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

17 Schnoor, Randal F. 2006. “Being Gay and Jewish: Negotiating Intersecting Identities.” *Sociology of Religion* 67 (1): 43–60. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=13427>.

Shneer, David, and Caryn Aviv. 2002. *Queer Jews*. New York: Routledge.

18 In all, 114 respondents answered affirmatively to the question about the presence of LGBT household members; hence, results regarding the characteristics of this population need to be treated with caution. An additional 22 respondents answered the question negatively, even though they reported a same-sex spouse or partner. We did not include the latter in the LGBT analysis on the conservative methodological assumption that gender may have been miscoded and that researchers should accept respondents at their word absent strong evidence to the contrary. Their inclusion would increase the estimate of the number of LGBT households from 36,000 to 39,000.

LGBT respondents are somewhat more likely to live alone than other respondents (43% for LGBTs as contrasted with 29% for others). Among LGBT respondents living alone, men outnumber women by about a 2:1 ratio. Relatively few Jewish LGBT households are married (21% for LGBT versus 54% for others), in part derivative from the recent legal changes permitting same-sex marriage in New York and a handful of other states. Many more LGBT than non-LGBT respondents are living with someone (14% versus 4%) or have never been married (46% versus 19%).

LGBT households are about twice as likely to be found in Manhattan as non-LGBT households (42% versus 21%). Within Manhattan, they are especially concentrated in Lower Manhattan and the Upper East Side.

Compared with non-LGBT respondents, LGBT respondents are more often found in the 35–49 age range (33% versus 23% for non-LGBT), and their households are far more likely to consist only of non-senior adults (no children, no seniors): 69% for LGBT versus 39% for non-LGBT. Correlatively, far fewer have children present (14% versus 26% for other families).

LGBT men report somewhat higher levels of education than other men, while LGBT women's educational distributions resemble those for women in the Jewish population at large. LGBT employment patterns resemble those of the other Jewish households in the New York area, with the exception that LGBT adults are more heavily self-employed (25% versus 16% for non-LGBT). The income distribution and the level of poverty also resemble those found in the wider Jewish population, as 17% of LGBT households are poor in contrast with 19% of other households.

LGBTs: Jewish Engagement and Connections

Denominationally, very few LGBT respondents identify with one of the denominations, and large numbers prefer no denominational labels. Correlatively, of those married, many more LGBT people are intermarried (44% versus 22%), and fewer belong to congregations (33% versus 45%). As compared with others, LGBT respondents (precisely, respondents from households with one or more LGBT individuals) score lower on all measures of Jewish belonging. Only 34% make contributions to any Jewish charity, compared with 60% for non-LGBT households. In light of all these differences, it is no surprise that few LGBT households score very high on the 12-point Index of Jewish Engagement (6% versus 19% for the general population), and many more score very low (34% versus 17% for others), consistent with prior research on LGBT Jewish-engagement levels.¹⁹

Exhibit 7-29 **LGBTs: Selected Characteristics in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Households With LGBT Individuals	All Other Households
Orthodox	4%	20%
Conservative	12%	20%
Reform	29%	23%
Reconstructionist	1%	1%
Other	53%	37%
Total	100%	100%
Intermarried, Percent of Those Married	44%	22%
Mostly Jewish Friends	22%	53%
Synagogue Member	33%	45%
Jewish Engagement		
Very High	6%	19%
High	15%	20%
Moderate	26%	24%
Low	19%	20%
Very Low	34%	17%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

19 Cohen, Steven M., Ari Y. Kelman, and Caryn Aviv. 2009. "Gay, Jewish, or Both? Sexual Orientation and Jewish Engagement." *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 84: 154–166. Available as PDF at <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/downloadPublication.cfm?PublicationID=3946>.

Biracial, Hispanic, and Other Nonwhite Households

For many years, American Jews have been seen and characterized as a “white” ethno-religious group, both in terms of their racial classification and in terms of their cultural alignment in American society.²⁰ However, several factors — intermarriage and adoption among them — have been working to alter that nearly all-white imagery and reality to some extent.

To begin to explore the multiracial character of the New York-area Jewish population, we created a classification of households that in any way includes nonwhite members. Thus, households could qualify if the respondents were Black, Hispanic,²¹ Asian, or biracial, or if white respondents with more than one household member reported that their households are bi- or multiracial. For convenience’s sake, we will refer to these households as “nonwhite,” although as a group they are divided almost equally among four groups: Hispanic respondents, Black respondents, white respondents with biracial households, and biracial respondents, with small numbers of others (for example, Asian-American respondents).

In all, 87,000 households qualify as nonwhite in some respect. They contain 254,000 people, of whom 161,000 are Jews.

