AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Young Jewish Adults in the United States Today

PREPARED BY
UKELES ASSOCIATES

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Cover photo: Members of the AJC Princeton Society and the AJC Cornell Society on a ten-day mission to Germany sponsored by ACCESS: AJC's New Generation initiative and Bridge of Understanding.

Young Jewish Adults in the United States Today

prepared by
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Foreword

Some people—and some institutions—mark significant milestones by looking backward on the "good old days" and on achievements past. Others celebrate by looking forward.

The American Jewish Committee, which is in the midst of celebrating the Centennial of its founding, is doing both. We have honored our past by mining the treasure trove of our archives and making the historical print, radio, and film materials there available online; by commissioning a scholarly study of the last six decades of our organizational life; and by creating exhibits and films that tell our story. But we have also celebrated by looking forward: Our Centennial Annual Meeting featured a four-part symposium on "The Prospects for Judaism and the Jews," with panels of public intellectuals discussing "What Will Become of the Jewish People?" and "What Should We Worry About Next?" A part of this future-oriented approach to our anniversary, championed by Centennial Chair Alfred Moses, is this research study of young American Jewish adults.

The Jewish identity of the younger generation, here defined as American Jews between 18 and 39, is a subject of great speculation and concern within the wider Jewish community. Beyond the survivalist desire for mere physical "continuity," there is a mixture of curiosity, anxiety, and hope that the values and institutions that we older generations have created will be carried on, will evolve, will become something new and exciting. Who would not wish to come back in one hundred years to see what American Jewry will look like?

While we do not have crystal balls, we do have demographic data. This study, prepared by Ukeles Associates, Inc., analyzes the data from the 2000-01 National Jewish Population Survey, six Jew-

ish community studies conducted by Ukeles Associates, and the responses to AJC's Annual Surveys of American Jewish Opinion. It tells us that there are some 1.5 million young Jewish adults in the designated age group, or about 29 percent of the total American Jewish population. It also reviews the research literature—fairly considerable—on young Jews in the U.S. to find the many ways this population has been studied and analyzed.

The Ukeles team poses the question: "Is today's generation of young American Jews distinctive?" That is, do we have reason to think that after they pass through the stage that has been characterized as "emerging adulthood" and move into long-term career and family patterns, they will be significantly different from the preceding generations? The authors conclude that this generation is different in many ways, strikingly in marrying later and having children later, and also in being comfortable in sharing their Jewish space with non-Jews.

But most interesting is their observation that this age cohort is significantly differentiated among themselves. They find that Orthodox young adults and non-Orthodox married couples with children differ substantially in patterns of Jewish belief and behavior from non-Orthodox singles and married but childless couples and intermarried couples, with or without children. These "life-status" differences produce consistent and significant differences in Jewish engagement along a wide spectrum of measurements. They conclude that a "generation does not exist in a vacuum," and that religious orientation and parenthood have great impact on Jewish identity. They also observe that the growing percentage of the age cohorts that are Orthodox (16 percent for the 18-29 age group as compared with 9 percent of the 30-39 group) portends an increasingly Orthodox population in the Jewish community of the future.

Another significant finding—that half of all Jews under 40 are unmarried—carries with it the implication that many defining features of their Jewish future lie in decisions yet to be made: Will they marry? Will they marry Jews? Will they have children, and will this delayed age of marriage limit the number of children? The much earlier marriage pattern among the Orthodox—71 percent of the 18-29-year-olds among the Orthodox are married as compared with 20 percent among the non-Orthodox—suggests a strikingly higher fertility rate will ensue.

Beyond the facts and figures, the authors of this study extrapolate some important policy implications that AJC, and the larger Jewish community, should incorporate into our thinking about the future. They suggest that self-generated programs by young Jewish adults, perhaps different in structure, style, and content from what has come before, are most likely to appeal to the younger generation. This observation has resonance for AJC in our efforts to create the ACCESS program, which draws young Jews in their twenties and thirties into AJC's mission through projects and programs of their own initiation.

The research also reveals how much endogamous marriage and having children raises the levels of Jewish engagement among this age group—showing, once again, how much the community has a stake in encouraging in-marriage and child-raising. At the same time, it emphasizes that we should not write off the intermarried, given that one in three declares that being Jewish is very important to him/her.

The study challenges the Jewish community to be open to change, to become more pluralistic, and to emphasize opportunities for personal enrichment rather than obligation.

We thank the authors of this research paper—Jacob B. Ukeles, Ron Miller, and Pearl Beck—for bringing together an enormous amount of data in a way that distills the patterns and meanings and draws astute projections for the future. We thank the Moses Family Fund for Jewish Renewal for its support of this project. And we

thank the younger generation of AJC—the participants in ACCESS, the Comay and Goldman fellows, and the summer internship participants—who will be among those who carry the torch of Jewish commitment, with their own particular emphases, into the future.

David A. Harris
Executive Director
American Jewish Committee

Executive Summary

The one hundredth anniversary of the American Jewish Committee provides an excellent opportunity to assess the shape and texture of the American Jewish community today and to reflect on the implications of today's patterns and trends for the Jewish community of the future.

The research presented in this report was driven by a policy question of great consequence for the American Jewish community: Are today's young Jewish adults harbingers of the American Jewish community of tomorrow? This question, in turn, generated a second question, which forms the focus of this research: Is today's generation of young American Jews distinctive? We focused on this question because, if this generation is not distinctive, the first question becomes uninteresting. If this generation is distinctive, and one can begin to understand in what ways, one may get a glimpse of what might be in store.

America's Jewish household population of 5.1 million includes almost 1.5 million young Jewish adults ages 18-39—almost 850,000 between the ages of 18-29, and just over 600,000 in their thirties. These young American Jews represent 36 percent of America's 4.1 million adult Jews.[1] The purpose of this report is to cast as much light as possible on the distinctiveness of this cohort.

Young American Jews, ages 18 to 39, do appear to constitute a distinctive generation, significantly different from those who have gone before, in their "life status" or family situation and in the ways they connect to being Jewish. It turns out that differences among members of this generation are at least as interesting and important as differences between this generation and those that preceded it.

Life Status

Young Jewish adults are clearly marrying later than their parents did, and they are having children later. This is particularly striking for those in their twenties, especially men in their twenties, who are highly likely to be unmarried. More than half of all young Jewish adults under 40 are unmarried. This finding has substantial implications, given how much of organized Jewish life seems to focus on couples and families.

The divide between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox in this area is enormous—80 percent of Orthodox women ages 18 to 29 are married, compared with about 20 percent of non-Orthodox women in the same age group.

Jewish Connections

Considerable anxiety about the Jewish identity of the current generation of young Jewish adults has emerged in recent conversations among American Jewish leaders, with many believing that young American Jews are abandoning the values, faith, and institutions of their parents and grandparents.

While this diagnosis has some validity, it appears to be much too pessimistic.

There is a growing body of qualitative research suggesting that substantial numbers of young Jewish adults are being Jewish in ways that are quite different from the ways of connecting of their predecessors. For the younger Jewish generation, Jewish ties seem to be:

— More personal
— More informal
— More episodic

To a significant extent, these differences appear to be a function of the general culture—what Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett has called "open source" culture. Jewish culture, like the culture of young people in the general community, is increasingly bottom-up, self-generated, and decentralized. To a significant extent, young people are creating their own identities and patterns of association, leading to what we could call "quasi-communities"—built around common interests and shared experiences rather than around institutions and organizations. Quasi-communities have porous boundaries, are fluid and dynamic. Parenthetically, it is not the first time that critical dimensions of Jewish culture in the Diaspora have been shaped by the general culture.

Young Jewish people are comfortable sharing Jewish events and space with non-Jews. Younger Jews, in fact, are likely to be much more comfortable with non-Jews and much less likely to have mostly Jewish friends than are Jews over 40.

If these patterns persist as young people age, the community is going to look quite different.

It does appear that young Jewish adults are somewhat less likely to be strongly Jewishly identified than older American Jews. For example, in one recent set of studies, 60 percent of Jewish respondents under 40 view being Jewish as "very important," compared with 72 percent of those 60 and over.[2]

Differences within the Generation

Yet this difference between younger and older Jewish adults may or may not portend a less connected Jewry in the future. The generalization about the Jewish connections of young Jewish adults obscures a powerful and important reality: Young Jewish adults in the United States are an extremely diverse group of people, defined not only by generation, but by their position in terms of life cycle and religious affiliation.

When one looks at patterns of Jewish beliefs and behaviors of young Jewish adults, there are at least four distinct subgroups:

— Orthodox;
— Non-Orthodox in-married couples with children;

— Non-Orthodox singles and married couples without children; and,
— Intermarried couples, with and without children.

Non-Orthodox singles and married couples without children are, by far, the most numerous of the four types of young Jewish adults—56 percent of young Jewish adults are in this category. The second largest group of adult Jews are intermarried (20 percent), followed by non-Orthodox, in-married couples with children (13 percent), and then by Orthodox young Jewish adults (11 percent).

By almost every measure of Jewish connection, Orthodox young Jews are the most highly engaged. Non-Orthodox, in-married couples with children tend to be the next most Jewishly engaged, followed by non-Orthodox singles and in-married couples without children. Intermarried couples have the lowest levels of Jewish connections.

Thus, for example, on the importance of being Jewish, while among all young Jewish adults, 60 percent view being Jewish as very important, these four groups differ sharply in their answers. For Orthodox young Jews, 98 percent view being Jewish as very important. For non-Orthodox Jews with children, 70 percent view being Jewish as very important; for non-Orthodox Jews without children 45 percent view being Jewish as important. For intermarried respondents, only 33 percent view being Jewish as very important.[3]

Of course, the "non-Orthodox" group itself can be differentiated: Married Conservative Jews with children are closer to the Orthodox in Jewish values and behaviors, while the nondenominational or secular unmarried/married childless are closer to the intermarried in Jewish values and behaviors.

The consistent and significant difference in the Jewish engagement of each type of non-Orthodox young Jewish adult with and without children underlines a key finding of this research—a generation does not exist in a vacuum. In this instance, people of the same age and same general religious orientation (e.g., Reform) are much more likely to be Jewishly engaged when they have children.

Interestingly, the literature about young Jewish adults often tends to ignore Orthodox young Jewish adults, as the focus is placed on Jewish disengagement from Jewish communal life. The young Orthodox are somehow out of the picture, differing culturally and associationally from the rest of young Jewish America. However, demographically not only are they in the picture, but they are likely to be an increasingly important part of the picture. The percentage of young Jewish adults between the ages of 18 and 29 who are Orthodox (16 percent) is nearly double the percentage of Orthodox among Jewish adults ages 30 to 39 (9 percent). Thus, while a small group today, young Orthodox Jewish adults are likely to be a much larger group in the future, especially in the context of earlier marriages, higher percentages of young Orthodox adults being married, and higher fertility.

In summary, the future Jewish community is going to be shaped by paths not yet taken by the young Jews in the largest group: non-Orthodox young singles and those who are married to other Jews and do not have children. If young single Jewish adults marry other Jews and have children, the percentage of those for whom being Jewish is very important will go up, as will most other measures of Jewish engagement. If more young single Jews intermarry, this percentage will go down. As the Orthodox population is likely to increase, overall identification is likely to increase.

While most measures of Jewish identification vary among these groups, a few measures do not. Among the most striking instances of similarities among groups are views on the importance of the Holocaust and on countering anti-Semitism.

Similarities within the Generation

For most American Jews, the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel are the defining moments of recent Jewish history. Many have argued that, with increased time distance from these two events, their impact on younger Jews should be attenuating.

Yet "remembering the Holocaust" was one of the rare questions where there was no significant difference among the Orthodox, non-Orthodox married respondents with children, non-Orthodox respondents without children, and intermarried respondents. About 70 percent of each group answered that being Jewish involved remembering the Holocaust "a lot." Similarly, about half of all respondents, regardless of the group to which they belonged, regarded countering anti-Semitism as an important part of being Jewish.

The response to "caring about Israel" mirrored the differences in response on other measures of Jewish connection: 69 percent of Orthodox, 52 percent of married respondents with children (non-Orthodox), 33 percent of respondents without children (non-Orthodox), and 30 percent of intermarried respondents answered "a lot."

Policy Implications

1. The new, self-generated programs for young Jewish adults—such as J-Dub, Reboot, or ACCESS (AJC's program involving young Jewish adults)—appear to be responding to the current generation of young Jews and represent important and useful experiments, even if they are radically different in content and style from what community leaders have traditionally supported.

2. The Jewish community has a substantial stake in generation-sensitive efforts to support in-marriage, Jewish family formation, and child-bearing. Marrying Jews and having children clearly makes an enormous difference in the level of Jewish engagement. Policies and resources need to be focused on a broad range of efforts, including efforts to reduce the cost of being actively Jewish.

3. We need to reinforce the commitments of Jewish families with young children who are at the stage of the life cycle where Jewish participation and identification are typically highest, often fueled by the curiosity and questioning of a child. But this is also the stage where people are especially busy balancing family and career, and this represents a particular challenge.

4. The probable future growth in numbers of Orthodox Jewry in the United States presents a challenge to the overall Jewish community—not the challenge of increasing Jewish identification, but the challenge of connecting a highly educated and committed group of Jews to the rest of the community. Communal efforts need to go into increasing dialogue, mutual respect, and understanding between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews.

5. At the same time, it would be a mistake to give up on the intermarried, given that one out of three says that being Jewish is very important to them. Moreover, the Jewish community does not need special outreach initiatives to intermarrieds, given that broad-based programs to help disconnected Jews find interesting ways to be Jewish are likely to connect interested intermarrieds as well.

6. The distancing from Israel, aside from the Orthodox and those who have traveled to Israel, is a serious concern. While there is no magic bullet, the Birthright experience suggests that high-quality, subsidized travel to Israel has a positive impact. The organized community needs to work harder to tell the story of Israel—its relevance to being Jewish, its raison d'être, its diversity, complexity, and interesting culture.

7. Jewish organizations and institutions need to offer multiple pathways to participation (such as the "synaplex" idea) instead of only one. Jewish organizations need to be focused more on projects and individual interests and less on committees and hierarchical structures.

8. The structure of the Jewish community itself will need to change. Shaped by the values and attitudes of young Jewish adults, Jewish communities in the future need to be open, inclusive, and pluralistic, more concerned about opportunities for personal enrichment than about religious or communal obligations.

In short, the challenge is to become exciting, vibrant, and compelling communities that coming generations will want to be part of in order to enrich their lives and those of their families.

Chapter One: Introduction

Background and Purpose

This report focuses on the 1.5 million young Jewish Americans—Jews between the ages of 18 and 39—who are likely to have a profound impact on the future of Judaism and Jewish life in America. This definition of young Jews approximates the age groups typically referred to as "Generation X" (born between 1965 and 1979) and "Generation Y," those born in the early to middle 1980s.

Young Jewish adults in their twenties and thirties represent the future of American Judaism. Their connections to Jewish communal life, their Jewish behaviors and attitudes, the manner in which they raise their children—indeed, their basic life patterns—will inexorably play a critical role in shaping the future of Jewish life in the United States for the next several decades.

The purpose of this research report is to cast as much light as possible on the following seemingly straightforward question:

> How is today's generation of young American Jews distinctive, if at all?

This is a very important question when one contemplates the future of the American Jewish community. If this generation is distinctive, there is a reasonable probability that the distinctive characteristics of this generation could dramatically reshape the American Jewish community as we know it today.

Research Issues

However, as so often occurs in policy research, a seemingly straightforward question is not so straightforward. Implicit in the decision to study a generation (or two generations) of young Jewish adults is

the view that generation plays a role in social change.

According to Laufer and Bengtson (1974), generational units are:

> ...self-consciously active age based groups within a specific social strata which are creating competing and/or complementary styles of thought and life. These arise in response to the emergent issues of social-technological innovation, psycho-social development, and socio-historic milieu. The result, evidenced in some periods of history but not in others, is an oppositional consciousness, suggesting alternatives to the established culture—in short, social change.

However, generations do not live in isolation, nor are they static. There are at least three other lenses for viewing Jewish behaviors and attitudes that intersect with "generation" in very complex ways.

Life-Cycle Effects

Observable characteristics attributable to a specific generation could continue as a specific cohort ages, or the observed differences could disappear or diminish because they are due to life-cycle changes. As Cohen (2002) points out, "older and younger people express different attitudes in part because they find themselves in different relationships to the family life course." The views of older adults, for example, may differ from those of younger adults because they have completed childrearing, are approaching retirement, or have more vivid thoughts of mortality. If today's young Jewish adults change as they mature, the impact of generation could be much less profound.

Contemporary Jewish Life

There are many dimensions of Jewish culture and Jewish society in the United States in the twenty-first century that are unique to our time and place, but are not necessarily related to generation. For example, the decline in the prevalence of Jewish neighborhoods and the broad acceptance of intermarriage are two realities that affect all Jews, regardless of age.

Contemporary General Culture

There are social and cultural realities that affect the general population in the United States in the twenty-first century, and not only the Jewish population. For example, many believe that the Internet has permanently changed perceptions of community and increased the ability of people to operate autonomously, if they choose to do so. Some of these factors affect all generations, and some are specific to younger adults. The power of the Internet has probably changed all of our lives, but it appears that the Internet is more intrinsic to the lives of younger people than to older people.

Other Factors

In addition, it is extremely unlikely that any generation is homogeneous; it is highly likely that important differences exist within a generation based on differences in religious affiliations, family status, or other characteristics.

Finally, one would not necessarily expect twenty-somethings to be the same as thirty-somethings, and the impact of the college experience for most young American Jews means that the early years of one's twenties are likely to involve quite different experiences and views than the later twenties, when most people are "out in the world."

Research Strategy

In order to focus on these research issues, this paper:

— Summarizes existing knowledge on America's young Jews by organizing published reports on young American Jews into a coherent framework. Special attention is paid to the most recent studies.

— Analyzes three sources of existing quantitative data: (1) national data from NJPS 2000-01, (2) national polls of American Jewish opinion commissioned by the American Jewish Committee since 2000, and (3) a series of recent local Jewish community studies completed by Ukeles Associates, Inc., which provide additional information on young American Jews.

This paper explores four topics that, in effect, subdivide the overall question, "How is today's generation of young American Jews distinctive, if at all?"

1. Life Status
2. Jewish Connections
3. Attachment to Israel
4. Civic and Professional Involvements

In addition to presenting research findings that shed some light on generational distinctiveness, we will try to assess the impact of contemporary Jewish life and general culture on young Jews, because it is the interaction between generational distinctiveness, contemporary Jewish culture, and contemporary general culture that will give us the best clues as to the future shape of American Jewish life.

We also try to develop some understanding of the impact of life cycle, because if younger American Jews today become like earlier generations, then the future will be more likely to resemble the past.

Research Questions

To provide greater focus to the inquiry, the four topics were subdivided into research questions. These questions were based on an initial probe of the literature supplemented by a brainstorming session at the American Jewish Committee at the beginning of the project. The participants in this session included the UAI research team, AJC professional staff involved in the project, and Ambassador Alfred Moses. The notes developed at this session were refined into the forty research questions listed in Appendix I.

A Snapshot of Young Jewish Adults

There are 1.46 million American Jews between the ages of 18 and 39.[4]

These young Jews represent 29 percent of all American Jews (and 36 percent of all Jewish adults).

There are approximately 1.66 million American Jews between the ages of 40 and 60—the "baby boomer" generation.

Thus, there are only slightly fewer members of Generation X and Generation Y (combined) than there are members of the "baby boomer" generation.

There are just over 950,000 American Jews who are at least 60 years old—a half million fewer Jewish adults than the group that is the focus of this research review.

Chapter Two: Research Review

Introduction

This chapter summarizes a large number of research studies that have been conducted on young American Jews, with a focus on studies completed during the past decade. The findings are organized by topic (e.g., Jewish connections) and then by subtopic (Jewish self-identity). The major topics summarized in this review are: (a) Life Status, (b) Jewish Connections, (c) Attachment to Israel, (d) Civic and Professional Involvement, (e) the College Experience, and (f) the Impact of General Culture on Jewish Culture and Identity.

Several techniques were employed to compile the list of research studies used for this report, including: perusing UAI research files, soliciting references from colleagues, and conducting computerized searches. The studies that were amassed varied considerably in terms of their methodological rigor and also in terms of their target populations. Some focused exclusively on the college and immediate post-college generation of young Jewish adults ages 18-25 (Greenberg, 2005), whereas other studies adopted a broader definition of "young" and included people ages 18-39 (e.g., the American Jewish Committee Annual Surveys of Jewish public opinion). For a thumbnail summary of each study's methodology, target population, and primary research focus, please see the Annotated Bibliography on page 123. When applicable, the bibliographic summary also comments on methodological limitations that might affect the reader's interpretation of the findings.

Jewish Life Status

Delayed Marital Age and Less Likely to Marry

Jewish marital trends run parallel to American marital trends; during the past thirty years in both populations, age-at-first-marriage has been increasing for men and for women. For the general American population, the age of first marriage has increased from 21 (brides) and 23 (grooms) during the 1970s, to 26 (brides) and 28 (grooms) in 2001.[5] The age of first marriage for American Jews is even older and is most likely related to their higher levels of education.

By age 35, 52 percent of Jewish men are unmarried and 36 percent of Jewish women are unmarried. In contrast, only 41 percent of men and 30 percent of women in the overall American population are unmarried at age 35. According to the 2000-01 NJPS, "in every age group under 65, proportionally fewer Jews than all Americans have ever married, with the largest gap being among those ages 25-34."[6]

Based on marital data for the older age groups, it appears that most Jews eventually marry. However, the marital patterns characteristic of older generations of Jews may not apply to the younger cohort, and consequently, there is no way of knowing whether this generation will ever "catch up."

Another way to portray changing marital patterns is by examining the percentage of the Jewish population that is married at any given time over a period of several decades. To accomplish this, Smith (2005) aggregated thirty years of data from the General Social Survey and found that the percentage of married Jews has decreased in a linear and consistent direction. Whereas 75 percent of Jews were married during the period from 1972-80, and 68 percent from 1981-90, during the period from 1991-2000, the proportion married decreased to 65 percent.

Smith also compared demographic changes among Jews and among other religious and ethnic groups. He noted that when Jews marry, they tend to marry people with similar (typically high) educational levels, and have more stable marriages compared to other ethnic/racial/religious groups.[7] In addition, Jews are more likely than any other group to have been raised in two-parent families. According to Smith, "All these characteristics work together to promote stability and success."

Decreased Fertility

As a result of delayed marriage among all American women, age at first childbearing has also increased historically. In 2004,[8] 20 percent of American women ages 40-44 had not yet had children of their own, twice the percentage that was childless by that age in 1976.

For American Jews, delayed age-at-first-marriage has important consequences for fertility. According to the NJPS 2000-01, "At all ages, fertility among Jewish women is lower than fertility for all U.S. women, whether gauged by the percent who are childless or the average number of children ever born."[9] The fertility gap between Jewish and American women at age 35 is particularly striking: Approximately 50 percent of Jewish women are childless until the ages of 35-39, whereas only 20 percent of American women are childless at that age.

