
FROM OUTREACH TO ENRICHMENT:
JEWISH IDENTITY AND AFFILIATION IN METROPOLITAN DETROIT

The Metropolitan Detroit Jewish Population Study

Co-Principal Investigators:

Steven M. Cohen
Professor of Sociology
Queens College, CUNY

Jacob B. Ukeles
President, UAI, Inc.
Adjunct Professor, Columbia University

September 1990

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
JEWISH IDENTITY-BUILDING: CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES	7
DIMENSIONS OF IDENTITY: AFFILIATION AND OBSERVANCE ...	10
THE IMPACT OF AGE AND FAMILY LIFE CYCLE	22
ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE, REFORM AND OTHERS	32
THE IMPACT OF INCOME ON COMMUNAL AFFILIATION	45
INTERMARRIAGE	49
INVOLVEMENT WITH ISRAEL	69
FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION	74
CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS	88

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this report is to inform the decisions of policy-makers and practitioners who are working to strengthen Jewish identity.

One of the most important policy options facing the community in its efforts to deepen and broaden Jewish identity is the selection of an overall strategy. Two fundamental options face the community: "outreach to the unaffiliated" and "enrichment of the moderately involved." In point of fact, no community or institution does or should practice only outreach or only enrichment. The real decision faced by communities and institutions is how much of each.

For the most part, we believe the Detroit data lend support to the enrichment analysis and, thereby, to a policy decision to emphasize the enrichment strategy¹

Levels of Jewish identity and affiliation are relatively stable. Some measures of Jewish involvement may be increasing somewhat, others decreasing, but the overall picture points to continuity rather than erosion.

There are three kinds of Jews: the affiliated, the unaffiliated, and the moderately affiliated.

The so-called unaffiliated population is both small and stable. The largest group of Detroit area Jews is neither heavily involved nor very peripheral. Rather it is moderately active in

¹The data presented below are drawn solely from the geographic "core" of Metropolitan Detroit's Jewish population. Our survey was limited to an area extending from the Detroit City line in the south to the outer reaches of Bloomfield Township in the north, from West Bloomfield and Farmington Hills in the west, to the Royal Oak border in the east. The survey area includes 76,000 of the 96,000 Jews living in the entire region. We believe that "core" Jews are more Jewishly active than those living in rural or exurban areas. We also believe that the observations for the core can be extended to those areas -- such as Royal Oak, Livonia, Novi and northwest Detroit -- that are geographically closest to the core. However, since the outlying non-core areas have much lower rates of activity and affiliation than the core or border areas, the outreach model is probably more applicable to the outlying areas beyond the core.

Jewish life, be it in the home or the community. Almost all Jews are affiliated; but of these, not many are very active.

In addition to providing a basis for an overall strategy for the community, this report presents an analysis of a number of specific dimensions of Jewish identity:

The Impact of Age and Family Life Cycle

Of all family stages, two-parent families with school-age children are the most Jewishly active. Childless younger adults and single parents are generally the least active.

Once family status is taken into account, younger Jews in Detroit are just as religiously active as their elders, if not more so, and they are just as widely affiliated with congregations. However, younger adults have more non-Jewish spouses and friends, and they are less attached to Israel or to Jewish philanthropy and organizational life.

Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Others

Two out of five Detroit Jewish households identify as Conservative; one out of three identify as Reform; about 7% are Orthodox. The proportion and number of Orthodox Jews in Detroit are likely to grow, although Orthodoxy will remain a distinct minority. Reform Judaism may be experiencing very slow growth and Conservative Judaism may be going through very slow shrinkage.

The Orthodox are more Jewishly active than other congregational members, not only in terms of ritual practice and service attendance, but also in support for Israel. However, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregational members hardly differ with respect to frequency of major Jewish holiday celebration, maintaining predominantly Jewish friendship circles, and communal activity. For these areas, the major distinctions are between congregational members and non-members rather than between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or "other" types of Jews.

Older people have often changed their denomination from that in which more were raised. Among younger people almost three quarters who were raised in a denomination remain attached to that denomination.

Congregational membership rates peak among families with children around Bar/Bar Mitzvah age. This effect is especially pronounced among Reform Jews.

The Impact of Income

Individuals with higher incomes participate more frequently in Jewish communal activities that require financial support (e.g., congregational membership, philanthropy, service on a board or committee). Individuals with lower incomes are just as likely as their more affluent counterparts to pray, perform ritual practices, express positive feelings about being Jewish, and undertake those communal activities where financial ability is unimportant.

Intermarriage

Among currently married Jewish men, 87% are married to women who were born Jews, and 93% are married to born-Jews or converts to Judaism. Among recently married Jewish men, 71% married born-Jews, and 80% married born-Jews or converts to Judaism. Women's in-marriage rates are a little higher.

The intermarriage rates surged in the 1970's for men and the 1980's for women. Until recently, out-married younger Jews were more likely than in-married Jews to leave the Detroit area. In the last ten years or so, the out-married have been almost as likely to stay as the in-married.

Three parental characteristics seem to inhibit out-marriage among children: very high levels of ritual observance, having mostly Jewish friends and belonging to a congregation.

Those in marriages between born-Jews and converts ("conversionary marriage") report Jewish involvement levels equal to those of marriages of born-Jews with born-Jews ("in-marriages"). The mixed married report far lower levels of ritual and communal activity than do the in-married or conversionary marriages.

Because of net gains to the Jewish population deriving from converts and from Gentile spouses of Jews who acquiesce to raising their children as Jews, the Jewish population of Detroit is not likely to sustain large losses due to out-marriage.

Of the three major denominations, Reform congregations are the only ones with a significant proportion of mixed married families (8%); they also have a number of conversionary couples (9%). A large number of mixed married families identify as Reform or non-denominational but do not belong to a temple.

Israel

Many more older individuals have visited Israel than younger people. Younger Jews express more feelings of distance from Israel than older Jews, particularly among those who have never traveled to Israel. A single visit to Israel is associated with much greater feelings of closeness.

Jewish Schooling

Over three-fifths of school-age (6-17) Jews are enrolled in some sort of Jewish schooling; over four-fifths of Jewish teenagers have received some sort of formal Jewish education at one point in their lives.

Orthodox youngsters heavily utilize day schools and most attend through high school. About a quarter of Conservative youngsters attend day school at some point. There is evidence of a recent expansion in day school enrollment among younger (grades K-3) Conservative youngsters. The vast majority of Conservative teenagers attend no Jewish school past the Bar/Bat Mitzvah years. Hardly any Reform youngsters attend day school; a notable minority attend Sunday School; many continue their education into the middle-teen years.

Boys receive more extensive and intensive Jewish schooling than girls.

Both parents and their children (according to the parents) are far happier with day school education than with any other form of Jewish schooling. Day school education appears to exert a lasting positive impact on several aspects of Jewish identification.

Large proportions of parents whose children are not now in day school say they might be interested in a day school education under the right conditions. Among the more important factors are cost and location.

Conclusions

The key problem in the current state of Jewish identity is the lack of intensive enthusiasm for Jewish life endemic among the large number of Jews who occasionally patronize or perfunctorily support Jewish communal institutions. These are people who tend to be involved but not deeply committed.

The goal of enrichment is not to move Jews from non-affiliation to affiliation. After all, by definition, the principal target group is already affiliated. Rather, the chief objective is to broaden involvement, intensify commitment, and to create opportunities for enhanced Judaic knowledge and skills among the affiliated population. In any event, the unaffiliated are far more costly to reach than the vast number who already appear on the lists of members, subscribers, contributors, and participants.

One or many intensive Judaic experiences will probably appeal to large numbers of the moderately affiliated. An enrichment policy would aim at multiplying the opportunities for the many moderately affiliated Jews to partake in one or more of these experiences.

Concern about the future of the Jewish community is often expressed in terms of two issues: Jewish continuity and the quality of Jewish life. The key to survival of the Jews as a people, as well to the existence of opportunities for a meaningful Jewish life revolves around the self-identity of individual Jews. If Jews continue to identify and behave as Jews, the community will flourish. If not, the community and its institutions will weaken and wither.

Jewish communal institutions, with the Jewish Welfare Federation in the forefront, have recognized that a key element in their commitment to build a better Jewish community for the future is the commitment to strengthen and enhance Jewish identity. Hundreds of rabbis, Jewish school teachers, Center workers, and human service professionals, to say nothing of thousands of active lay people are all, in their own way, engaged in the effort to strengthen Jewish identity in the Detroit region.

If these efforts are to be successful, it is important that they be rooted in an understanding of Jewish identity formation in the Detroit area.

The purpose of this report is to inform the decisions of policy-makers and practitioners who are working to strengthen Jewish identity. It addresses a number of specific issues and questions, including:

1. How does Detroit Jewry compare with other Jewish communities with respect to such dimensions as ritual practice, communal affiliation, and informal ties to other Jews?

2. How is Jewish involvement changing over time? More particularly, as today's younger adults mature, will they be as involved and committed to Jewish life as their elders, and in what ways?

3. How do Orthodoxy, Conservatism, and Reform differ, and what are their prospects for growth or decline in the near future?

4. In light of the widespread concern over the growth of intermarriage and its adverse impact on Jewish involvement, what do we know about the rates, causes, correlates, and consequences of Jewish-Gentile marriage in all its permutations?

5. In light of widespread anxieties over the image of Israel among American Jews, especially younger adult Jews, how close do Jews feel toward the State of Israel?

6. Considering that the largest communal investment in Jewish socialization centers upon Jewish schooling for children and teenagers, we ask: How many and what type of Jewish youngsters utilize the various Jewish schooling alternatives in the Detroit area? What can we tell about the impact of the varieties of Jewish schooling upon adult Jewish identity?

These are the questions that constitute the agenda of this report. That agenda was shaped both by the concerns of the policymakers with whom we met as well as the capacity of the survey instrument to address their concerns.

In this report, we present and examine evidence bearing upon important policy choices confronting the Detroit Jewish community. This analysis does not and cannot dictate policy conclusions and recommendations; but, it can illuminate the major options confronting Jewish communal decision-makers. Before presenting specific information, we examine one of the most important policy options facing the community in its efforts to deepen and broaden Jewish identity: the selection of an overall strategy.

JEWISH IDENTITY BUILDING: CONCEPTS AND STRATEGIES

Jewish communities and educational institutions operate in a world with limited funds, professionals, practitioners, and lay leaders. As a result, policy makers in the field of Jewish identity-building must make several difficult decisions. They need to set priorities among alternative target groups; they need to construct and design educational policies and programs to reach those groups; and they need to assess the effectiveness of alternative programs and instrumentalities.

Our experience suggests to us that some of the most difficult decisions in this area revolves around an ongoing debate over fundamental strategies.² To simplify, we call these two strategies "outreach to the unaffiliated" and "enrichment of the moderately involved." We believe that a presentation of the underlying assumptions and premises of both strategies will provide a very useful conceptual framework for understanding the diverse findings presented below. We believe that the debate between outreach and enrichment strategies provides a useful starting point for the interpretation of the research reported below.

For stylistic purposes, we will draw the distinction between outreach and enrichment strategies in overly stark and exaggerated terms. In point of fact, no community or institution does or should practice only outreach or only enrichment. The real decision faced by communities and institutions is how much of each.

The outreach strategy is by far the more familiar of the two. It is implicit in the frequently heard injunction to "reach out to the unaffiliated." By outreach, leaders mean that they want to target those Jews who are remote from the conventional Jewish community and bring them closer to Jewish life, be it through increased ritual activity, education, philanthropic activity, or other organizational involvement.

At a time when many observers perceive large-scale assimilation into the larger society, widespread dis-affiliation from organized Jewry, and rampant apathy to all things Jewish, the outreach model is very compelling. It affects the thinking and morale of Jewish educators and other practitioners who may berate themselves for devoting most their energies to the already-affiliated, those who are most involved in Jewish life. The outreach model also affects the decisions and attitudes of numerous key policy-makers who regularly criticize rabbis, educators, Hillel directors, Center workers, campaign activists, and

² This discussion of competing philosophies of Jewish community-building derives from observations in several Jewish communities and many policy-making committees in action. We believe that this conceptual framework, one that contrasts outreach with enrichment will help illuminate the decisions faced by leaders in the Detroit area.

themselves for failing to reach the presumably large and growing number of unaffiliated Jews.

For the outreach model is not only an action strategy. It is also a diagnosis of what ails the Jewish community. This diagnosis consists of several related assumptions, among the most critical of which are:

1) Levels of Jewish identity and affiliation, however measured, are in decline.

2) There are two kinds of Jews: the affiliated and the unaffiliated.

3) The unaffiliated population is large and growing.

4) The key problem is that the growing number of uninvolved Jews, those who are Jewish in name only, threatens the very continuity of the Jewish community, both locally and nationally.

5) The principal policy goal of Jewish identity-building, therefore, ought to be turning unaffiliated into affiliated Jews, that is, to get as many of the totally uninvolved as possible to cross the threshold from total non-affiliation to some sort of affiliation.

6) For this purpose, intensive Judaic experiences (e.g., Israel travel, day school education, young leadership training, text study for adults, etc.) are inappropriate, since it is assumed that they appeal only to a small number and fail to address the key problem of reaching the highly unaffiliated.

In contrast with the outreach model, the "enrichment model" embraces a very different diagnosis and prescription. This second strategy calls for agencies of Jewish identity-building to concentrate upon the vast middle of the Jewish identity spectrum, the large population who, while affiliated, are not particularly active in Jewish life. Enrichment programs would not necessarily exclude the most or the least involved. The programs simply would be geared primarily at the moderately involved.

The key assumptions of this model contrast sharply with those of the outreach philosophy. They include:

1) Levels of Jewish identity and affiliation are relatively stable. Some measures of Jewish involvement may be increasing somewhat, others decreasing, but the overall picture points to continuity rather than erosion.

2) There are three kinds of Jews: the affiliated, the unaffiliated, and the moderately affiliated.

3) The so-called unaffiliated population is both small and stable. The affiliated group is also small and may be growing slightly. By far the largest group is composed of people who are

neither affiliated nor unaffiliated but are moderately affiliated.

4) The key problem, then, is the lack of intensive enthusiasm for Jewish life endemic among the large number of Jews who occasionally patronize or perfunctorily support Jewish communal institutions. These are people who tend to be involved but not deeply committed.

The outreach and the enrichment perspectives certainly differ with respect to their understanding of the current state of Jewish identity and of the likely trajectories of change in the future. Does the Detroit data seem to suggest that most Jews are unaffiliated -- pointing in the direction of an emphasis on outreach, or are most Jews moderately involved -- pointing in the direction of an emphasis on enrichment?

For the most part, we believe the Detroit data lend support to the enrichment analysis and, thereby, to a policy decision to emphasize the enrichment strategy³

³The data presented below are drawn solely from the geographic "core" of Metropolitan Detroit's Jewish population. Our survey was limited to an area extending from the Detroit City line in the south to the outer reaches of Bloomfield Township in the north, from West Bloomfield and Farmington Hills in the west, to the Royal Oak border in the east. The survey area includes 76,000 of the 96,000 Jews living in the entire region. We believe that "core" Jews are more Jewishly active than those living in rural or exurban areas. We also believe that the observations for the core can be extended to those areas -- such as Royal Oak, Livonia, Novi and northwest Detroit -- that are geographically closest to the core. However, since the outlying non-core areas have much lower rates of activity and affiliation than the core or border areas, the outreach model is probably more applicable to the outlying areas beyond the core.

DIMENSIONS OF IDENTITY: OBSERVANCE AND AFFILIATION

For American Jews, ritual observance and communal affiliation represent two distinct dimensions of Jewish involvement. Observance of rituals usually takes place in the home. It is family-oriented, and it reflects religious or spiritual commitment. Communal affiliation, on the other hand, is a public affair. It is community-oriented, and it generally reflects what may be called a civic commitment. Hence, it is important to examine both ritual observance as well as communal affiliation.