Exhibit 7-30 **Biracial and Nonwhite Households: Population Estimates, Household Composition, Educational Attainment, and Poverty, in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Biracial and Nonwhite Households	Percent of Eight-County Total
Households	87,000	12%
Jews	161,000	10%
People (Jews and Non-Jews)	254,000	14%
Household Composition	Biracial and Nonwhite Households	All Other Households
Households With Children 17 and Younger	37%	24%
Households With No Minors, No Seniors	49%	39%
Households With Seniors 65+	14%	38%
Respondent’s Educational Attainment		
Bachelor’s or Higher, Respondents and Spouses	44%	56%
Poverty		
Poor Households	25%	17%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

20 Brodtkin, Karen. 1998. *How Jews Became White Folks: And What That Says About Race in America*. Piscataway Township, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

21 “Hispanic” is included in the “nonwhite” category for the purposes of this report; in U.S. Census definitions, Hispanic could be white or nonwhite.

These households are found less frequently in the three suburban counties than white Jewish households, and somewhat more frequently in the Bronx. In terms of age, respondents are relatively concentrated between ages 25 and 44 (41% versus 22% for all-white households). Accordingly, many more of the nonwhite households have children at home (37% versus 24%), while far fewer are households with senior adults (14% versus 38%).

Both men and women in nonwhite households report lower levels of educational attainment than do those in all-white households. About 44% of nonwhite people have earned a bachelor's degree, as opposed to 56% of those who are white. Employment patterns resemble those for the population at large. Somewhat more nonwhite households report income levels under \$50,000 per year (47% versus 41%); accordingly, somewhat more qualify as poor (25% versus 17% for the larger Jewish population).

Biracial and Nonwhite Households: Jewish Engagement and Connections

Respondents in nonwhite households tend to eschew any denominational affiliation. Far more are intermarried (54% versus 18% for all-white Jewish households). Significantly fewer join synagogues (27% versus 47%); very few have mostly Jewish friends (18% versus 57%). Not surprisingly, their use of day schools is less than half as frequent as among other Jewish households. At the same time, of the children in nonwhite Jewish households, about three times as many have never received any Jewish education (30% for the oldest child in these households versus 10% for the oldest in others). Correlatively, very few biracial and nonwhite households score very high on the Index of Jewish Engagement (just 4% versus 20% for all-white households), and a large plurality score very low (41% versus 14%).

Exhibit 7-31 **Biracial and Nonwhite Households: Selected Characteristics in Comparison With All Other Jewish Households**

	Biracial and Nonwhite Households	All Other Households
Orthodox	12%	20%
Conservative	12%	20%
Reform	17%	24%
Reconstructionist	1%	1%
Other	58%	35%
Total	100%	100%
Intermarried, Percent of Those Married	54%	18%
Mostly Jewish Friends	18%	57%
Synagogue Member	27%	47%
Jewish Engagement		
Very High	4%	20%
High	14%	21%
Moderate	21%	25%
Low	19%	20%
Very Low	41%	14%
Total	100%	100%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 is based on 5,993 telephone interviews with randomly selected Jewish households living in the eight-county UJA-Federation of New York service area: the five boroughs of New York City — the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island — and the suburban counties of Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester.¹

Sampling design, survey interviewing, and statistical estimation was conducted by Social Science Research Solutions (SSRS)², a principal member of Jewish Policy & Action Research (JPAR), using computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) technology between February 8, 2011, and July 10, 2011. A total of 3,974 telephone interviews were completed in New York City and 2,019 in the three suburban counties. County-by-county interview totals are:

- Bronx — 350 interviews
- Brooklyn (Kings County) — 1,409 interviews
- Manhattan (New York County) — 1,145 interviews
- Staten Island (Richmond County) — 340 interviews
- Queens — 730 interviews
- Nassau County — 957 interviews
- Suffolk County — 526 interviews
- Westchester County — 536 interviews

For the first time, interviews were conducted to cell phones as well as landlines. A total of 4,691 telephone interviews were completed on landlines and 1,302 on cell phones.

The final data file includes a series of weighting variables from SSRS that projects the 5,993 interviews to an estimated total of 694,233 Jewish households in the eight-county New York area, and to 1,538,001 Jewish people in the eight counties.³ Unless otherwise noted, all numbers and percentages included in this report reflect the weighted data.

An overview of the research process, sampling design, and weighting and estimation process follows. For more detail on sampling methods, data collection, response, and survey weights and variance estimation, see the *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 Methodology Report* available soon at www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-of-new-york-2011.

1 Initial interview sample allocations called for the completion of 6,000 survey interviews. The interview data file includes 6,274 completed interviews, of which 281 were later deemed to be of non-Jewish households.

2 SSRS was assisted in Russian-language interviewing by an in-language subcontractor, International Point of Contact.

3 The sampling design, estimation procedures, and so forth are discussed in detail in later sections.

Research Process

The research process included two interrelated steps:

1. An initial “screening” interview designed to identify Jewish and non-Jewish households.
2. An immediate (if possible) extended interview with Jewish households.

For this study, a Jewish household is defined as a household including one or more Jewish adults ages 18 and over. A Jewish person is an adult who self-identifies as Jewish or a child under the age of 18 who is being raised Jewish.

Answers to the screening questions not only identified Jewish households for the survey interviews, but the brief interviews with non-Jewish households provided data needed for the estimation of the number of Jewish households in the eight-county New York area.