While the vast majority of Jewish women who delay having children until they are older ultimately do have children, the fertility gap between them and all U.S. women is eventually reduced, but never disappears. Thus, the average number of children born to Jewish women is less than 1.9, whereas 2.1 is the required rate for population replacement.[10]

Part of the delayed marriage, delayed childbearing, lowered fertility pattern among American Jewish women reflects their high levels of education. American women with graduate degrees have 1.9 children over the course of their childbearing years, which is comparable to the Jewish rate; in contrast, American women without a high school degree give birth to 2.7 children over the course of their child-

bearing years. According to Smith, Jews also have the smallest current household size of any ethnic or religious group.

Delayed marriage and lower fertility are reflected in the overall aging of the American Jewish population compared to the general American population; in 1990, the overall median age for Jews was 37, while by 2001 it was 42 (compared to an overall American population median age of 35). Similar patterns were identified by Kosmin, Mayer, and Keysar (2001), who compared Jewish and general American population overall age distributions from 1990 to 2001; they noted that 23 percent of the Jewish population was 18 to 29 in 1990, compared to 26 percent of the overall population.[11] By 2001, only 14 percent of the Jewish population was between 18 and 29, compared to 23 percent of the general population.

Marital Status and Jewish Identity

A number of studies (including Cohen, 2005a) have demonstrated that being unmarried and childless has an impact on a person's Jewish lifestyle and Jewish identity. Horowitz (2000) developed a typology of Jewish identity that consists of three major categories: (1) those with low or no Jewish involvement (which, in turn, was subdivided into people who were "really indifferent" and those who had "some interest"), (2) those with a mixed pattern of Jewish engagement (which included three subtypes: the subjectively engaged, the culturally/communally engaged, and the tradition-oriented), and (3) those with intensive Jewish involvement. Horowitz noted that single people who were under age 40 were disproportionately represented in the subgroup who were "really indifferent" about their Jewishness. In contrast, married people with children and the Orthodox were more likely to be found in the "intensively engaged" group.

Marital status and the presence/absence of children can be expected to affect many other aspects of people's lives, in addition to their religious identity. Given the large-scale shift in American marital patterns, several social scientists have begun to address the broader context and consequences of delayed marriage and childbearing. For example, Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1993) characterize the life phase during which young adults increasingly have a nonfamily living situation as a "new and fragile life course stage." Arnett (2004) has written extensively about a new life stage situated between adolescence and adulthood, which he refers to as "emerging adulthood," based on the premise that, as a consequence of increased longevity and the postponement of marriage and childbearing, young people experience a period of instability when they "try out different possibilities in love and work." Arnett identifies several defining concerns for people in this stage of life including: accepting responsibility for themselves, making independent decisions, and becoming financially independent.

Intermarriage

For this generation of young (non-Orthodox) American Jews, the historic increases in intermarriage over the past forty years have influenced their lives and their generation. They are the cohort most likely to be intermarried, and they are the cohort most likely to have been raised in an intermarried household. NJPS 2000-01 data indicate that current intermarriage rates for American Jews range from 41 percent among those 35 and under, to 37 percent of those ages 35-54, to 20 percent of those over 55. Moreover, 52 percent of young Jews between the ages of 18 to 24 were born to families with one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent. Fishman (2004) analyzed the same data from a different perspective and noted that approximately three-quarters of those growing up in interfaith families ultimately marry non-Jews, as compared to 28 percent of those from inmarried Jewish homes.

Growing Up in Intermarried Families

During the past few years, several studies have examined the extent to which people who grew up in these interfaith households identi-

fy Jewishly. Focusing exclusively on young adults ages 22-29 who grew up in interfaith families, Beck (2005) concluded that, although these individuals had very attenuated ties to the religious and ethnic dimensions of their Jewish identity, they shared a positive regard for "Jewishness" and engaged in a variety of activities that they considered Jewish. The study (citing parallel NJPS data as corroboration for the relatively small sample size used) determined that 50 percent to 60 percent of those with one Jewish parent celebrated Hanukkah, as compared to over 80 percent of those with two Jewish parents; 40 percent to 45 percent of young Jews with one Jewish parent attended a Passover Seder compared with nearly 80 percent of those with two Jewish parents. The people who grew up with two Jewish parents were also more likely than those who grew up with one Jewish parent to have Jewish social networks: 30 percent of those with two Jewish parents and only between 5 percent and 10 percent of those with one Jewish parent reported that all or most of their close friends were Jewish.[12] For many of those interviewed, Jewish cultural and Jewish family experiences were the threads that connected them to their Jewish roots. Nevertheless, Christmas was the most universally celebrated holiday among the children of interfaith couples, though its celebration was typically devoid of religious content.

According to Beck's interviews, several formative experiences were related to the development of a stronger Jewish identity among Jews with one Jewish parent—having a bar/bat mitzvah, receiving a Jewish education, having a strongly Jewishly identified mother, having a supportive non-Jewish parent, establishing a significant relationship with a Jewish grandparent, and experiencing anti-Semitism. The study also identified several potential opportunities for engaging people who did not grow up in two-parent Jewish families: enrolling in Jewish studies classes, attending Jewish cultural activities (e.g., Jewish movies, films, and museums), and traveling to Israel.

Using NJPS 2000-01 data, Bruce Phillips (2005c) conducted a related analysis comparing all Jewish respondents (18+) who grew up

with one Jewish parent with those who grew up with two Jewish parents. He found that approximately 20 percent of the one-Jewish-parent group were raised exclusively within Judaism, and that only a similarly low proportion affirmatively considered themselves Jewish at the time they were interviewed. In addition, nearly 40 percent of those who grew up in one-Jewish-parent households stated that it was at least "somewhat important" that their grandchildren be Jewish.

On the other hand, Phillips identified an ominous generational "ripple effect" regarding Jewish upbringing. He found that only 4 percent of the one-Jewish-parent respondents currently married to non-Jews are raising their children Jewish, as opposed to 67 percent of the one-Jewish-parent respondents currently married to Jews. In contrast, among respondents with two Jewish parents who are married to non-Jews, 37 percent[13] are raising their children within Judaism, as are 98 percent of respondents with two Jewish parents who are inmarried.

In a trend characteristic of other researchers in this field, Phillips attempted to derive a "formula" for bringing up a Jewishly identified individual by highlighting the importance of the following factors: being raised exclusively in Judaism, having two Jewish parents, having a Jewish mother, and being raised in a Jewish denomination. Phillips also described several socialization experiences outside the home as having a positive impact on Jewish identity, including visiting Israel as a teen, Jewish camping, and having mostly Jewish friends or Jewish dates in high school.

Benjamin Phillips and Fran Chertok (2004) also studied the Jewish characteristics of the children of the intermarried. Their population included all individuals from interfaith families ages 18+ from the NJPS, as well as the college students included in the Kadushin, Tighe, and Hect (2004) study of college campuses. The researchers argue that "pedigree is not necessarily destiny," and claim that it is not useful simply to contrast the offspring of inmarried parents with the offspring of intermarried parents. Instead, they suggest

taking the Jewish environment of the household into consideration—first and foremost, whether the person was raised "Jewish." (In this category, Phillips and Chertok include both people raised as Jewish by religion and those raised as secular Jewish.) They identify several other factors, in addition to "being raised Jewish," which were found to have an impact on whether a person from an intermarried family identifies as "Jewish," including: being surrounded by Jewish friends, receiving a Jewish education, and engaging in "basic Jewish practices," such as lighting candles and attending services. Interestingly, before the researchers "controlled" for the household environment variables, the weakest dimension of Jewish identity for both groups (e.g., children of intermarried and children of inmarried parents) is attachment to Israel.

Cohen (2001a) believes that intermarriage tends to have a greater impact on people's ethnic identification than upon their religious practice. Regarding their ethnic identity, the intermarried are less likely than the inmarried to have a sense of Jewish peoplehood, feel an attachment to Israel, have Jewish friends, or be members of Jewish institutions. (He reported, for example, that whereas 57 percent of the inmarried reported that they have mostly Jewish close friends, this was true for only 9 percent of the intermarried.)

In another paper, Cohen (2005a) divides Jews ages 25-39 into the following subpopulations: the not-married, inmarried parents, and intermarried parents. On most measures, he finds that the not-married are situated between intermarried and inmarried parents. For example, he reports that 96 percent of inmarried people with children attend a Passover Seder compared to 60 percent of the not-married and 46 percent of the intermarried people with children. Similarly, he found that over 80 percent of the inmarried belong to a synagogue, as compared to only 19 percent of the intermarried and 22 percent of the not-married.

Finally, in her secondary analysis of the yearly UCLA freshmen survey, Sax (2002) examined a group of college students who had at least one Jewish parent and who reported that they did not identify with any religion; 79 percent had only one Jewish parent (she refers to this group as "NR/JP" "no religion/Jewish parents"). Sax noted that these students tended to be less professionally oriented than the students who identify as Jewish by religion and who have two Jewish parents. She also found that the NR/JP group are most likely to be undecided about their career choice, are least likely to attend college for specific career training, and exhibit the lowest levels of commitment to raising a family and to becoming a community leader.

Socioeconomic Status

Although there are no studies regarding the current socioeconomic status of young Jews, some research points to their relatively comfortable origins. According to Smith (2005), most young Jews grew up in families whose parents had attained a higher level of education than parents of any other ethnic/racial or religious group; over 40 percent of respondents' Jewish fathers had some college education, as did nearly 30 percent of their Jewish mothers. (In contrast, only 17 percent of non-Jewish respondents' fathers and 11 percent of non-Jewish mothers are college-educated.)

Smith demonstrates that each generation of Jews has experienced a higher level of social mobility—measured in terms of educational achievement—than their parents. For example, 41percent of Jews interviewed for the General Social Survey from 1991-2002 reported that their fathers were college graduates, compared to 24 percent of those surveyed between 1981 and 1990, and 15 percent of those surveyed between 1972 and 1980. Over the past three decades, Jews have gained 2.5 years of schooling over their parents, while non-Jews have gained only 1.3 years. Smith reports that these objective differences between Jews and non-Jews in economic and educational achievement translate into differences in their subjective assessment of their situation; when they were asked to describe their family's socioeconomic status when they were 16 years old, over 50

percent of the Jewish respondents replied "above average" compared with only 12 percent to 24 percent of the other ethnic/racial groups.

Sax's (2002) data on college freshmen also supports these findings. While parental educational attainment has increased for non-Jews as well as for Jews, the increase is much more pronounced among the parents of Jewish students. These differences are especially strong regarding graduate education. Sax reports that during the past three decades, graduate school attendance has doubled among the fathers of Jewish students and has increased fourfold among Jewish students' mothers. The gap between Jews and non-Jews in graduate school education is particularly apparent for the mothers; 43 percent of Jewish students' mothers as compared to 15 percent of non-Jewish students' mothers have attained a graduate degree.

Racial and Ethnic Diversity

Tobin's (2005) study of the American Jewish population, which was based on a more inclusive definition of "Jewish" than that employed by most Jewish population studies concluded that "of the nation's 6 million Jews, roughly 1.2 million, or 20 percent, consist of African-American, Asian-American, Latino, Sephardic (of Spanish and Portuguese descent), Middle Eastern, and mixed-race Jews ... and that the increase in diverse Jews mirrors the changing racial and religious character of America."

A significant portion of young American Jews were born outside the United States: Approximately 14 percent of Jews between the ages of 18 to 29, half of whom were born in the former Soviet Union. A study of young New York-area Russian Jews (Zeltzer-Zubida and Kasinitz, 2005) revealed that overall they have a high level of participation in Jewish communal activities: 52 percent have participated in a JCC activity, 15 percent have attended Hillel, 35 percent have attended a Jewish Sunday school or after-school Jewish program, and 35 percent have attended a yeshiva for more than one year.

The young Russian respondents are described as having a strong ethnic, but not necessarily religious, Jewish identity; 10 percent identified as Orthodox, 16 percent as Conservative, 20 percent as Reform, and 47 percent as nonpracticing or unaffiliated.

Nearly 60 percent believe that it is "very important to marry a Jewish person," 80 percent feel a sense of "belonging to Jewish people," 65 percent said that they felt "a sense of responsibility to Jews in need around the world," and 81 percent agreed with the importance of "remembering the Holocaust." According to the researchers, for this population of Russian young people, being born in the U.S. and attending a yeshiva as a child were the best predictors of both adult religious participation and strong Jewish ethnic identity, even among those who do not consider themselves religious.

Gender Differences

Studies of the general U.S. population have documented that women are more likely than men to have a religious identity. According to Tobin and Groeneman (2004a), "The relationship between gender and reporting a religious identity is robust, holding within all categories of education, income and age." Similarly, relying on faith-based measures to assess religiosity, Greenberg (2005) found that men (in general) are overrepresented among the "The God-less" and underrepresented among "The Godly."

In their follow-up study on college-age Jews raised within the Conservative Movement, Keysar and Kosmin (2004) found that female college students were somewhat more likely than male students to indicate that being Jewish was "very important" to them (59 percent vs. 52 percent) and that females were also more likely than males to keep kosher outside the home (33 percent vs. 24 percent). In addition, females raised in the Conservative Movement were more likely than the males to say that "marrying somebody Jewish is very important" (56 percent vs. 47 percent). Despite these differences, the authors emphasize the many variables on which they did not find any gender differences, and claimed that these findings "reflect the

success of the Conservative movement and of American society in achieving the goal of providing equal opportunities to males and females."

Research on adolescents has found that females outnumber males in their participation in Jewish youth groups, Israel Experience programs, and among Conservative youth in many ritual activities (Halbertal and Cohen, 2001). There is some speculation that this gender imbalance reflects a major cultural change in the past twenty-five years regarding leadership and leadership styles within the Jewish (non-Orthodox) denominational world (Nussbaum-Cohen, 2006). For example, a study of teenagers in the Reform Movement (Friedman, Kane, Stollman, 2005) found that, since 2003, girls accounted for 57 percent to 78 percent of the participants in each activity that was studied.

Geographic Mobility

The Jewish population has been shifting away from the Northeast in a more substantial fashion than the non-Jewish population. According to Smith (2005), the proportion of Jews residing in the Northeast has steadily shrunk over the past thirty years from 59 percent in the 1972-80 period, to 52 percent from 1981 to 1990, and to 43 percent from 1991 to 2002. In contrast, the proportion of all non-Jews residing in the Northeast has remained steady at 20 percent.

Young Jewish adults, however, like American Jews in general, remain relatively concentrated in the Northeast (42 percent). The next highest concentration of young Jewish adults lives in the West (24 percent).

Jewish Connections

Jewish Educational Background

Any examination of the Jewish identity of a cohort of younger American Jews must take into account the substantial changes in patterns of Jewish education that have taken place over the past forty years. According to Cohen's (2004) analysis of NJPS data, 18 percent of Jews between the ages of 18-34 received a day-school education, compared to approximately half that percentage of older Jews. One of the most dramatic changes is the disappearance of gender-based disparities in Jewish educational experiences. For the 18-to-34-year-old cohort, the gender gap in each educational category from day school to "none" is negligible. In contrast, in almost every other age cohort, women have received much less Jewish education than the men. For example, among those currently 75 and over, 40 percent of the females received no Jewish education, as compared to 19 percent of the men.

Religious Beliefs and Behaviors

There is little systematic variation across the age groups in attendance at religious services; approximately 30 percent of NJPS respondents do not attend religious services, and between 42 percent and 53 percent attend less than once a month. The importance of religion was also found to vary little by age; across the board only approximately 30 percent say that religion is "very important" in life.

Several studies (e.g., Smith, 2005) have compared the religious beliefs and behaviors of Jews and non-Jews and have also examined generational differences. Compared to other religious groups, Jews score particularly low on attending religious services, one of the most widely used "markers" of religious behavior. Only 7 percent of all Jews report attending religious services on a weekly basis, compared to 27 percent of non-Jews. Similar results were obtained by Sax in

her analysis of data on college freshmen; compared to non-Jews, Jewish students report less frequent attendance at religious services (13 percent of Jews and 47 percent of non-Jews reported "frequent attendance"), and fewer hours per week devoted to praying and/or meditating.

Greenberg (2005) reported that Jews scored higher than any other religious/ethnic group on a measure of "God-lessness" in her study of religious beliefs among 18-25-year-olds. Greenberg's study also measured the centrality of religion to young people's identity. She found that among the five religious/racial groups surveyed, the Jews ranked "religion" lower in importance than any of the other groups, but that nevertheless, it ranked among the top four aspects of their identity. (For Jews, religion was preceded in importance by family, job, and political beliefs.)

Greenberg also reported that Jewish youth (60 percent, according to her estimate) would rather express their faith by talking to their friends than by attending synagogue. This result was replicated by other studies. For example, while the frequency of attending a religious service has remained stable over time for both Jewish and non-Jewish students, Sax (1999) found that both groups report discussing religion with greater frequency than they had over the past thirty years.

Engagement in Ritual and Ceremonial Behaviors

Cohen (2001a) compared religious attitudes and behavior (e.g., respondents' faith in God, ritual observance, and religious commitment) of a younger cohort (ages 25 to 34) with those of an older cohort (35 to 64) and found "near-uniformity" between the two age groups on the different measures of religiosity. According to Cohen, "younger Jews maintain their elders' levels of religious commitment and practice."

Sales and Saxe, in their study of Jewish college students (2006) found that "their observance is consistent with that of American Jews in general." Ninety percent of the college students reported that they celebrate Hanukkah and 80 percent reported that they attend a Passover Seder. Only 14 percent report that they light Shabbat candles, and fewer say that they "refrain from spending money on Shabbat."

Spirituality

Much has been written about the younger generation's shift away from traditional forms of religious behavior and toward greater spiritual expression (Wuthnow, 2002). Despite the well-known difficulty of defining and quantifying spirituality, several researchers have attempted to assess the spiritual leanings of this generation of young people. In Greenberg's study, 44 percent of the respondents described themselves as "religious," 35 percent described themselves as "spiritual but not religious," and 18 percent described themselves as "neither spiritual nor religious." According to Sax (2002), Jewish students were less likely than non-Jewish students (36 percent vs. 46 percent) to indicate that one of their life goals was to "integrate spirituality into their lives." Sales and Saxe (2006) also found that only 35 percent of the students surveyed indicate that spirituality is "very important in their lives," which was similar to the proportion that valued religion as "very important" (32 percent).

Denominational Identification

Sales and Saxe (2006) found that 30 percent of Jewish students change their denominational identification during college. Though they do not provide many specifics regarding these denominational changes, they mention that approximately one-quarter of the students who began college identifying as Orthodox no longer so identify (half of this group currently identify as Conservative Jews).

Using a measure of negative identification, Keysar and Kosmin (2003) found that the percent of young Jewish students raised within the Conservative Movement who asserted that they "could never

be Orthodox" increased from 41 percent when they were in high school to 52 percent when they were in college. Inversely, the percentage asserting that "they could never be Reform" decreased from 57 percent (high school) to 51 percent (college).

Bruce Phillips (2005a) argues that while "twentieth century Judaism was characterized by denominational tensions, the emerging divide in the twenty-first century will be between Jews who have a denomination and those who do not." He believes that the greatest increase in the future will be among respondents who do not identify with any denominational movement. Comparing the denominational identification of people raised by two Jewish parents to those raised by one Jewish parent, Phillips found that while 45 percent raised by one Jewish parent were raised within a specific denomination, currently only 15 percent identify with one of the denominations. He also found an increase in nondenominational affiliation among those who were raised by two Jewish parents—from 16 percent when growing up to 25 percent when interviewed.

Nondenominationalism is also on the rise as a general American trend. According to various longitudinal studies, the number of Americans who claim no religious preference doubled from 7 percent in 1991 to 14 percent in 2000 (Smith, 2002). This finding was also confirmed by Tobin and Groeneman (2004a), who found that, when asked to indicate their religious preference, 16 percent of all those under 35 and 25 percent of all those under 25 responded "none." In terms of their demographic profile, the researchers found that nonidentifiers were more likely to be male, less likely to be married, and more likely to be living with an unwed partner. Furthermore, they found that those raised in multiple religious traditions are more than twice as likely to be nonidentifiers as are adults raised in a single religion. Similarly, Greenberg found that members of Gen X and Gen Y are more likely than members of older cohorts to say that they have no denominational preference and/or to call themselves secular.

Affiliation with Jewish Institutions and Organizations: Formal Connections

Cohen (2001a) compared the proportions of five different age cohorts who were affiliated with at least two out of four Jewish institutions (synagogue, JCC, UJA/Federation campaign or another Jewish organization). He found that the younger the cohort, the lower the percentage claiming to have at least two such affiliations. The maximal contrast occurred between those ages 25 to 34, of whom 25 percent were affiliated with at least two such Jewish institutions, and those age 65+, whose multiple affiliation rate was 58 percent. When asked how attached they felt to these Jewish institutions and organizations (excluding synagogues), 19 percent of those 25 to 34 claimed that they were "extremely attached" compared to 37 percent of those age 65+.

Reflecting these lower membership rates among the younger cohort, Greenberg (2006) found that her Jewish respondents ages 18 to 25 were unable to "decode" the acronyms of major Jewish organizations such as UJC, AIPAC or AJC.

Jewish Social Networks: Informal Connections

In their study of Jewish college students, Sales and Saxe (2006) found that the proportion of Jewish friends in the students' social networks was strongly related to the extent of their own Jewish involvement on campus. The proportion of closest friends who were Jewish varied from 18 percent among the "unengaged" students to 39 percent among the "engaged," and 60 percent among the "leaders."

Keysar and Kosmin (2004) found that over 50 percent of the respondents who had been raised within the Conservative Movement reported that most or half of their friends were Jewish. Students who had attended Jewish day schools during high school, Jewish high school programs, or Jewish summer camps for four or more years were more likely to have these kinds of Jewishly dense social networks.[14]

Sales and Saxe (2006) found that students' commitment to endogamy also varied linearly according to their level of engagement with Jewish campus life. Marrying a Jewish person was "very important" to 20 percent of the "unengaged" students, 50 percent of the "engaged" students, and 75 percent of the Jewish campus leaders (2006). Keysar and Kosmin (2004) pointed out an interesting discrepancy: Whereas 50 percent of the young people surveyed indicated that it was "very important to marry somebody Jewish," only 18 percent were exclusively dating Jewish people.

Cultural Jewish Identity

As previously mentioned, many young Jews are delaying marriage and childbearing until their mid-thirties and are unlikely to be connected to the Jewish community in conventional ways during this life stage. For this demographic, "being Jewish" is often a leisure-time activity, competitive with many other such activities in the cultural marketplace. Gary Tobin regards engagement in Jewish cultural activities as a completely "legitimate form of Jewish expression" and contends that the dichotomy between religion and culture does not really exist. In his study of Jewish culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, Tobin (2002) found that over 90 percent of Jews in the Bay Area participate in some form of Jewish cultural activities, with film, music, and lectures ranking highest on the list.

Cohen and Kelman (2005) analyzed the NJPS data to understand the extent and nature of involvement with Jewish cultural activities—specifically, reading Jewish books, listening to Jewish music, and seeing a movie with Jewish content. The researchers found that, unlike measures of communal participation, Jewish cultural activities do not greatly distinguish between younger and older cohorts, or among the inmarried, unmarried, and the intermarried. In fact, on activities such as "read books because of Jewish content," the older and younger cohorts were almost identical: 53 percent of those under age 40 and 49 percent of those ages 40 to 69 claimed to

engage in this activity. In general, Jewish cultural activities were more attractive to people with higher educational and income levels, two variables that characterize the younger Jewish population. Cohen and Kelman concluded that Jewish cultural activities have the potential to serve "as nearly exclusive links to Jewish life" for people such as the unmarried, who are currently underengaged in conventional Jewish life.