To what extent are Detroit area Jews active in Jewish life, in the home or wider community? And how do their levels of ritual observance and patterns of communal affiliation compare with those of other metropolitan Jewish communities?

Observance. Exhibit 1 reports the frequencies associated with several ritual practices and forms of communal affiliation for the Detroit Jewish population. It also presents findings from Jewish population studies recently conducted in Baltimore, Boston, Metrowest (Northeastern suburban) New Jersey, and Philadelphia. Two central themes emerge:

1) As might be expected, the Detroit Jewish population's activity frequencies cover a wide spectrum, ranging from highly observant to non-practicing, and from intensively active to totally unaffiliated.

2) The ritual frequencies and affiliation levels are very similar to those found in the other communities in the Northeast quadrant of the United States.

In other words, internally, Detroit Jews are diverse. In comparative perspective, they resemble other Jewish communities of comparable or larger size that, like metropolitan Detroit, are well-established Jewish communities.

The particular items appearing in Exhibit 1 are important not so much in their own right, but for what they signify about larger issues. In other words, the number of Jews who fast on Yom Kippur or who find their close friends among other Jews are but minute reflections of broader and ultimately more important sorts of involvement.

The ritual frequencies for the Detroit suggest that (about four-fifths) typically participate in the three most popular seasonal Jewish holidays. A solid majority of Detroit area Jews

Exhibit 1: Ritual Practice and Congregational Involvement in Detroit and Elsewhere (All entries are percentages)

	DETROIT	BALTI-MORE	BOSTON	METRO-WEST, N.J.	PHILA.
HOME-BASED PRACTICES					
(No) Christmas Tree	86	84	87	84	--
Passover Seder*	84	86	83	80	89
Hanukkah Candles	78	--	73	--	78
Fasts on Yom Kippur	67	74	63	68	67
Sabbath Candles*	33	32	34	25	32
Celebrates Purim*	26	--	--	--	--
Kosher Dishes*	19	23	15	17	16
No Money on Sabbath	8	8	6	7	5
CONGREGATIONAL INVOLVEMENT					
Paid Dues or Belong	52	55	42	55	41
Attendance at Services					
More Often	26	31	36	31	23
High Holiday**	42	52	36	44	57
Less Often	32	17	28	25	20
DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	7	21	4	6	5
Conservative	42	35	33	38	45
Reform	34	30	42	34	30
Other	18	12	21	20	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* "Usually" or "always".

** High Holidays only, or High Holidays and a few times a year.

Note: Questions are worded differently in different studies.

Exhibit 2: Ritual and Congregational Involvement in Detroit and Elsewhere

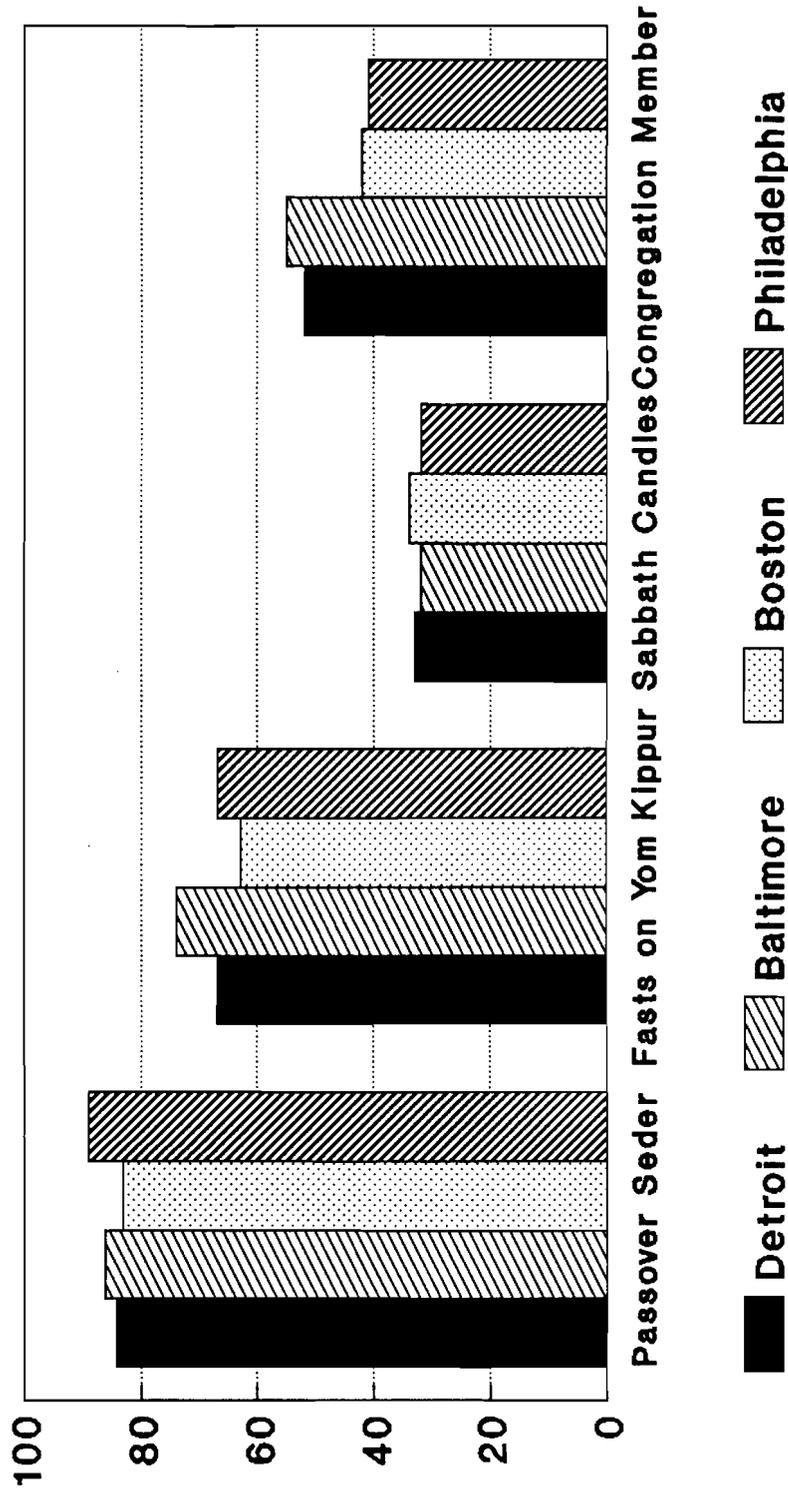
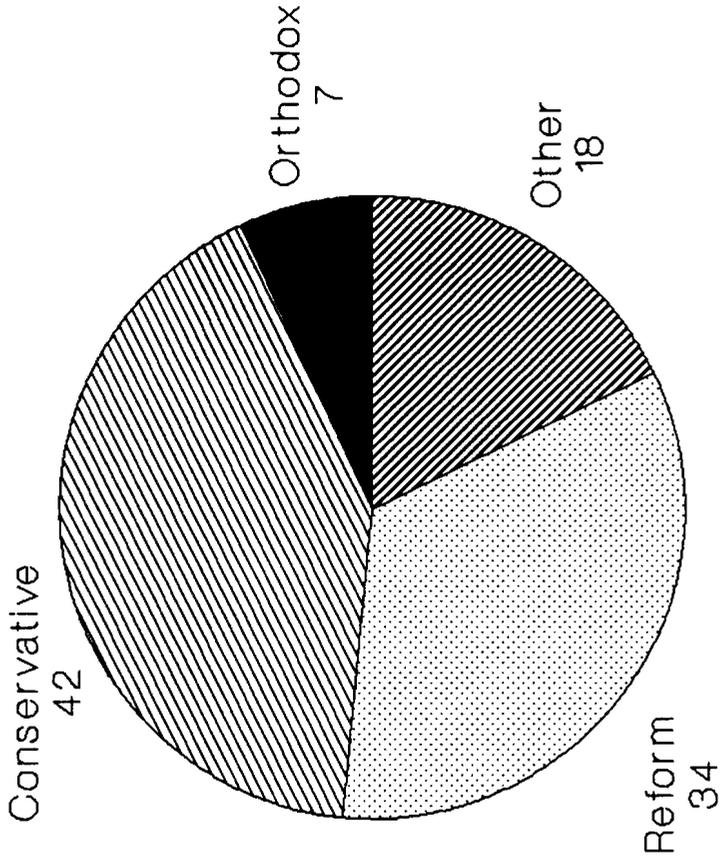


Exhibit 3: Denominational Distribution in Detroit



usually attend Passover Seders (84%), light Hanukkah candles (78%) and fast Yom Kippur (67%). Almost four-fifths mark the High Holidays in some way, either by attending services or fasting Yom Kippur or both. Resistance to erecting a Christmas tree in one's home is another way in which the great majority of Jews mark their attachment to the Jewish world and their separation from the larger society through holiday observance.

Whereas about four-fifths of the population participate in each of the popular seasonal holidays (Passover, Hanukkah, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur), only about a quarter engage in some of the more traditional activities such as lighting Sabbath candles or maintaining two sets of dishes for meat and dairy products in accord with the requirement of the dietary laws. Only a small number adhere to the most stringent demands of traditional Jewish law, as indicated by the 8% who said they refrain from handling money on the Sabbath.

Affiliation. A majority say they have paid dues to a temple or synagogue in the last year. Based on their answers to other questions and on synagogue membership rolls, we estimate the actual proportion of congregational households at about 40%, implying that about ten percent of the respondents were not entirely accurate about currently belonging to a synagogue or temple. The difference between actual and reported membership rates is attributable in part to former members claiming current membership and to respondents providing socially desirable answers.⁴

A third hardly ever attend worship services. Two out of five respondents attend services on the High Holidays and perhaps a few other days during the year; just over a quarter attend more often.

We asked respondents with which denomination they identify themselves. Their answers do not always conform with their congregational affiliation. In fact, since almost half do not even claim synagogue or temple membership, many who identify with a denomination belong to no synagogue or temple at all. This said, we note that more identify as Conservative Jews than with any other denomination, although the number of Reform Jews is almost as

⁴Once we correct for "false positives," that is, respondents who say that they are congregational members and are not, we generate a very close correspondence between the reports of membership totals in Detroit's larger congregations and the projections obtained from the survey. According to counts from membership lists, the seven largest congregations -- Temple Israel, Sha'arey Zedek; Temple Beth-El; Adat Shalom; Beth Abraham; Beth Shalom; and Beth Achim. -- should include 24% of the 36,000 Jewish households in the core. In the survey, using the corrected measure of congregational membership, 25% of the households indicated that they belonged to one of these 7 temples or synagogues.

large. A very small number are Orthodox and the remainder (18%) identify as secular, humanist, or just Jewish.⁵

Congregational affiliation, though one of the most common ways of identifying oneself as a Jew, is not the only way. Large numbers of respondents report other links with the organized Jewish community (see Exhibit 4). Over three-fifths read the Jewish News weekly. Nearly half belong to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue, temple, or the Jewish Community Center. About a quarter regularly volunteer in some capacity under Jewish auspices. Nearly a fifth now serve on a board or a committee of some Jewish agency or other institution. Over a fifth claim membership in the JCC. Over two fifths of the adults surveyed say they have visited Israel and almost half of these have been there 2 times or more.

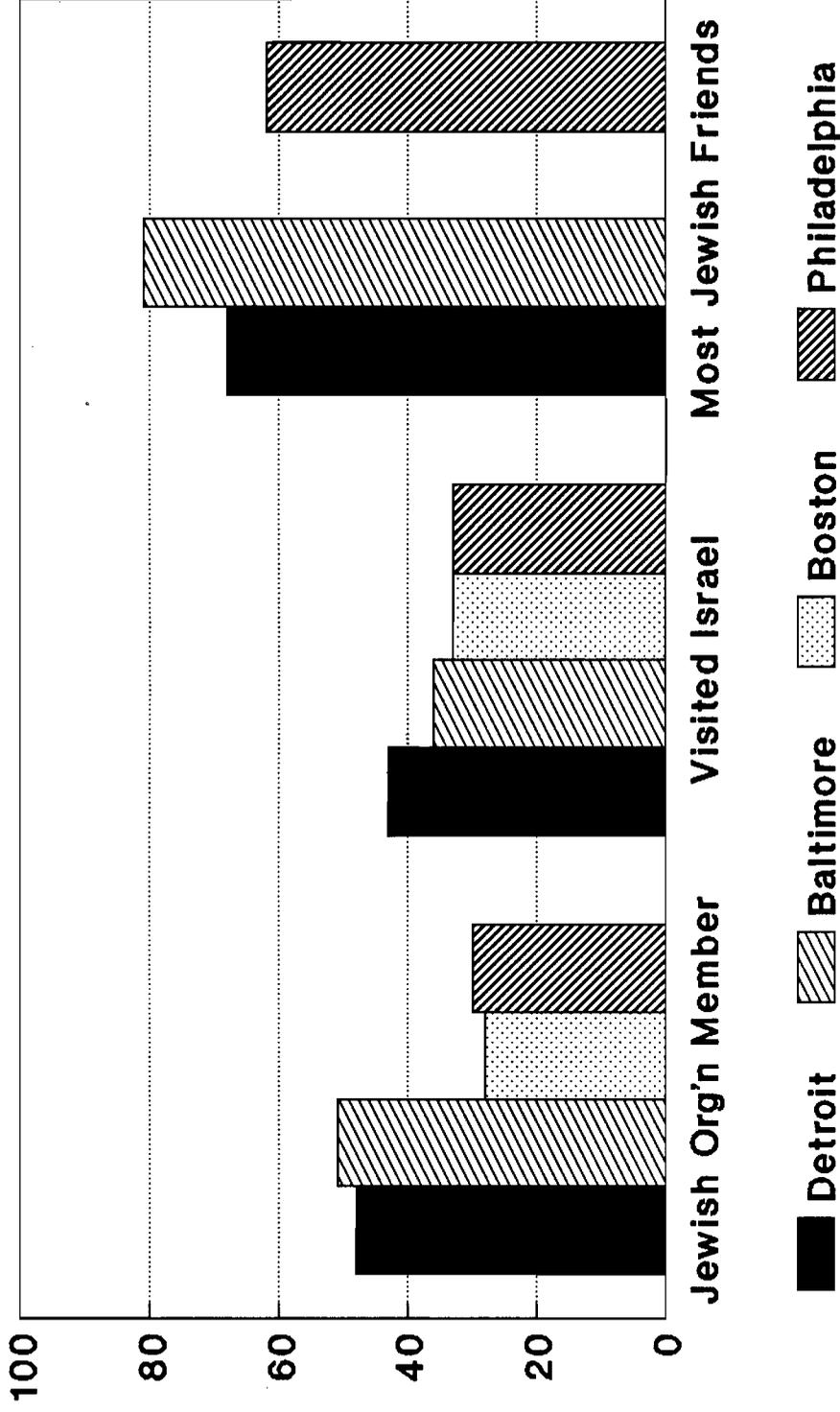
⁵The small numbers of Reconstructionist, traditional, and dual-denomination Jews were re-classified as Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform largely on the basis of their synagogue or temple affiliation, if available.

Exhibit 4: Indicators of Jewish Affiliation in Detroit and Elsewhere (All entries are percentages)

	DETROIT	BALT- MORE	BOSTON	METRO- WEST, N.J.	PHILA.
COMMUNAL AFFILIATION					
Reads Jewish News	63	--	--	59	58
Jewish Org'n Member	48	51	28	47	30
Volunteers Monthly	26	22	17	26	13
Board or Committee Member	19	--	--	--	--
JCC Member	22	--	16	36	--
Visited Israel	43	36	33	44	33
INFORMAL AFFILIATION					
Most Closest Friends Jewish	68	81	--	82	62
Mixed Married	7	10	8	5	6
Recently Mixed Married	19	24	17	32	24

Note: Questions are differently worded in different studies.