The key screener questions used to identify Jewish and non-Jewish households were:

S-2. This survey is being done for the New York Jewish community on behalf of all the people of the New York area, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Do you consider yourself Jewish, partially Jewish? ... or not Jewish?

1. Jewish
2. Partially Jewish
3. Not Sure
4. Non-Jewish
5. Messianic Jew; Jew for Jesus

Non-Jewish respondents and respondents who said that they are not sure if they would consider themselves Jewish were asked additional household screening questions.

S-NS/NJ-2a When you were growing up, did your mother consider herself Jewish?

S-NS/NJ-2b When you were growing up, did your father consider himself Jewish?

[Ask if respondent said not Jewish or refused/don't know to S-2 and if yes to either S-NJ-2a or S-NJ-2b]

S-NJ-3 What is your religion, if any?

[Ask if S-NS-2a/2b are both no or don't know, or refused and respondent said “not sure” if Jewish in S-2]

S-NS-2c You said that you were “not sure” if you were Jewish? Are you in the process of becoming Jewish?

[Ask if “atheist/agnostic” respondent has a Jewish parent]

S-NJ-4. Some people who have a Jewish parent, but who say they do not have a religion or are an atheist or an agnostic, sometimes view themselves as connected to the Jewish people, or identify as a non-religious Jew or as a secular Jew. Would you describe yourself that way?

[Ask if respondent is not Jewish]

S-5a. Is there any other adult in the household who considers himself or herself to be Jewish, or partially Jewish?

Respondents who said they were Jewish were automatically transferred to the CATI-based Jewish household interview module, and the interviewer continued with the interview after noting: “Thank you. The New York Jewish community is interested in your views and experiences on a number of questions, since these will help shape programs and services for all people living in the New York area. The interview is confidential and anonymous.”

Following a question on religious identity in the main survey, respondents who had said in the screener that they were “partially Jewish” or were “not sure” if they were Jewish, or in response to the above question mentioned another religion, were asked to provide additional information about their Jewish identity.⁴ The interview was then completed (if possible), unless the respondent indicated that he or she was a Messianic Jew. All of these interviews were reviewed by JPAR prior to data-file construction to make sure that only Jewish households (as defined above) would be included in the study.⁵

Non-Jewish respondents were asked if any other adult member of their household considers themselves Jewish. If the answer was yes, the household was defined as a Jewish household, and the interviewer attempted to complete the Jewish household interview. Non-Jewish respondents in these Jewish households who were comfortable answering questions about their household’s Jewish experiences were eligible to complete the extended Jewish household survey in order to maximize the likelihood of intermarried Jewish households being proportionately represented in the final survey interview data file. At times, the non-Jewish initial respondent immediately transferred the call to the Jewish adult and an interview was completed; if not, the number was recalled at least another eight times.

Messianic households were not interviewed; they were asked a few key questions that were needed to calculate Jewish household estimates (for example, number of voice telephone lines in the household) and then thanked for their cooperation. They are included in the estimate of non-Jewish households.

⁴ If a respondent answered that he or she was not sure if he or she “is Jewish,” or “is partially Jewish” or “Jewish and something else/half Jewish,” the interviewer asked: “So that we can properly understand your answer, would you please tell me...the ways in which you consider yourself ‘Jewish and another religion,’ ‘partially Jewish,’ [or]...what you mean that you are ‘not sure’?”

⁵ After interviewing was completed, JPAR reviewed all cases in which the respondent provided additional information to the probes on Jewish and something else and/or “not sure” answers. Respondents who gave answers that clearly defined them as Jewish were included in the data file with minimal review. Forty interviews remained, however, where the interview had been completed via the CATI system but required additional review since the answers to the probes were not as definitive. JPAR reviewed all survey answers for these potential Jewish household interviews; 24 remained in the data file, but 16 were excluded from the data file and reclassified as a “Jewish-origin household.”

A random 20% of non-Jewish households were asked additional questions, including number of adults in the household, gender, age, education, race or ethnicity, Russian-speaking household status, ZIP code, and phone use (cell phones and landlines). All non-Jewish households were also asked whether either the respondent or any other adult, if in a multiple-person household, had a Jewish parent.

The Survey Interview

The average time required to complete the questionnaire was 24 minutes.

Of the survey respondents, 95% were Jewish and 5% were non-Jews who lived in a household with a Jewish adult. The proportion of non-Jewish respondents interviewed was 3% in Brooklyn; 4% in Queens, the Bronx, and Nassau County; and 5% in Staten Island and Manhattan. In Westchester and Suffolk counties, the proportion of interviews conducted with non-Jews was 9%.

Russian-Speaking Interviewers

The 2002 study found a substantial number of adults in households in the eight-county New York area who were born in the former Soviet Union. Cognizant of the importance and likely number of these interviews in 2011, a special group of Russian-speaking interviewers from International Point of Contact (IPC) was engaged as a subcontractor to SSRS. IPC had primary responsibility for conducting interviews with Russian-speaking households.