During the past five years, a series of "cutting-edge" performers and milieus have attempted to capture the interest of the younger Jewish demographic with experimental and "edgy" events lightly infused with Jewish themes. Given the apparent popularity of these cultural events among young Jews, several researchers have begun to examine the specifics of their appeal.

Illustrative of this approach is an evaluation of Makor, a multipurpose Jewish facility on Manhattan's Upper West Side, which describes itself as "about the rediscovery of Jewish life ... for New Yorkers in their 20's and 30's." One of the ways Makor increased its appeal to underengaged young Jews was by "lowering its profile" among the more traditionally engaged Jews, and by offering programs that were attractive to non-Jews as well as to Jews (Cohen, 2001b).

After visiting a range of hip "downtown" Manhattan cultural events, Cohen and Kelman (2005) identified several elements that they hypothesized served to make these events and venues particularly attractive to younger Jews, allowing them to "explore and express their Jewish identities outside the Jewish institutional traditional venues." They described the entertainment offered at these milieus as "fun, open, progressive, ambivalent, and ironic." These cultural events were also distinguished by their "hybridity," the blending of several musical styles and the combining of Jewish and mainstream culture. Hybridity also applies to the appeal of a diverse audience, especially one that includes non-Jews. Another characteristic of these events is that they permit participants to be involved

episodically, without demanding commitment or inducing guilt.

Drawing extensively upon the work of Cohen and Kelman, Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2005) attempts to distinguish between this cohort and previous cohorts' experiences of "Jewishness." She claims that the younger generation's sensibility is often irreverent, ironic or nostalgic with attitude, and that it aims to "make Jewishness uncomfortable." According to her, several larger cultural trends also distinguish the younger generation from its predecessors: its familiarity with popular culture and with the local subgroups generating this culture, its passion for openly and often publicly communicating through a multitude of different media, and its exposure to many new kinds of social connections and attachments (e.g., intermarriage, blended families, same-sex relationships). Kirschenblatt-Gimblett refers to this new subculture as akin to a "laboratory where new kinds of community are being formed, aided by the latest technologies, and participants [are] engaging in innovative cultural and artistic expressions—and forming a distinctive sense of themselves in the process."

Sax's (2002) data regarding the precollege behavior of entering freshmen also point to Jewish students' pronounced interest in cultural activities. Jewish students reported that they frequented art galleries and museums at higher rates than the non-Jewish students.

Ethnic Identity/Belief in Jewish "Peoplehood"

Cohen (2001a) insisted that "younger Jewish adults are essentially no different from their older counterparts in terms of their religiosity, but score substantially lower on aspects of Jewish ethnicity." According to his findings, only 29 percent of survey respondents ages 25-34 said that they have a "sense of belonging to the Jewish people" as compared to 42 percent among those age 65 and over. In addition, on Cohen's measure of tribalism ("the extent to which they feel that they have a special relationship with and responsibility for other Jews"), young people scored substantially lower (25 percent) than older people (40 percent).

The Centrality of "Countering Anti-Semitism" and "Remembering the Holocaust"

Despite hypotheses to the contrary (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2005), there is a growing body of research that documents the centrality of remembering the Holocaust and countering anti-Semitism to the identity of young American Jews. For example, in a study of New York-area Jews between the ages of 22 and 52, Horowitz (2000) found that "remembering the Holocaust" was mentioned by 73 percent as being "a lot" about what being Jewish involved for them personally. In fact, it was the most highly rated item in a list of fifteen items comprising possible components of Jewish identity. Similarly, in the demographic study of Boston-area Jews, Israel (2001) found no differences among age cohorts in their endorsement of "keeping people aware of the Holocaust," "combating anti-Semitism in the U.S.," and "protecting Jews in foreign lands," despite finding substantial generational differences on other variables such as attachment to Israel.

These issues were also frequently mentioned by the young adult children of interfaith families (Beck, 2005). In-depth interviews revealed that, in the absence of formal Jewish educational experiences, this population often derived Jewish identity-shaping information from popular culture. Particularly influential in this regard were Holocaust-related movies such as *Schindler's List*. In addition, quite a few respondents reported that they had experienced anti-Semitic incidents.

Keysar and Kosmin (2004) asked their sample of Conservative Movement college students to rate a list of values on the extent to which each reflected what "being Jewish personally ... involved." Heading the list of responses were "remembering the Holocaust," endorsed by 79 percent of the respondents, and "countering anti-Semitism," endorsed by 68 percent. Almost identical findings emerged from a study of 2,000 Jewish college students in over twenty colleges (Sales and Saxe, 2006). For the surveyed students,

"remembering the Holocaust" and "countering anti-Semitism" were the third and fourth most strongly endorsed values. Furthermore, unlike other values, both Jewishly engaged and the Jewishly unengaged students responded similarly on these questions, indicating their broad appeal for younger Jews.

In a study of American Jewish teens,[15] remembering the Holocaust, again, was the Jewish value cited by the largest proportion of respondents (53 percent) as representing what "being Jewish was about." This was followed in order of endorsement by: countering anti-Semitism (43 percent), being ethical (39 percent), making the world a better place (31 percent), caring about Israel (31 percent), and feeling a connection with other Jews (30 percent) (Kadushin, Kelner, and Saxe, 2000).

Attachment to Israel

Overall Attachment to Israel

There is a consensus among several studies that Israel is not central to young people's Jewish identity. In Horowitz's (2000) study of Jews ages 22 to 52 in the New York area, only 33 percent indicated that "supporting Israel" was related "a lot" to what being Jewish involved for them. In fact, on a list of fifteen values, it was ranked eleventh in significance. Finally, in a study of teens (Kadushin, Kelner, and Saxe, 2000), "caring about Israel" was cited as "very important" by only 31 percent of the respondents, lagging considerably behind several other values that were endorsed by upwards of 50 percent of the respondents.

American Jewish Committee's Annual Surveys of American Jewish Opinion inquire about Jewish respondents' overall "closeness to Israel" and also about the centrality of Israel to their Jewish identity. The 2000 AJC survey indicated that 65 percent of Jewish Americans under 40 reported feeling "very" or "fairly" close to Israel, compared to 75 percent of the 40-to-59-year-olds, and 79 percent of

respondents age 60 and over. Based on this finding, the researchers concluded that there "may be a long-term decline in support for Israel as younger Jewish-Americans are slightly less likely to report feeling very or fairly close to Israel than older cohorts." According to the 2000-01 NJPS, 35 percent of those between ages 18 to 34 have visited Israel, compared to 50 percent of those age 65 and over. (See Phillips, Lengyel, and Saxe, 2002, for a review of data on attitudes toward Israel.)

Cohen (2005b) identified generational differences in the level of "engagement with Israel," specifically contrasting people ages 25 to 39 with those ages 55 to 69. He found that differences were especially pronounced on items relating to "caring about Israel" and on measures related to the extent to which people talked and read about Israel. Older Jews were also more likely than their younger counterparts to hold positive images of Israelis. Cohen attributed young people's decreased engagement with Israel to two important trends—the increase in individualism and the decrease in identification with Jewish peoplehood. However, Cohen claimed that many of the documented age-gaps in Israel attachment were mostly confined to young people who have not been to Israel. Because a comparable attitudinal gap does not exist between older people who have visited Israel and those who have not visited Israel, Cohen concluded that there is a greater "payoff" for bringing young Jews to Israel.

The mandate to bring young Jews to Israel has clearly been the guiding principle of the Birthright Israel program. Since 1999, the program has provided approximately 100,000 young Jews from North America with a cost-free ten-day trip to Israel. To assess the impact of this Israel experience, an evaluation study compared Birthright participants with a comparable group of young Jews who had registered for the trip but, for various reasons, did not end up traveling to Israel. This research, which tracked the sample over several years, revealed that the trip engendered strong feelings of connection to Israel and to the Jewish people. For example, among the

cohort that traveled to Israel in 2001, 49 percent said that they felt "very much" connected to Israel eighteen months after the trip, as compared to 27 percent of the nonparticipants. Participants also expressed greater confidence than the nonparticipants in their ability to explain the situation in Israel. In addition, trip participants (across all three cohorts studied) indicated greater overall interest in learning about Jewish subjects (54 percent of participants vs. 41 percent of non-participants).

Using another measure of impact, the researchers compared the pre-trip responses of each person with their own post-trip responses on all the questions. (This procedure enabled them to assess, over time, what they referred to as the "conversion effect," the extent to which people changed from negative to positive or vice versa, and the "preserving" effect," the extent to which people maintained their attitudes and feelings.) The researchers found the greatest changes from "not caring" to "caring very much" on measures related to "feeling connected to Israel," "feeling connected to the Jewish people," and "feeling a connection to Jewish history." Based on these findings, the researchers concluded that "the trip has conversion effects for the salience of caring for Israel, but it seems to have relatively small conversion effects with respect to other components of Jewish identity."

Sympathy with Israel/Support for the Israeli Political Position

Relying on the findings of several focus-group-based studies, Luntz (2005) describes a growing impatience with Israel and a growing emotional connection with the Palestinian cause, especially among Jewish graduate students. In an earlier (2003) study of people ages 18 to 29, Luntz found qualified support for Israel, accompanied by expressed comfort in questioning the Israeli position. He states that young Jews' "association with Israel is frighteningly weak and ill-defined, despite its near daily appearance in the news headlines." In general, he believes that Jewish students are quite ignorant about the history of the Middle East conflict and, in this, finds common ground with other researchers, such as Cohen (2005b). Luntz (2003) is particularly interested in assessing college students' reactions to pro and anti-Israel advertisements and has concluded that "most traditional communications and marketing strategies are not reaching the vast majority of young Jews."

Two ethnographers (Aviv and Shneer, 2005) use a variety of ethnographic case studies to convey their conclusion that Israel does not occupy a central emotional place in the lives of young Jews. They argue that Israel no longer represents the "promised land" for Diaspora Jews, and therefore should not be considered the sole geographic focus of Jewish life. They propose that the celebration of Jewish pluralism extend to an appreciation of multiple centers of Jewish life, including vital communities that exist in places such as New York City, Los Angeles, and Moscow.

Civic and Professional Involvement

Leadership and Professional Development

Several studies have described the challenges faced by young people who are interested in becoming Jewish communal professionals. There is general agreement that the Jewish communal world needs to upgrade and professionalize in order to attract and retain a younger cadre of Jewish professionals.

Dobbs, Tobin, and Hymowitz (2004) point out that, although there are a variety of professional opportunities in the Jewish communal world, insufficient mechanisms exist for publicizing available positions or for promoting Jewish professional careers in general. They also claim that once young people are employed by Jewish organizations, they suffer from unresponsive leadership, inadequate support and professional development, and frequent lay-professional tensions. According to the authors, these circumstances result in a low retention rate among Jewish organizations; often some 50 per-

cent of new hires leave within the first five years of employment.

Kelner, Rabkin, et al. (2004) identified several challenges to the recruitment and retention of Jewish professionals. These challenges include the lack of a dual skill set (Judaic and professional) among those working in the field, and the multiplicity of stakeholders (e.g., communal organizations, donors, lay leaders, junior and senior professionals, etc.) who are involved in the day-to-day operations of these organizations.

Bronznick and Gordis (2004) found that while young Jews seek meaningful work, they are often deterred from working in the Jewish communal field because of its perceived mediocrity—especially its ineffective supervision, paucity of mentors, and lack of networking opportunities. Young Jewish professionals also cited the high cost of Jewish living and low salaries as disincentives to remaining professionally involved in Jewish communal organizations.

Another challenge faced by the Jewish world is its unsuccessful record regarding the promotion of women. This is especially true when it comes to promoting women to the chief executive position at local Federations or to the top position at national Jewish organizations. As of 2004, there were no female chief executives at any of the large local Federations and only one female CEO at a national Jewish organization (Cohen, Bronznick, et al., 2004). The researchers attribute this gender imbalance to the overall paucity of women in leadership positions in the Jewish and general world, as well as to the perception that women are more committed to their personal lives than to their careers. Furthermore, the researchers point out that the males, who are responsible for hiring the top executives, often harbor preconceptions about women's abilities, especially in the domains of leadership and fiscal skills.

Belzer (2004) interviewed 48 Gen-Xer's who worked in Jewish organizations. Many of her respondents described negative experiences, such as the blurring of organizational boundaries and being treated in ways they regarded as unprofessional, which deterred them

from assuming the identity of a "Jewish professional." People who had made an "a priori commitment" to Jewish work appeared to derive most satisfaction from their Jewish organizational jobs. In contrast, those who "came to their jobs passively" were found to be the most negative. Although some said that their "Jewish jobs" provided them with a vehicle to express their Jewish identity, many were disappointed that they were not able to forge meaningful connections to the Jewish community through their work.

Some of the criticisms voiced by those interviewed were not necessarily job-related, but spoke to their feelings of being outsiders in the larger Jewish community:

> I wish there was a Jewish community that reached out to my age group. And there's a gap between the time you graduate high school, there's a black hole, whatever you want to call it, between the time you graduate high school and when you're a young, married new family with young kids. There's not much out there.
>
> What happens in that in-between-time period when either you're students or move to another city, and you're not plugged into the Jewish community, because you can't afford synagogue membership yet, or you know, you're sick of the Jewish singles scene, or whatever? There needs to be something else for us.

As a consequence of not finding a place within the larger, organized Jewish community, some of the young people Belzer interviewed responded by creating informal personal and professional networks with their peers, which often served to reinforce their Jewish identities.

Voluntarism/Political Involvement

According to the Greenberg (2005) study, young people, regardless of their religious identities, are generally uninvolved politically and unlikely to report that politics was important to their lives. However, Jews and African Americans were identified as the two ethnic groups most likely to be involved in politics.[16]

Similarly, when Sax (2002) compared Jewish to non-Jewish college students on their stated life goals, Jews expressed much stronger interest in "keeping up to date with political affairs" than non-Jews did (Jews: 44 percent, non-Jews: 28 percent). She also found that a higher proportion of Jewish students reported that they were committed to "promoting racial understanding" and to "influencing the political structure."

Despite the finding that Jewish students tended to be more politically involved than non-Jewish students, Sax's longitudinal data indicate that both Jewish and non-Jewish students currently demonstrate less interest in politics than in the past. The most recent cohort of college students reports that they no longer view politics as an effective vehicle for change.

Greenberg found that young people are much more likely to volunteer for a community service project than to work to elect someone to office. Over 40 percent of the respondents reported that they had volunteered in a civic or community organization devoted to youth, children, or education during the previous year. Greenberg (2005) reported a much higher level of volunteering (59 percent) among the "Godly" youth than among the undecided middle (22 percent), and among the "God-less" (20 percent). Greenberg also noted that despite the apparently overall high levels of volunteering, 56 percent of the young people surveyed indicated that they engaged in volunteer activities "every once in a while," whereas only 14 percent said that they volunteered on "a regular basis."

Sax did not find any appreciable differences between Jewish and non-Jewish college students in their precollege levels of voluntarism. However, the Jewish students expressed a greater intention to engage in community service activities while they were in college. Keysar and Kosmin (2004) found a considerable drop-off in the level of community service between high school and college. While 85 percent of the students reported volunteering in high school, by college only 64 percent had actually volunteered. Among those who volunteered, about half volunteered in both the Jewish and the non-Jewish communities, primarily in the areas of social action and cultural activities.

Political Identification and Political Attitudes

Longitudinal General Social Survey data dispel the contention that there has been a rightward drift in Jewish political attitudes and values (Smith, 2005). In fact, a close perusal of the data reveals that, in areas where Jewish attitudes have not held steady over the course of the past thirty years, they have actually grown more liberal. For example, a decreasing proportion of Jews believe that premarital sex and homosexual sex is "always wrong," and an increasing proportion believe in the "right to commit suicide if a person has an incurable disease." Regarding sex roles, there has been a substantial increase in the percentage of Jewish respondents who disagree with the statement "a wife should first help a husband's career" (from 62 percent during 1972-80, to 70 percent during 1981-90, to 88 percent during 1991-2002).

Jewish students also appear to be more politically liberal than other students, and correspondingly espouse more progressive attitudes regarding sex, drugs, abortion, gender roles, and homosexuality. This corresponds with Greenberg's finding that Gen Y, overall, is more likely to call itself liberal than older generations. Sax (2002) found that political orientation was one of the variables that maximally distinguished between the Jewish and non-Jewish students—51 percent of Jews as compared to 25 percent of non-Jews identify themselves as "liberal."

The College Experience

According to the 2000-01 NJPS, 80 percent of 18-29-year-olds who are not currently in high school have attended college. The percentage of Jews who have received a four-year college degree has

increased from nearly 40 percent to 60 percent over the past three decades (Smith, 2005).

Characteristics of Jewish College Students

In a comparison of Jewish and non-Jewish college students over a thirty-year time period, Sax found that Jewish students cast a larger net than non-Jewish students by applying to a greater number of colleges (60 percent of Jewish students compared to 30 percent of non-Jewish students applied to five or more colleges), and are willing to travel longer distances to attend college: 27 percent attend college more than 500 miles from home, compared to 12 percent of non-Jews. (Sax reports that, whereas during the past thirty years there has been no increase in the number of non-Jews traveling long distances to attend college, the proportion of Jews doing so has increased dramatically.)

Reflecting socioeconomic differences between Jews and non-Jews, Jewish college students are more likely than non-Jews to have grown up in families with higher incomes and higher levels of educational attainment. Jewish students are also more likely than non-Jewish students to have fathers who work in law, medicine, or business, and to have mothers who are teachers.

Sax reports that pragmatic concerns, such as being able to get a better job, figured somewhat less prominently among Jewish students' reasons to attend college (cited by 61 percent) than among non-Jews (cited by 71 percent). In contrast, Jews were more likely to cite self-fulfilling reasons for attending college such as "to make me a more cultured person" (52 percent of Jews vs. 39 percent of non-Jews). Non-Jewish students were also more influenced by financial considerations regarding their choice of which college to attend: 33 percent of non-Jews, in contrast to 19 percent of Jews, cited "financial assistance" as the reason for their ultimate choice. Furthermore, once enrolled in college, nearly 50 percent of non-Jewish students anticipated working ten or more hours per week, compared to only 35 percent of the Jewish students. Jews also expressed more interest than non-Jews in pursuing graduate degrees and, specifically, law degrees.

Jewish Identities and Connections of Jewish College Students

After speaking to over 150 students during focus groups at eight diverse colleges, Ukeles (1993) clustered Jewish college students into four categories based on their level of Jewish activity: the "Activists," the "Empathizers," the "Ambivalent," and the "Invisible." Although the "Ambivalent" had relatively weak Jewish identity, these students expressed curiosity about what it meant to be Jewish, unlike the "Invisible," who had no interest at all.

The Ukeles study also examined the impact of different campus-related characteristics on these Jewish students. Low Jewish density on campus, for example, can strengthen Jewish identity and involvement because in such an environment, Jewish students often experience a greater responsibility to support Jewish life. In addition to density, the following campus features were also associated, either singly or jointly, with dynamic Jewish life on campus: the presence of Jewish organizations (either Hillel or Chabad), particularly those headed by strong and charismatic leaders; attractive, welcoming, and well-located centers of Jewish life; strong student leadership; and a campus culture that is supportive of Jewish life. The researchers found that students who are not religious are often deterred from participating in Hillel because of their perceptions that it caters mostly to religious students.

Sales and Saxe (2006) also categorized Jewish students on a continuum of involvement with Jewish campus activities. They found that 55 percent of Jewish college students spend no time at Hillel or at other Jewish-affiliated clubs or organizations, that another 33 percent are engaged, but often only for one or two hours a week, and 12 percent hold leadership positions in a Jewish club or organization. Sales and Saxe report that Jewish "leadership on campus is disproportionately drawn from amongst Orthodox, tradition-

al, and Conservative students," and that fully one-third of student leaders had attended a Jewish day school during either elementary or secondary school. Two-thirds of college students raised within the Conservative Movement (Keysar and Kosmin, 2004) belonged to Hillel or to a Jewish Student Union. Reform Jews, Sales and Saxe noted in contrast, are almost twice as likely to assume general leadership positions on campus as to assume leadership positions within Jewish organizations.

Regarding religious observance, Sales and Saxe report that two out of three Jewish college students change their level of observance during their college years, mostly in the direction of lesser observance. Keysar and Kosmin also document a drop-off in religious observance; 46 percent of the students indicate that they were less religious in college than they were in their parents' homes. On the other hand, higher levels of religious observance during college were associated with having attended a Jewish day school, having attended a Hebrew high school, or having regularly attended a Jewish summer camp. These factors were also related to maintaining a primarily Jewish friendship group.

Sales and Saxe found that level of engagement with Jewish campus activities was highly related to values such as "caring about Israel" and to religious behaviors such as Sabbath observance. Level of engagement was also related to the density of the students' social networks. Thus, the leaders and the more engaged students also tend to have the largest number of close friends who are Jewish, and are also more likely to date mostly or only Jews. Sales and Saxe found that students express an openness to interfaith dating, combined with the expectation that they will eventually marry a Jewish person. These results correspond to Ukeles's findings that students prefer to marry Jewish yet interdate because of their belief that "love conquers all" (Ukeles, 2003).

According to preliminary findings from a Hillel study (Birkner, 2005), college students who identify as Jewish are increasingly likely

to be products of interfaith marriages, to have non-Jewish boyfriends and girlfriends, and to shun a denominational label. The findings report that many students perceive Judaism primarily as a cultural rather than a religious identity, yet express some interest in participating in Jewish holiday rituals.

Enrollment in Jewish Studies Courses

Several studies identified Jewish studies courses as potential vehicles for Jewish involvement on campus. Keysar and Kosmin (2004) found that 37 percent of the surveyed college students who had grown up within the Conservative Movement had taken a Jewish studies course; the two most popular subject areas were Hebrew language (taken by 40 percent of Jewish studies enrollees) and Holocaust studies (taken by 23 percent).

Sales and Saxe (2006), in their survey of 2,000 Jewish students on twenty campuses, found that almost one-half of all Jewish students had taken at least one Jewish studies course by the time they were seniors. Although students with strong Jewish backgrounds are more likely to enroll in Jewish studies courses, about one-third of those who take Jewish studies courses grew up in interfaith households and approximately one-quarter are not Jewish. The researchers hypothesize that one of the attractions of these courses is that they provide students with a safe space for self-exploration without the pressure of being involved in an identity-formation experience, such as the type students expect to find at Hillel. Although Jewish studies courses will not create Jews, according to Sales and Saxe, these courses have the potential to serve as important portals to Jewish literacy for students with limited Judaic knowledge.

Connection to Israel among College Students

Sales and Saxe (2005) found that 34 percent of the students surveyed reported feeling "very connected" to Israel and that 23 percent reported feeling "somewhat connected." Consistent with other

research on this issue, the data indicate that attachment to Israel is related to having traveled to Israel and to denominational affiliation; those identifying as Orthodox or Conservative expressed a stronger connection to Israel than Reform and secular Jews.