Exhibit 5: Jewish Affiliation in Detroit and Elsewhere



In conjunction with the large numbers of Jews linked to each other through formal associations, many are also connected to each other through the informal ties of friendship and marriage. Over two thirds report that most of their closest friends are Jewish; in fact, two-fifths say that all or almost all of their closest friends are Jewish. Of those currently married, 93% of Jewish individuals are married to other Jews; in other words, just 7% are married to non-Jews. Notwithstanding the well-founded concern over the rising rate of intermarriage, the vast majority of Jews are connected to other Jews through friendship, and the vast majority of married Jews (even those who have married recently) are married to Jewish spouses.

The Large Number of Moderately Affiliated Jews. The results certainly portray a wide spectrum of religious involvement and communal affiliation. One way to appreciate the shape and breadth of this spectrum is to examine the combined reports of ritual practice and communal affiliation. Indices of affiliation and observances are cross-tabulated in Exhibit 6.

The affiliation index simply counts the number of times respondents report affiliation in each of the following eight ways: synagogue or temple membership; use of the JCC; belonging to another Jewish organization; serving on a board or committee of a Jewish agency; regularly volunteering for a Jewish cause; reading the Jewish News weekly; contributing at least \$500 to all Jewish causes (including the campaign); and contributing at least \$100 to the Federation Campaign (specifically). The index ranges from 0 (for the totally unaffiliated) to 8 (for those affiliated in all eight ways).

Significantly, only 9% of the respondents are totally unaffiliated; conversely, it follows that 91% have by this measure, some formal connection with the Jewish community. We will describe those with just one or no connection as scoring "low" on the affiliation index; those with six or more links will be discussed as "high" scorers; and the remainder (scoring 2-5) are classified as "moderately affiliated." By these definitions, just over a fifth have a low level of communal affiliation, as many have a high level, and almost three fifths score in the moderate range. In other words, most Jews are neither unaffiliated nor heavily involved and active in Jewish communal life.

Exhibit 6: Indices of Jewish Involvement

Affiliation*

LOW (0-1)	MODERATE (2-5)	HIGH (6-8)	
21	58	21	100%

Observance**

LOW	MODERATE	HIGH	
43	37	20	100%

The Large Middle: Affiliation and Observance
(Entries are percentages of total sample)

R I T U A L	O B S E R V A N C E	AFFILIATION			TOTAL
			MODERATE	HIGH	
	HIGH	--	10	9	19
	MODERATE	5	26	7	38
	LOW	16	22	5	43
	TOTAL	21	58	21	100%

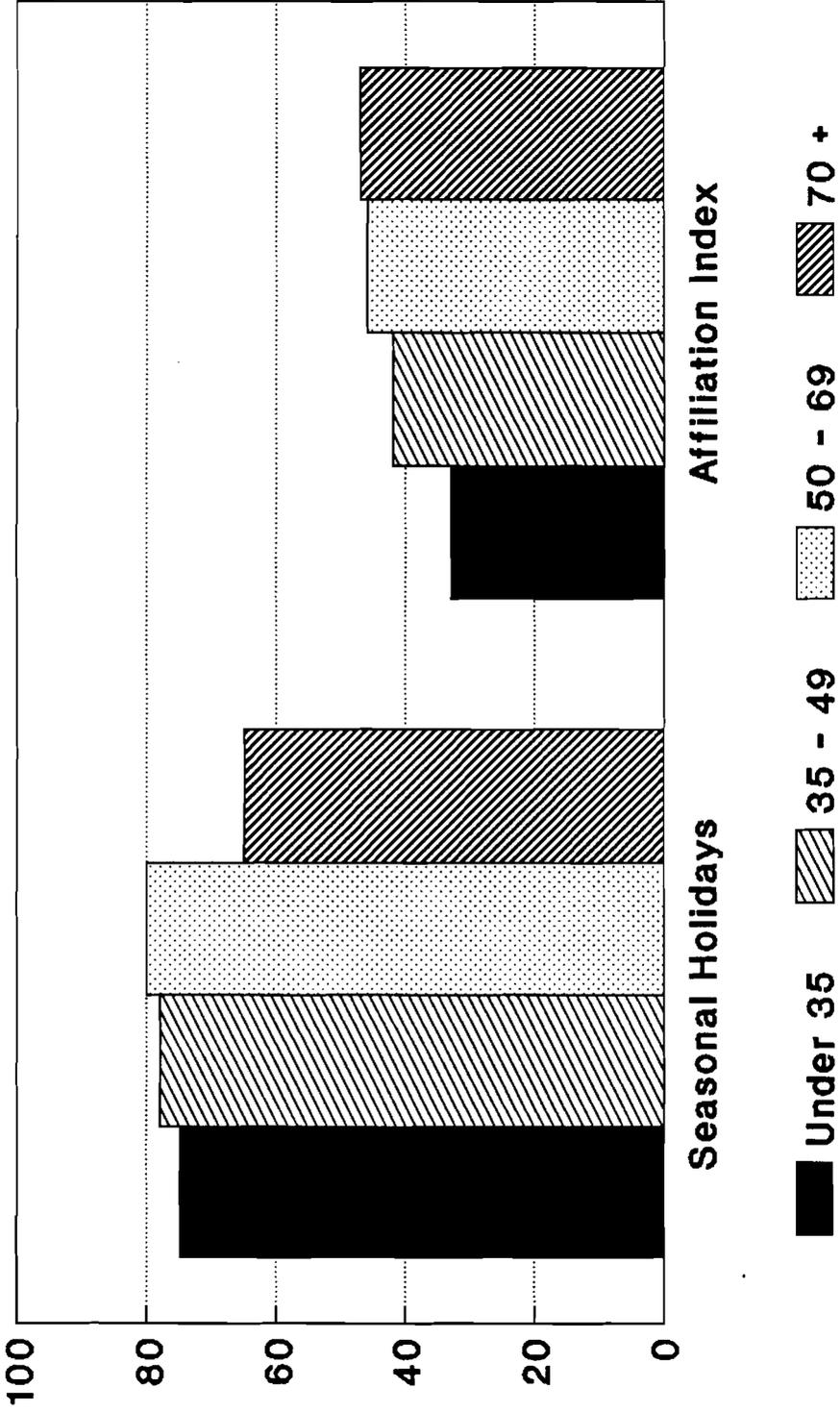
*Affiliation score is equivalent to the number of times respondent affiliates in each of the following ways: 1) congregational member; 2) JCC user; 3) Jewish organization member; 4) frequent reader of the Jewish News; 5) Jewish organization committee member; 6) volunteers for a Jewish cause; 7) gives \$500 or more to all Jewish causes; 8) gives \$100 or more to Federation.

**Observance score: Low = 0, 1, or 2 holiday observances (Passover Seder, Hanukkah candles, Yom Kippur fasting).

Moderate = 3 holidays observed + 0 or 1 ritual.

High = 3 holidays observed + 2-4 rituals (Sabbath candles, kosher dishes, Purim, no money on the Sabbath).

Exhibit 7: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Age



Those who perform two or fewer of the most popular holiday practices can be regarded as scoring "low" on observance. For the most part, these are people who might attend a Passover Seder or light Hanukkah candles (or neither). We define a "moderate" level of observance as observing all of the three popular Jewish holidays (Passover, Hanukkah, or Yom Kippur), while, at the same time, refraining from undertaking any of the less popular practices in our survey (e.g., Sabbath candle-lighting). Last, those who commemorate all three widely observed holidays and who undertake at least one of the less widely practiced rituals make up the "highly" observant group. By these definitions over two fifths of the population score low on observance, about a fifth score high, and almost two fifths are in the moderate category.

Further support for the thesis of the vast middle is found in the crosstabulation of the affiliation and observance scales. To a moderate degree, the two scales are correlated. That is, those who are more ritually observant tend to be more communally active.

If we define the most remote from Jewish life as those who score low on both observance and affiliation, then just 16% fall in this category. If we define the most involved as those who score high on both observance and affiliation, then just 9% fall into this category. The remaining three quarters of the Jewish households fall, by this definition, into the vast middle. They are somewhat active in Jewish life (at home, in the community, or both), but they are not highly involved in terms of both ritual practice and communal activity.

We cannot presume that even the 16% who are most remote from Jewish life lack any motivation to engage in Jewish ritual or communal activity. Jewish involvement is abetted by both motivation and "opportunity." Some Jews affiliate with Jewish institutions primarily because they are financially secure, residentially stable, and find themselves in the appropriate family circumstances. As we shall see, being married to a Jewish spouse and having school-age children at home are important stimuli to Jewish involvement. The absence of the correct opportunity structure (finances, stability, children), such as is the case among many younger single adults is the "real" reason why some peripheral Jews are Jewishly inactive or unaffiliated.

Insofar as this interpretation is correct, the so-called unaffiliated population, small as it may be, consists of many Jews who will eventually increase their involvement. Once they are married and become parents, once they have achieved some financial security, and once they have sunk roots in a Jewish residential community, their Jewish involvement levels will climb.

In contrast with the small number of highly uninvolved Jews, the moderately involved population -- however defined -- is quite large. Whether the non-observant and unaffiliated group is stable, shrinking or growing is a secondary subject of contention between the outreach and enrichment model.

THE IMPACT OF AGE AND FAMILY LIFE CYCLE

How do young adult Jews differ from their elders? Are they, as many observers have been saying, "less Jewish" and therefore destined to contribute to an erosion of Jewish activity as they replace their elders? Or are they, as others would argue, "just as Jewish," but perhaps in a different way?

Many who are anxious over the American Jewish future focus on the ostensibly lower levels of Jewish involvement among younger Jews. If, indeed, younger adults are, on the whole, less Jewishly identified than their elders or predecessors, then tomorrow's Detroit Jewish population is likely to be less Jewishly active than yesterday's. Thus, it is worthwhile to see how the Jewish involvement levels of younger Jews compare with those of their elders.

The Measures: Exhibit 8 presents numerous measures of Jewish identity and affiliation by age. Since these measures recur throughout much of this analysis, a word about each is in order.

"Seasonal holidays" is an index that combines three items: attending a Passover Seder, lighting Hanukkah candles, and fasting Yom Kippur. The numerical entries in the table refer to the average (mean) frequency with which the total population or sub-groups undertake these activities.

"Ritual observance" is the same sort of index for four less widely practiced activities: lighting Sabbath candles, celebrating Purim, maintaining two sets of dishes for meat and dairy, and refraining from handling money on the Sabbath.

"Congregational member" is defined as someone who claims to have paid dues to a temple or synagogue in the last twelve months.

"Denomination" refers to self-identified denomination. There is no requirement that respondents actually belong to Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform congregations.

"Affiliation" is a composite index of the eight communal activities mentioned earlier (synagogue or temple membership, JCC utilization, other organizational membership, board or committee membership, volunteering, reading the Jewish News, contributing to Jewish causes, and contributing to the Campaign).

"Pro-Israel" attachment is an index consisting of three questions: feeling close to Israel, having visited Israel, and celebrating Israel Independence Day. Scores range from 0 to 100.

Exhibit 8: Measures of Jewish Involvement and Affiliation by Age

	TOTAL	UNDER 35	35-49	50-69	70+
Seasonal Holidays	76	75	78	80	65
Ritual Observance	21	21	21	21	22
Congregational Member	52	38	54	54	53
Affiliation Index	43	33	42	46	47
Pro-Israel Index*	40	31	36	43	47
Jewish Friends	71	58	68	76	78
DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	6	8	7	6	6
Conservative	42	45	33	44	51
Reform	34	27	40	37	25
Other	18	20	21	13	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Pro-Israel combines travel to Israel; feeling close to Israel ; and celebrating Israel Independence Day.

"Jewish friends" refers to the average percentage of close friends who are Jewish.

Certainly, no informed observer would regard all eight measures as embracing all aspects of being an involved Jew. Nor would all observers regard them as equally important. The decision as to which of these measures are most significant and which are most trivial in assessing Jewish identity is very much an ideological choice. However, whatever one's ideology of Jewish life, when taken together, these measures cover much of what most experienced observers would regard as central to Jewish identity and affiliation.⁶

The Age-Related Trends: Comparisons of younger with older adults reveal no strong relationships. In most cases, differences are small and inconsistent. Moreover, where there are noticeable trends in one direction for some measures, we find countervailing trends in the other direction for other measures. In short, the key finding here is that **younger Jews are just as Jewishly involved as their elders.**

With that said, we can discern some significant rises and falls in various Jewish identity measures over the age spectrum. In particular, we find that:

1) Those age 69 or younger celebrate Passover, Hanukkah and High Holidays somewhat more often than those 70 or older, probably because older people are more isolated from their families.

2) There are few significant age-related differences in observing the more traditional rituals and in denominational identification.

3) Congregational membership rates rise around age 35.

4) The evidence does point to a decline among younger adults in three areas: communal affiliation, pro-Israel attachment, and maintaining Jewish friends. The age-related "slide" in these three areas is not confined to the youngest adults, but, for the most part occurs over the entire age spectrum. In other words, those 50-69 out-score those 35-49 who, in turn, generally out-score those who are even younger.

To synthesize these findings, younger Jews largely resemble their elders in terms of religious activity. But in terms of affiliation, younger Jews are less connected to other Jews than are their elders. These results may well portend changes in the near

⁶In using these measures, it may appear that "more" is "better". This is a message that most Jews, even most highly involved Jews, would reject. To be clear, no such evaluative implication should be read here.

future. That is, the behavior of today's young people may tell us something about the Jewish population ten or twenty years from now. If it does, then we can anticipate stability in religious participation, accompanied by some erosion in several forms of communal involvement.

Before arriving at such a far-reaching conclusion, we need to examine an alternative interpretation. Young people may be less affiliated simply because they have not yet had the opportunity to marry and have children. Since most of today's younger singles will some day marry and bear children, the low rates of affiliation may soon rise with impending and eventual parenthood. In Detroit, as in other Jewish population studies, over 90% of 35-39 year olds have married. Today's young people may marry later in life than their parents did, but the overwhelming majority do marry at some point.

To understand whether this interpretation is even plausible, we need to examine differences in Jewish involvement over the family life cycle.

Family Life Cycle and Jewish Involvement: Exhibit 9 crosstables measures of Jewish involvement by family life cycle. The six family groups are:

- 1) younger adults with no children (including single, previously married, and currently married couples, where the individual or wife is under 45 years old);
- 2) married couples who are parents of pre-school children (i.e., no child at home is over 5 years old);
- 3) parents of school-age children (i.e., at least one child is 6-17 years old);
- 4) single parents of any age with children of any age;
- 5) empty nesters (an individual couple where the individual or wife is 45-69 years old, with no children home);
- 6) older individuals (married or not, where the individual or the wife is at least 70 years of age). As might be expected, all measures of Jewish involvement are sensitive to changes in the family life cycle.

Notably, on several measures of Jewish involvement, parents of school-age children score the highest. More than others, they observe the major seasonal holidays, attend synagogue or temple services, have Jewish friends, affiliate with Jewish communal institutions, and belong to congregations.