Russian-language interviews were identified by analyzing seven sampling substrata detailed below for whether records contained a likely Russian first and last name (RFN sample). The list of Russian first and last names was taken from the work of Edwin D. Lawson at SUNY Fredonia, an expert of onomastic sciences. In addition, any Russian-language barriers attained during regular interviewing were sequestered and dialed back by IPC Russian-language interviewers. Experienced bilingual interviewers were trained in using the 2011 study survey questionnaire, typically reading from a printed questionnaire in Russian while entering the data in English in the CATI system (standard IPC practice). Interviewers sometimes began a screener in English but shifted to Russian, or vice versa, as appropriate.

As a result, a total of 374 interviews were completed in Russian for the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011, mostly with respondents born in the former Soviet Union, although a number of interviews were completed in Russian with respondents who had been born elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Other Interview Languages

Other language-barrier interviews were flagged into subcategories, including Yiddish, Spanish, Korean, Chinese, and unknown. These flagged numbers were subsequently redialed using bilingual interviewers. Unknown language barriers were reattempted with Spanish bilingual interviewers. In total, 2,256 screener interviews were conducted in Spanish, 10 in Yiddish (leading to six completed interviews in Yiddish), 1 in Korean, 558 in Mandarin, and 60 in Cantonese.

Sampling Design: Stratified Random Sampling

Interviews were stratified using a combination of random-digit dialing (RDD), listed, and distinctive Jewish name (DJN) samples to increase the incidence of households with Jewish members. Overall, 56% of the interviews were from the RDD sample (landlines and cell phones), 36% of the interviews were from the listed sample, and 8% were DJN. A total of 1,302 interviews were conducted to cell phones — 307 from the listed sample and 995 from the RDD cell phone sampling frame. The design used seven sampling strata within each of the eight counties — 56 independent sampling strata in total — based on an analysis of the probable percentage of Jewish households in each telephone exchange within the eight-county New York area.

The seven sampling substrata within each of the eight counties were:

1. Federation-Supplied Lists (FSL) With Landline Telephones — pre-study estimate: 85% Jewish
2. Federation-Supplied Lists (FSL) With Only Cell Phones — pre-study estimate: 85% Jewish⁶
3. Distinctive Jewish Surname Published Landline Telephone Numbers — pre-study estimate: 30% Jewish
4. High Jewish Incidence Published Telephone Numbers — pre-study estimate: 29% Jewish
5. Low Jewish Incidence Published Telephone Numbers — pre-study estimate: 6% Jewish
6. Unpublished Telephone Numbers — pre-study estimate: 9% Jewish
7. Cell Phones — pre-study estimate: 11% Jewish

⁶ For strata 1 and 2, UJA-Federation provided telephone numbers from its own lists and asked a number of other Jewish organizations to provide telephone numbers from their lists to SSRS. In addition, the survey team was dedicated to ensuring that members of the deaf community would also be able to participate in the survey. During the field period, UJA-Federation supplied a list of deaf members of the New York-area Jewish community. SSRS e-mailed invitations and reminders to 62 individuals who had previously been identified as both Jewish and deaf, requesting their participation in the study by completing a hard copy version of the survey. Three deaf respondents completed the survey.

Within each of the 56 strata defined for the study, a random sample of telephone numbers was generated by SSRS's sister company, MSG-GENESYS Sampling Systems. Interviewing goals within each stratum were based on an allocation design developed by SSRS and reviewed in advance by the entire research team, including an independent Technical Advisory Group. Each potential phone number in the eight-county area was assigned to one of the 56 sampling substrata — seven strata within each of the eight counties.

- First, each telephone number in the FSL sampling frames was electronically separated from the potential pool of telephone numbers that could be generated via the GENESYS sampling system. This list sampling frame was then divided into eight list sampling strata, one for each county.
- Distinctive Jewish name (DJN) numbers that were not already on the FSL were then segregated from other published random-digit dialing (RDD) landline telephone numbers.
- The remaining landline telephone numbers were divided into “published high,” “published low,” and “unpublished.” (“Published” refers to whether publically listed with the telephone company.)
- Cell phone numbers were randomly generated within area codes and exchanges based in the eight-county area.

Given the desire to maximize statistical power in small geographic areas, the study's sample size, with a target of 6,000, was significantly greater than the 4,533 completed interviews in the 2002 study.

Sample Disposition: Callbacks and Number of Calls⁷

Following standard MSG-GENESYS ID-plus⁸ telephone number pre-interview verification procedures, all numbers in the eight unpublished RDD sampling strata were prescreened to exclude nonworking numbers, fax or data lines, and nonresidential numbers from standard household survey interviews. A total of 30,783 telephone numbers from the unpublished RDD sampling frames were designated by MSG-GENESYS as either fax-data, nonresidential, or nonworking phone numbers. The remaining sample was then transferred electronically to SSRS — 41,963 phone numbers in total.

SSRS, and its subcontractor IPC, then called numbers randomly, as needed, to complete the 5,993 interviews represented in the data file. Appendix exhibit A-1 reports:

⁷ A complete sample disposition is presented in appendix exhibit A-1.