Addressing Anti-Semitism/Anti-Zionism (Anti-Israelism) on Campus

In their book *The UnCivil University*, Gary Tobin et al. claim that both anti-Semitism and what is referred to as "anti-Israelism" have become accepted and pervasive on many college campuses. The book describes how students who express support for Israel are threatened by a vocal minority that "attempts to stifle the opinions of those who disagree with them." The Conservative-Movement-raised college students surveyed by Keysar and Kosmin (2004) distinguished between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, and claimed that they were somewhat more affected by anti-Zionism on their campuses (reported by 34 percent) than by anti-Semitism (reported by 25 percent).

Sales and Saxe (2006), in their survey of 2,000 students at twenty colleges, paint a more nuanced and complex picture of pro- and anti-Israel sentiments as well as activism on college campuses. They point out that a pro-Palestinian campus climate does not necessarily translate into tense relationships between the pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian groups; the authors emphasize the extensive diversity in campus climates. Moreover, although anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities on campus are typically viewed as damaging to Jewish college students, these activities can also galvanize and strengthen Jewish life on campus. Finally, the researchers hypothesize that one of the biggest obstacles to pro-Israel advocacy for most Jewish college students is their own ignorance about Israel and the Middle Eastern conflict. For example, when respondents were asked to assess the extent of their knowledge regarding the history of modern Israel, 43 percent indicated that they possessed very little knowledge regarding its history.

The Impact of General Culture on Jewish Culture and Identity

The Decrease in Community and the Rise of Individualism

It has been widely noted that younger Americans do not relate to community in the same way their parents did, and are, in fact, challenging long-held notions of what constitutes a community. According to Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2005) and others, weak ties, informal associations, and virtual connections have replaced more formal affiliations. In fact, participants in Greenberg's (2006) study actually found it difficult to even talk about what "community" meant to them, preferring instead to discuss their neighborhood or their friendship circles at school. There is evidence that young people's experience of community occurs within the context of smaller subgroups comprising their friends or their families and does not necessarily encompass an identification with a larger group. For example, Wuthnow (2002) claims that approximately 30 to 40 percent of Americans belong to a small group such as a support group and that "they're enormously important [because] they give people a sense of community."

The diminution of traditional communities and the increase in virtual, as opposed to face-to-face, interaction has become a source of concern among some social scientists. In his now famous bowling example, Putnam (2000) pointed out that, although people continue to bowl, they are more likely than they were in the past to be "bowling alone," rather than within the framework of a bowling league. He documents the sharp decline in civic engagement since the 1960s in diverse groups and settings ranging from trade unions to religious organizations. Putnam argues that social structures such as bowling leagues and churches comprise the "social capital," face-to-face social networks which he hypothesizes give rise to the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. Putnam believes that social capi-

tal develops through connecting with others, especially with others who move in different circles, and that social capital is important both on the individual and on the community levels. In fact, he insists that "faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America as judged by ... the number who participate and the frequency of participation."

Writing in a popular vein about the quirks of Gen X and Gen Y, Coupland (1991) refers to a "cult of aloneness," which he defines as "the need for autonomy at all costs, usually at the expense of long-term relationships ... often brought about by overly high expectations of others." Even Arnett (2004), who has written extensively and generally supportively about the life stage of "evolving adulthood," cautioned that when personalization is taken to an extreme, it can result in a "congregation of one." This statement stands in contrast to his usual defense of the need for self-focus and exploration that are intrinsic to evolving adulthood.

Not everyone sees the growth of individualization as a negative phenomenon. Wuthnow (1995) expresses a more sanguine approach, allowing for people to be potentially caring and committed, even within the framework of an individualistic culture.

Importance of Choice/Autonomy

The title of the 2006 Reboot report, *Grande Soy Vanilla Latte with Cinnamon, No Foam* (Greenberg, et al.), captures the younger generation's belief in the availability of limitless marketplace options. No longer do people feel constrained by the religion that they were born into and by notions of ascribed status. The oft-quoted expression, "We are all Jews by choice" (Israel, 2001) implies that not only can people choose whether they will be Jewish, but they can also choose how they want to be Jewish. Young people view being Jewish as one of several choices of identity available to them. Multiple identity possibilities are particularly relevant for the children of the intermarried, who actually have several ethnic and religious family-based identities from which to choose. Cohen and Eisen (2000) use the concept of "the sovereign self" to refer to the notion that modern Jews feel free, and in fact entitled, to decide for themselves their level of Jewish observance and their level of communal involvements—if any.

The Privatization of Religion

Liebman (1973) discussed the interrelationship between the rise of individualism and the ways religious life has become more private. He noted that the emphasis on Jewish ethnic identity and peoplehood is the more "public" aspect of being Jewish, and as this recedes, what remains is the more private experience of being Jewish such as "journeys of discovery, spirituality and the search for fulfillment." Whether referring to Jewish or general trends, researchers agree that the search for personal meaning and self-fulfillment is more likely to determine younger people's religious involvement, as opposed to a need for a public demonstration of belief or affiliation (Horowitz, 2000; Wuthnow, 2002).

Writing about the Jewish manifestation of this phenomenon, Israel (2001) noted:

> American patterns set the basic template, within which Jewishness functions as an enriching addition to be hauled out when occasion or feelings call for it. A young or fourth generation Jew can therefore feel him or herself loyally Jewish, without feeling obligated to express being Jewish in any public ways and sense no contradiction.

The Fluidity of Boundaries/Identity

Both in the private and public realms, boundaries are less fixed in contemporary American society. As Kelman and Cohen (2005) noted, "cutting-edge" Jewish cultural events are most likely to appeal to young Jews when both the entertainment and the audience are distinguished by their "hybridity." High rates of intermarriage have

spawned a generation of young people with multiple, and often complex, ethnic and religious roots. Young Jews are often not interested in perpetuating traditional distinctions between Jewish and non-Jewish, whether these distinctions are being drawn in relation to whom they can date or marry, or with whom they should socialize.

The blurring of boundaries also applies to the religious realm in general. Wuthnow (1988) argued that changes in the social environment in postwar America were related to the decline in the importance of denominationalism. This finding has found support in surveys of American religious identification that found that "non-identifiers" are disproportionately found among the young (Tobin and Groeneman, 2004a).

Openness to Nonhierarchical Approaches

Wuthnow (2002) has claimed that "organized religion lost its monopoly over spirituality." Today's youth appear to feel empowered to create their own paths to spiritual and religious experiences. Borrowing a digital metaphor, Kirschenblatt-Gimblett extols the attractions of "open-source" Jewishness, which she describes as "egalitarian, participatory, creative and ... directed towards a public good."

Surveying important Jewish historical trends, Sarna (1995) expressed support for this type of empowerment and grassroots activism by stating that "the more creative ideas for re-vitalizing Jewish life often flow from the bottom up, rather than from the top down and from outsiders rather than from insiders."

This theme has found a specific cultural expression through the arts and especially in music, which as Kelman and Cohen (2005) have pointed out, plays a very important role in the lives of young people. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2005) believes that, in fact, the kind of music favored by young people can be regarded as a metaphor for how young Jews relate to their Jewish identity: "[I]t can be taken apart and re-assembled at every level ... the result is a customized soundscape ... more routes than roots."

Chapter Three: National and Community-Based Data

This section analyzes and presents quantitative data from existing national Jewish population samples and from an aggregation of survey data files from several local Jewish community studies. All of these studies were reanalyzed in order to refocus specifically on research questions related to young Jewish adults. Three basic sources of data were used:

Local Jewish Community Studies

Between 1999 and 2003, Ukeles Associates Inc. (UAI) conducted six Jewish community studies in the United States, using state-of-the-art sampling and Jewish population estimation methodology, and a screening question that asked respondents if they or another household adult "considered" themselves to be Jewish. While local community planning committees typically customized the surveys for their local needs, many similar/identical questions were asked. These studies include: Baltimore 1999, Howard County (MD) 1999, New York 2002, Pittsburgh 2002, Phoenix 2002, and San Diego 2003.

The total number of respondents in these studies was 8,953, and the number of estimated Jewish households included in these studies combined was just under 800,000. Over eighteen hundred respondents (1,833) were under age 40, allowing not only a sufficiently large combined sample to make meaningful comparisons of young Jewish adults with older cohorts, but also sufficient numbers of young Jewish adults to make meaningful comparisons of the youngest group ages 18-24 (or 18-29 at times) and the older group of young adults ages 30-39. Moreover, the inclusion of the New York City study allowed for a detailed analysis of young Orthodox Jews,

with many more interviews completed among the young Orthodox in the combined UAI studies than in national Jewish survey samples.

American Jewish Committee (AJC) Annual Surveys

The American Jewish Committee has been conducting Annual Surveys of American Jewish Public Opinion since the mid-1980s. While the sample of young Jewish adults in any one year is not large enough to meaningfully isolate younger cohorts, by aggregating studies completed since 2000, we have developed a combined sample of 5,027 Jewish adults, of whom 916 are under age 40. The AJC polls are especially useful since they include a number of questions that other studies have not asked, including questions on Israel and the potential creation of a Palestinian state.

The National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS: 2000-01)

NJPS 2000-01 is the most comprehensive (and publicly available) recent RDD (random digit dialed)-based national data set on American Jews, and as such, provides a basis for estimation of the number of young American Jews and their demographic profile. There has been widespread public discussion about the limitations of the NJPS data. The authors of the NJPS reports themselves have acknowledged that there might have been an underestimate of the number of Jews in the United States. However, the data are viewed by most researchers as accurately reflecting the relationships among variables describing American Jews—such as the relationship of age of respondent and key Jewish behaviors and attitudes. Of the 4,523 completed interviews with Jewish respondents, just over 1,400 were completed with younger respondents ages 18-39.

Jewish Life Status

Age of American Jews: Basic Numbers

There are an estimated 1.46 million American Jews between the ages of 18 and 39.

They represent 29 percent of all American Jews (and 36 percent of all Jewish adults).

Table 1: Estimated Numbers and Percentages of Jewish Persons by Age Cohorts in the United States,
National Jewish Population Survey: 2000-01*

	Jewish Persons in the U.S.	
Age	Estimated Number	Percent of Total
0-17	959,000	19%
18-24	541,000	11
25-29	307,000	6
30-34	316,000	6
35-39	297,000	6
Subtotal 18-39	1,461,000	29
40-59	1,659,000	33
60+	956,000	19
Total	5,035,000	100%

*NJPS 2000-01 data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Numbers have not been extrapolated for missing data on age. Additional tables which provide overall demographic information from NJPS can be found in the Appendix to this section (p. 98ff.)

Age and Denomination: NJPS Patterns

Younger Jewish respondents are more likely to define themselves as Orthodox Jews than are older Jewish Americans. The basic national pattern is summarized in Table 2 below.

— 17 percent of respondents 18-24, and 15 percent of respondents 25-29 are Orthodox; these percentages are significantly higher than the percentage of Orthodox among all other age groups.

The decline of Jewish respondents identifying with the Conservative Movement is also reflected in the data. The percentage of Jews who identify as Conservative declines from 32 percent of respondents who are at least 60 years old, to 27 percent among Jewish respondents 40-59, to 21 percent among all young Jews under the age of 40.

Table 2: Respondent Denomination by Age of Respondent, NJPS: 2000-01*

	Respondent Denomination, by Percent				
Age	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	"Just Jewish"	"Secular" Jews
18-24	17	21	28	28	3
25-29	15	18	37	22	4
30-34	8	25	35	24	2
35-39	9	19	37	25	4
Subtotal 18-39	13	21	34	25	4
40-59	10	27	36	21	3
60+	8	32	32	23	3

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Typically, denomination was asked in the NJPS study only for those respondents who have been defined as having "stronger" Jewish connections—those who are unambiguously Jewish. Because they were asked to answer the NJPS "short form," denomination was not asked for those respondents who were designated as "Jewish-connected" with "weaker" Jewish connections. See Appendix Table A1 for a more extensive discussion of "Jewish" and "Jewish-connected" definitions of American Jews in the NJPS study.

In this table, some miscellaneous denominational responses have been eliminated to simplify presentation. Thus, percentages within each of the age groups do not add to 100 percent; they typically add to 95 percent to 97 percent, reflecting a low percentage of miscellaneous denomination responses.

Age and Denomination: UAI Local Community Study Patterns

Table 2a presents data from the six merged Ukeles Associates Inc. (UAI) local Jewish community studies. Paralleling the national data, the findings from the local studies show that younger Jewish respondents are more likely to define themselves as Orthodox Jews than are older Jewish Americans.

Since one of the goals for using the merged UAI study data files is to have a sufficient number of interviews with young American Orthodox Jews for a more detailed analysis within this group, the New York area interviews increase the percentage of Orthodox Jews among the sample of almost 8,500 Jewish respondents. However,

— The youngest Jews are still the most likely to be Orthodox; 34 percent of respondents 18-24 and 27 percent of respondents 25-29 are Orthodox. Among all other age groups, 20 percent of those 30-34, 16 percent of those 35-39, 15 percent of those 40-59, and 12 percent of those 60 and over self-identify as Orthodox.[17]

Table 2a: Respondent Denomination by Age of Respondent,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Respondent Denomination, by Percent				
Age	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	No Denom., "Just Jewish"	"Secular" and "No Religion" Jews
18-24	34	19	20	18	7
25-29	27	21	28	15	8
30-34	20	20	30	16	10
35-39	16	25	37	12	8
Subtotal 18-39	23	21	34	15	9
40-59	15	24	35	12	9
60+	12	30	29	18	10

*UAI data from Baltimore, Howard County (MD), New York, Pittsburgh, Phoenix, and San Diego merged for this reanalysis, maintaining weights for each household interview that were originally calculated to project the total number of Jewish households in the community.

In the UAI studies, all respondents who considered themselves to be Jewish, but also said that they did not have a religion, have been included in the category secular/no religion Jews. In this table, some miscellaneous responses have been eliminated to simplify presentation; percentages do not add to 100 percent, due to rounding for presentation.

Age and Marital Status

NJPS 2000-01 data[18] indicate that Jewish Americans under age 25 are unlikely to be married (only 12 percent were married) and highly likely to have never been married (84 percent).

The aggregated UAI local community study data shows the same pattern—the youngest age cohort, ages 18-24, is least likely to be married.

While the deliberate inclusion of a significant number of young Orthodox Jews in the UAI samples increases the percentage married to 23 percent among the youngest age cohort (18-24) in the UAI merged data file, the percent married in the other age cohorts is quite similar to the NJPS estimates.

Moreover, fewer than half (44 percent) of all Jewish respondents in the UAI studies who were between the ages of 25 and 29 are currently married. The proportion married increases to the majority of Jewish respondents after age 30: 60 percent of 30-34-year-olds are married, as are 67 percent of 35-39-year-olds.

Table 3: Marital Status of Jewish Respondents, by Age Cohorts,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Marital Status of Jewish Respondents, by Percent			
Age	Married	Living Together	Widowed Separated Divorced	Never Married
18-24	23	6	<1	71
25-29	44	2	1	53
30-34	60	4	4	33
35-39	67	4	7	22
Subtotal 18-39	50	4	3	43
40-59	66	2	14	18
60+	52	1	40	7

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Numbers may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation. Respondents living with someone have been maintained as a separate category, and not combined with the "never married."

Age, Marital Status, and Gender

Young Jewish female survey respondents are more likely to be married than male respondents.[19]

In order to maximize sample size when gender is added to the analysis, data from the UAI local community studies have been combined for those under the age of 30 and for those between 30 and 39.

- 27 percent of male Jewish respondents under age 30 are married, compared to 58 percent of their counterparts ages 30-39.
- Among female Jewish respondents, 41 percent of those 18-29 and 66 percent of those 30-39 are married.

Table 4: Percentage Married and Never Married by Gender,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Male Jewish Respondents		Female Jewish Respondents	
Age	% Currently Married	% Never Married	% Currently Married	% Never Married
18-29	27	70	41	54
30-39	58	33	66	23
Subtotal 18-39	43	51	55	37
40-59	67	17	66	12
60+	67	9	44	6

*UAI local community study data (Baltimore, Howard, New York, Pittsburgh, Phoenix and San Diego). Numbers do not total to 100 percent since widowed/separated/divorced and "living with someone" responses are not shown.

Age, Marital Status, and Denomination

Young Orthodox Jewish respondents are much more likely to be married than are non-Orthodox respondents—to a startling degree. Three-fourths (75 percent) of all Orthodox Jewish respondents under age 40 in the UAI studies are married, compared to an estimated 43 percent of all non-Orthodox Jewish respondents.[20]

Among the non-Orthodox, marriage is atypical among those 18-29—only 20 percent compared to 71 percent of the young Orthodox respondents. Among the Orthodox, the percentage married varies only slightly between the youngest cohort (71 percent married under age 30) and the older young cohort (81 percent married ages 30-39).

Among non-Orthodox Jewish respondents under age 30, marital status does not vary with denomination: 21 percent of Conservative, 20 percent of Reform, 20 percent of nondenominational, and 21 percent of secular/no-religion Jews report being married.

Marriage is more typical and more varied among non-Orthodox young Jewish adults ages 30-39: Conservative Jews (64 percent), Reform Jews (65 percent), nondenominational (49 percent), and secular/no religion (51 percent).

Table 5: Percentage Married and Never Married by Age and Denomination, UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Orthodox Respondents		Non-Orthodox Respondents	
Age	% Married	% Never Married	% Married	% Never Married
18-29	71	29	20	74
30-39	81	16	60	29
Total 18-39	75	23	43	48

*UAI merged local community study data files. Numbers do not total 100 percent since those living with someone and those who had been divorced, separated or widowed are excluded from the presentation.

Age, Gender, Denomination and Marital Status

The marital status of young Jewish Americans shows the strong cumulative interactions that exist among the age of respondent, gender, and Orthodox/non-Orthodox denominational status.[21]

Among both young male and female Orthodox respondents, differences in marital status by age cohort are less marked than among the non-Orthodox.

Thus, 57 percent of male Orthodox Jews under age 30 are married, as are 65 percent of male Orthodox Jews ages 30-39. Orthodox female percentages are higher, but similar between age cohorts.

Among the non-Orthodox, the vast majority of males and females under age 30 are not married (16 percent of the men and 23 percent of the women are married), while the majority of those 30-39 are married (59 percent of the men and 62 percent of the women).

Table 6: Percent of Respondents Who Are Married, by Orthodox/Non-Orthodox Denomination, Age and Gender,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

Gender/Age	Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Males	% Married	% Married
Ages 18-29	57	16
Ages 30-39	65	59
Females	% Married	% Married
Ages 18-29	80	23
Ages 30-39	89	62

*UAI merged data files. All non-Orthodox Jewish denominations have been combined to simplify presentation; the combined "non-Orthodox" category parsimoniously shows the dual impact of age and gender, with age being more significant —while maintaining a large sample size for analysis. Among the non-Orthodox denominations, the basic patterns are similar. For example, 14 percent of Conservative males and 25 percent of Conservative females ages 18-29 are married, compared to 65 percent of Conservative males and 63 percent of Conservative females ages 30-39.

A Jewish Life-Status Typology— NJPS Data on Young American Jews

Thus, while age of the respondent is one critical dimension for analyzing data on young American Jews, it is only one variable. Other variables must be considered when analyzing the Jewish experiences of young American Jews—including marital status, denomination, intermarriage,[22] and the presence of children. Empirically, the combination of these variables is more powerful than the impact of respondent age on young Jewish adult connections to Jewish life and Jewish values.

Table 7 (NJPS 2000-01 national data) and Table 7a (UAI community study data compared to NJPS) summarize a Jewish life-status typology that will be used in many subsequent analyses. Four distinct analytical groups for Jewish adults ages 18-39 have been created: (1) the Orthodox, (2) non-Orthodox inmarried Jews with children, (3) non-Orthodox unmarried respondents as well as inmarried Jews without children, and (4) intermarried Jews.

Table 7: Jewish Life-Status Typology for Young American Jewish Adults: Marital Status, Intermarriage Status, Presence of Children, Denomination,
NJPS: 2000-01*

	Jewish Adults Ages 18-39 (NJPS)	
Category	Estimated Number of Jewish Adults	Percent of Total
Orthodox Adults	129,000	11%
Married Jewish Adults with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations**	148,000	13
Unmarried Jewish Adults, and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	652,000	56
Intermarried Jews (with, w/o Children)	225,000	20
Total	1,154,000 ***	100%

* NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

** In this table and all others that present the Jewish life-status typology, "all other Jewish denominations" also includes those respondents who are nondenominational or are secular/no religion Jews.

*** A significant number of young Jewish adults (300,000 or so) could not be classified on all dimensions needed for the typology, primarily because only 8 percent of "Jewish-connected" young Jewish adults with "weaker" connections were asked to complete the long-form NJPS questionnaire, which included questions on denomination. Thus, the typology for NJPS data focuses primarily on those Jews with "stronger Jewish" identities who completed the long form.

A Jewish Life-Status Typology

Table 7 presents the national estimates. Among young American Jews ages 18-39:

- 11 percent of young Jewish adults self-identify as Orthodox;
- 20 percent of young Jewish adults are intermarried;
- 13 percent are non-Orthodox inmarried Jews with children;[23]
- Nationally, the majority (56 percent) of young Jewish adults are non-Orthodox Jews, either unmarried or married without children.[24]

Table 7a compares the national data from NJPS and the local community study data aggregated by UAI from studies completed for six communities since 1999. Since the UAI data file reflects the deliberate inclusion of the large number of young Orthodox New York interviews, 27 percent of the Jewish adults in these merged studies are Orthodox, compared to the national estimate of 11 percent.[25]

The modal group in the UAI studies (39 percent) includes unmarried non-Orthodox Jewish adults and non-Orthodox, inmarried Jewish adults who do not have children.

Table 7a: Jewish Life-Status Typology for Young American Jewish Adults:
NJPS: 2000-01 and UAI Local Community Studies

	Jewish Adults Ages 18-39, by Percent	
Category	NJPS 2000-01	UAI Community Studies
Orthodox Adults	11	27
Married Jewish Adults with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	13	24
Unmarried Jewish Adults, and Married Jewish Adults w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	56	39
Intermarried Jews (with or w/o Children)	20	10

Jewish Life-Status and Age of Respondents

Data from the UAI merged data set from six local Jewish communities are the basis of the next series of tables; the goal of these analyses is to understand the vast differences that exist among young Jewish Americans, primarily related to their Jewish life-status. The typology incorporates many of the relationships between age and marital status, age and gender, gender and marital status, denominational identification and age-marital status, etc., which have been previously described. Thus, while age defines the 18-39-year-old cohort as young American Jews, age is a less powerful predictor of young Jewish American attitudes and behaviors than is their Jewish life-status category.

Table 8 shows that age of the respondent is itself reflected in the Jewish life-status typology.[26]

— About six out of ten Orthodox respondents to the UAI surveys are between 18 and 29, as are six out of ten unmarried and married-childless non-Orthodox respondents.
— Married non-Orthodox respondents with children were, in total contrast, predominantly (89 percent) between 30 and 39. Intermarried young Jewish respondents are also likely to be in their thirties (75 percent).