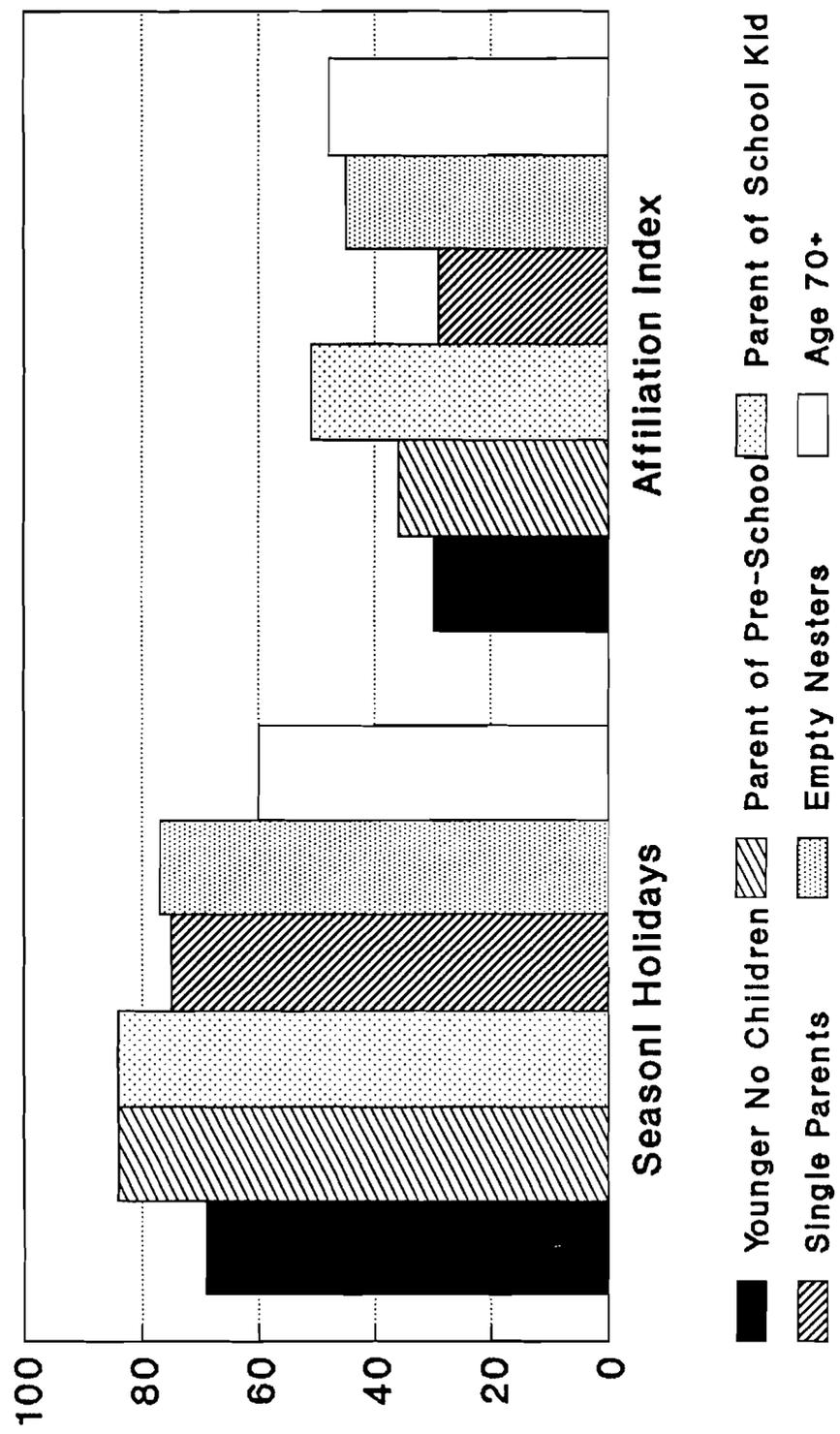
By way of contrast, younger childless adults and single parents score lower than those in all other family stages on all measures of Jewish involvement.

Exhibit 9: Measures of Jewish Involvement and Affiliation by Family Life Cycle

	YOUNGR NO CHILD- REN	PARENT OF PRE- SCHOOL	PARENT OF SCHOOL KIDS	SINGLE PARNTS *	EMPTY NES- TERS	AGE 70+
Seasonal Holidays	69	84	84	75	77	60
Ritual Observance	13	21	29	12	20	22
Congregation	36	41	68	28	53	52
Affiliation Index	30	36	51	29	45	48
Pro-Israel Index	30	33	40	31	44	48
Jewish Friends	58	65	73	69	74	80
DENOMINATION						
Orthodox	4	3	12	1	4	8
Conservative	41	47	31	38	48	46
Reform	22	40	41	51	33	28
Other	33	9	15	10	15	19
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Single parents are mostly mothers.

Exhibit 10: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Family Life Circle



Apparently conventional Jewish life is most attractive to married couples in their child-rearing years. Jewish parents are drawn to religious activity and affiliation as a way of providing for the religious upbringing of their children. Having children motivates parents to seek out schools, the Jewish Community Center, and the synagogue or temple. Children impel parents to see themselves as Jewish role models for the next generation and provoke them to utilize resources to provide for their children's development as Jews.

The lower levels of involvement on the part of single parents (most of whom are mothers) point out how the conventional family and financial security facilitate all sorts of Jewish involvement. The presence of two partners makes observing major holidays or attending services more enjoyable and more meaningful. Anecdotally, Singles (parents or not) relate that they have little incentive to prepare an elaborate Sabbath or holiday meal when they have no other adults with whom to share the experience. Single Jewish parents constitute the most financially hard-pressed family stage. Single parents' frequent lack of financial resources, as well as leisure time, serves as a serious obstacle to their participation in Jewish communal life.

Two policy implications emerge from this particular set of findings:

1) Conventional two-parent families may be the most identifiable, most easily recruited, and most receptive to intervention by Jewish educators. These families should be a prime focus for enrichment strategies.

2) Since (for very different reasons) younger adults with no children and single parents are the least active in Jewish life, they may be the ones most in need of Jewish educational services. But they may be among those most difficult to affect. To the extent that investment in outreach is appropriate, this is a relevant target group.

Having established that younger adults without children score low on all measures of Jewish involvement, we can return to the question posed earlier: Are younger Jews "less Jewish" than their elders? By restricting the analysis to those younger adults who have already become parents, we remove much of the effect associated with family life cycle, and move closer to isolating the unique effects of birth cohort (that is, the time in which people were born and raised) upon Jewish involvement.

Exhibit 11 presents the age-related findings, excluding younger adults without children. We find a pattern that runs contrary to much conventional wisdom: younger adults are as Jewishly involved if not more involved than middle-aged or older adults. These levels of Jewish involvement among the young are evident despite the fact that younger Jews include far larger

numbers of mixed married couples who typically score low on most measures of Jewish involvement.

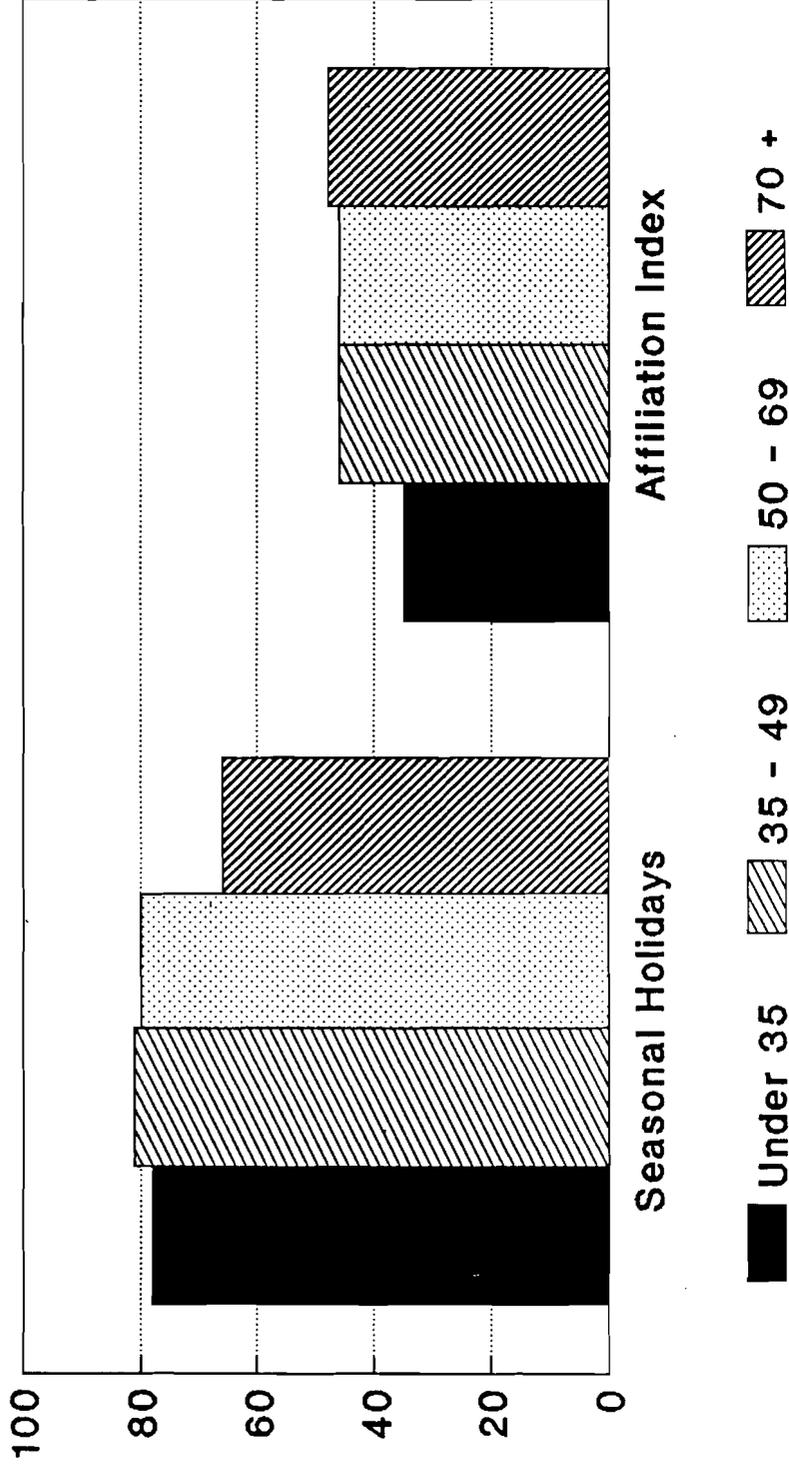
Recalling the distinction we drew earlier between the religious and communal dimensions of Jewish identity, **not only are younger Jews in Detroit just as religiously active as their elders, if not more so, but the younger cohorts are also just as affiliated with Jewish institutions.** Levels of affiliation with Jewish institutions are relatively stable over the age spectrum. However, both attachment to Israel and maintaining Jewish friendships decline somewhat as we move from old to young. (In addition, as the forthcoming philanthropy report reveals, younger Jews are less committed to the Federation's Allied Jewish Campaign than their elders.)

Notwithstanding increases in intermarriage (see below), growing integration with non-Jewish friendship circles, increased residential dispersion, and special difficulties in raising Campaign funds among younger Jews, **levels of Jewish identity figure to remain roughly where they have been for many years.** Some policy makers and practitioners may be unhappy with the general level of attachment, commitment, and erudition. However, that the large majority of today's younger adults probably will maintain roughly the same level of involvement in Jewish life as did their parents. In short, **not only is there a large group of moderately affiliated Jews, they do not seem to be markedly growing or shrinking.**

Exhibit 11: Measures of Jewish Involvement and Affiliation by Age, Excluding Adults Under 45 with No Children

	UNDER 35	35-49	50-69	70+
Seasonal Holidays	78	81	80	66
Ritual Observance	28	25	20	23
Congregational Member	40	59	54	54
Affiliation Index	35	46	46	48
Pro-Israel Index	35	37	43	47
Jewish Friends	62	69	76	79
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	14	8	6	6
Conservative	39	33	44	52
Reform	33	43	37	29
Other	14	16	14	16
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Exhibit 12: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Age, Excluding Adults Under 45 with No Children



ORTHODOX, CONSERVATIVE, REFORM, AND OTHERS

In many large Jewish communities, Jewish religious and associational life is largely conducted within denominational boundaries. Congregational membership, worship, the celebration of major life cycle events, Jewish schooling, adult education, youth groups, aspects of Israel programming, and even some political activities occur within denominational frameworks. In recent years, denominational identities and institutional rivalries in many communities have become even more pronounced than they were a generation ago. The sharpening of denominational identities has become so severe that some national observers of American Jewry worry over Jewish communal unity, and others call for more interdenominational dialogue, education, and socializing.

For these reasons alone, the Jewish identity profiles of the denominations should be of considerable interest to the Detroit area rabbis and educators who work within the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform movements. They are also important to non-denominational policy makers and practitioners who need to understand and appreciate both the relative strengths and weaknesses in Jewish involvement presented by each denomination.

For purposes of this analysis, we distinguish between congregational members and non-members for all groups but the Orthodox (the number of Orthodox respondents who are not synagogue members is too small to warrant separate analysis).

Congregational members rank higher than non-members on all our measures of Jewish involvement. When most community leaders think of "Conservative" or "Reform" Jews, they are thinking of Jews affiliated with the congregations of those movements. Separating the members from the non-members is essential for conveying the true relative Jewish involvement found among bona fide members of both movements.

The conventional impression, one buttressed by considerable prior social research, is that the Orthodox significantly out-score Conservative Jews who in turn score higher than Reform Jews on most standard measures of Jewish involvement (Exhibit 13). However, contrary to this impression, there are several notable areas where the congregational members of each denomination are hardly different from one another. That is, the Orthodox-Conservative-Reform rank ordering does not always apply. Synagogue or temple members from the three major movements report almost identical scores with respect to the following dimensions of Jewish involvement: celebrating Passover, Hanukkah, and High Holidays; affiliating with Jewish communal institutions; and maintaining close Jewish friendships. For these areas, the major distinctions are between congregational members and non-members

Exhibit 13: Measures of Jewish Involvement by
Denomination and Congregational Membership

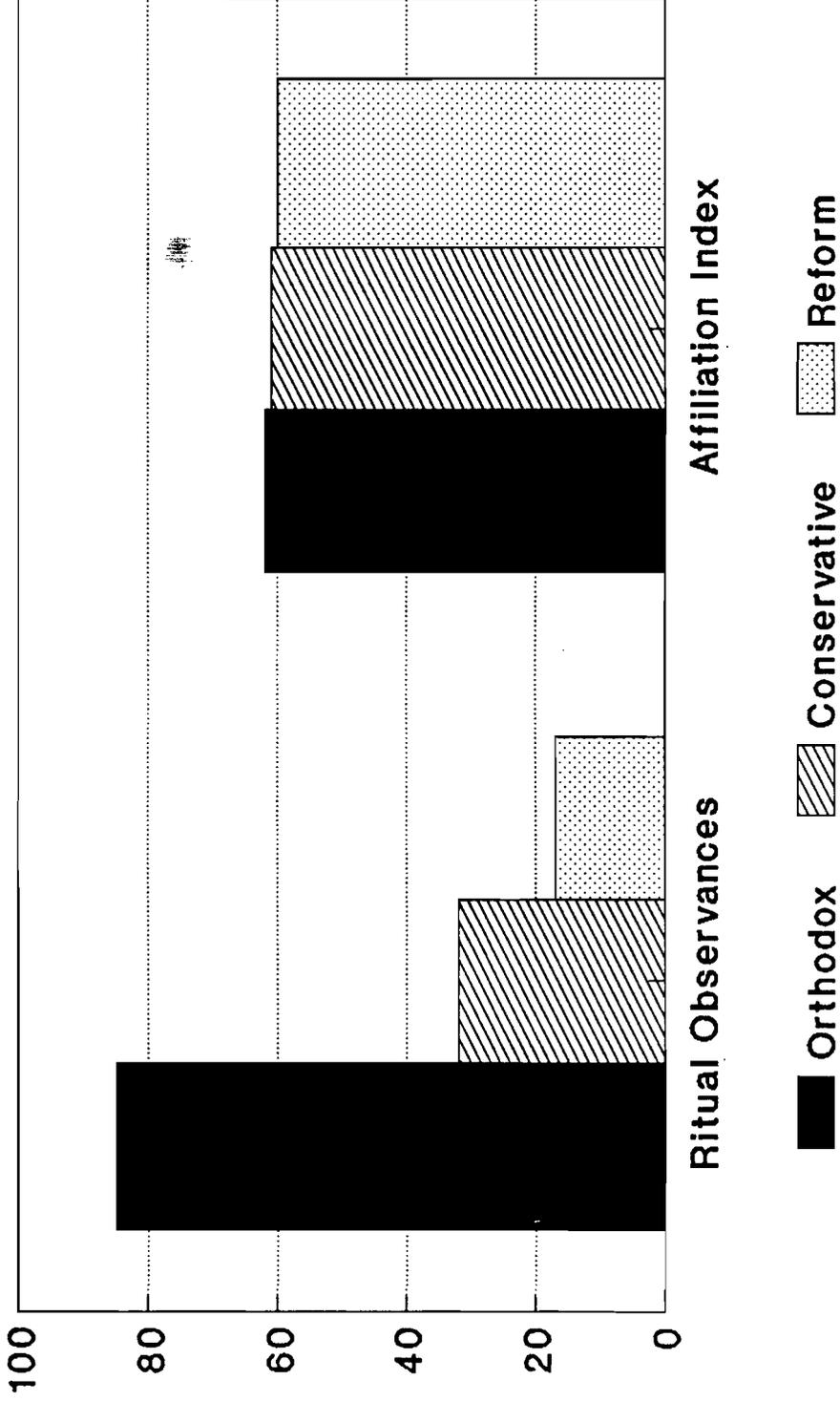
DENOMINATION	ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE		REFORM		OTHER*	
		All**	Mbr	Non	Mbr	Non	Mbr
Cong. Member							
Seasonal Holidays	89	91	79	85	73	53	43
Ritual Observances	85	32	19	17	5	6	4
Attendance (Men)***	46	11	4	8	4	6	2
Attendance (Women)	25	11	3	7	3	8	2
Affiliation Index	62	61	29	60	24	60	18
Pro-Israel Index	67	53	38	39	27	39	26
Jewish Friends	84	79	70	75	67	68	59

*"Other" includes Humanist, secular, and just Jewish. Most "other members" are Humanist.