⁸ See <http://www.m-s-g.com/Web/genesys/index.aspx> for a description of GENESYS sampling systems and ID-plus.

- Including the ID-plus eliminated numbers, a total of 389,312 telephone numbers were dialed a total of 1,498,834 times to complete the screening and interview phases of the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011.⁹
- An estimated 107,514 residential households were reached.
- 41,049 households provided sufficient information so that the identification of their ethnic or religious group could be determined.
- 31,859 of these households were non-Jewish, 98 were Messianic, and 483 were classified as Jewish origin.
- 8,609 Jewish households were identified during the screening phase.
- 6,274 interviews were completed
- 5,993 interviews are included in the interview data file.

Interview Cooperation Rate

A standard measure of survey interview quality is the interview cooperation rate — the percentage of households identified during the screening process who provided sufficient information for an interview to be included in the data file. Following the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Cooperation Rate ³¹⁰ definitions, the interview cooperation rate was 79%.

⁹ The screening phase allowed for a minimum of eight callbacks to each working number included in the survey samples, as opposed to the industry standard of four total calls. The goal of these extra callbacks was to make sure that the interviewed Jewish households were representative of the entire Jewish community, not just those available at home on a given night. The interviewing firm rotated callbacks by day of the week and time of night (or day). Thus, unless the telephone carrier indicated that a phone number was not working or was a fax or data line, or it was clear that the telephone number was nonresidential, a minimum of nine phone calls was the standard interview default before a number was abandoned

¹⁰ The American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2011. *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys*. Deerfield, IL: AAPOR. Available as PDF at http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Standard_Definitions2&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=3156.

Partial and Complete Interviews

For 49 of the 5,993 interviews in the data file, only partial information is available, since these households were unable or unwilling to complete the survey interview (despite callbacks, if at all possible, from the interviewing firms). Fully completed interviews are available for 5,944 (99%) of the 5,993 survey interviews included in the data file. Since these 49 interviews included substantial data on household members — age, gender, relationship to the respondent, whether the household members consider themselves Jewish, and so forth — as well as responses to most of the questions in the survey, these interviews were included in the data file. On a small number of topics, such as charitable contributions and household income, the data for these cases is less complete.

Response Rate

A second measure of survey quality is the response rate, which measures the percentage of potentially working residential numbers that were successfully contacted during the screening process — that is, the interviewer was able to determine if the household was Jewish or non-Jewish.

The overall response rate for the screening phase of the study was 32% calculated using the AAPOR Response Rate 3. Landline interviews attained a response rate of 35%, and cell phone interviews attained a response rate of 30%.

To maximize the response rate from cell phone users, a \$10 incentive was offered to RDD cell phone respondents. In addition, to promote survey response in general, a marketing effort was developed by UJA-Federation in consultation with JPAR consisting of postcards mailed to the FSL sample; a 30-second television commercial aired on local cable channels; an online ad campaign to New York-area Facebook users; distribution of posters to agencies serving seniors and Holocaust survivors; an op-ed article in *The Jewish Week*; a 30-second Russian-language radio spot; and notices in newsletters of synagogues, Jewish human-service agencies, and Jewish community centers.

Weighting and Estimation

Perhaps the most critical step in the entire weighting process is the development of household universe estimates. These estimates serve as critical control totals, the gold standard with which data must conform. The process of developing household universe estimates involves determining the estimated number of households that should be included in each of the 56 weighting cells. The first step in developing household universe estimates involves combining available information about household and population counts at the county level (provided by the U.S. Census Bureau) with information attained from the sample, including:

- The number of FSL households gathered before fielding commenced, and the number of such households for which only a cell phone number was supplied.
- The county for each of the FSL households and whether each landline FSL number was published or unpublished.
- The number of households with distinctive Jewish surnames (DJNs) within each county.
- The number of households with a published number in each county.

Using this information, we are able to estimate population counts for 40 of the weighting cells (five of the seven strata in each of eight counties) by eliminating duplication between the FSL sample and the DJN households, and the remaining DJN households and the households with published numbers. Since we know the total number of households by county from the U.S. Census, we can then derive the number of unpublished households by subtracting all the aforementioned strata from the total households residing in each county.

The next step is to determine the number of households that reside in the cell RDD frame, since there are no county-level numbers available for such an estimate. In 2011, the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) published an estimate for the five-borough area of New York using 2009 data. These estimates were produced by the NHIS and the State Health Access Data Assistance Center based on a logistic regression model predicting phone use. Replicating their procedure, JPAR derived cell-phone-only (CPO) household estimates for the eight-county area at the county level. Our model produced results in line with the NHIS five-borough estimate, thereby providing validity that our estimates for each county would be accurate.

It was then necessary to model this data to the time period of the survey field, since the most recent published NHIS data set is from 2009. Given that the increase in CPO households every half year since 2006 has been roughly linear, we simply made a linear projection to arrive at early 2011 CPO estimates for each county.

A final step in the development of household universe counts is to then separate unpublished households into CPO households and unpublished landline households. This is easily done by multiplying the total households for each county by the CPO estimate, with the remaining households being defined as unpublished landline households.