Table 8: Jewish Life-Status Typology for Young American Jewish Respondents by Age of the Respondent,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

Category	UAI Local Community Study Survey Respondents, by Percent	
	Ages 18-29	Ages 30-39
Orthodox	59	41
Married Respondents with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	11	89
Unmarried Respondents and Married Respondents w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	59	41
Intermarried Respondents	25	75

* UAI local community study data files merged. Gender is not a powerful factor, in the context of the Jewish life-status typology; male/female patterns are relatively similar. Male respondents: 61 percent of the Orthodox, 8 percent of non-Othodox married with children, 58 percent of non-Orthodox unmarried and childless married, and 27 percent of the intermarried are under age 30. Comparable female percentages are 67 percent, 18 percent, 69 percent, and 36 percent.

Jewish Connections

How Important Is Being Jewish and Jewish Life-Status Typology

Table 9 begins a series of analyses that demonstrate the complexity of young American Jewish behavior patterns and attitudes toward being Jewish and Jewish life—and the importance of differentiating the Orthodox, non-Orthodox married with children, the non-Orthodox unmarried/married childless, and the intermarried.

Typically, when broad generalizations are professed about young American Jews and their potential disengagement from Jewish life, the implicit referent is the modal group—young non-Orthodox Jews who are either "single" or their married-childless counterparts.

By using the Jewish life-status typology as an independent/explanatory variable, a much more complex world of young Jewish Americans is revealed.

- Table 9 indicates that almost all young Orthodox respondents to the UAI community studies—98 percent—report that being Jewish is very important to them.
- A majority of all married, non-Orthodox respondents with children (70 percent) feel similarly.
- In contrast, only 45 percent of the young unmarried, non-Orthodox respondents/childless married view being Jewish as very important.
- Finally, 33 percent of intermarried respondents report that being Jewish is very important.[27]

Table 9: How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondent by Life-Status Typology: Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003

Category	How Important Is Being Jewish to UAI Survey Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent		
	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important*
Orthodox	98	2	*
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	70	25	5
Unmarried, and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	45	40	15
Intermarried	33	47	20

*Combines not very important and not at all important.

How Important Is Being Jewish: A Note on Young Conservative Jews

While the Jewish life-status typology has included all non-Orthodox denominations and those without denominational preferences in the "married with children" and the "unmarried/childless married" categories, it is important to note that within these two Jewish life-status categories, young Conservative Jewish adults are more likely to be connected to Jewish values, beliefs, and behaviors than are Reform, secular, and nondenominational Jews.

As an illustration, Table 9a compares Conservative, Reform, and nondenominational and secular Jews within the life-status typology in terms of how important is being Jewish to survey respondents:

— 90 percent of married Conservative Jews with children feel being Jewish is very important, compared to 57 percent of married Reform and 60 percent of nondenominational and secular Jews;

— 60 percent of Conservative unmarried/married childless Jews feel being Jewish is very important compared with 42 percent of Reform and 37 percent of unmarried or married childless nondenominational and secular Jews.

Thus, denomination has an impact, but so too does Jewish life-status, for both Conservative Jews and for the other denominations. Although only the summary four-category typology is shown in most of the analyses in this study, within the "non-Orthodox" category, Conservative married Jews with children are closer to the Orthodox in Jewish values and behaviors, while the nondenominational or secular unmarried/married childless are closer to the intermarried in Jewish values and behaviors.

Table 9a: How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondent by Life-Status Typology: Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39, by Denomination and Marital Status, UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003

		Very Important to Be Jewish UAI Survey Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent	
Category		Married with Children	Unmarried/Childless
All Orthodox	98		
Conservative		90	60
Reform		57	42
No Denominations or Secular		60	37
All Intermarried	33		

How Important Is Being Jewish: Age and Gender

In vivid contrast to the strong linear relationship between the Jewish life-status typology and young Jewish adult views on how important being Jewish is to them—neither the age of the respondent nor the gender of the respondent reveals as strong a relationship as respondent views on the importance of being Jewish in the UAI community studies.

— Three out of five respondents ages 18-59 viewed being Jewish as very important, compared to 72 percent of respondents at least 60 years of age.

— While younger respondents are somewhat less likely to feel being Jewish is important than are respondents 60 and over, the differences pale in comparison with the Jewish life-status pattern (Table 9, Table 9a).

— Similarly, gender is somewhat related to respondent views on the importance of being Jewish. Of female respondents, 68 percent view being Jewish as very important compared with 61 percent of the male respondents.

Table 10: How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondent by Age of the Respondent, and by Gender, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003

	How Important Is Being Jewish to UAI Survey Respondents, by Percent		
Category	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important*
Respondent Age:			
18-29	62	30	8
30-39	58	30	12
40-59	62	28	10
60+	72	20	8
Respondent Gender:			
Male Respondents	61	28	11
Female Respondents	68	25	7

*Combines not very important and not at all important.

How Important Is Religion in Your Life?

While gender is not critical in terms of respondent views on the importance of being Jewish for either the UAI data or the NJPS data,[28] Jewish life-status typology and gender interact strongly to influence NJPS[29] survey respondent perception that religion is "very important" in their life.

Orthodox respondents are most likely (87 percent) to state that religion is "very important" to them—while intermarried respondents are least likely to respond similarly.

In terms of the significance of religion in a respondent's life, gender is a key variable in addition to the Jewish life-status typology.

—Among the Orthodox, 94 percent of female respondents compared to 78 percent of male respondents stated that religion is very important in their lives.

—Among the intermarried, only 7 percent of men compared to 27 percent of women responded that religion is very important to them.

Table 11: How Important Is Religion in Respondent's Life by Life-Status Typology, and by Gender, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
NJPS: 2000-01*

	Percent NJPS Respondents Who Say Religion Is Very Important in Their Lives		
Category	Male Respondents	Female Respondents	All Respondents
Orthodox	78	94	87
Married with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	26	42	36
Unmarried, and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	20	27	23
Intermarried	7	27	17

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Question was designed to be asked of all Jewish respondents, including those with "weaker" connections to Judaism.

Being and Feeling Part of a Local Jewish Community

Table 12 contrasts young Jewish respondent answers to two questions that UAI repeatedly has included in its local Jewish community studies: (1) How important is being part of a local Jewish community? and (2) Does the respondent feel that he/she is "a lot" connected to a local Jewish community?

Almost all young Orthodox Jewish respondents (93 percent) view being part of a Jewish community as very important. Half (54 percent) of non-Orthodox inmarried Jewish respondents with chil-

dren think similarly. In contrast, among unmarried non-Orthodox and their married-childless counterparts, being part of a local Jewish community is very important to only 29 percent; to the intermarried, being part of a Jewish community is important to only 19 percent.

The companion question on "feeling part" of a Jewish community indicates the strong linkages of young Orthodox Jews to Jewish communal life (82 percent feel "a lot" connected), and the disconnected status of the other groups.

The "gap" between the 54 percent of married, non-Orthodox with children who very much want to be connected and the 26 percent who feel strongly connected is important for Jewish communal policy and planning. Similarly, the gap among the unmarried non-Orthodox is similarly significant: 29 percent very much want to be part of a Jewish community while only 13 percent feel "a lot" connected.

Table 12: How Important Is It to Be Part of a Local Jewish Community and Does Respondent Feel "A Lot" Connected to a Jewish Community, by Jewish Life-Status Typology, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

Jewish Life-Status Category	UAI Community Study Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent: Say Being Part of a Jewish Community Is Very Important	Say That They Feel "A Lot" Connected to Jewish Community
Orthodox	93	82
Married with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	54	26
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	29	13
Intermarried	19	14

*UAI local community study data files merged. Age differences do not exist for either variable; younger and older Jewish respondent answers are similar. Female respondents are more likely than male respondents to view being part of a Jewish community as "very important" (54 percent vs. 44 percent), but are only slightly more likely to feel "a lot" connected to a local Jewish community (36 percent vs. 30 percent). The impact of these variables compared to the Jewish life-status typology is minimal.

Jewish Practices

Five traditional Jewish practices ("ritual observances") have been studied in each of the UAI local Jewish community studies: lighting Hanukkah candles, attending a Passover Seder, fasting on Yom Kippur, lighting Shabbat candles, and keeping a kosher home.

Hanukkah candle lighting and Seder attendance reflect broad patterns of young Jewish participation in Jewish ritual practice, with relatively high levels of participation among the vast majority of all young Jews. Yom Kippur fasting is slightly less "universal."

Shabbat candle lighting and keeping kosher, in contrast, reflect differential patterns strongly related to the Jewish life-status typology—91 percent of the Orthodox light candles always/usually compared to 36 percent of the married with children, other denominations, 11 percent of the unmarried/childless married, and 9 percent of the intermarried.

Table 13: Jewish "Ritual" Practices Among Young American Jews, by Jewish Life-Status Typology, UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Jewish Ritual Practice: Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	Always/ Usually Light Hanukkah Candles	Always/ Usually Attend Passover Seder	Always/ Usually Fast on Yom Kippur	Always/ Usually Light Shabbat Candles	Keep Kosher Home**
Orthodox	95	98	98	91	96
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	92	86	81	36	19
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	65	73	67	11	14
Intermarried Respondents	73	60	46	9	6

*UAI local community studies merged.

Once again, while the respondent's age defines his/her status as a young American Jew, as an explanatory variable, age is often of minimal utility—especially when compared to the Jewish life-status typology. Always/usually attending a Passover Seder is reported by 79 percent of respondents 18-39, 77 percent of respondents 40-59, and 73 percent of respondents at least age 60. Similarly, Shabbat candle lighting is reported by 31 percent of those 18-39, 28 percent of those 40-59, and 30 percent of those 60 and over.

**Question asked was whether respondent kept kosher at home; answer categories were "yes" in some studies, "always/usually" in others.

Jewish Linkages

Table 14 focuses on patterns of Jewish organizational linkages, including synagogue/temple membership, participation/membership in a JCC or other Jewish organization, going to a Jewish museum or cultural event, and visiting a Jewish web site.

The final column—the percentage linked to any of the preceding four Jewish organizational activities—indicates that the vast majority of young American Jews have at least one of these Jewish organization linkages: 69 percent of the intermarried, 81 percent of the unmarried/childless married, 90 percent of non-Orthodox married with children, and 99 percent of the Orthodox have a least one Jewish organizational connection.

A few interesting patterns: (1) Synagogue membership is linearly related to the Jewish life-status typology, but active participation in a JCC or other Jewish organization is higher for the married with children non-Orthodox than for the Orthodox, reflecting the differential appeal of JCCs and other Jewish organizations. (2) Among the intermarried, Jewish cultural events are important. (3) Among the unmarried and married childless non-Orthodox, Jewish cultural events and Jewish web sites are important. (4) Among the inmarried (non-Orthodox) with children, each of the potential linkages has been used by over half of the respondents.

Table 14: Jewish Organizational Linkages Among Young American Jews, by Jewish Life-Status Typology, UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Jewish Organizational Linkages: Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	Member of a Synagogue or Temple	Active in or Member of JCC or Other Jewish Organization**	Attend a Jewish Museum or Cultural Event***	Visited a Jewish Web Site	Linked to Any of the Preceding Four Variables
Orthodox	89	48	75	64	99
Married w/ Children, Other Denominations	51	54	66	52	90
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	28	33	59	54	81
Intermarried	14	20	47	34	69

*UAI local community studies merged.

**Variable combines JCC activity and participation in or member of any other Jewish organization. This variable was constructed since different questions requested by varying local community study oversight groups did not always allow for the separation of these two factors, but all community studies can be recoded to generate this variable.

***Respondent age is not related to Jewish museum or Jewish cultural event participation: 62 percent of those 18-39, 67 percent of those 40-59, and 59 percent of those 60 and over report visiting a Jewish museum and/or attending a Jewish cultural event.

Jewish Background Variables: NJPS Data

Over half (52 percent) of all intermarried young Jewish respondents had only one Jewish parent.

Bar/bat mitzvah patterns reflect both the Jewish life-status typology and gender—female rates are lower than male bar mitzvah rates, and are lowest among intermarried females.

While Orthodox respondents typically reported that most/all of their high school friends were Jewish, the vast majority of all other young Jewish respondents typically reported that none or only some of their high school friends were Jewish.[30]

Table 15: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Jewish Background Variables: One Parent Jewish, Bar/Bat Mitzvah, Percent High School Friends Who Are Jewish, NJPS: 2000-01*

	Jewish Background Variables: NJPS Respondents 18-39, by Percent			
Category	One Jewish Parent Only**	Males Bar Mitzvah***	Females Bat Mitzvah	Most/All High School Friends Were Jewish
Orthodox	5	90	64	84
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	12	76	47	28
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	30	66	47	23
Intermarried	52	47	19	14

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

**Every effort was made to include only those cases where both parents' Jewish status was asked and determined; but, in some cases, data was available on only one parent.

***The NJPS questions on bar/bat mitzvah were not asked if a respondent did not have any Jewish education as a teenager/child. For this analysis, UAI has combined the "no" responses with the "not asked" responses, assuming that almost all of those who did not have Jewish education as a child also did not have a bar/bat mitzvah. In the UAI study of Greater San Diego (2003), only 5 percent of respondents without Jewish education as a child reported having had a bar/bat mitzvah.

Jewish Background: UAI Local Community Study Data

Significant numbers of young Jewish respondents report Jewish experiences as a child or teen, such as attending an overnight summer camp with Jewish content, being active in a Jewish youth group, and having some formal Jewish education.

Orthodox respondents typically report the highest level of Jewish childhood/teen experiences (especially day school),[31] but there is remarkably little difference in Jewish education, Jewish summer camp, and youth group involvement among the three non-Orthodox groups.

Table 16: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Jewish Background Variables: Jewish Camp, Jewish Youth Group, Jewish Education as a Child/Teen, UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

	Jewish Background Variables: UAI Local Community Study Jewish Respondents 18-39, by Percent			
Category	Attended Jewish Camp as Child/Teen	Involved in Jewish Youth Group as Child/Teen	Some Jewish Education	Day School Jewish Education
Orthodox	74	56	89	76
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	42	43	65	17
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	47	45	78	16
Intermarried	40	42	72	15

*UAI local community studies merged.

Raising Children Jewish

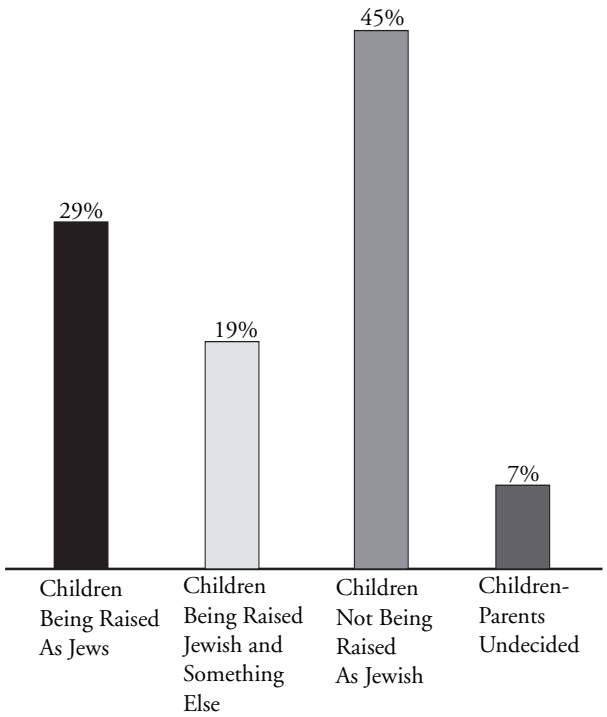
Young Orthodox and inmarried (non-Orthodox) couples with children invariably raise their children as Jews. Among the Orthodox, at least 99 percent of the children are being raised as Jewish, while among the inmarried non-Orthodox, 91 percent of the children are being raised Jewish and 2 percent are being raised "Jewish and something else."

Table 17 focuses on young intermarried Jewish households.

Among the intermarried, 29 percent of children are being raised as Jews, 19 percent are being raised "Jewish and something else," 45 percent are being raised neither Jewish nor Jewish and something else, while for approximately 7 percent of the children, their parents are "undecided."

Table 17: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Raising Children Jewish, Young Intermarried Households with Children,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003*

Percent of Children in Young Intermarried Jewish Households Being Raised Jewish, Jewish and Something Else, Non-Jewish: UAI Local Community Study Data 1999-2003.



*Data based on merged UAI local community studies.

NJPS 2000-01 national data show similar patterns: "Nearly all children (96%) in households with two Jewish spouses are being raised Jewish, compared to a third (33%) of the children in a household with one non-Jewish spouse."

Attachment to Israel

Emotional Attachment to Israel

Young Jewish respondent connections to Israel are strongly related to their Jewish life-status. Young Orthodox respondents feel strongly attached to Israel, while disconnection from Israel is especially clear among young intermarried respondents.

Only a small minority (22 percent) of non-Orthodox unmarried and married-childless respondents report being very emotionally attached to Israel; 10 percent of intermarried Jewish respondents felt very attached emotionally to Israel.

Table 18: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Israel Connections,
NJPS: 2000-01*

	Level of Emotional Attachment to Israel: NJPS Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent		
Category	Very Emotionally Attached to Israel	Somewhat Emotionally Attached to Israel	Not Emotionally Attached to Israel**
All Orthodox	69	23	8
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	33	33	34
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	22	35	43
Intermarried	10	29	61

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

**Combines responses of "not very" emotionally attached and "not at all" attached to Israel.

Emotional Attachment to Israel and Travel to Israel

Travel to Israel is strongly related to the Jewish life status typology: 82 percent of young Orthodox respondents, 40 percent of non-Orthodox married with children, 31 percent of unmarried/childless married, and 16 percent of intermarried respondents report having been in Israel.[32]

Having been in Israel interacts strongly with the Jewish-life-status typology in shaping respondent attitudes: 75 percent of Orthodox respondents who have been to Israel are very attached, compared to only 42 percent of those who have not been to Israel. Obviously, no causal relationship is assumed, since the variables are most likely recursive. Intermarried and unmarried/childless married respondents who have not been to Israel are the least emotionally attached.

Table 19: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Israel Connections, by Whether Young Respondent Has Ever Been in Israel, NJPS: 2000-01*

	% Very Emotionally Attached to Israel	
Category	Respondent Has Been to Israel	Respondent Has Not Been to Israel
All Orthodox	75	42
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	53	20
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	50	9
Intermarried	29	6

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

Feeling Close to Israel: AJC Survey Data

The annual American Jewish Committee surveys include several questions designed to measure connection to Israel. One question asks: How close do you feel to Israel?

Almost 80 percent of young Orthodox Jewish Americans feel very close to Israel.

Only 6 percent of intermarried young Jewish Americans feel close to Israel.

Table 20: Degree of Closeness Respondent Feels Toward Israel, by Jewish Life-Status Variable, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39, AJC Annual Surveys: 2000-05*

	How Close Does Respondent Feel to Israel? By Percent AJC Annual Survey Respondents Ages 18-39**		
Category	Very Close	Fairly Close	Distant
Orthodox	79	17	4
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	31	40	29
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	15	41	44
Intermarried	6	34	60

*AJC Annual Survey of Public Opinion: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 merged for key variables and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

**Percentages may not add precisely to 100 percent due to rounding. Answer categories "fairly distant" and "very distant" are combined.

"How Much Does Being Jewish Involve..."

NJPS survey respondents with "stronger" Jewish connections were asked to respond to a series of items after being asked:

"Personally, how much does being Jewish involve..."

"Remembering the Holocaust" was one item that received virtually identical responses from Jewish respondents ages 18-39, regardless of their Jewish life status. Approximately seven out of ten Orthodox, non-Orthodox married with children, non-Orthodox unmarried/childless married, and intermarried respondents stated that for them, being Jewish deeply involved remembering the Holocaust.

"Countering anti-Semitism" was defined as a major aspect of Jewish identity by only half of all respondents, regardless of their Jewish life status.

Table 21: "How Much Does Being Jewish Involve" and the Jewish Life-Status Typology, Respondents Ages 18-39 with "Stronger" Jewish Connections, NJPS: 2000-01*

	% Respondents Ages 18-39 Who Reported That Being Jewish Involved ... "A Lot"			
Category	Remembering the Holocaust	Learning About Jewish History and Culture	Caring About Israel	Countering Anti-Semitism
All Orthodox	70	74	69	46
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	74	45	52	54
Unmarried, Childless Married All Other Denominations	70	44	33	52
Intermarried	69	42	30	46

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. This question was asked only of respondents with "stronger" Jewish connections. Thus, this table and the companion tables in the Appendix (Appendix Tables A17a and A17b) may overstate positive aspects of Jewish identity among young Jewish respondents, and may have narrowed the differences among the non-Orthodox respondents and the intermarried.

Jewish Life-Status Typology and Israel as a Part of Respondent Jewish Identity

Another American Jewish Committee annual survey question asked survey respondents:

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew."

The majority of respondents in each Jewish life-status typology agree that caring about Israel was a very important part of their Jewish identity.

Table 22: Is Caring about Israel a Very Important Part of Jewish Identity? by Jewish Life-Status Typology, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39, AJC Surveys of Annual Opinion: 2000-05*

	Israel Is a Very Important Part of Jewish Identity for AJC Survey Respondents, by Percent**	
Category	Agree	Disagree
Orthodox	90	10
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	80	20
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	67	33
Intermarried	60	40

*AJC Annual Survey of Public Opinion: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 merged for key variables and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

** The AJC survey data summarized in Table 22 asked if respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement that caring about Israel was an important part of their Jewish identity; strength of agreement or disagreement was not asked. In Table 21, summarizing NJPS data on a similar question, strength of attitude was probed and the data on the importance of caring about Israel were presented only for the "top line" response ("a lot") and not for the other positive response ("some").

Arab Motives and the Creation of a Palestinian State

Finally, the AJC annual surveys of Jewish public opinion include two questions designed to measure respondent views concerning the motives of Arabs in the Middle East and the possible creation of a Palestinian state:

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

"The goal of the Arabs is not the return of occupied territories but rather the destruction of Israel."

Beginning in 2001, respondents were asked:

"In the current situation, do you favor or oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state?"

Orthodox respondents strongly oppose a Palestinian state, and almost all view Arab motives with deep suspicion.

Non-Orthodox respondents, including the intermarried young respondents, are essentially divided 60 percent in favor and 40 percent opposing the creation of a Palestinian state. However, the majority within each group views the ultimate Arab goal as the destruction of Israel.

Table 23: Young Jewish Respondent Views on Arab Motives and the Establishment of a Palestinian State, by Jewish Life-Status Typology,
AJC Annual Surveys: 2000-05*

	AJC Annual Survey Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent	
Category	Agree Destruction of Israel is an Arab Goal	Oppose a Palestinian State
Orthodox	93	75
Married with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	76	42
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	62	41
Intermarried	62	43

*AJC Surveys of Public Opinion, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 combined by UAI (Ukeles Associates, Inc.) for analysis.

Civic and Professional Involvement

Political Philosophy and Political Party Identification

Orthodox respondents are much more likely than all other young Jewish respondents to identify themselves as politically conservative: 64 percent of all AJC Orthodox respondents under age 40 report that they are politically conservative, as do 50 percent of NJPS young Orthodox Jewish respondents. All other young American Jews tend to define themselves as liberal as opposed to conservative.[33]

Similarly, the young Orthodox are more likely to define themselves as Republicans than are any of the other young Jewish respondents.[34]

Table 24: Political Conservatism/Liberalism and Party Identification, by Jewish Life-Status Typology, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
AJC Annual Surveys: 2000-05 and NJPS: 2000-01*

	Survey Respondents Ages 18-39			
Category	AJC % Politically Conservative	NJPS % Politically Conservative	AJC % Identify as Republican	NJPS % Identify as Republican
Orthodox	64	50	41	28
Married with Children, All Other Denominations	24	20	21	16
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	19	16	14	12
Intermarried	23	16	21	16

*NJPS 2000-01 data reanalyzed by UAI; AJC Annual Survey of Public Opinion: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 merged and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. The question on political party identification was not asked in the 2001 AJC survey.