**There are too few Orthodox non-members to sustain separate analysis: fully 88% of individuals who identify as Orthodox are synagogue members.

***Mean number of days per year at services; median attendance (about 4 days per year) is lower than mean attendance.

Exhibit 14: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Denomination



rather than between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or "other" types of Jews.

In areas pertaining to traditional religious practice, though, the Orthodox vastly out-score Conservative synagogue members who in turn somewhat surpass the levels of ritual practice and service attendance found among affiliated Reform Jews. For example, on the ritual index, the Orthodox score an 85 as compared with a 32 for the Conservative members and 17 for the Reform. On average, Orthodox men report attending synagogue 46 times a year as compared with just 11 days (Conservative) and 8 days a year (Reform). Reform and Conservative women attend just about as often as their male counterparts, but Orthodox women attend far less often than Orthodox men (25 days a year), yet far more often than non-Orthodox women.

Israel attach follows a denominational gradient. The Israel attachment index equals 67 for the Orthodox, 53 for Conservative members, and 39 for Reform members. Consistent with the patterns found in the other measures, Conservative and Reform non-members' pro-Israel scores trail those of synagogue or temple members from their respective movements.

By far the least active in Jewish life in the home or community, are those who fail to identify with a major denomination and are not members of temples (labeled "other, non-member" in the table). To take one illustration: whereas temple members score between 60 and 62 on the communal affiliation index, the non-denominational, non-member group scores only an 18.

A few key themes emerge from these findings:

1) In several significant ways, Conservative and Reform congregational members are just as active in Jewish life as the Orthodox.

2) The Orthodox are more active not only in terms of religious practice but also in attachment to for Israel.

3) Among Conservative, Reform, and "other" Jews, the distinctions in Jewish involvement levels between members and non-members are rather large.

4) The non-denominational, especially those who are not temple-affiliated, are relatively inactive in Jewish life.

Impending Growth in Orthodoxy, Others Stable. Which denominations will grow, which will shrink, and which will hold its own?

The conventional wisdom among informed observers nationwide is that both Orthodoxy and Reform are growing at the expense of the Conservative movement. The image of an expanding Orthodox community is fed by a number of considerations. In the last two decades, the Orthodox have gained in affluence. Many Orthodox Jews have adopted a more rigorous stance in religious matters and in relations with the non-Orthodox world. In addition, the Orthodox have larger families than the non-Orthodox, raising the prospect of a significant natural increase in the next generation.

Reform leaders, for their part, see great possibilities for expansion in the years ahead. They reason that theirs is the only movement that stands a good chance of attracting the increasing number of mixed married Jews. In addition, in abandoning Classic Reform's historic antagonism to traditional Jewish cultural elements, Reform leaders believe their movement is poised to attract congregants who might otherwise have joined Conservative synagogues.

Many Conservative rabbis around the country report replacement of larger with smaller congregations. Comparisons of recent Jewish population studies around the country and the 1971 National Jewish Population Study demonstrate an unmistakable shrinkage in Conservative identification. But it is not clear whether that decline took place primarily in the 1970's, or whether it continued into the 1980's. Moreover, notwithstanding evidence of vitality in individual congregations, Conservative rabbis and congregational leaders tend to voice pessimism regarding the future of their movement nationally.

Whether or not these images drawn from the national scene are accurate portrayals of reality is not important here. What is relevant for this report is whether they accurately apply to denominational trends in Detroit.

We do not have data over time. That is, we cannot chart denominational growth or decline for each of several years in the recent past. However, we can examine age-related trends. To some extent, the affiliation patterns of younger adults, if not those of children and teenagers, may provide a clue as to the affiliation patterns in the near future.

One trend in denominational distributions by age of Detroit area Jews is unambiguous (Exhibit 15). The younger the individual, the more likely he or she is to identify with Orthodoxy. Only 4% of older persons are Orthodox, as compared with 13% of those under 18 years of age.

Exhibit 15: Denomination by Age of Individuals

Age:	0-17	18-34	35-49	50-69	70+
Orthodox	13	10	6	6	4
Conservative	38	47	37	46	51
Reform	40	32	43	35	26
Humanist, Secular	5	3	6	6	10
Just Jewish	5	9	8	7	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

To the extent that these children remain Orthodox (and remain in Detroit) in their adulthood, they will contribute to a gradual expansion in the relative and absolute size of the region's Orthodox population. Nevertheless, Orthodoxy remains a distinct minority. Even among the children, fewer than one Jew in seven is Orthodox.

The trend lines for Reform and Conservatism, are more ambiguous. Relative to the aging population, Conservative identification has declined slightly while Reform has grown. Moreover, although Conservative adults outnumber Reform adults, the reverse is true among children and teenagers. The evidence argues for some erosion in Conservative identification and some growth in Reform, but if a trend is emerging, it is neither clear nor large in magnitude.

Further light on these trends is shed by Exhibit 16 which compares the Detroit respondents' denominational identities with those of their parents. The table presents the current denominational choices of respondents who were raised as Orthodox, Conservative or Reform Jews, or in some other fashion.

Almost half of those raised Orthodox now identify as Conservative; the rest divide almost evenly between Orthodoxy and Reform. Three fifths of Conservative-raised Jews retain a Conservative identity, but over a quarter now identify as Reform, with the rest scattered among several alternatives. Of those raised in Reform homes, three quarters remain Reform, and just a few have become Conservative.

These patterns suggest a gradual process of movement away from the more traditional denominations. But that inference would be an over-simplification, as the next panel reveals. Exhibit 17 presents denominational retention rates by age. By denominational retention, we refer to the chances that someone raised in a given denomination will retain that denomination as an adult. The age-related and denomination-specific patterns are revealing.

Of those raised Orthodox who are now 70 or more years old, just 15% retain Orthodox identity. Among the younger respondents, the probability of remaining Orthodox increases dramatically. It stands at 58% among those 35-49. Thus, whereas once defection from Orthodoxy was the rule, it has increasingly become the exception. More and more, the Orthodox have been able to retain allegiance into the next generation.

Exhibit 16: Current Denomination by Denomination Raised

Denomination Raised					
CURRENT	ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	JUST JEWISH*	OTHER RELIGION
Orthodox	24	2	*	3	5
Consrvtive	47	60	16	25	9
Reform	20	26	74	27	39
Humanist, Secular	3	4	7	4	7
Just Jewish	5	8	3	40	40
	100	100	100	100	100

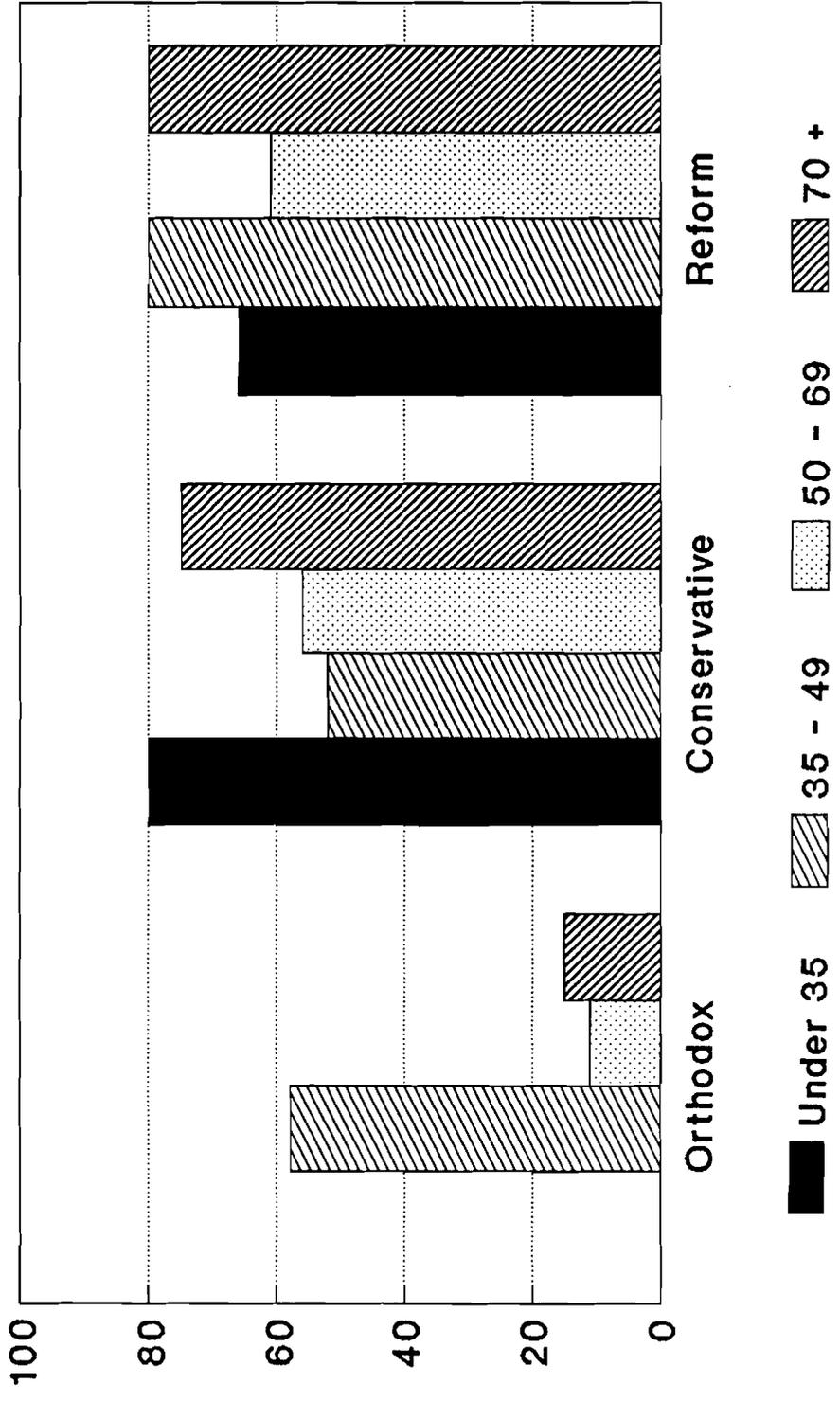
*Includes

Exhibit 17: Denominational Retention Rates* by Age

AGE:	UNDER 35	35-49	50-69	70+
Orthodox	--	58	11	15
Consrvtive	80	52	56	75
Reform	66	80	61	80

*Extent to which those raised in a given denomination retain the same denominational identity as an adult.

Exhibit 18: Denominational Retention by Age



The Conservative age-specific retention rates are highest among both the youngest adults and the most elderly, and lowest among the intermediate group, particularly those 35-49 years old. The implication is that the Conservative movement has sustained losses in identification until very recently. But given the high retention rate (80%) among the under-34 year olds, Conservatism may be poised for a rebound.

The Reform retention rates are fairly uniform over the age range. This pattern suggests that the ability of the Reform movement to retain the loyalty of the next generation has been fairly constant for several decades.

These results suggest that we can anticipate small changes in the denominational distribution in the Detroit area, particularly with respect to the growing minority of Orthodox Jews. Although Conservatism no longer benefits from Orthodox "dropouts," some evidence points to a rebound in Conservative affiliation. The Reform movement continues to retain the loyalty of large proportions of those raised Reform, as it has for many years in the past.

Congregational Membership. As might be expected, membership varies by denomination. Among those who identify themselves as Orthodox, 88% are synagogue members as compared with three quarters of the Conservative and Reform Jews, 41% of the secular or Humanist group, and just 7% of the "just Jewish" group.

The extent to which children influence congregational affiliation can be seen in that part of Exhibit 19 that reports the proportion who belong to a synagogue or temple by age of each member of the household. Membership rises as children approach the age of Bar or Bat Mitzvah and declines thereafter.

The patterns of membership reported above illustrate the intimate connection between family life cycle and synagogue or temple utilization. For some of the more involved Jews, the synagogue or temple may represent a constant point of connection with other Jews. For the more peripheral Jews, it may represent an institution very alien to them, one for which they have only occasional use at best. For the large number of Jews in the middle of the Jewish identity spectrum, the value of a synagogue or temple connection is very much tied to raising children and other family-oriented needs. For the Reform and Conservative congregations and rabbinic leaders especially, this finding suggests an opportunity to build affiliation and attachment around key transitions in the family life cycle and by attending to the interests of parents in providing for the upbringing of their children.