Once sample universe and sample counts by county¹¹ and final strata were attained, the formal weighting procedure could commence.

1a. Correction for probability of telephone selection — Each case was given a weight equal to the number of phones they answer, capped at three, meaning this could range from one to three (a cap of four was considered, but only 3.8% of cases owned four or more phones). To account for the dual probability of selection, this weight included both landlines and cell phones answered by adults in the household. The phone weight is the reciprocal of the number of phones.

1b. Correction for probability of federation-supplied list (FSL) selection — Each case in the FSL frame was given a weight equal to the probability of being selected, since FSL cell phones were oversampled at a fraction of 0.174 while Jewish listed landlines were sampled at a fraction of 0.015 (resulting in a weight of 1.17 for FSL landlines and 0.10 for FSL cell phones). All other cases (samples other than the Jewish listed sample) received a weight of 1.0. The deaf sample was considered part of the federation-supplied list.

1c. Correction for probability of Washington Heights Jewish listed selection¹² — Each case in the Jewish listed frame was given a weight equal to the probability of being selected, since the Washington Heights supplemental sample was oversampled at a fraction of 0.065 while Jewish listed landlines were sampled at a fraction of 0.016 (in other words, one of every 61.5 non-Washington Heights records were sampled, compared to one of every 15 Washington Heights phone records). All other cases (samples other than the Jewish listed sample) received a weight of 1.0.

11 An initial review of the data found 157 cases that were missing ZIP code information and 214 cases where county and ZIP codes were not consistent. SSRS placed 10 days of additional callbacks in December; overall, 73 of the missing ZIPS were attained and 140 of the mismatches were clarified.

12 During the field period, UJA-Federation wanted to ensure that enough interviews would be completed in a number of areas in which the Jewish population was believed to be growing, in order to conduct some area-specific analysis. As fielding proceeded, only Washington Heights appeared to be seriously below this level. Based on this, a decision was made to oversample this neighborhood. UJA-Federation acquired community lists from this area and, in May 2011, an oversample of Washington Heights was added to the sample design.

2. Nonresponse correction — In order to correct for the possibility that survey nonresponse was correlated with any variable of interest, and to attain accurate household counts for demography, we employed a weighting class correction applying the two variables known for all sample members and the total population, as discussed earlier in this report: the county and sampling frame. This was accomplished by calculating the household percentage for each of the 56 county-by-frame cells and then dividing, in each cell, the percentage in the known household universe by the percentage in the sample for each cell in the table independently. The ratio between the population cell percentage and the weighted sample cell percentage produced the primary household weight.

3. Household adults correction — This base weight correction simply multiplies each case by the number of adults in the household. This is capped at three adults maximum (11.7% of the sample were households with four or more adults). This cap is standard in survey research and is designed to limit the design effect based on very large households, and essentially converts the household weight into a person weight so that the data can be post-stratified to population counts of adults ages 18 and over.

The final composite base weight is a product of steps 1a, 1b, 1c, and 2 above: phone, Jewish listed selection, Washington Heights selection, adults, and nonresponse. This product is then multiplied by step 3 — number of adults — to produce a person-based base weight for post-stratification.

Post-stratification weighting was then conducted to correct for biases in response patterns across various demographic groups, allowing the demographic breakdown of the final data to approximate the breakdown in the target population. For the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011, the total sample for which Jewish identity information was available — *all* screening cases, Jewish and non-Jewish — was adjusted by gender, adults in household, education, county, race or ethnicity, phone use, and age to match the population parameters for the eight-county area on the basis of the U.S. Census Bureau's 2009 American Community Survey for percentage frequency distributions on each variable. The ACS data is considered to be the most reliable for providing demographic frequencies for weighting purposes. Total population counts on which the percentages are based were taken from the 2010 U.S. Census, however, since this information is more current than the 2009 ACS.

This sample was then weighted using a raking method, an iterative process of adjusting samples to known percentages along certain parameters (in this case, gender, race, education, county, and age), while applying the base weight to correct for the selection process.

The final post-stratified weight was then divided by the number of adults (the same variable used before to weight the sample before post-stratification, capped at 3) to again produce weights at the household level. This procedure results in a data set of a representative weighted cross-section of eight-county households. Non-Jewish screener interviews were then set aside, and Jewish completes were rebalanced to equal the weighted totals of all Jewish screener data set cases. This post-stratified Jewish household weight was then rebalanced one more time to account for the known universe estimates of strata by county. A final population weight was derived from re-multiplying this final household weight by the number of people in the household.

Sampling Error Estimates

All sample surveys are subject to potential sampling errors, of which two are below.

Household Estimates

The best estimate of the total number of Jewish households in the eight-county New York area is approximately 694,233. At the standard 95% level of confidence used in most survey research, the estimate of the number of Jewish households is accurate within a range of +/- 30,103 households, reflecting a potential sampling error range of approximately +/- 0.23% (1.96 standard errors). While the best estimate of the numbers of Jewish households is 694,233, we can be almost certain that the true Jewish household number is more than 664,130 but less than 724,336 — and most likely close to 694,233.