Charitable Behavior

In general, older Jewish Americans are more likely than younger Jewish Americans to donate to Jewish charities, including the local Jewish Federation, and are much less likely to donate to only non-Jewish charities.

While young Orthodox respondents are most likely (87 percent) to report making a Jewish charitable gift, and the young intermarried are least likely (18 percent), donations to Jewish Federations are slightly higher among the non-Orthodox young married with children (26 percent) than among the young Orthodox (20 percent).

The majority (56 percent) of intermarried young Jewish respondents in the UAI local community studies contributed only to non-Jewish charities—only 18 percent contributed to a Jewish charity, and 6 percent to a Jewish Federation.

Table 25: Charitable Behavior by Age of Respondent, and by Jewish Life-Status Typology: Respondents Ages 18-39,
UAI Local Community Studies: 1999-2003

	UAI Local Community Survey Respondents, by Percent			
	Households Donate to Jewish Federation	Households Donate to a Jewish Charity*	Households Donate to a Non-Jewish Charity	Households Donate to Only Non-Jewish Charities
Age of Respondent				
18-39	13	46	62	30
40-59	29	60	76	28
60 and Over	43	67	66	15
Jewish Life Status: Ages 18-39 Only				
Orthodox	20	87	53	3
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	26	64	68	20
Unmarried and Childless Married	9	32	61	36
Intermarried	6	18	74	56

*Includes local Federation gifts.

Chapter Four: Conclusions and Policy Implications

Given the substantial distinctiveness of American Jewish young people documented in this report, and the extent to which these distinctions seem to correspond to long-term trends in the general culture, it seems reasonable to conclude that today's generation of young American Jews are, indeed, likely to reshape contemporary American Judaism.

Projecting forward, one needs to think about each of the major life-status groups separately.

Jewish Singles and the Married-but-Childless

First, the largest life-status segment of young Jewish Americans includes both non-Orthodox Jewish singles and their non-Orthodox, inmarried-but-childless counterparts. When generalizations are made about the increasing distance of young Jewish Americans from Jewish values, traditions, and beliefs, the analysts typically are (implicitly) speaking about this group—a statistical cohort that is not intermarried, but as a whole is also not deeply committed to traditional Jewish life. (There is, however, a minority of unmarried and childless married non-Orthodox Jews who are seriously involved in Jewish life.)

The research reports and the quantitative data support the generalization that a very large number of non-Orthodox young Jewish singles are relatively unengaged with their own Jewishness. Their future Jewish life experiences are uncertain, as is their marital status in a radically different twenty-first century cultural climate.[35]

— Those who ultimately marry and have children are likely to become much more involved in being Jewish, unless they marry non-Jewish spouses.

— Those who intermarry are likely to remain relatively uninvolved in being Jewish.

Their married-but-childless counterparts share several major aspects of a "single lifestyle," and, as a statistical group, are similarly somewhat disengaged from Jewish life—but not necessarily totally disconnected forever. If they have children (though at a later stage in life than did their counterparts thirty years ago), the data show that they will overwhelmingly choose to raise their children as Jewish; that decision will make them increasingly likely to become more engaged in Jewish life, as they make the transition to a world that they have known previously only as children, but will soon know as parents.

The new, self-directed programs by young Jewish adults for young Jewish adults—such as J-Dub, Reboot, or ACCESS—are clearly on the right track. The American Jewish Committee developed ACCESS, a project involving Jewish professionals in their twenties and thirties (singles, married-but-childless, etc.), to help others in their age group become engaged in Jewish activities through AJC. These efforts represent important and useful experiments—even if they are radically different in content and style from what community leaders are accustomed to.

The Jewish community has a substantial stake in generation-sensitive efforts to support inmarriage, Jewish family formation, and child-bearing. This includes efforts to lower the costs associated with raising Jewish children and the provision of Jewish day care. Marrying Jews and having children clearly makes an enormous difference in the level of Jewish engagement.

Inmarried Jewish Families with Children

Young Jewish married families with young children are at the stage in the life cycle where Jewish identification and participation are typically the highest. A child's curiosity and questioning will often moti-

vate a parent to become more interested in being Jewish and in connecting to Judaism.

In this stage, minimally engaged Jews may be the most open to opportunities to deepen Jewish connections. However, this is a stage that finds most people especially busy balancing family and career.

Yet the report shows that, while more than half feel that Jewish community is very important to them, only a quarter feel "a lot" connected to the Jewish community. We need to reinforce the positive feelings of Jewish families with young children. Thus, efforts need to be made to promote Jewish preschools as an important gateway institution, including expanding the availability and accessibility of Jewish preschools. In addition, opportunities for Jewish family education, Jewish family holiday/camping/recreational activities, and parenting and life-cycle programming need to be expanded. However, these programs should maintain a focus both on the goal of Jewish involvement and on the need to respond to the duality of greater interest and less time.

The Orthodox

The probable future growth in numbers of Orthodox Jews in the United States represents a particular challenge to the overall Jewish community—not the challenge of increasing their Jewish identification, but the challenge of connecting a highly educated and committed group of Jews to the rest of the community. Communal efforts need to go to increasing dialogue, mutual respect, and understanding between Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jews. The community needs to invest in programs to combat isolationism and schism. At the same time, the broader Jewish community needs to signal that Orthodox young people are welcome at the communal table, for example, by offering opportunities for levels of *kashrut* and Shabbat observance that accommodate their needs at communal events.

The Intermarried

The intermarried represent a significant portion of the young Jewish community right now, and their numbers may be increased if relatively disconnected young Jewish singles ultimately intermarry. Excluding the Orthodox, the majority of young Jews who marry will intermarry. It is a mistake to give up on the intermarried, given that one out of three says that being Jewish is very important.

The most promising programs do not differentiate between the Jewish intermarried and the Jewish unaffiliated—they seek to attract and engage young Jews who are not connected to Jewish life, and the ranks of the unaffiliated are replete with the intermarried.

The outreach programs that focus on unaffiliated young Jews are much less politically charged than are programs that focus on the intermarried and, in many ways, show a greater willingness to welcome the intermarried without stigmatizing them. There is some evidence that intermarried couples want their children to know about Jewish traditions and culture. A sophisticated course in Jewish history might be a useful element in programming for this group.

Given that only 5 percent of young Jewish adults who are intermarried are closely attached to Israel, and given the positive impact of Israel travel programs, it makes sense to ensure that there are Israel trips targeted to the intermarried as a way to increase interest and commitment.

General Observations

There are three general areas in which these findings challenge the community to make significant change:

— The need to transform the connection to Israel;
— The need to transform organizational life;
— The need to transform Jewish community.

First, the distancing from Israel by young Jews, aside from the Orthodox and those who have traveled to Israel, is a serious concern. While there is no magic bullet, the Birthright experience suggests that high-quality, subsidized travel to Israel has a positive impact. The organized community needs to work harder to tell the story of Israel—its relevance to being Jewish, its raison d'être, its diversity, complexity, and interesting culture.

Second, Jewish organizations and institutions need to recognize the need to change. People need to be offered multiple pathways instead of only one—ranging from the "Synaplex" approach to synagogue life to the cafeteria plan in a JCC. Jewish organizations are going to need to be focused more on projects fostering greater participation and less on process, more built on interest and affinity groups than on committees and hierarchical structures.

Third, the structure of the Jewish community itself will need to change. Shaped by the values and attitudes of young Jewish adults, we can expect Jewish communities in the future to be:

- Open, and therefore dynamic: Since people are free to enter (and leave) at will, Jewish communities will be fluid and dynamic, as the composition of the community shifts over time;
- Pluralistic: accepting many different modes or models of being Jewish, including cultural, ethnic, nationalistic, tribal, language-based, religious, spiritual, etc.;
- More concerned about opportunities for personal enrichment than religious or communal obligations;
- Inclusive: more concerned about welcoming than on defining exclusivity and boundaries.

In short, the challenge is to become exciting, vibrant, and compelling communities that coming generations will want to be part of in order to enrich their lives and those of their families.

A Note on Directions for Future Research

The annotated bibliography in this report includes seventy-six citations of relevant literature (see page 123). Yet there are important gaps in our understanding of young Jewish adults that call for further research.

First, the identification of four sharply differentiated groups of young Jewish adults (Orthodox, non-Orthodox marrieds with children, non-Orthodox singles and marrieds without children, and intermarrieds) creates the basis for a large-scale quantitative and qualitative study stratified along these lines, in which one could probe a series of important policy-relevant questions such as: What are likely to be the most effective strategies for supporting inmarriage, family formation, and child-bearing that make sense to this generation's singles and childless couples? For non-Orthodox marrieds with children, how would they like to connect to the Jewish community?

Second, while there is an extensive qualitative literature on cultural activities as important "hooks" for disconnected young Jewish adults, this seems to contradict quantitative community studies that show Jewish cultural activities to be well attended only by those who are already connected in other ways. This needs to be probed.

Third, the relative disconnection of many young people from Israel is of great concern. But what else needs to happen alongside Birthright, and perhaps connected to the Birthright experience, to reenergize the connection of this generation to Israel?

Fourth, despite substantial anecdotal evidence on the importance of social action to young Jewish adults, there is almost no research that probes this topic.

Fifth, there appears to be no research on the impact of some of the important changes in family composition and lifestyle on Jewish connections, such as sexual identity and single-sex households, or divorce, remarriage, and blended families.

Appendix I: The Research Questions

Life Status

1. How many younger Jewish adults are there in the United States?

2. Do most young Jewish adults marry, live with someone, or remain single? Of those who do marry, are they more likely to marry later in life?

3. Are younger Jewish adults more likely or less likely to be in families with two working parents? Are younger Jewish mothers staying home (leaving the workforce)?

4. Are younger Jewish women having fewer babies? What is the impact of intermarriage on the numbers of Jewish children—that is, when one factors in the number of Jewish children with non-Jewish mothers, does this mitigate the impact of declining Jewish fertility?

5. Are younger Jewish adults who marry more likely to be in interfaith or intergroup marriages and less likely to raise their children as Jews? Is the rate of intermarriage leveling off?

6. To what extent is having two Jewish parents (vs. one Jewish parent) a major determinant of positive Jewish identity?

7. Are there fewer differences between men and women (education, employment, income, family roles) among younger Jewish adults?

8. If there are fewer differences, does greater equality carry over into Jewish identity and community?

Jewish Connections

1. Do most young Jewish adults who were born or raised Jewish consider themselves Jewish?

2. Is being Jewish important to younger Jewish adults?

3. What about being Jewish is meaningful/positive to young Jewish adults?

4. For those who do self-identify as Jews, except for Israelis and Russian-speakers, do most young people identify as Jews by religion, by culture or by ethnicity/nationality, or some combination?

5. For those who do identify religiously, are they more likely to identify with a denomination or to see themselves as nondenominational or transdenominational?

6. For those who do identify with a denomination, are they more likely to be Reform, Reconstructionist, Conservative, or Orthodox?

7. How important is spirituality to young people as an element in their Jewish identity?

8. What experiences seem to be associated with a greater sense of Jewish identification—day school, other kinds of Jewish education, summer camp, travel to Israel, youth movement participation, or ...?

9. How important is the Holocaust in shaping the current Jewish identity of younger Jews?

10. How important is the perception of anti-Semitism in shaping the Jewish identity of younger Jews?

11. Do young Jewish adults connect with the idea of Jewish community? Do they feel part of a Jewish community? Is it important to them to be part of a Jewish community? Do young people form their own "communities" or community-like associations? Is their Jewish identity based more on the quest for individual fulfillment and less on the need to belong to a community or the Jewish people?

12. Are young people more likely to connect to being Jewish as individuals and through informal groups than through organizations?

13. Do young people typically join a congregation?

14. Are younger philanthropists more likely to contribute to non-Jewish charities, to Jewish Federations, or to other Jewish causes?

15. Are younger Jewish adults more likely to volunteer for Jewish causes, nonsectarian causes, or both?

16. Do young people prefer to do social action in a Jewish setting; don't see why they should engage with their world (politically/socially) from a Jewish perspective; or do those who are precommitted to the salience of being Jewish prefer a Jewish setting while others do not?

17. Are young people more likely to live in the West and South, where they tend to live in newer communities with weaker Jewish infrastructure?

18. With the decline in Jewish neighborhoods and greater suburbanization, are young people less likely to live in established Jewish communities?

Attachment to Israel

1. To what extent are young Jewish adults attached to Israel?

2. What is the impact of travel to Israel on attachment to Israel?

3. To what extent are younger people "turned off" to Israel because of concern about the treatment of Palestinians or about the lack of a commitment to religious pluralism or inclusion in Israeli culture?

Civic and Professional Involvement

1. Are younger Jews more likely to consider themselves conservatives or liberals?

2. Are younger people more likely to be independent or to identify with a major political party (Democrats or Republicans)?

3. Are younger people "turned off" to politics and government?

4. Are younger Jews more comfortable and at ease with non-Jews than previous generations were?

5. Are they more likely than previous generations to have non-Jewish friends?

The Impact of General Culture

1. To what extent are choice and individualism central norms to all young people today? Has creating one's own identity replaced inherited identity as a central reality?

2. To what extent has technology contributed to greater individual choice through control and access to information?

3. Has interethnic group and interfaith marriage become a generally accepted norm in society, to the extent that inmarriage can been characterized as "racist?"

4. Has society as a whole, and especially younger people, become much less judgmental about sexual preference and living arrangements in general?

5. To what extent do experiences that involve boundaries (e.g., membership in/identification with a denomination) alienate young people?

6. Has time replaced money as the scarcest resource?

Appendix II: Supplementary Tables

Age and Strength of Connections to Judaism

Of the 1.461 million American Jews between the ages of 18 and 39 reported in NJPS 2000-01, just over one million have been defined as having "stronger" Jewish connections ("Jewish" on the "J1" variable), while another 387,000 (26 percent) have been defined as "Jewish-connected" without the "stronger" Jewish connections of respondents labeled as "Jewish." The vast majority of these "Jewish-connected" Jews do not identify with Judaism as a religion and do not consider themselves to be Jewish, but they have Jewish parent(s) and do not identify with another "monotheistic" religion, such as Christianity. They have been defined in NJPS 2000-01 as Jews following the 1990 NJPS definition guidelines.

Younger Jewish respondents are most likely to have "weaker" Jewish connections. One-out-of-three (32 percent) youngest Jewish respondents (ages 18-24) are "Jewish-connected" as opposed to having stronger "Jewish" connections.

Appendix Table A1: Number of Young American Jews by NJPS Definition of Strength of Connection to Judaism, NJPS: 2000-01

Age	All Jewish Persons*	Jewish Persons: Stronger Jewish Connections	Jewish Persons: "Weaker" Jewish Connections	Percent with "Weaker" Connections
18-24	541,000	370,000	171,000	32%
25-29	307,000	221,000	86,000	28
30-34	316,000	244,000	72,000	23
35-39	297,000	239,000	58,000	20
Subtotal 18-39	1,461,000	1,075,000	387,000	26
40-59	1,659,000	1,422,000	237,000	14
60+	956,000	840,000	116,000	12
Total Adults	4,076,000	3,337,000	740,000	18

*NJPS 2000-01 data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. In all tables, numbers may not add precisely and/or percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation.

NJPS researchers ultimately defined two types of Jewish persons: those with "stronger" (NJPS term) Jewish connections (who were asked to complete the "long form") and those with "weaker" (UAI term) Jewish connections, who were typically originally defined as "Persons of Jewish Background (PJB)." See *Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population*: United Jewish Communities, September 2003, p. 2, and the Appendix. In the NJPS data file, these groups have been labeled respectively: "Jewish" (N=4,147) and "Jewish-connected" (N=376) on the "J1" variable used to define the Jewish status of survey respondents.

Age and Gender

Of the 1.461 million Jewish adults ages 18-39, approximately half are males and half females.

While there are slightly more females between the ages of 18-24, and slightly more males between 25-29, among young Jewish adults relatively equal distributions exist by gender.

Appendix Table A2: Number of Young American Jews by Gender, NJPS: 2000-01

Age	All Jewish Persons*	Males	Females	% Females/ Total
18-24	541,000	258,000	283,000	52%
25-29	307,000	159,000	148,000	48
30-34	316,000	158,000	158,000	50
35-39	297,000	152,000	145,000	49
Subtotal 18-39	1,461,000	726,000	735,000	50
40-59	1,659,000	795,000	865,000	52
60+	956,000	437,000	519,000	54
Total Adults	4,076,000	1,958,000	2,119,000	52

*NJPS 2000-01 data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. In all tables, numbers may not add precisely and/or percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation.

Age, Gender, and "Weaker Jewish-Connected" Patterns

Gender is not a critical factor in terms of the NJPS 2000-01 distinction between "Jewish" and "Jewish-connected" respondents. There are only slight differences between male and female young American Jews in terms of identifying Judaism as their religion ("stronger" connections) or being "Jewish-connected," with weaker Jewish identities. For example, 27 percent of all male Jews 18-39, and 26 percent of female Jews 18-39 are defined in the NJPS data file as "Jewish-connected" (rather than as unambiguously "Jewish").

Once again, among both males and females, younger Jewish respondents are more likely to have "weaker" Jewish connections.

Appendix Table A3: Percent of Young American Jews with "Weaker" Jewish Connections, by Gender, NJPS: 2000-01*

Age	Males	% Males with "Weaker" Jewish Connections	Females	% Females with "Weaker" Jewish Connections
18-24	258,000	31%	283,000	32%
25-29	159,000	29	148,000	27
30-34	158,000	25	158,000	20
35-39	152,000	21	145,000	18
Subtotal 18-39	726,000	27	735,000	26
40-59	795,000	15	865,000	14
60+	437,000	13	519,000	11
Total Adults	1,958,000	19	2,119,000	17

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. In all tables, numbers may not add precisely and/or percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation. NJPS data file designations for Jewish persons are: "Jewish" and "Jewish-connected"; those who are defined as "Jewish-connected" are labeled in the table as having "weaker" connections.

Age and Region of the U.S.

Adult Jews ages 18-39, like American Jews in general, are relatively concentrated in the Northeast.

— Forty-two percent of all young Jews live in the Northeast, as do 41 percent of all Jewish adults.

— In the South, younger Jews are somewhat underrepresented compared to overall Southern totals, reflecting retirement patterns among American Jews.

Appendix Table A4: Number of Young American Jews by Region, NJPS: 2000-01*

Age	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
18-24	229,000	69,000	105,000	137,000
25-29	134,000	53,000	70,000	51,000
30-34	132,000	43,000	60,000	81,000
35-39	119,000	30,000	58,000	89,000
Subtotal 18-39	613,000	196,000	292,000	357,000
40-59	694,000	197,000	353,000	414,000
60+	360,000	99,000	314,000	183,000
Total Adults	1,667,000	492,000	959,000	954,000
% of All Young Jews 18-39 by Region	42	13	20	24
% of All American Jewish Adults by Region	41	12	24	23

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. In all tables, numbers may not add up precisely and/or percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation. Data are not extrapolated for missing data by region and age. Zip code of primary residence used in NJPS to classify region.

Age and Marital Status: NJPS Data

Jewish Americans under age 25 are unlikely to be married (only 12 percent were married), and highly likely to have never been married (84 percent).

The proportion married increases quickly as age of respondent increases: 25-29-year-olds (45 percent married), 30-34-year-olds (57 percent married), and 35-39-year-olds (62 percent).

Thus, while it is true that just over half (53 percent) of all young American Jews have never been married, the difference between those 18-24 and all other age groups is striking.

Appendix Table A5: Marital Status of NJPS Jewish Respondents, 2000-01, by Percent*

Age	Married	Living Together	Widowed Separated Divorced	Never Married
18-24	12	2	2	84
25-29	45	5	2	48
30-34	57	3	7	34
35-39	62	2	12	24
Subtotal 18-39	39	3	5	53
40-59	69	<1	18	12
60+	64	<1	32	3

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Numbers may not add to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation. Respondents living with someone have been maintained as a separate category, and not combined with the "never married." Data should be compared to Table 3, which focuses on marital status in the UAI six local communities merged data file.

Age, Marital Status, and Gender

Young female survey respondents are somewhat more likely to be married than male respondents. Among all Jewish adult respondents 18-39, 35 percent of the males and 43 percent of the females are currently married.

The major marital transition occurs after age 30; until then, the proportion married is always under one-third nationally, while after age 30, the proportion married increases to over half among males, and almost two-thirds among American Jewish females.

Appendix Table A6: Percentage Married and Never Married by Gender, NJPS Jewish Respondents: 2000-01*

	Male Jewish Respondents		Female Jewish Respondents	
Age	Currently Married	Never Married	Currently Married	Never Married
18-29	20	75	29	65
30-39	55	37	63	21
Subtotal 18-39	35	59	43	47
40-59	69	13	68	11
60+	75	4	55	3

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Numbers do not total to 100 percent since widowed/separated/divorced and "living with someone" responses are not shown. The percentage currently married is somewhat different from Table 3 in the NJPS 2000-01 report, *Strength, Challenge, and Diversity in the American Jewish Population*, which focused on percentage "ever married."

Age, Marital Status, and Denomination

Nationally, young Orthodox Jewish respondents were much more likely to be married than non-Orthodox respondents.

Among respondents ages 18-29, 55 percent of the Orthodox respondents were married, compared to only 19 percent of non-Orthodox Jewish respondents. Among the Orthodox, the majority are married among those ages 18-29; among the non-Orthodox, marriage is atypical among those 18-29.

Among both Orthodox and non-Orthodox Jewish respondents, the majority of the 30-39 age cohort are married.

Appendix Table A7: Percentage Married and Never Married by Age and Denomination, NJPS Jewish Respondents: 2000-01*

	Orthodox Respondents		Non-Orthodox Respondents	
Age	Married	Never Married	Married	Never Married
18-29	55	43	19	76
30-39	80	17	57	30
Total 18-39	62	35	37	54

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Numbers do not total to 100 percent since those living with someone and those who had been divorced, separated or widowed are excluded from the presentation.

Age, Gender, Denomination, and Marital Status

On a national level, NJPS data show that the marital status of young Jewish Americans is strongly influenced by the cumulative interactions that exist among the age of respondent, gender, and Orthodox/non-Orthodox denominational status.

Young female Orthodox respondents ages 18-29 tend to be married (67 percent) while all other respondents in the same age grouping—including male Orthodox respondents (43 percent)—are typically not married.

— Indeed, for the non-Orthodox, a very small and similar percentage of the under-30 age cohort is married (14 percent of the males and 23 percent of the females).

Among the "older" young Orthodox Jews, females are somewhat more likely to be married than their male counterparts—but the key pattern is that the vast majority of female Orthodox Jews are married by their late twenties.

Among the non-Orthodox, male/female differences are less critical, while age is a more powerful variable.