Exhibit 19: Congregational Membership of Individuals by Denomination, Age, and Family Life Cycle

DENOMINATION	
Orthodox	88
Conservative	73
Reform	74
Humanist	41
Just Jewish	7
Total	68

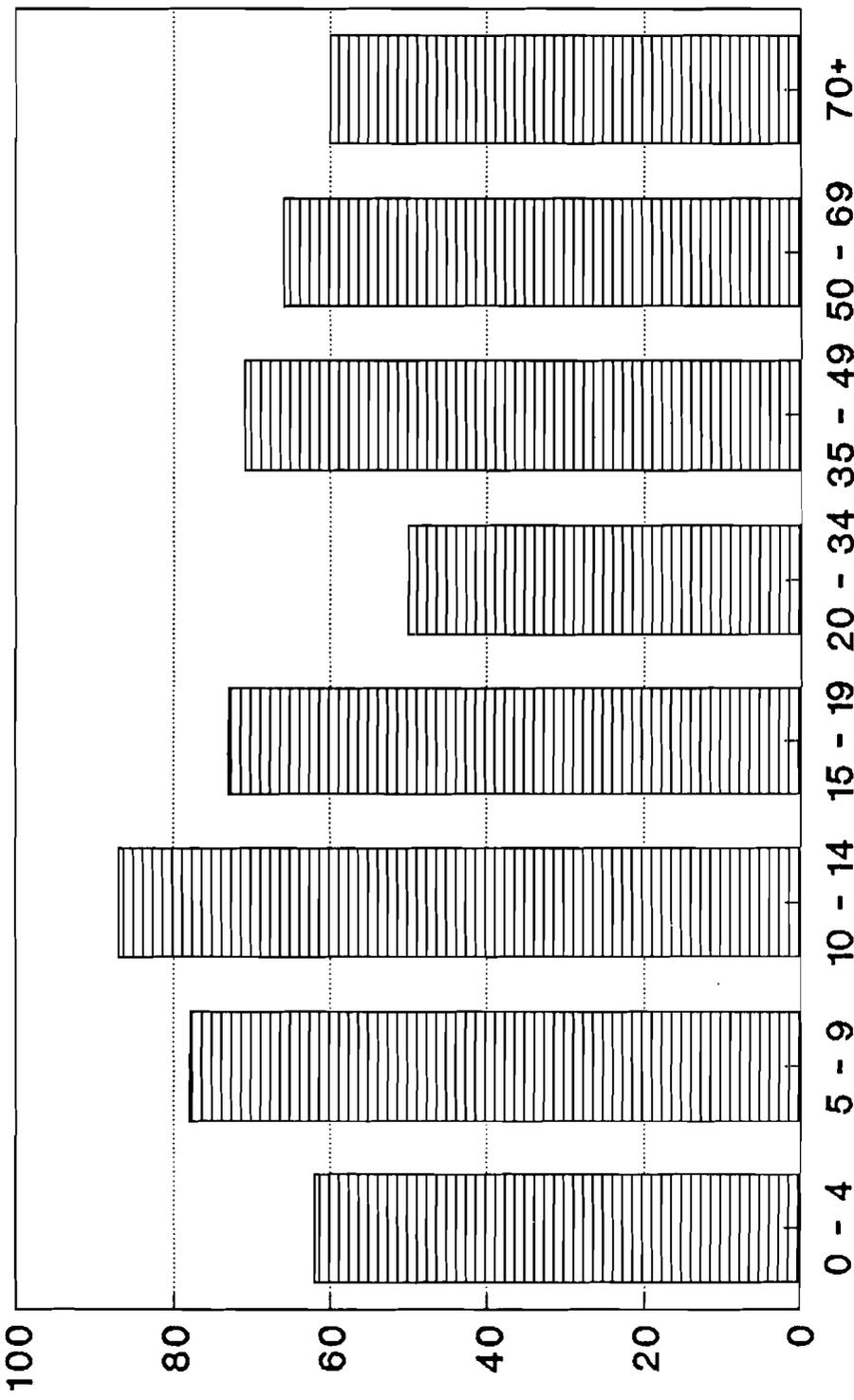
AGE OF INDIVIDUAL	
0 - 4	62*
5 - 9	78
10 - 14	87
15 - 19	73
20 - 34	50
35 - 49	71
50 - 69	66
70+	60

*Entries represent percent of individuals of given age whose families belong to temples or synagogues. For example, 43% of those 0-4 olds are in families who belong to congregations.

FAMILY LIFE CIRCLE	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM
Younger, No Children	46	45
Single Parents	30	35
Parents of Pre-School	54	38
Parents of School Kids	72	83
Empty Nesters	63	54
Age 70+	65	62

* Congregational membership rates of individuals exceeds those for households. Households with fewer Jewish individuals (generally owing to the absence of children or the presence of a non-Jewish spouse) report low rates of membership.

Exhibit 20: Congregational Membership by Age of Individual



THE IMPACT OF INCOME ON COMMUNAL AFFILIATION

The ranks of Jewish communal leaders everywhere, and particularly those involved in philanthropic work, are disproportionately populated by more affluent individuals. The more financially secure have the time and inclination to participate in leading Jewish communal life; and communal organizations (especially philanthropic groups) make a special effort to recruit those capable of making generous financial contributions.

These observations immediately raise the question of whether and to what extent household income and Jewish communal leadership are related in the Detroit area. Are, in fact, Detroit leaders and activists drawn heavily from those earning higher incomes? If so, does the relationship extend to other areas of Jewish life? That is, do higher-income Jews undertake all types of communal activities more frequently, or are their higher participation rates found only among those activities that demand financial capacity?

The wide variety of Jewish identity items on the survey allow us to address these questions (Exhibit 21). We learn that in several areas, upper-income individuals are indeed more active than those with more limited financial means. These include, most prominently, paying dues to a congregation, serving as a board or committee member in a Jewish communal organization, making some donation (\$25 or more) to a Jewish communal charity, travel to Israel, and sending one's children to Israel. They also exceed the near poor in the extent to which they join Jewish organizations and volunteer for Jewish causes.

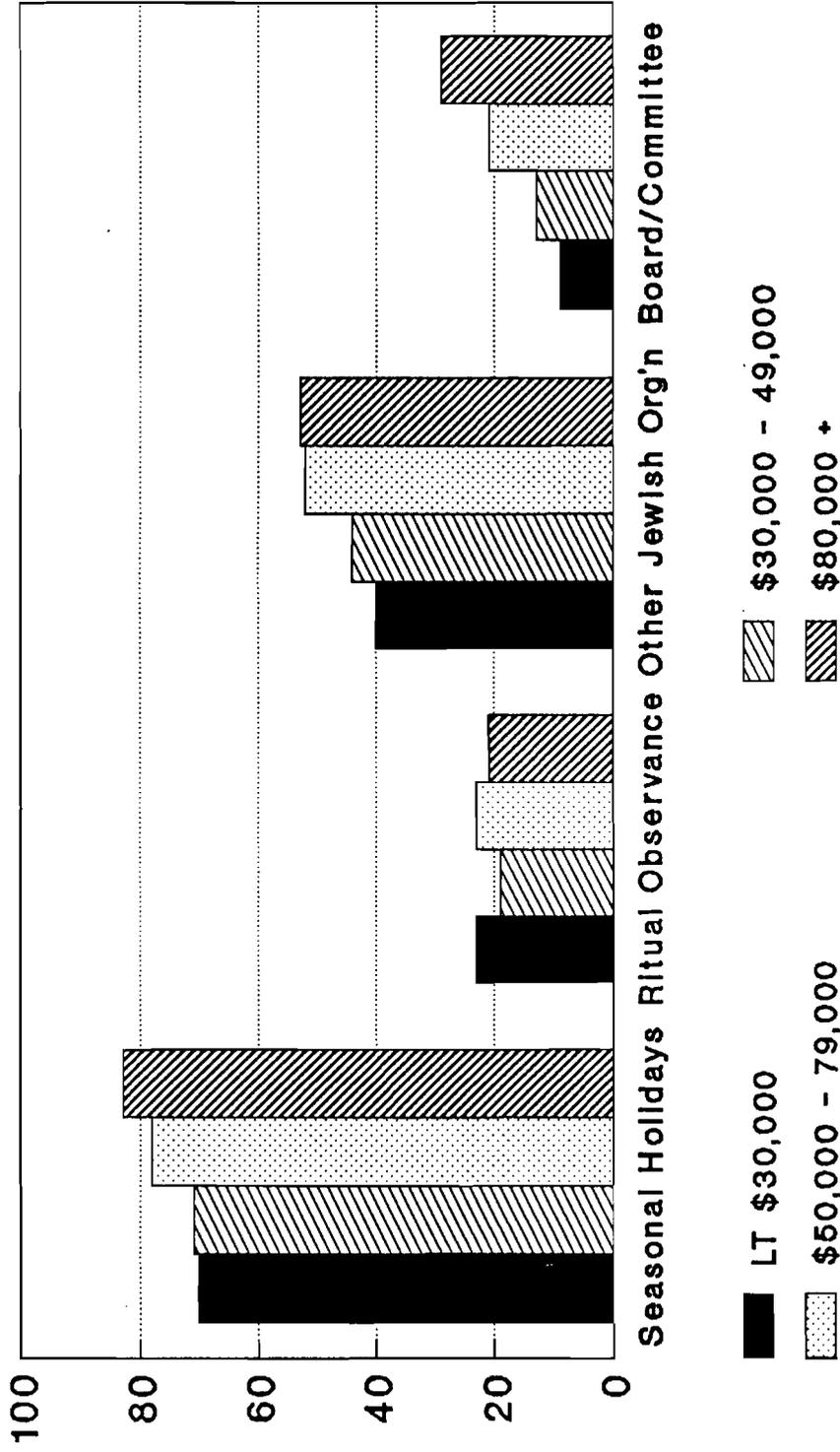
Obviously, for all these activities, financial ability is quite helpful. In almost all other areas of Jewish life, income plays little or no role. That is, the less affluent are as likely as the most affluent to undertake a variety of Jewish activities or express sentiments of Jewish identification. The areas where there is no consistent relationship with income include: ritual observance, synagogue attendance, denominational identification, maintaining Jewish friendships, belonging to the JCC, reading the Jewish News regularly, feeling upset should one's child intermarry, feeling that being Jewish is very important, and feeling very close to Israel.

The essential finding here is that poorer Jews feel no less attached to (or distant from) Jewish concerns as their wealthier counterparts. For the most part, they are just as likely to undertake those ritual and communal activities that are not

Exhibit 21: The Impact of Income Upon Measures of Jewish Involvement

	LT \$30,000	\$30,000 -49,999	\$50,000 -79,000	\$80,000 +
Seasonal Holidays	70	71	78	83
Ritual Observance	23	19	23	21
DENOMINATION				
Orthodox	9	7	6	5
Conservative	50	41	44	34
Reform	27	31	30	47
Other	15	22	20	14
Jewish Friends	70	68	72	75
Member of...				
Congregation	37	40	55	71
JCC	20	19	21	26
Other Jewish Organization	40	44	52	53
Been to Israel	34	39	43	53
Kids have been to Israel	0	8	1	31
Volunteers Monthly	23	21	29	31
Board / Committee	9	13	21	29
Gives \$100+ Jewish Causes	40	45	58	76
Jewish News Readers	62	62	67	63
Would be Very Upset if Children Out-Marry	33	36	36	39
Being Jewish Important	74	68	79	77
Very Close to Israel	43	40	43	43

Exhibit 22: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Income



especially costly. However, the less affluent do participate far less often than wealthier individuals and families in those communal activities for which money is important. The implication of course is that financially secure communal leaders ought not mistake lack of involvement on the part of less affluent individuals, neighborhoods, or sub-communities as evidence of lack of commitment to Judaism.

INTERMARRIAGE

In this section, we address several fundamental questions relating to intermarriage in Detroit:

1) What are the rates of intermarriage? How many Detroit area Jews marry non-Jews?

2) How do parental characteristics affect the chances of marrying non-Jews?

3) What are the consequences of intermarriage for the Jewish identity of the home, for the children, and for the Jewish population at large?

Rates: Any discussion of intermarriage rates needs to distinguish carefully between several alternative calculations of these rates. The major distinctions are between: the couple rate and the individual rate; the outmarriage rate and the mixed marriage rate; the cumulative rate and the recent rate.⁷

⁷See Glossary in the box for definitions.

THE INTERMARRIAGE GLOSSARY

INDIVIDUAL RATE: Proportion of Jewish individuals who are intermarried.

COUPLE RATE: Proportion of couples where one partner is Jewish and one partner is not Jewish (always higher than the INDIVIDUAL RATE).

OUT-MARRIAGE: Act of marriage between someone born Jewish and someone who was not born Jewish. OUT-MARRIAGES result in either MIXED MARRIAGES or CONVERSIONARY MARRIAGES.

MIXED MARRIAGES: Marriage in which one partner is now Jewish and the other is not Jewish. In other words, this is an OUT-MARRIAGE where the non-Jew has not converted.

CONVERSIONARY MARRIAGE: Marriage in which one partner was born Jewish and the other was born non-Jewish and converted to Judaism. In other words, this is an OUT-MARRIAGE that is not a MIXED MARRIAGE.

CUMULATIVE RATE: The rate of intermarriage in the entire population, including those recently married as well as those married many years ago.

RECENT RATE: The rate of intermarriage in the last few years or among the youngest age group. When intermarriage is rising, the RECENT RATE will exceed the CUMULATIVE RATE.

Exhibit 23 presents Detroit area intermarriage rates for couples and individuals; for religion at birth (out-marriages) and current religion (mixed marriages); for the entire population, and by age and by year of marriage.

Currently, over three-quarters of couples involving Jews are in-marriages (born-Jew married to born-Jew); another 7% are conversionary marriages (born-Jew married to a born-Gentile who converted to Judaism); and 15% are mixed marriages (current Jew married to a current non-Jew). Over the years, just under a third of born-Gentile spouses of Jews have converted to Judaism.

However, for reasons explained above, the individual rates of out-marriage and mixed marriage are much lower. Of born-Jewish men, only 7% are now married to non-Jews; another 6% are married to born-gentiles who have converted. Among born-Jewish women, intermarriage is even less frequent. Only 7% are in mixed marriages -- their husbands are still non-Jewish. Another 3% are married to born-gentile husbands who have converted to Judaism.

Even though the cumulative rate of intermarriage (however defined) is quite low, the recent rate is significantly higher. Intermarriage in all its permutations has risen dramatically in recent years. For example, among born-Jewish men, no more than 6% married born-non-Jews prior to 1969; of those married in the 1970's, the rate surged to 20%; and of those born married in the 1980's, it climbed even further to 28%. Where men experienced a sharp increase in out-marriage in the 1970's, for Jewish women, the big jump occurred in the 1980's. In the 1960's, 6% of Jewish women out-married; in the 1970's, the rate climbed to 12%, and in the 1980's, it jumped markedly to 28%, equaling the male rate.

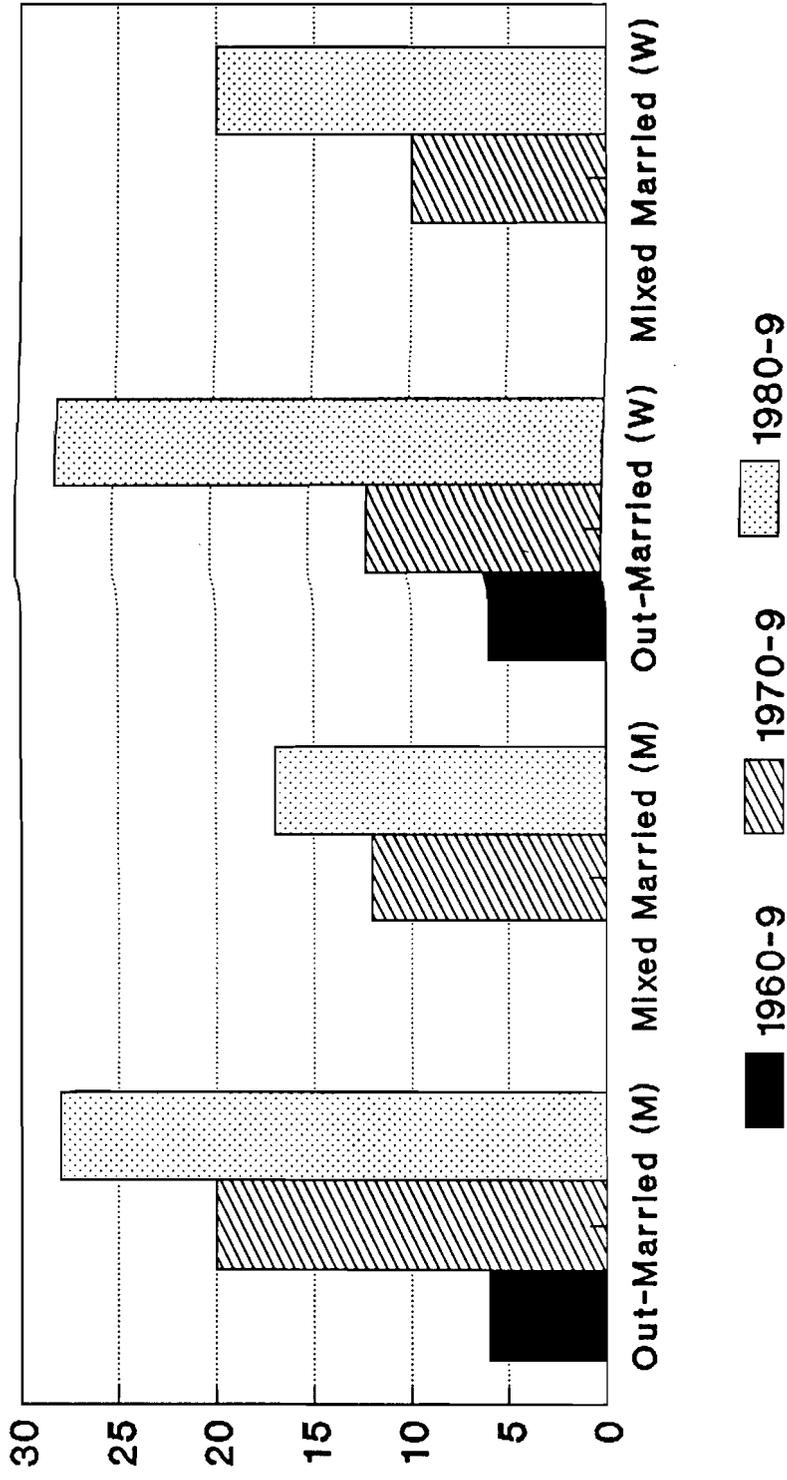
Why have women's intermarriage rates only recently risen to the men's levels? In the past, when intermarriage was far less frequent than it is today, the population could sustain significant differences between a higher male and a lower female rate of out-marriage. However, soon after Jewish men began out-marrying in large numbers (in the 1970's), Jewish women were strongly motivated to look outside the Jewish community for husbands. In a sense, Jewish women were impelled to play "catch-up" with their more frequently out-marrying male counterparts.