The potential error range for Jewish household estimates for each county is higher, since the base number of contacts is smaller. For the Bronx, the estimate that 4.3% (30,175) of the eight-county area Jewish households live there is subject to a potential error of +/- 0.3%, while the Brooklyn household estimate of 28.8% (200,186) of Jewish households is subject to a potential error of +/- 0.7%. See the *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011 Methodology Report* at <http://www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-of-new-york-2011> for county-level detail on standard error and design effect.

Survey Responses

In addition to potential errors in the estimates of the number of Jewish households, the results reported based on survey data answers are also subject to error. In political election surveys, for example, the reported survey findings are always expressed as the probable “percentage,” but a range of possible error is always included. These sampling errors are a function of both the sample design and the overall sample size, as well as the sample size of subcategories being analyzed.

For the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011, the responses of Jewish household respondents to the interview questionnaire are also subject to potential sampling error. The maximum sampling error for survey responses for which 5,993 respondents answered a question is $\pm 2.0\%$ at the traditional 95% confidence level. As an example, survey results (weighted data) indicate that 43% of Jewish households report synagogue or temple membership. Since nearly 6,000 respondents answered this question, the 95% confidence interval for congregation membership in the eight-county New York area based on survey responses (the survey percentage) is 43% $\pm 2.0\%$, or between approximately 41% and 45%.

Survey sampling error increases as the sample size decreases. Thus, while the survey data indicates that the percentage of congregation-affiliated households in New York City is 40%, the 95% confidence interval for New York City congregation membership based on 3,974 respondents is 40% $\pm 2.4\%$ (approximately), or between 37% and 43%. For the suburbs (Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester combined), 50% of households report congregation membership. The 50% survey finding is subject to a potential sampling error of $\pm 3.4\%$ (just over 2,000 respondents answered this question in the three suburban counties), and the 95% confidence interval is roughly 47% to 53%.

Exhibit A-2 presents the 95% confidence interval estimates by number of interviews completed for the question and the proportion of respondents who answered “yes” or “no” on the question. The greatest potential for sampling error exists, as exhibit A-2 shows, for questions with a fifty-fifty split, with a limited number of completed interviews.

Comparisons of 1991, 2002, and 2011 Studies

In addition to the statistical portrait of the Jewish community provided by the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011, the data from the 2011 study has been compared with the data from the 1991 New York Jewish Population Study and the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002 to provide some insight into trends over time. While the specific sampling methodologies employed in the 1991, 2002, and 2011 studies are not identical, there are several reasons the sampling methodologies are sufficiently comparable and, therefore, the comparisons between the three studies are valid.

First, the firm SSRS conducted the interviewing for all three studies. Second, sampling design, statistical estimation of the number of Jewish households, and survey data weighting was provided for all the studies by either Dale W. Kulp, president and CEO of MSG-GENESYS Sampling Systems, or David Dutwin, vice president and chief methodologist of SSRS. In 2002 and 2011, International Point of Contact conducted Russian-language interviewing.

Third, sampling designs for the studies were state of the art at the time of the survey. The 1991 design was a statistical single-stage RDD sample of all households with telephones in the same eight-county New York area, with the individual county being used as the primary level of stratification. No additional stratification occurred within the county prior to sampling, although the telephone exchanges within each county were organized by the primary ZIP code of the residential customer served. Jewish household estimates were based on separate estimates for each county, which were then summed to give the overall estimate of 638,000 “core connected” Jewish households

The 2002 design was also a single-stage RDD survey with borough and county again a key element of sample stratification. Based on their experiences since the 1991 New York study in major American Jewish community studies — Philadelphia in 1996, Denver in 1997, Baltimore in 1999, Chicago in 2001, Pittsburgh in 2002, and Phoenix in 2002 — MSG-GENESYS, ICR, and SSRS further stratified telephone exchanges within each county for the Jewish Community Study of New York: 2002 into low-, medium-, high-, and extremely high-density sampling frames. Jewish household estimates were generated within each substratum and then combined.

The 2011 study similarly utilized a stratified design based on the 2002 model, but a number of changes were enacted to deal with the dramatic change in phone use that occurred during the 2000s, namely the growth of households that only own cell phones. The FSL stratum was divided into two strata, one for cell phone only (CPO) households and one for landline only or dual-using households. Second, a cell phone strata was added to the design. And in order to eliminate duplications of cell phones from other households in the weighting procedure, the design had to separate published and unpublished telephone numbers, and thus the high-medium-low design of 2002 became a high published-low published-unpublished design in 2011.

Fourth, the definition of a Jewish household used in the studies is very similar. Indeed, the 2002 study was designed to follow the 1991 definition of a Jewish household (a “core” Jewish household in 1991 terminology). In 1991, a core Jewish person was identified “...as Jewish either in religious or in secular-ethnic terms.” The screening questions in 1991 first asked for religious affiliation (Judaism, Catholicism, and so forth); then, for respondents who were not Jewish by religion, the interviewer asked if the respondent or anyone else in the household considered themselves to be Jewish. If anyone in the household was Jewish by either religion or self-identity, the household was classified as a core Jewish household (using the concept in the 1991 New York Jewish Population Survey).