Appendix Table A8: Percentage of Respondents Who Are Married, by Orthodox/Non-Orthodox Denomination, Age, and Gender, NJPS: 2000-01*

Gender/Age	% Currently Married	
	Orthodox	Non-Orthodox
Males		
Ages 18-29	43	14
Ages 30-39	73	54
Females		
Ages 18-29	67	23
Ages 30-39	85	60

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. All non-Orthodox Jewish denominations have been combined to simplify presentation. Please note that sample sizes are relatively small for the Orthodox Jewish respondent subsample, especially among those ages 30-39, where the sample size barely exceeds 50 respondents.

Jewish Life-Status Typology and Age of Respondents

Appendix Table A9 presents NJPS 2000-01 data showing the relationship of the Jewish life-status typology and age. The data show quite similar patterns to the UAI data presented in Table 8:

- The majority of Orthodox respondents (70 percent) are between the ages of 18 and 29, while 30 percent are between 30 and 39;
- Unmarried non-Orthodox respondents and their married counterparts without children also tend to be under age 30 (66 percent are between 18 and 29);
- In contrast, married non-Orthodox respondents with children were predominantly (85 percent) between 30 and 39;
- Intermarried young Jewish respondents are likely to be in their thirties.

Appendix Table A9: Jewish Life-Status Typology for Young American Jewish Respondents, by Age of the Respondent, NJPS: 2000-01*

Category	% Ages 18-29	% Ages 30-39
Orthodox	70	30
Married with Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	15	85
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	66	34
Intermarried	31	69

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Gender is also not a powerful factor within the NJPS data set; male/female patterns are relatively similar. Male respondents: 74 percent of the Orthodox, 9 percent of non-Orthodox married with children, 64 percent of non-Orthodox unmarried/childless married, and 26 percent of the intermarried are under age 30. Comparable female percentages: 67 percent, 18 percent, 69 percent, and 36 percent.

Jewish Life-Status Typology, Employment Status, and Gender

NJPS data indicate that male and female employment status patterns are somewhat related to the Jewish life-status typology.

Almost all male young Jewish respondents are either employed or are students.

About one out of five Orthodox females, non-Orthodox married females with children, and intermarried respondents are homemakers.

Appendix Table A10a: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Employment Status, Male Respondents, NJPS: 2000-01*

	Employment Status: Male Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	Employed	Student	Homemaker	Unemployed	Misc.
Orthodox	66	32	—**	2	—
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	99	1	—	—	<1
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	70	21	<1	6	3
Intermarried	93	2	<1	4	1

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

**— Indicates that there were not any cases in the sample interviewed.

Appendix Table 10b: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Employment Status, Female Respondents, NJPS: 2000-01

	Employment Status: Female Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	Employed	Student	Homemaker	Unemployed	Misc.
Orthodox	57	15	23	2	3
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	71	2	22	5	—
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	71	21	2	4	1
Intermarried	71	2	22	2	3

Jewish Life-Status Typology and Degree Status

While young Orthodox respondents are most likely to have only completed a high school education (or less), the majority (60 percent) have attended college and one out of three (33 percent) have at least a Bachelor's degree.

Bachelor/graduate degrees have been earned by 77 percent of non-Orthodox married respondents with children, 55 percent of their non-Orthodox unmarried/childless counterparts, and 61 percent of the young Jewish intermarried.

Appendix Table A11: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Highest Degree Earned, All Respondents Ages 18-39, NJPS: 2000-01*

	Highest Degree Earned: All Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	High School Diploma or Less	Technical Training	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Degree**
Orthodox	37	3	27	18	15
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	8	<1	15	43	34
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	16	1	28	37	18
Intermarried	17	3	18	36	25

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

**Includes rabbinic ordination.

Jewish Life-Status Typology, Gender, and Degree Status

Gender is only minimally related to Jewish life-status and highest degree earned by the respondent.

Appendix Table A12a: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Highest Degree Earned, Male Respondents, NJPS: 2000-01*

	Highest Degree Earned: Male Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	High School Diploma or Less	Technical Training	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Degree**
Orthodox	36	—	31	14	19
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	2	—	16	36	46
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	15	2	28	37	18
Intermarried	13	6	24	31	25

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Percentages may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.
**Includes rabbinic ordination.

Appendix Table A12b: Jewish Life-Status Typology and Highest Degree Earned, Female Respondents, NJPS: 2000-01

	Highest Degree Earned: Female Respondents Ages 18-39, by Percent				
Category	High School Diploma or Less	Technical Training	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Degree
Orthodox	38	5	20	25	11
Married w/Children, Other Denominations	12	1	14	46	27
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	17	1	28	36	18
Intermarried	21	<1	13	41	25

NJPS Data: Importance of Being Jewish by Jewish Life-Status Typology

NJPS 2000-01 data show the same strong relationship as did the UAI data (Table 9) between the Jewish life-status typology and the respondent's view of the personal importance of being Jewish.[36]

- Almost all NJPS Orthodox respondents ages 18-39 report that being Jewish is very important.
- Just over half (53 percent) of all married, non-Orthodox respondents with children similarly feel that being Jewish is very important.
- In contrast, only 36 percent of the most populous group, non-Orthodox unmarried and their married counterparts without children, feel that being Jewish is very important.

Appendix Table A13a: How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondent by Life-Status, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39, NJPS: 2000-01*

	How Important Is Being Jewish, by Percent**		
Category	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Orthodox	93	6	1
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	53	39	8
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	36	44	20
Intermarried	23	58	19

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.
**Combines not very important and not important. The question is asked on the NJPS "long form" only, which minimizes the participation of respondents with "weaker" Jewish connections, but does not completely eliminate their responses, so that the table results are reliable estimates of Jewish life-status typology patterns.

AJC Survey Data: How Important Is Being Jewish?

Appendix Table A13b focuses on data from the American Jewish Committee Annual Surveys of American Jewish Pubic Opinion. It shows the relationship of the Jewish life-status typology and young Jewish respondent views on the importance of being Jewish (parallel to Appendix Table A13a for the NJPS data and Table 9 for the UAI studies).

Almost all (99 percent) Orthodox respondents ages 18-39 interviewed for the AJC opinion surveys reported that being Jewish is very important to them (compared to 93 percent of the NJPS young Orthodox and 98 percent of the young UAI Orthodox).

In contrast, only 40 percent of the AJC unmarried, non-Orthodox respondents ages 18-39 (and their married counterparts without children) feel that being Jewish is very important (NJPS, 36 percent; UAI, 45 percent).

Finally, 25 percent of intermarried AJC respondents report that being Jewish is very important to them—as do 23 percent of the NJPS intermarried and 33 percent of the UAI intermarried.

Appendix Table A13b: How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondent by Life-Status, Jewish Respondents Ages 18-39,
AJC Annual Surveys of American Jewish Public Opinion: 2000-05*

Category	How Important Is Being Jewish to Respondents Ages 18-39 by Percent**		
	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important
Orthodox	99	—	1
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	64	32	5
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	40	44	16
Intermarried	25	54	21

*AJC Annual Surveys of American Jewish Public Opinion: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 merged for key variables and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

**NJPS: 2000-01 categories were very important, somewhat important, and not very/not at all important (last two combined).

Anti-Semitism: NJPS Data

Just over one out of four (25 percent) young Jewish respondents reported personally having experienced anti-Semitism in the year preceding the 2000-01 National Jewish Population survey. Another 4 percent answered: "maybe" or "cannot be sure."

The highest percentage of anti-Semitic personal experiences was reported by Orthodox Jewish respondents (38 percent); the lowest (20 percent) by intermarried Jewish respondents.

Interestingly, the percentage of young Jewish adults who experienced anti-Semitism personally (25 percent) was paralleled by the 27 percent who see a "great deal" of anti-Semitism in the U.S., while among respondents 60 and over, a radically different pattern is evident. While only 12 percent of age 60 and over Jewish respondents personally experienced anti-Semitism, 41 percent think that there is a great deal of anti-Semitism in the United States.

Appendix Table A14: Anti-Semitism in the U.S., by Jewish Life-Status of Young Jewish Respondents, and by Age of All NJPS Respondents, NJPS: 2000-01*

	% Personally Experienced Anti-Semitism**	% See a Great Deal of Anti-Semitism in U.S.
Jewish Life-Status		
Orthodox	38	31
Married w/Children, All Other Denominations	26	33
Unmarried and Childless Married, All Other Jewish Denominations	28	25
Intermarried	20	24
Age of Respondent		
Ages 18-39	25	27
Ages 40-59	26	33
Ages 60 and Over	12	41

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

**"Yes" responses to question. Percentage of respondents who answered: "maybe/cannot be sure" were Orthodox, 8 percent; married non-Orthodox with children, 2 percent; unmarried/married-childless, 4 percent; and intermarried, 1 percent.

Anti-Semitism: American Jewish Committee Survey Data

Just over one out of five (21 percent) young Jewish respondents to the American Jewish Committee Annual Surveys of Jewish Opinion view anti-Semitism as a serious problem in the U.S..

Paralleling the NJPS data, older respondents are more likely to see anti-Semitism as a serious problem: 35 percent of AJC survey respondents ages 60 and over, 29 percent of respondents ages 40-59, and 21 percent of respondents ages 18-39 thought that anti-Semitism was a serious U.S. problem.

Appendix Table A15: Is Anti-Semitism a Serious Problem in the USA, by Jewish Life-Status of Young Jewish Respondents, and by Age of All Respondents, AJC Surveys: 2000-05*

	How Serious a Problem is Anti-Semitism in the United States? American Jewish Committee Respondents, by Percent		
Category	Very Serious Problem	Somewhat of a Problem	Not a Problem At All
Jewish Life-Status			
Orthodox	19	68	13
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	23	72	4
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	20	70	10
Intermarried	20	72	7
Age of All AJC Survey Respondents			
Ages 18-39	21	71	8
Ages 40-59	29	65	6
Ages 60 and Over	35	61	4

*AJC Annual Surveys of American Jewish Public Opinion from 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, and 2005 merged and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. Percentages may not add precisely to 100 percent due to rounding for presentation.

AJC Survey Data: Intermarriage and Anti-Semitism as Threats

The American Jewish Committee Annual Surveys of Jewish Public Opinion have also repeatedly asked:

"In your opinion, which is a greater threat to Jewish life in the United States today: intermarriage or anti-Semitism?"

Not surprisingly, intermarried respondents think that anti-Semitism is the greater threat (91 percent), while Orthodox respondents (83 percent) view intermarriage as the greater threat.

Inmarried (non-Orthodox) young respondents with children and those who are unmarried or in-married without children agreed more with the intermarried respondents than with the Orthodox respondents.[37]

Appendix Table A16: Is Intermarriage or Anti-Semitism a Greater Threat to Jewish Life? by Jewish Life-Status Typology, Respondents Ages 18-39, and by Age of All Respondents, AJC Surveys of Annual Opinion: 2000-05*

	Which is the Greater Threat to Jewish Life in the United States Today? by Percent		
Category	Intermarriage	Anti-Semitism	Both
Orthodox	83	11	6
Married w/Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	36	62	2
Unmarried and Married w/o Children, All Other Jewish Denominations	24	74	2
Intermarried	9	91	—

*AJC Annual Survey of Public Opinion: 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005 merged for key variables and reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc.

"How Much Does Being Jewish Involve...?"

NJPS survey respondents with "stronger" Jewish connections were asked to respond to a series of items after being asked:

"Personally, how much does Jewish involve...?"

Orthodox respondents (ages 18-39) were most likely to respond that being Jewish involved believing in God (90 percent), leading a moral and ethical life (85 percent), and having a rich spiritual life (77 percent). "Making the world a better place" was somewhat less critical (65 percent) to their Jewish identity.

Possibly because the survey asked this question of respondents with stronger Jewish connections only, differences among the intermarried, the married non-Orthodox with children, and their childless and unmarried counterparts are somewhat muted.

Unmarried and married/childless non-Orthodox respondents were slightly less likely than intermarried respondents to see leading an ethical life, making the world a better place, believing in God, and having a rich spiritual life as critical to their Jewish identity.

Appendix Table A17a: "How Much Does Being Jewish Involve?" and the Jewish Life-Status Typology, Respondents Ages 18-39 with "Stronger" Jewish Connections, NJPS: 2000-01*

	% Respondents Ages 18-39 Who Reported That Being Jewish Involved ... "A Lot"			
Category	Leading an Ethical and Moral Life	Making the World a Better Place	Believing in God	Having a Rich Spiritual Life
Orthodox	85	65	90	77
Married w/Children (Non-Orthodox)	71	52	65	48
Unmarried, Childless Married (Non-Orthodox)	55	46	52	34
Intermarried	61	49	61	35

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. This question was only asked of respondents with "stronger" Jewish connections.

"How Much Does Being Jewish Involve...?" Religious and Affiliational Dimensions

In Appendix Table A17b, responses to "attending synagogue" and "supporting Jewish organizations" reflect the wide Jewish cultural chasm between young Orthodox respondents and all other young Jewish respondents. While two out of three Orthodox feel that being Jewish involves these items "a lot," very few non-Orthodox respondents view their Jewish identity as linked to synagogue or Jewish organizations.[38]

Appendix Table A17b: "How Much Does Being Jewish Involve?" and the Jewish Life-Status Typology, Respondents Ages 18-39 with "Stronger" Jewish Connections, NJPS: 2000-01*

	% Respondents Ages 18-39 Who Reported That Being Jewish Involved ... "A Lot"			
Category	Celebrating Jewish Holidays	Being Part of a Jewish Community	Attending Synagogue	Supporting Jewish Organizations
Orthodox	82	65	65	63
Married w/Children (Non-Orthodox)	62	52	13	22
Unmarried, Childless Married (Non-Orthodox)	40	46	13	21
Intermarried	43	49	17	16

*NJPS data reanalyzed by Ukeles Associates, Inc. This question was only asked of respondents with "stronger" Jewish connections.

Endnotes

1. Excluding 100,000 Jews living in "institutions." The 1.5 million young Jews represent 29 percent of all American Jews.

2. Data from a compilation of six recent Jewish community studies. See introduction to Chapter 3 for description.

3. Data from a compilation of six recent Jewish community studies. See introduction to Chapter 3 for description.

4. See Table 1 in Chapter 3 for details. National estimate is based on a Ukeles Associates (UAI) reanalysis of the 2000-01 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS). For a brief overview of this important, yet somewhat controversial study, see the introduction to Chapter 3. The youngest people interviewed for that study were born in 1982 and were 18 at the time of the study. This means that in 2006 they are (approximately) 24 years old.

5. U.S. Census (2004). *Family Supplement to the Current Population Survey*.

6. National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01, *Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population* (New York: United Jewish Communities, September 2003), p. 3.

7. Smith noted that Jews have one of the lowest divorce rates (21 percent) among the fifteen ethnic/racial groups that he studied. As such, NJPS (using a slightly different screener to identify Jews) reported that 60 percent of the 2000-01 Jewish population was currently married, which is higher than the 57 percent marital rate for the general American population. Thus, while Jews under age 65 are less likely to have ever been married at comparable ages than the general American public, the lower divorce rate results in higher proportions of currently married.These rates are based on those married at the time the survey was conducted.

8. U.S. Census (2004). *Family Supplement*.

9. NJPS 2000-01, *Strength, Challenge, and Diversity*, p. 3.

10. However, given the high intermarriage rates, these numbers do not include children born to Jewish men married to non-Jewish women. If these children are raised as Jews, then Jewish "population replacement" parameters may be achieved.

11. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, most first marriages are preceded by cohabitation. In fact, by 1995, half of all women in their thirties had cohabited prior to marriage (Bramlett and Mosher, 2002).

12. Phillips (2005c) found similar proportions of Jewish observance for people who grew up with mixed parentage who considered themselves Jewish. Much lower levels of observance were found among the sample with mixed parentage who do not consider themselves to be Jewish.

13. This is very comparable to the 33 percent derived by the NJPS for the per-

centage of intermarried couples who are raising their children "Jewish" without controlling for whether a member of the couple was the offspring of an intermarried family.

14. Keysar and Kosmin measured the proportion of "all friends" who were Jewish in contrast to the NJPS and to Sales and Saxe, who measured the proportion of "close friends."

15. This review is not examining teen patterns on a systematic basis. Instead, we are highlighting data when they are particularly pertinent to our overall findings and trends.

16. Interestingly, African-Americans and Jews were identified as being on opposite ends of the religiosity scale, with a much greater proportion of African-Americans (36 percent) than Jews (14 percent) being among the "Godly."

17. The decline of Conservative Movement identification is also reflected in the UAI local community study data.

18. See Appendix Table A5.

19. The NJPS data for marital status by age and gender are presented in Appendix Table A6.

20. NJPS national data are presented in Appendix Table A7. The youngest age group (18-29) in the UAI merged data file is more likely to be married (71 percent) than the national NJPS estimate (55 percent), reflecting the higher proportion of Orthodox respondents included in the combined UAI studies. Please note that the UAI data file includes over 200 Jewish Orthodox respondents under age 30, and another 175 between 30 and 39, thus allowing detailed subcategory analysis. The NJPS data file includes just over 110 Orthodox Jewish respondents under age 30, and another 65 between 30 and 39.

21. NJPS data is presented in Appendix Table A8, which shows somewhat lower percentages of married Orthodox respondents under age 30 (males: NJPS, 43 percent, UAI, 57 percent; females, NJPS 67 percent, UAI, 80 percent). The UAI sample deliberately included the New York interviews with a significant Orthodox interview base, including Haredi Orthodox. While this resulted in a larger Orthodox sample under age 40 than the NJPS sample for detailed analysis (see previous footnote), it also produced a more-likely-to-be-married young Orthodox Jewish sample.

22. Among the Orthodox, intermarriage is relatively infrequent (especially among the youngest Orthodox); among the non-Orthodox on a national basis, approximately half (52 percent) of all married Jewish couples under age 40 are intermarried. The percentages (UAI reanalysis of NJPS data) by denomination are: Conservative, 32 percent; Reform, 53 percent; Just Jewish and Secular Jews, 67 percent.

23. Married Jews with children includes some divorced, separated, or widowed young respondents with children (14 percent of the total).

24. Of the estimated 652,000 young Jewish adults in the "married without children/unmarried, all other denominations" category, 14 percent are married respondents without children, 9 percent are widowed or divorced without children, and 77 percent have never been married.

25. The larger number of interviews with Orthodox in the UAI local community studies allows for some additional detailed analysis. The NJPS 2000-01 data file includes 161 interviews with young Orthodox respondents, while the UAI merged files are based on interviews with 384 Orthodox ages 18-39. Other groups: (a) NJPS: 157 interviews with married non-Orthodox Jews with children; UAI: 361, (b) NJPS: 739 interviews with unmarried non-Orthodox and childless married non-Orthodox; UAI: 810, and (c) NJPS: 207 intermarried; UAI: 275 intermarried.

26. Appendix Table A9 presents parallel data for the NJPS 2000-01 data set. The same basic age-related patterns noted for the UAI data typology are reflected in the NJPS table.

27. See Appendix Table A13 for the parallel NJPS data. For NJPS young Jewish respondents, the comparable percentages who report being Jewish is very important are: Orthodox, 93, percent; "married with children," 53 percent; "unmarried," 36 percent; and intermarried, 23 percent. This exceptionally strong linear relationship is clear in both the UAI and the NJPS data, reflecting the explanatory power of the Jewish life-status typology for Jewish respondents/adults under age 40.

28. See the footnote discussion in Appendix Table A13a.

29. Question was not asked in the majority of UAI studies.

30. Fifty-eight percent of married, non-Orthodox with children, 61 percent of unmarried/married childless non-Orthodox, and 74 percent of intermarried respondents reported that none or only some of their friends in high school were Jewish.

31. Given the strong likelihood that young Orthodox respondents will have had a day-school education, and since day schools are increasingly popular and available in many places, it is not surprising that an age gradient exists: 30 percent of respondents under age 40 report a day-school experience, compared to 16 percent of those 40-59, and 10 percent of those 60 and over. Among Orthodox respondents, the percentage reporting a Jewish day-school enrollment is 76 percent among those 18-39, 57 percent of those 40-59, and 30 percent of those 60 and older.

32. Includes those who were born or have lived in Israel, as well as those who indicated that they had ever been to Israel. Comparable data from the UAI local community studies: 81percent of the Orthodox, 34 percent of the married-with-children non-Orthodox, 42 percent of the unmarried and the childless married, and 26 percent of the intermarried have visited or lived in Israel.

33. Percent liberal: AJC: Orthodox, 16 percent, married with kids, 41 percent, unmarried/childless married, 55 percent, and intermarried, 42 percent. NJPS 2000-01 percentages respectively: 22 percent, 53 percent, 63 percent, 57 percent.

34. Percent Democrat: AJC: (following typology order): 37 percent, 52 percent, 55 percent, and 45 percent. Percent Democrat NJPS: 40 percent, 59 percent, 56 percent, and 42 percent. Other responses included "independent," "something else," and "not interested."

35. It is likely that other changes in lifestyle, such as the Jewish connections of gay and lesbian households (with and without children), will have an increasing impact on this and future generations.

36. In the NJPS data (as in the UAI studies), gender is minimally related to views on the importance of being Jewish: 48 percent of the male respondents and 54 percent

of the female respondents viewed being Jewish as very important. Life-status position is exponentially more strongly related to the importance of being Jewish. Among females, the being Jewish is "very important" percentages are: Orthodox, 94 percent; married non-Orthodox with children, 53 percent; unmarried and childless married non-Orthodox, 40 percent,; and intermarried respondents, 21 percent. Male percentages, respectively, are: 91 percent, 54 percent, 33 percent, and 26 percent.

Age, however, has a significant relationship with the importance of being Jewish in the NJPS data when the youngest groups are compared to the oldest cohort: 44 percent of those 18-29, 44 percent of those 30-39, 51 percent of those 40-59, and 60 percent of respondents at least 60 view being Jewish as very important. However, the Jewish life-status typology has a much stronger, and much more linear relationship to respondent perceptions of the importance of being Jewish.

37. Once again, while age defines the young Jewish adult cohort, age is not a critical variable for understanding relationships and patterns. Anti-Semitism was seen as the greater threat among 65 percent of respondents under age 40, 66 percent of respondents ages 40-59, and 62 percent of respondents ages 60 and over.

38. One additional question similarly demonstrated dramatic differences: "observing Jewish law: halakha" was noted as central to Jewish identity by 84 percent of the Orthodox, 25 percent of the married-with-children non-Orthodox, 15 percent of unmarried or married-childless, and 14 percent of the intermarried.

Annotated Bibliography of Research on Young American Jewish Adults

Ament, J. 2005a. *American Jewish Religious Denominations.* United Jewish Communities, Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey, 2000-2001 (February).

Compares the characteristics of Jews who consider themselves members of different denominations as well as those who are synagogue members by four age categories.

___. 2005b. *Israel Connections and American Jews.* United Jewish Communities, Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey, 2000-2001 (August).

Based on analysis of Jewish respondents who were given the "long form" (i.e., the more strongly connected Jews) of the NJPS. Compares four age categories on a range of Israel-related attitudes and behaviors including visiting Israel, familiarity with Israel, and emotional support for Israel.

American Jewish Committee Research Department. 1986-2005. *Annual Surveys of American Jewish Opinion.*

Arnett, J.J. 2004. *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens through the Twenties.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Aviv, C. and Shneer, D. 2005. *New Jews: The End of the Jewish Diaspora.* New York: NYU Press.