Exhibit 23: Measures of Inter-marriage by Age, Year of Marriage and Sex

AGE:	TTL	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
COUPLE TYPE							
In-Married	78	54	71	90	89	92	92
Conversionary	7	11	10	4	4	5	2
Mixed Married	15	36	18	7	7	3	6
BORN JEWISH - MEN							
Out-Married	13	29	24	7	6	6	*
Mixed Married	7	20	14	1	2	2	1
BORN JEWISH - WOMEN							
Out-Married	10	27	14	5	3	3	*
Mixed Married	7	19	10	6	2	*	*

YEAR OF MARRIAGE:	BEFORE 1950	1950-9	1960-9	1970-9	1980-9
COUPLE TYPE					
In-Married	93	92	87	70	56
Conversionary	4	1	11	11	9
Mixed Married	3	7	2	19	35
BORN JEWISH - MEN					
Out-Married	6	2	6	20	28
Mixed Married	2	1	*	12	17
BORN JEWISH - WOMEN					
Out-Married	*	4	6	12	28
Mixed Married	*	4	*	10	20

Exhibit 24: Measures of Intermarriage by Year of Marriage and Sex



(M)=Men (W)=Women

Although about a quarter of Jewish men and women who have recently married have married born-non-Jews, many have converted to Judaism. Thus, the mixed married rate is far lower. Of the recently married, just about one in six are mixed married (that is, married to current non-Jews).

These findings ought to put the intermarriage phenomenon into proper perspective. It is certainly true that the out-marriage rate has grown dramatically in the last two decades. However, a solid majority of Jews still choose to marry other Jews. Of every six Jews who have married in the last decade, just one is married to a spouse who is now non-Jewish.

What About Those Who Have Left Detroit?: The Detroit area Jewish population is far from a "closed" population. Over the years, a steady stream of new Jewish residents has come to the area, just as an approximately equal number of young adults who were raised in Detroit have left not only to attend university, but to establish their own homes and families elsewhere.

The departure of younger adults over the years raises the possibility that the intermarriage rates of those who left may differ from the rates of those who remained. In particular, there are several reasons to anticipate higher intermarriage rates among the emigrants from Detroit. One such reason is that the Jewish population study of Cleveland, a Jewish community that in many ways is thought to resemble Detroit's, reported higher intermarriage rates among young adults who migrated elsewhere. Another reason is that intermarriage rates are far higher in California and other western states, areas that are the frequent destination of younger Detroit Jews starting out in new careers.

Last, the decision to leave Detroit and the decision to marry out of the Jewish community may be mutually supportive. Previous studies of intermarriage have shown that those who are psychologically, demographically, or geographically distant from their parents or from the established Jewish community are more likely to intermarry. Conversely, those who intermarry may feel strained their bonds with their Jewish families and with the institutions of Detroit Jewry. Whether intermarriage derives from weak ties to local Jewish family and community, or whether it provokes those ties to weaken is impossible to disentangle. But even if the causal direction is obscure, the link between intermarriage and leaving Detroit is still plausible and worthy of investigation.

The survey asked respondents whether they had any children of any age who were not living at home. Among other things, interviewers asked whether those children were married and whether their spouses were born Jews.

Exhibit 25 reports that the out-marriage rates of these adult children are rather close to the comparable rates for the respondents, lending confidence to both sorts of data.

The out-marriage rates for those who have left Detroit exceed the rates for those who are still living in the region. However, the intermarriage gap between those who left and those who stayed in Detroit diminishes among younger adults. As an example, among men 45-54, 43% of those who have left out-married as compared with just 9% of those who remained in Detroit. In contrast, among those 25-34, the gap narrows to a difference between 29% and 28%. In other words, at one time there was a powerful link between out-marriage and out-migration. Older out-marriers disproportionately left Detroit. However over time, as intermarriage has become more acceptable and widespread. The link between out-marriage and out-migration has weakened. Today young adults exhibit hardly any association between marrying out and moving out. As opposed to the recent past, the out-married remain in Detroit.

Parental Characteristics: Numerous studies of intermarriage have established a strong inverse relationship between intensity of Jewish involvement in the home and the likelihood of intermarriage. Those raised in homes where rituals were more frequently practiced, or where Jewishness was regarded as more crucial, or where the denominational identity was more traditional tended to have lower rates of intermarriage.

Findings for the Detroit area are consistent with the prior research elsewhere (Exhibit 26). Among men raised Orthodox, just 2% are mixed married, as compared with 7% of those raised Conservative and 15% of those raised by Reform parents.

The survey provides another source of data on the determinants of intermarriage. As noted above, we asked respondents to tell us whether their grown children were married and whether their children's spouses were born Jewish. We also know a great deal about the current Jewish involvement of the respondents. Thus, we can examine the extent to which current levels of communal affiliation, ritual practice and other Jewish involvements (as reflections of prior involvement levels) are related to out-marriage of respondents' children.

Exhibit 26 reports the results of a multi-variate analysis (using the multiple regression statistical procedure) that examines how several characteristics of the respondents affect the chances that their children have married a born-Jew.⁸

⁸Footnote: The unit of analysis in this table is the adult child. In other words, respondents with no adult children living outside the home are excluded from the analysis. At the other extreme, the few respondents who reported as many as four adult children were, in effect, counted four times.

Exhibit 25: Outmarriage Rates Among Younger Respondents, Older Respondents' Adult Children Living in Detroit Area & Older Respondents' Adult Children Living Elsewhere by Age and Sex

	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54
MEN			
Respondents	29	25	7
Respondent's Children, in Detroit Area	28	35	9
Respondent's Children, Living Elsewhere	29	49	43
WOMEN			
Respondents	25	13	5
Respondent's Children, in Detroit Area	21	17	5
Respondent's Children, Living Elsewhere	29	27	23

Exhibit 26: Measures of Intermarriage for those Under 45 by Denomination Raised

	ORTHODOX	CONSERV.	REFORM
MEN			
Out-Married	14	14	15
Mixed Married	2	7	15
WOMEN			
Out-Married	13	3	17
Mixed Married	6	1	12

Five parental characteristics are listed in the table:

1) "High ritual observance" is defined as those (less than a tenth of the population) who reported at least three of the following four practices: lighting candles Friday night, having two sets of dishes for meat and dairy, celebrating Purim, and handling no money on the Sabbath.

2) "Mostly Jewish friends" is defined as those who report that most of their closest friends are Jewish (the response, "about half," then, did not qualify).

3) "Belonging to a congregation" refers to those who have paid dues in the last twelve months. Since the respondents' children are mostly grown, this variable measures those with a stronger than average attachment to a congregation, that is, those who remain members even after their children have left the congregational school.

4) "Belonging to any other Jewish institution" combines reports of belonging to the JCC, belonging to any other Jewish organization, contributing to the Federation Campaign, contributing to other Jewish causes, serving as a volunteer, reading the Jewish News, or serving on a board or committee.

5) "Marrying a Born-Jew" refers to those parent-respondents who have in-married. The others are in conversionary or mixed marriages.

In addition, the analysis controlled for adult children's age (older children married Jews more often), sex (daughters in-married more than sons), income (children of parents who now earn \$80,000 or more married Jews more often), and generation (children of immigrants to the U.S. married Jews more frequently).

The analysis reveals two types of findings. One relates to the magnitude of impact, that is, which Jewish involvements have the strongest impact on children's chances of out-marriage? The other sort of finding relates to the threshold, that is, at what point does a particular type of involvement matter? To illustrate the threshold concept, not all increases in parental ritual observance have equal affect upon the chances of one's children marrying another Jew. The difference between those with low and moderate observance (e.g. fasting or not fasting on Yom Kippur) is minor. Rather, the large jump in children's in-marriage is associated only with very high levels of ritual observance. Those who observe some dietary rules, observe the Sabbath in a somewhat traditional fashion, and who may commemorate a relatively minor Jewish holiday such as Purim (even when there are no children home) are the types of parents whose children stand a much greater chance of marrying a Jew than others.

For the friendship variable, the threshold occurs at those with mostly Jewish close friends (as opposed to half or mostly non-Jewish friends). The differences in children's out-marriage

Exhibit 27: The Impact of Parental Characteristics Upon the Chances of Adult Children being Married to Someone Born Jewish.

	<u>UNADJUSTED</u>	<u>ADJUSTED*</u>
High Ritual Observance	.29	.22
Mostly Jewish Friends	.15	.12
Belonging to Congregation	.20	.13
Belonging to Any Other Jewish Institution	.19	.08
Marrying a Born Jew	.16	.04

* Adjusted via regression analysis for other independent variables listed as well as age and sex of adult children, and immigrant status of parents.

** "High ritual observance"= Performing at least three of the following four practices:

- (1) Lighting Sabbath candles
- (2) Having two sets of dishes for meat and dairy
- (3) Celebrating Purim
- (4) Handling no money on the Sabbath

Entries represent the increases in the chances of children being married to other Jews associated with each variable. For example, parents who practice high ritual observance have children who are 29% (.29) more likely to be married to Jews than those who do not practice high observance. Once we take the other variables into account (second column) the "benefit" of high observance drops to 22%.

between those with mostly and exclusively Jewish close friends is minor.

With respect to communal affiliation, a variable with a relatively weak net impact on children's chances of out-marriage, the critical threshold divides those with low levels of affiliation from those with moderate levels. Beyond simply joining one or two institutions other than a synagogue, higher levels of Jewish communal involvement (such as sitting on boards or making large philanthropic donations) are hardly related to the chances that one's children will marry Jews or Gentiles.

The table presents two sorts of figures. The first column ("Unadjusted") reports the difference in children's out-marriage rates associated with each variable independently. Thus, to take one example, those whose close friends are mostly Jewish report that their adult children have married born-Jews 15 percentage points more often than those who report that only a half or fewer of their close friends are Jewish.

The second column ("Adjusted") reports the impact of each of these variables upon children's outmarriage chances when all the variables and the four control variables (sex, age, income, and generation) are taken into account. In other words, all other things being equal, those with mostly Jewish friends report in-married children 12 percentage points more often than those with fewer Jewish friends.

The second column suggests that high ritual observance exerts the strongest impact (.22), almost twice as much as having mostly Jewish friends (.12) or belonging to a congregation (.13). Meanwhile, belonging to a Jewish institution other than a congregation (.08) or marrying a born-Jew (.04) exert only minor independent effects upon the chances of one's children marrying born-Jews.

Using the two-generation data, an unusual feature of this survey, we have been able to further pinpoint those aspects of Jewish upbringing that are most closely related to intermarriage on the part of the children. In particular, we have evidence that Jewish communal involvement in philanthropic and organizational activities per se is not crucial for lowering the chances that one's child will marry out. Rather, high levels of ritual activity in the home (and all that ritual observance implies), and to a lesser extent, having close friends who are mostly Jewish and belonging to a congregation (with all that implies), seem to exert a more powerful deterrent effect than does communal activity on the children's chances of marrying born-Jews.

It is also noteworthy that the offspring of out-marriages (where one parent was born Jewish and one not) are only slightly more likely to marry out than are children of totally endogamous marriages (unions of born-Jews). Out-marriage in one generation produces out-marriage in the next because out-marriage is

generally associated with lower levels of Jewish involvement. However, it seems plausible to argue, those few out-marriages that are associated with higher levels of involvement (such as the conversionary marriages) do not as readily produce out-marriage among their offspring.

Of course, some children of observant, congregation-affiliated parents do out-marry. But, a child whose parents were ritually active, had mostly Jewish friends, and belonged to a congregation has a much greater likelihood of marrying a Jew than a child whose parents lacked all those characteristics.

Consequences of Inter-marriage for the Jewish Individual. What is the Judaic character of the homes of those who intermarry? To what extent are they ritually observant, connected to other Jews either institutionally or informally, and active in raising children within the Jewish community? These questions go to the heart of the larger question of the impact of intermarriage upon Jewish continuity. If the intermarried are very remote from Jewish life, intermarriage constitutes a grave threat to Jewish survival. If, on the other hand, those who intermarry remain largely connected to Jewish life and community and seem to raise their children as identifying Jews, then the adverse impact of intermarriage on Jewish cohesion and continuity is mitigated.

Conversionary marriages largely resemble in-marriages on measures of Jewish involvement (Exhibit 28). Conversionary couples are just as likely (or as unlikely) as in-married couples to observe the major seasonal holidays, to perform more traditional rituals, and to attend synagogue or temple services. In several other areas, the conversionary marriages slightly trail the in-married. These include the affiliation index, congregational membership rates, Israel attachment, and proportion of closest friends who are Jewish. The conversionary marriages' denominational distribution resembles those of the in-married except for the somewhat greater number of Reform families among the conversionary couples and the somewhat smaller number of conversionary Conservative families.⁹

⁹Orthodox conversions are the most widely accepted in the Jewish world. Reform conversions have the reputation of requiring less commitment to specific ritual practices. Conservative conversions offer neither of these "advantages" to the potential convert. In part for these reasons, converts may choose to study and convert under Conservative auspices somewhat less often. As a result of the attachments developed in the conversion process, fewer conversionary families than endogamous Jewish families identify with Conservative Judaism.