In 2002 and in 2011, the self-identity question was used first in the screener. Households were tentatively defined as Jewish if either the respondent or another adult in the household considered themselves to be Jewish. Religion and then denomination (if Judaism was the religion) were asked later. A household was classified as Jewish in 2002 and in 2011 if the respondent or another adult in the household self-identified as Jewish and the respondent was not a Messianic Jew. In 1991, a limited number of households were included as core Jewish households when only a child in the household was Jewish. The 2002 and 2011 studies did not include those households as Jewish, since none of the adults in the household were Jewish.

Despite a few minor differences, we view the data from the 1991 through the 2011 studies as comparable. All three studies used random sampling methods that were state of the art at the time of the survey, and all studies used very similar definitions of who is Jewish and what is a Jewish household. Thus, we believe that the differences between the data from all the studies reflect real differences, within the context of sampling error. Given sampling error for the three studies, when all survey respondents are included in an analysis, a difference in results of at least 5% to 6% is the minimum required to assert a real difference over time. Differences of at least 10% would be preferable for policy decisions that are based on trend analysis.

Exhibit A-1 **Sample Disposition Eight-County New York Area, Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011**

Disposition	FSL LL	FSL Cell	DJN	Published High	Published Low	Un-published	Cell Phones	Total Landline	Total
Eligible, Interview									
Complete	1,858	307	451	1,365	616	401	995	4,691	5,993
Eligible, Non-Interview									
Refusal and Break-Off	262	26	56	183	44	62	102	607	735
Break-Off	224	25	47	232	132	63	159	698	882
Answering Machine Household	86	43	26	193	36	55	195	396	634
Physically/Mentally Incompetent	11	—	1	9	—	2	—	23	23
Language Problem	25	4	2	58	13	25	33	123	160
Unknown Eligibility, Non-Interview									
Always Busy	109	14	43	425	3,769	650	496	4,996	5,506
No Answer	1,768	510	1,181	7,602	19,469	6,777	25,723	36,796	63,028
Answering Machine	547	136	287	10,219	1,145	2,877	8,404	15,075	23,615
Call Blocking	66	3	3	13	5	20	76	107	186
Household, Unknown If Eligible	763	237	330	7,147	2,118	2,651	8,956	13,009	22,202
No Screener Completed	1,716	338	1,065	5,687	1,264	6,852	13,256	16,584	30,178
Not Eligible									
Fax/Data Line	405	36	174	1,789	8,600	1,258	3,543	12,226	15,805
Nonworking Number	4,019	346	956	10,188	55,779	41,421	58,574	112,362	171,281
Business, Government, Etc.	464	56	154	1,113	5,045	779	2,326	7,555	9,937
No Eligible Respondent	610	368	374	6,962	5,325	8,853	16,655	22,124	39,147
Total Phone Numbers Used	12,933	2,448	5,150	53,184	103,359	72,746	139,492	247,372	389,312
AAPOR Response Rate 3	40.7%	34.3%	28.7%	20.5%	41.0%	39.4%	29.5%	34.7%	31.9%
AAPOR Cooperation Rate 3	79.2%	85.8%	81.4%	76.7%	77.8%	76.2%	79.2%	78.2%	78.8%

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

Exhibit A-2 **95% Confidence Interval Estimates by Number of Interviews and Survey Data Percentage, Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011**

Completes	Number of Interviews								
	100	200	500	1,000	2,000	3,000	4,000	5,000	6,000
5% or 95%	6.8	4.8	3.0	2.1	1.5	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9
10% or 90%	9.3	6.6	4.2	2.9	2.1	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2
20% or 80%	12.4	8.8	5.5	3.9	2.8	2.3	1.9	1.7	1.6
30% or 70%	14.2	10.0	6.3	4.5	3.2	2.6	2.2	2.0	1.8
40% or 60%	15.2	10.7	6.8	4.8	3.4	2.8	2.4	2.1	1.9
50%	15.5	10.9	6.9	4.9	3.5	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.0

Eight-County New York Area, 2011

The standard errors in the above tables have already been adjusted for a 95% confidence interval by multiplying the initially calculated standard error by 1.96 and then by adjusting the resulting sampling error upward to reflect a design effect of 2.5. Based on the sample size and the actual survey percentage, the 95% confidence interval would be the survey percentage plus or minus the 95% confidence level number shown in the table.

If a survey question was answered “yes” by 40% of approximately 2,000 respondents, the 95% confidence interval would be 40% +/- 3.4%, including design effect.

Through UJA-Federation, you care for people in need, inspire a passion for Jewish life and learning, and strengthen Jewish communities in New York, in Israel, and around the world.

This report and additional publications and updates from the *Jewish Community Study of New York: 2011* can be found at www.ujafedny.org/jewish-community-study-of-new-york-2011 or call 1.212.836.1476.



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