Ethnographic portraits of dynamic Jewish communities outside of Israel, including New York City, Moscow, and Los Angeles.

Beck, P. 2005. *A Flame Still Burns: The Dimensions and Determinants of Jewish Identity among Young Adult Children of the Intermarried.* New York: Jewish Outreach Institute.

Conducted 90 face-to-face interviews with people ages 22-30 who grew up with one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent. Thirty interviews were conducted in each of three cities: Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco. In addition, NJPS data were analyzed for the purpose of comparing the characteristics of young people who grew up with one rather than two Jewish parents.

Belzer, T. 2004. *Jewish Identity at Work; Gen-Xers in Jewish Jobs.* Unpublished dissertation: Brandeis University, Waltham, MA.

Interviewed 48 Jewish Gen-Xers between ages 21-35 in Boston, New York, San Francisco. and Los Angeles who work in "Jewish jobs" to explore their motivations and aspirations and the intersection of identity and occupation.

Birkner, G. 2005. "Millennials Forcing Big Changes at Hillel." *New York Jewish Week,* November 4.

Based on (unreleased) study consisting of face-to-face interviews and online surveys conducted by Penn, Schoen, and Berland.

Bramlett, M. and Mosher, W. 2002. *Cohabitation, Marriage, Divorce, and Remarriage in the U.S.* National Center for Health Statistics. Vital Health Statistics 23, p. 22.

Bronznick, S. and Gordis, Y. 2004. *Selected Excerpts from Listening to the Twenty-Something Generation.* Prepared for the Professional Leaders Project.

Gathered data via focus groups and facilitated conversations from 147 "twenty-something" Jews who had some level of involvement with the Jewish community and who had attended a conference on leadership sponsored by Jewish philanthropic organizations.

Chazan, B. and Bryfman, D. 2006. *Home Away from Home.* Prepared for Chabad on Campus International Foundation.

Cohen, S. 2005a. "Engaging the Next Generation of American Jews: Distinguishing the In-married, Inter-married, and Non-married." *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* 81:1 and 2 (Fall/Winter), pp. 43-52.

Using NJPS data, Cohen finds maximal contrasts among Jews ages 25-39 who are (a) inmarried parents, (b) intermarried parents or (c) non-married. However, among the married, Cohen does not control for the Orthodox, who comprise a significant portion of the married people in this age group.

___. 2005b. "Attachment of U.S. Jews to Israel Falls in Past Two Years." *Forward*, March 4.

___. 2004. *Jewish Educational Background: Trends and Variations among Today's Jewish Adults.* United Jewish Communities Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01, Report 1 (April) www.ujc.org/njps.

___. 2001a. "Religiosity and Ethnicity: Jewish Identity Trends in the United States." In *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* XVII, Eli Lederhendler, ed. Jerusalem: Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University; New York: Oxford University Press.

Based on a 1997 survey of 1,005 U.S. Jewish respondents (ages 25+) that compares their responses about various aspects of Jewish identity across five different age categories: 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and 65+. As a result of screening for respondents who reported that their religion is "Judaism," the sample probably underrepresents the less Jewishly involved and slightly overrepresents the overall population's levels of Jewish identification.

___. 2001b. *Who Comes to the Source? The People Who Visit Makor.* Prepared for Makor: The Partnership for Jewish Life.

Surveyed 789 visitors to the Makor Center from January through April, 2001. Compares Jewish and non-Jewish visitors and also includes comparisons to Jews 18-34 from the 1991 NJPS and to sample studied by Horowitz (2000) in *Connections and Journeys*.

___. Unpublished Paper. *Younger Adults Are Clearly Less Engaged with Israel than their Elders: New Evidence from a Recent National Survey of American Jews.*

Two analyses based on a survey conducted between 12/04 and 1/05 of 1,435 American Jewish households with respondents who were ages 25+.

Cohen, S. and Kelman A. 2006. *New Modes of Jewish Connection and Community in North America.* New York: HUC-JIR.

Examines four North American sites (Ikar in Los Angeles, J-Dub Records and Storahtelling in New York, and Toronto-based "The Salon").

Cohen, S. and Kelman A. 2005. *The Consumption of Jewish Culture: Nationwide Evidence from the NJPS 2000-2001.* Prepared for the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Based on NJPS data, the authors chart the nexus between Jewish culture and Jewish identity in the U.S. and examine the relationship between participating in Jewish culture (e.g., reading Jewish books, listening to Jewish music, or seeing a Jewish movie) and more conventional notions of Jewish engagement.

Cohen, S., Bronznick, S., Goldenhar, D., Israel, S., and Kelner, S. 2004. *Creating Gender Equity and Organizational Effectiveness in the Jewish Federation Sys-*

tem: A Research-and-Action Project. Prepared for Advancing Women Professionals and the Jewish Community and United Jewish Communities.

Conducted 93 face-to-face interviews with male and female Federation lay and professional leaders and also interviewed key informants in fourteen diverse North American Jewish communities. The interviews delve into respondents' professional backgrounds and specifically focus on promotion and placement practices, as well as on attitudes regarding women's leadership and advancement within the different Federations.

Cohen, S. and Eisen, A. 2000. *The Jew Within: Self, Family, and Community in America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

The book is based on 50 lengthy interviews and a national survey of over one thousand moderately affiliated American Jews. From this data, the authors learned what a significant sector of American Jews do and believe, and how, where, and with whom, they practice their Judaism.

Coupland, D. 1991. *Tales for an Accelerated Culture.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Dobbs, S., Tobin, G., and Hymowitz, Z. 2004. *Professional Development in the Jewish Community.* San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

Fishman, S.B. 2004. *Double or Nothing? Jewish Families and Mixed Marriage.* Dartmouth, New Hampshire: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England.

Based on 254 interviews conducted with 68 mixed-married, 36 inmarried, and 23 conversionary families in Denver, New Jersey, Atlanta, and New England, this study focuses on how mixed-married households negotiate issues related to their ethnic and religious life.

___. 1991. "Doing It All—the 'New' American Jewish Woman, her Education, Labor Force Activities, and Jewish Communal Participation: A Profile Drawing on Data from the 1990 Jewish Population Study." Paper prepared for the Third Annual Sydney Hollander Memorial Conference, Los Angeles.

Friedman, M., Kane, M., and Stollman, M. 2005. *URJ Young Men's Project: Young Men and their Presence in the Reform Movement.* A Project of the Union for Reform Judaism Youth Division and the North American Federation of Temple Brotherhoods.

Surveyed participation by gender in the Reform Movement's summer camps, NFTY regions, NFTY conventions, NFTY in Israel summer trips, Mitzvah Corps programs, Youth Fellowship, and KESHER programs. Enrollment data were also collected from selected other Jewish communal organizations that provide programs for adolescent youth.

Goldscheider, F., and Goldscheider, C. 1993. *Leaving Home Before Marriage: Ethnicity, Familism and Generational Relationships.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Greenberg, A. 2005. *OMG! How Generation Y Is Redefining Faith in the iPod Era.* Report produced for REBOOT.

As part of a study of the religious identity of 1,400 youths ages 18-25, the researchers sampled 200 Jewish youth. The study examines religious identity exclusively in terms of "faith" (e.g., through a Christian lens). For example, the index includes items such as: "prays before meals," "attends informal religious or prayer group," "attends Sunday school or religious classes," "reads religious books, newspapers or magazines," "participates in a religious music group," and "church attendance." Furthermore, no questions were included to determine the extent to which young Jews experience an ethnic connection to the Jewish people.

___. 2006. *Grande Soy Vanilla Latte with Cinnamon, No Foam: Jewish Identity and Community in a Time of Unlimited Choices.* Report produced for REBOOT.

Conducted 35 in-depth interviews with Jewish youth between the ages of 18-25, some of whom were included in the database of 200 interviewed for the *OMG!* study (Greenberg, 2005). Also conducted six focus groups with 37 young Jews in three cities.

Halbertal, T. and Cohen, S. 2001. "Gender Variations in Jewish Identity: Practices and Attitudes in Conservative Congregations." *Contemporary Jewry*: 22, pp. 37-64.

Herberg, W. 1956. *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology.* Garden City: Doubleday and Company.

Horowitz, B. 2000. *Connections and Journeys: Assessing Critical Opportunities for Enhancing Jewish Identity.* A Report to the Commission on Jewish Identity and Renewal. UJA-Federation of New York, Continuity Commission.

Report based on survey of 1,504 Jewishly-connected adults ages

22-52 and 88 in-depth one-on-one interviews and several focus groups. The research was conducted from 1996-98.

Israel, S. 2001. "American Jewish Public Activity—Identity, Demography, and the Institutional Challenge." *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints* 462 (September). Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

Discusses Jewish and other trends affecting young people and presents findings about the Jewish values of four different age categories (18-34, 35-50, 51-64, and 65+) using data from the 1995 demographic study of Boston.

Janvey, A., ed. 2005. *Identity: Young Jews Speak Out.* New York: American Jewish Committee, New Generations Publication.

Asked sixteen young Jewish people (ages 18-35) to indicate what "being Jewish" means to them. Their responses reflect distinctive voices and experiences.

Kadushin, C., Kelner, S., and Saxe, L. 2000. *Being a Jewish Teenager in America: Trying to Make It.* The Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Surveyed 1,300 b'nai mitzvah, ages 13-17, from Reform, Conservative, Reconstructionist, and independent congregations in three regions of eastern Massachusetts. An oversample of Jewish day school students was included. Both parental and peer influences are examined.

Kadushin, C., Tighe, E., and Hect, S. 2004. *Being Jewish on College Campuses*. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Jewish Studies, December 29, Chicago.

Kaufman, D. 1998. "Gender and Jewish Identity among Twenty-Somethings in the United States." In *Religion in a Changing World: Comparative Studies in Sociology.* M. Cousineau, ed. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Kelman, A. and Cohen, S. 2005. *Jewish Cultural Events and Today's Younger Adults: Entertainment, Aesthetics, Impact, and Messages.* Prepared for the National Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Based on participant observations and interviews with approximately twenty people who attended thirteen Jewish cultural events that took place in New York (mostly in lower Manhattan) from December 2004 to June 2005.

Kelner, S., Rabkin, M., Saxe, L., and Sheingold, C. 2004. *Recruiting and Retaining a Professional Work Force for the Jewish Community: A Review of Existing Research.* The Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Keysar, A. and Kosmin, B. 2004. *"Eight-Up:" The College Years: The Jewish Engagement of Young Adults Raised in Conservative Synagogues, 1995-2003.* A project of the Ratner Center for the Study of Conservative Judaism, Jewish Theological Seminary.

Based on 932 phone interviews conducted with students in 280 educational institutions, the study represents the second follow-up of a cohort of youngsters who grew up within the Conservative Movement and who became bar or bat mitzvah in 1994-95. This longitudinal methodology allows the researchers to examine changes in the cohort's Jewish identity and Jewish behaviors over time. Because all the respondents were brought up as Conservative Jews, the findings are not generalizable to the larger population of Jewish college students. Also, many of the questions included in the study are not parallel to those used in other major demographic studies of American Jews.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. 2005. "The 'New Jews': Reflections on Emerging Cultural Practices." Presentation at Conference on "Re-Thinking Jewish Communities and Networks in an Age of Looser Connections." Wurzweiler School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, and Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University (December).

Uses the lens of cultural studies to identify several common themes that characterize the types of Jewish subcultural events described by Cohen and Kelman and relates them to larger Jewish and general social movements and trends.

Kosmin, B., Mayer, E., and Keysar, A. 2001. *American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS)*. New York: Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

RDD phone survey that asked open-ended questions such as, "What is your religion, if any?" It probed religious identification of respondents, parentage, and upbringing. Goal of study was to estimate the size of the adult Jewish population that identifies as Jewish by religion. It contrasts changes in distributions of two age categories (18-29 and 65+) from 1990 to 2001 and compares Jewish distributions with overall age distributions.

Laufer, R. and Bengtson, V. 1974. "Generations, Aging, and Social Stratification: On the Development of Generational Units." *Journal of Social Issues* 30:3, pp. 181-206.

Liebman, C. 1973. *The Ambivalent American Jew: Politics, Religion and Family in American Jewish Life*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Luntz, F. 2005. *How the Next Generation Views Israel.* Prepared for the Israel Project.

Based on 150 "face-to-face group interviews" conducted with 150 students under the age of 30 in New York, Boston, Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

___. 2003. *Israel in the Age of Eminem.* Prepared for the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Foundation.

The study was based on six focus groups of twenty-five young Jews between the ages of 18 and 29.

Meir, A. 1994. *Twenty-something and Jewish: Personal Reflections on Jewish Identity.* New York: American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations.

A collection of personal essays by eight young people who "share ... their frustrations and disappointments and their excitement and sense of fulfillment" with Jewish life.

National Commission on American Jewish Women. 1995. *Voices for Change: Future Directions for American Jewish Women*. Waltham, MA: Hadassah and the Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Conducted twenty-four focus groups with a total of 152 women in three cities: New York City, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. The report also includes a scan of research and information available about Jewish women, some of which was derived from the 1990 NJPS.

Nussbaum-Cohen, D. 2006. "Reform Jews Examining Ways to Retain Their Young Men." *New York Times*, February 4.

Phillips, Benjamin and Chertok, F. 2004. "Jewish Identity among the Adult Children of Intermarriage: Event Horizon or Navigable Horizon?" Paper presented at the 36th Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies. Chicago, Illinois (December 31).

Their analysis is based on the NJPS 2000-01 and includes all respondents age 18+ who are children of intermarried couples. It also includes all respondents who are children of intermarried couples in Brandeis University's Cohen Center's (2004) study of Jewish life on college campuses. (The latter population was mostly obtained from Hillel lists and therefore probably focuses on a more Jewishly identified sample than the NJPS.) The Cohen Center study's strength lies in its focus on a younger cohort than that in the NJPS. Compares college students who grew up with one Jewish parent vs.those with two Jewish parents on several dimensions of Jewish identity: ceremonial involvement (specifically, Seder attendance), Jewish density of social network, Jewish organizational affiliation, and Israel attachment.

Phillips, Benjamin, Lengyel, E., and Saxe, L. 2002. *American Attitudes Towards Israel*. Prepared for the Office of the President, Brandeis University.

Compared attitudes regarding Israel measured by AJC surveys that were conducted from 1985 to 2002. Report discusses measurement issues related to changes in sampling procedures, response rates, and question phrasing over time. Also includes data collected by other polls and surveys (e.g., ABC News/*Washington Post*).

Phillips, Bruce. Forthcoming. "'Half-Jewish': The Jewish Identity of Mixed Parentage Jewish Adults." *Contemporary Jewry.*

Analyzed NJPS 2000-01 data, including screener data, to determine the percentage of persons of mixed parentage who were raised Jewish and the percentage who currently identify as Christian or as Jewish. Author notes that problems with the questions and with missing screener information as well as missing data on "PJBs" (Persons of Jewish Background) somewhat compromise the validity of this analysis.

___. 2005a. "American Judaism in the Twenty-First Century." *The Cambridge Companion to Judaism.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

___. 2005b. "Catholic (and Protestant) Israel: The Permutations of Denominational Differences and Identities in Mixed Families." In *Studies in Contemporary Jewry:* XXI, Eli Lederhendler, ed. Jerusalem: Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University/New York: Oxford University Press.

Uses data from the 2000-01 NJPS and from the NSRE, the National Survey of Religion and Ethnicity (i.e., the data obtained

by the NJPS from the non-Jewish households it sampled to obtain the Jewish sample), to examine the impact of non-Jewish spouses from different Christian denominations (Catholic vs. Protestant) on how children in mixed marriages are raised.

—2005c. "Assimilation, Transformation, and the Long Range Impact of Intermarriage," *Contemporary Jewry* 25. Association for the Scientific Study of Jewry, pp. 50-84.

Putnam, R. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam draws from a wide variety of data sources in his attempt to demonstrate that social connectedness has declined during the past three decades. He uses measures such as the signing of political petitions, consumer boycotts, club memberships, and rates of entertaining friends.

Sales, A. 2004. *Westchester Congregations Study.* Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Reports on a mailed survey completed by 1,294 randomly selected members of sixteen Westchester synagogues (eleven had participated in Synagogue 2000 and five had not participated) representing all the major denominations. The response rate was 54 percent.

Sales A. and Saxe, L. 2006. *Particularism in the University: Realities and Opportunities for Jewish Life on Campus.* Waltham, MA: Brandeis University, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies.

Conducted a study of twenty American colleges, including interviews with 700+ informants and a survey of 2000+Jewish students. Students were categorized in terms of their on-campus involvement with Jewish issues. The analysis is mostly focused on students' religious behaviors, attachment to Israel, and participation in Jewish Studies courses. An insufficient number of colleges were sampled to permit an analysis of the impact of different types of Jewish campus environments upon the students.

___. 2005. "Engaging the Intellect: Jewish Studies on the College Campus." *Contact: The Journal of Jewish Life Network/Steinhardt Foundation* (Winter) 7:2.

Interviewed 700+ college students on twenty campuses with significant Jewish populations and surveyed 2,000+ Jews and non-Jews at these colleges.

Sarna, J. 1995. *A Great Awakening: The Transformation that Shaped Twentieth Century American Judaism and its Implications for Today.* Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education.

Sax, L. 2002. *America's Jewish Freshmen: Current Characteristics and Recent Trends Among Students Entering College*. Los Angeles: University of California Higher Education Research Institute and Hillel Foundation for Jewish Campus Life.

The study compares Jewish with non-Jewish college students. Drawn in 1999 from a longitudinal national survey of college freshmen from 400+ colleges conducted since 1966, the report includes data about over 200,000 Jewish young adults collected over this 30+ year period. However, many Ivy League (East Coast) colleges were not included in the sample, and the author doesn't control for SES/educational background in her conclusions. It is therefore possible that differences the author attributes to Jewishness might, in fact, be more related to other aspects of their backgrounds (e.g., they come from wealthier and better educated households and have better test scores).

Saxe L., Kadushin, C., Hecht, S., Rosen, M., Phillips, B., and Kellner, S. 2004. *Evaluating Birthright Israel: Long-Term Impact and Recent Findings.* Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Original study and follow-up for cohorts who traveled to Israel from 1999 through 2002. Compares participants and nonparticipants before the trip, several months after the trip, and several years after the trip. One of the three cohorts followed (the 2002 cohort, which visited Israel at the height of the Intifada) was decidedly different than the other two—specifically more Orthodox and more male. There is some degree of self-selection among those who register for the trip: The data indicate that the affiliation rates among their parents are higher than for the general Jewish population.

Saxe, L., Kadushin, C., Kelner, S., Rosen, M., and Yeresolve, E. 2002. *A Mega-Experiment in Jewish Education: The Impact of Birthright Israel.* Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University.

Compared 1,676 participants and 531 nonparticipants, via e-mail surveys, twelve and fifteen months after the trip period. Participant observers, who were part of the evaluation team, accompanied a number of the groups on the trips.

Smith, T. 2000. *Changes in the Generation Gap, 1972-1998*. General Social Survey Report No. 43 (October).

___. 2005. *Jewish Distinctiveness in America: A Statistical Portrait.* New York: American Jewish Committee.

Compared Jews to other ethnic/racial and religious groups within the U.S. on a range of demographic and attitudinal measures using data collected by the General Social Surveys over a thirty-year time period.

Tobin, G. 2002. *A Study of Jewish Culture in the Bay Area.* San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

Based on a mailed survey to a "sample of convenience" drawn from the mailing lists of Jewish organizations (which resulted in a 15 percent response rate) and a 20-minute phone interview with a sample drawn from a DJN list. The researchers then merged and weighted the 170 completed interviews obtained through these methodologies. Researchers admit that sample "may under-represent some segments of the Bay Area community."

Tobin, D., Tobin, G., and Rubin, S. 2005. *In Every Tongue: Ethnic and Racial Diversity in the Jewish Community*. San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

Study shows the increase in diverse Jews mirrors the changing racial and religious character of America. Of the nation's 6 million Jews, roughly 1.2 million, or 20 percent, consist of African-American, Asian-American, Latino, Sephardic (of Spanish and Portuguese descent), Middle Eastern, and mixed-race Jews.

Tobin, G. and Groeneman, S. 2004a. *The Decline of Religious Identity in the United States.* San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

The data is based on the HARI (Heritage and Religious Identification) survey that interviewed 10,204 adults, from the end of 2001 to the beginning of 2002, using RDD procedures. The purposes of the HARI survey included profiling the U.S. population in terms of its ethnic/cultural group identification and religion.

___. 2004b. *Surveying the Jewish Population in the United States—Part 1: Population Estimate, Part 2: Methodological Issues and Challenges.* San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

Interviewed 10,204 adults, from the end of 2001 to the beginning of 2002, using RDD procedures. Researchers claim that because of "Jewish denial" on the part of respondents, the estimate of 6.02 million Jews might represent a 5 percent-10 percent undercount of the actual U.S. Jewish population.

Tobin, G., Weinberg, A., and Ferrer, J. 2004. *The UnCivil University: Politics and Propaganda in American Education*. San Francisco: Institute for Jewish and Community Research.

Conducted 50+ interviews with students from a variety of campuses and 40+ key informant interviews with Jewish organizational leaders to learn about the Jewish communal response to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus. Also completed a content analysis of hundreds of anti-Israel materials distributed on college campuses.

Ukeles, J. 1993. *College Campus Identity Study.* New York: American Jewish Committee (December).

Conducted thirteen focus groups with a total of 155 college students on eight geographically dispersed college campuses during the fall of 1993. Participants were recruited to reflect a diversity of Jewish upbringings, Jewish education, and current Jewish identification. The study analyzed students' level of participation in Jewish activities on campus, the nature and extent of their self-identification as Jews, their views of intermarriage, and their connection to Israel, within the context of specific campus factors.

United Jewish Communities Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-2001. 2004. Jewish Adults Ages 18-29. *A United Jewish Community Presentation of Findings to the Jewish Educational Leadership Summit* (January). www.uj.org/njps.

Findings presented as comparisons among American Jews, ages 18-24, ages 25-29, and ages 30+.

United Jewish Communities Report Series on the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01. 2004, January. *Jewish College Students: A United Jewish Community Presentation of Findings to Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life.* www.ujc.org/njps.

Findings based on 216 undergraduates (ages 18-29) as well as 97 graduate students (also ages 18-29) and 419 people in this age category who are not in college or graduate school. Findings presented as comparisons of "All U.S. Jews" with "Jewish College Students."

United Jewish Communities (UJC). 2000-01. *Strength, Challenge and Diversity in the American Jewish Population: The National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS).* www.ujc.org/njps.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2004. *Family Supplement to the Current Population Survey.*

Wuthnow, R. 2002. *Loose Connections: Joining Together in America's Fragmented Communities.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

___. 1995. *Learning to Care.* New York: Oxford University Press.

___. 1988. *The Restructuring of American Religion.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zeltzer-Zubida, A. and Kasinitz, P. 2005. "The Next Generation: Russian Jewish Young Adults in Contemporary New York." *Contemporary Jewry* 25, pp. 193-225.

Telephone reinterviews of 310 Russian-speaking young people (interviewed in English) in a 1998 follow-up of a survey of new immigrants originally conducted in 1996. Forty people were also interviewed face-to-face.

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