EXHIBIT 28: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Inter-marriage

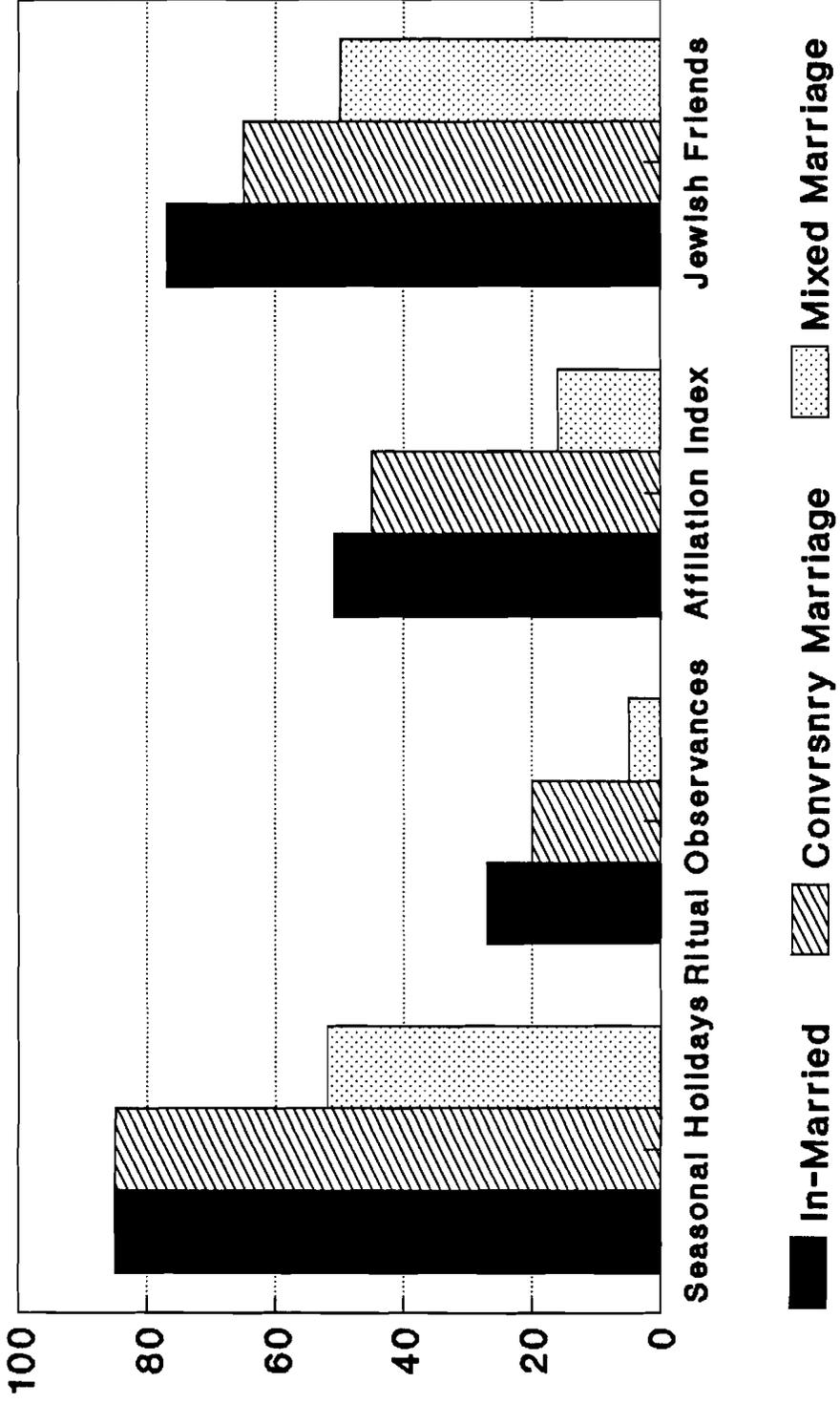
	IN-MARRIED	CONVERSIONARY MAR'G*	MIXED MAR'G (ALL)**	MIXED MARRIAGE Respondents:	
				JEWISH	NON JEWISH
Seasonal Holidays	85	85	52	69	34
Ritual Observance	27	20	5	6	85
Congregation	64	56	19	6	85
Attendance (Male)	10	11	5	8	1
Attendance (Female)	9	7	2	2	1
DENOMINATION					
Orthodox	8	10	-	-	-
Conservative	45	29	16	20	10
Reform	36	48	33	45	17
Other	12	14	51	35	73
Affiliation Index	51	45	16	23	10
Pro-Israel Index	45	39	19	24	13
Jewish Friends	77	65	50	58	41
CHILDREN'S JEWISHNESS					
Raised Jewish	99	94	48	48	47
Friends Jewish	67	66	40	44	36
JEWISH SCHOOLING***					
Day School	25	26	1	-	2
Other	67	58	23	31	17
None	8	16	76	69	81

*Marriage of a Jew to a born-Gentile who has converted to Judaism.

**Responses from both Jewish and non-Jewish respondents.

***Of families with children 6-17 at home, most intensive form of Jewish schooling ever utilized by any children.

Exhibit 29: Measures of Jewish Involvement by Intermarriage



Consistent with their levels of Jewish involvement, conversionary couples are about as likely as in-married couples to raise their children as Jews and to do so in a Jewish social environment. About as many conversionary couples as in-married couples say they are raising Jewish children, say their children have Jewish friends, have given their children some sort of formal Jewish schooling, and have enrolled at least one of their children in a day school.

As in the Detroit data, studies in other communities have suggested that converts equal the in-married in terms of religious activity (e.g., holiday observance, ritual practice, and synagogue or temple membership and attendance); but they fall somewhat short of the born-Jews in terms of so-called ethnic behavior (e.g., belonging to Jewish organizations, having Jewish friends, feeling strongly about Israel).

We can only speculate about the reasons for this discrepancy between levels of religious and ethnic involvement. Several possibilities come to mind. First, converts come to Judaism under religious auspices, through training and ceremonies conducted by rabbis. Second, some converts may conceive of Judaism as a religion than a cultural, ethnic, or national group. Third, converts may find it easier to change or acquire religious practices than to modify patterns of affiliation, with institutions or earlier with friends, family, neighbors and co-workers.

Of course, not all out-marriages result in conversion. As noted earlier, over two-thirds of out-marriages in Detroit produce mixed marriages, where the Gentile spouse remains non-Jewish. How do the Jewish involvement levels of these marriages compare with the standard offered by in-married couples?

For the most part, the mixed married couples' levels of Jewish involvement fall well below those of the in-married. They celebrate the major seasonal holidays far less often than the in-married, and they observe far fewer traditional ritual practices. Very few belong to a congregation, and they attend services infrequently, if at all. Half of the mixed married identify with none of the major denominations. Of those mixed married who do identify with a major denomination, almost all see themselves as Reform.¹⁰

¹⁰For about half the mixed married couples we reached in our survey, the Jewish partner was the respondent. In the other half, the non-Jewish partner answered our interviewers. The discussion here is based upon the combined answers, reported in the third column of the table. However, as the fourth and fifth columns make clear, the characterizations of mixed married couples differed for Jewish and Gentile respondents. For the most part, Jewish respondents reported higher levels of Jewish involvement than the Gentiles. The small number of cases precludes us from sorting out the differences between Jewish and Gentile respondents with an acceptable degree of accuracy.

Significantly, the mixed married couples' communal affiliation rates are about one third that of the in-married. They are also much less attached to Israel, and less likely to find their closest friends among Jews. In short, on most measures, mixed married families are one third to one half as active in Jewish life as in-married families.

The mixed married adults, also raise fewer children as Jews and they provide those they do raise as Jews with a weaker Jewish upbringing than do in-married Jews. Only about two-fifths of the mixed married say they are raising Jewish children. Only about a fifth have provided their children with some sort of Jewish schooling. This finding implies that only about half of those children whom mixed married respondents say are being raised as Jews receive some formal Jewish education as compared with about 90% of the children of in-married couples.

Certainly, the mixed married are, on the whole, very distant from Jewish life. This generalization, however, does not deny the presence of a notable minority who remain attached to elements of Jewish ritual practice and communal affiliation. Mixed marriage produces a high probability that the Jewish partner and his or her children will not function as active members of the formal or informal Jewish community.

More Mixed Married in Reform Congregations. Exhibit 30 demonstrates that the number of conversionary and mixed married couples varies considerably by denomination. Among the Orthodox and Conservative congregational members we find hardly any mixed married, but we do find a small number of conversionary couples. It is only among the Reform congregations that we find a notable number of mixed married families. Of households who identify as Reform and pay temple dues, 6% are mixed married and 9% are conversionary couples. The proportion of conversionary couples is higher than among Conservative congregations and about the same as that found among the Orthodox.

The appeal of Reform for intermarried couples is easy to understand. Of the three major denominations, Reform has adopted the most universalist stance toward the larger society. More pointedly, the organs of Reform Judaism have adopted official policy positions calling for outreach to the mixed married, for encouraging non-Jewish spouses of Jews to convert, and for recruitment of the "unchurched."

The findings also indicate the presence of a potential market for expansion of Detroit area Reform synagogues. Among those who see themselves as Reform yet do not belong to a temple are a very sizable number of mixed married couples (23%). In addition, most of those couples who are non-denominational and not

Exhibit 30: Type of Couples by Denomination and Congregational Membership

	ORTHODOX	CONSERVATIVE		REFORM		OTHER
MEMBER ?	ALL	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO*
In Married	90	93	85	84	66	52
Convrsnary	10	5	10	6	11	4
Mixed	*	3	9	9	23	44
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100

*The number of married congregational members who identify as "other" is too small for reliable analysis.

temple-affiliated are mixed married. The presence of a notable number of mixed married families in Reform congregations may well mean that of the three major denominations, only the Reform movement has the ability to recruit non-members who are mixed married.¹¹

Consequences of Inter-marriage for the Jewish Population. Every out-marriage involves only one born-Jew. When 50 Jewish men and 50 Jewish women marry each other, they produce just 50 Jewish couples. When the same 100 individuals marry 100 Gentile spouses, they produce 100 couples that could possibly function as Jews. To maintain stability in the Jewish population, all that is required is that just half of these 100 couples function in a manner analogous to in-married couples.

For this reason, whatever the consequences of out-marriage for the Jewish identity of the individual Jew, the impact on Jewish population size and total levels of involvement with Jewish life within that population is substantially less severe. Inter-marriage may be Jewishly risky on the individual level, but it may have only mildly negative effects on the group level.

The Detroit area data indicate that over a quarter of the born-Gentile spouses convert to Judaism. The remainder, nearly three-quarters, remain non-Jews in mixed marriages. These mixed marriages do maintain lower levels of Jewish activity. But, in light of the converts, levels of Jewish activity in the population will remain stable if the mixed married families function as Jews only one third as often as the in-married. For the most part, the mixed married approximate that level. The sheer number of Jewish families who celebrate Jewish holidays, or join congregation, or affiliate with other Jewish institutions, or raise Jewish children is about the same as would be the case if all the out-marrying Jews had married each other instead of born Gentiles.

The policy implication here is to dampen the alarm associated with the inter-marriage phenomenon. Out-marriage has been growing. It does both reflect and provoke alienation from conventional Jewish life. However, its dimensions are not so large and its impact on the Jewish population not so severe as to demand that leaders make the goal of preventing inter-marriage the litmus test for supporting programs of Jewish identity enhancement. Even if the principal objective of Jewish community-building efforts was to diminish the incidence and counteract the impact of inter-marriage, we are convinced that objective would be better served by strengthening the involvement and commitment of the vast Jewish

¹¹Although the number of Humanist families in the survey is too small to substantiate a similar claim, it stands to reason that this movement also appeals to the mixed married.

middle than by focusing primarily on those who are most likely to marry out of the Jewish group.¹²

¹²Although intermarriage may not pose a significant threat to Jewish continuity in the core portion of the Detroit Jewish community, our mini-survey of Jews away from the core uncovered far higher rates. For these areas, the outreach strategy may, indeed, be more appropriate.

INVOLVEMENT WITH ISRAEL

Israel has become one of the most prominent Judaic symbols in the public arena. The cause of supporting Israel philanthropically and politically is the centerpiece of much Jewish organizational life.

In the last few years, for a variety of reasons, observers have come to question whether American Jews are becoming less enthusiastic about support for Israel. For this reason, the organized Jewish community has a keen interest in strengthening concern for Israel and involvement in Israel-oriented activities.

Critical to that effort is travel to Israel. Travel, in and of itself, is an important dimension of most Israel education efforts. Visiting Israel has been shown in previous studies to substantially elevate pro-Israel attachment in both the short- and long-term.

More than two out of five Detroit area Jewish adults have been to Israel (Exhibit 31). The proportion is slightly above the national average, thought to be about one third. In fact, a fifth of the Detroit area adults have visited Israel twice, a sign of a much deeper commitment to Israel than the one-time visit.

Many more older individuals have visited Israel. Understandably, travel to Israel increases with income. Last, both religious denomination and congregational membership are factors associated with Israel travel. Three quarters of the Orthodox, two thirds of Conservative synagogue members, and over 40% of Reform or "Other" temple members have been to Israel. In other words, Israel travel increases with denominational traditionalism. Synagogue or temple members, in part because they are more involved in Jewish life, have been to Israel more often than non-members. Relatively few non-members, particularly if they are Reform or "Other," have been to Israel.

Feeling close to Israel is also very much a function of age. Older individuals feel closer to Israel than do younger adults. Consistent with the pattern established for the other Israel measures, the Orthodox out-score the Conservative Jews who in turn exceed the Reform Jews in feeling close to Israel.

The apparent erosion in pro-Israel feelings among younger Jews in Detroit reflects a national pattern. Previous studies of the United States Jewish population, using many more measures of Israel involvement than were available in the Detroit study, document that older Jews consistently care more about Israel than younger Jews. This effect is not limited to the youngest adults. Rather, the slide in Israel attachment occurs over the entire age spectrum, differentiating the elderly from the middle-aged, and the middle-aged from the youngest adults. We speculate that the

EXHIBIT 31: Measures of Israel Involvement by Age, Income, and Denomination

	VISITED ISRAEL		INDEPENDENCE DAY	FEEL "VERY CLOSE" TO ISRAEL	PRO-ISRAEL INDEX
	EVER	TWICE			
AGE:					
Under 35	32	13	22	30	38
35-49	38	18	17	34	38
50-69	55	24	14	53	45
70+	53	26	22	64	47
INCOME					
\$80,000+	55	26	16	44	12
\$50,000 - 79,999	46	24	16	49	44
\$30,000 - 49,999	42	17	14	41	39
LT \$30,000	36	14	22	48	42
DENOMINATION / MEMBERSHIP					
Orthodox	75	53	50	86	67
Cons. Mbr	67	32	24	63	53
Non-Mbr	35	16	17	42	39
Reform Mbr	42	16	17	42	39
Non-Mbr	22	4	4	25	28
Oth Mbr	46	16	11	29	39
Non-Mbr	32	15	1	30	30

principal reason for these differences is the differential encounter with history. The oldest Jewish adults can vividly recall the Holocaust and the War of Independence, and all that followed. The middle-aged adults experienced the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War, and the extraordinary period of American Jewish enthusiasm for Israel in the late 1960's and early 1970's. More recent history has provided the youngest American Jewish adults with relatively fewer very powerful events.

But aside from the changing course of historical events, travel to Israel exerts an enduring, positive impact upon pro-Israel involvement. Travel both reflects and stimulates commitment to Israel. Since, as we have seen, fewer young people in Detroit have visited Israel, it is no surprise that fewer young people express feelings of closeness to Israel. To understand how age, travel, and pro-Israel feelings interact, we need to examine the joint impact of age and travel upon feeling close to Israel (Exhibit 32).

The table reports the proportion of respondents who feel "very close" as well as those who feel "somewhat distant" or "very distant" -- in other words, the large intermediate group who are "somewhat close" has been excluded from the table. Respondents are divided into those who have visited Israel and those who have not, and they are also divided into age intervals. The third and sixth rows of figures (labeled "Balance") report the numerical difference between those who feel close and those who feel distant. Positive values indicate that the particular age group feel more close than distant; negative values indicate that more in the particular group feel distant than who feel close.

Among those who have been to Israel, those feeling close exceed those feeling distant. Of those who have visited Israel, to only a small extent do older people feel closer than younger people who have been there. Among those who have never been to Israel, older group are much more pro-Israel than younger groups.

These findings suggest a significant decline in pro-Israel sentiment among those younger Jews who have not been to Israel. Obviously, one reason those who have visited Israel feel so much more positive about Israel is that those who are initially more pro-Israel are more likely to travel. However, the gap between visitors and non-visitors is so huge, and the evidence from numerous other studies is so plentiful, that one must conclude that the visit to Israel itself typically engenders a significant and long-lasting change in attitude toward the Jewish State.

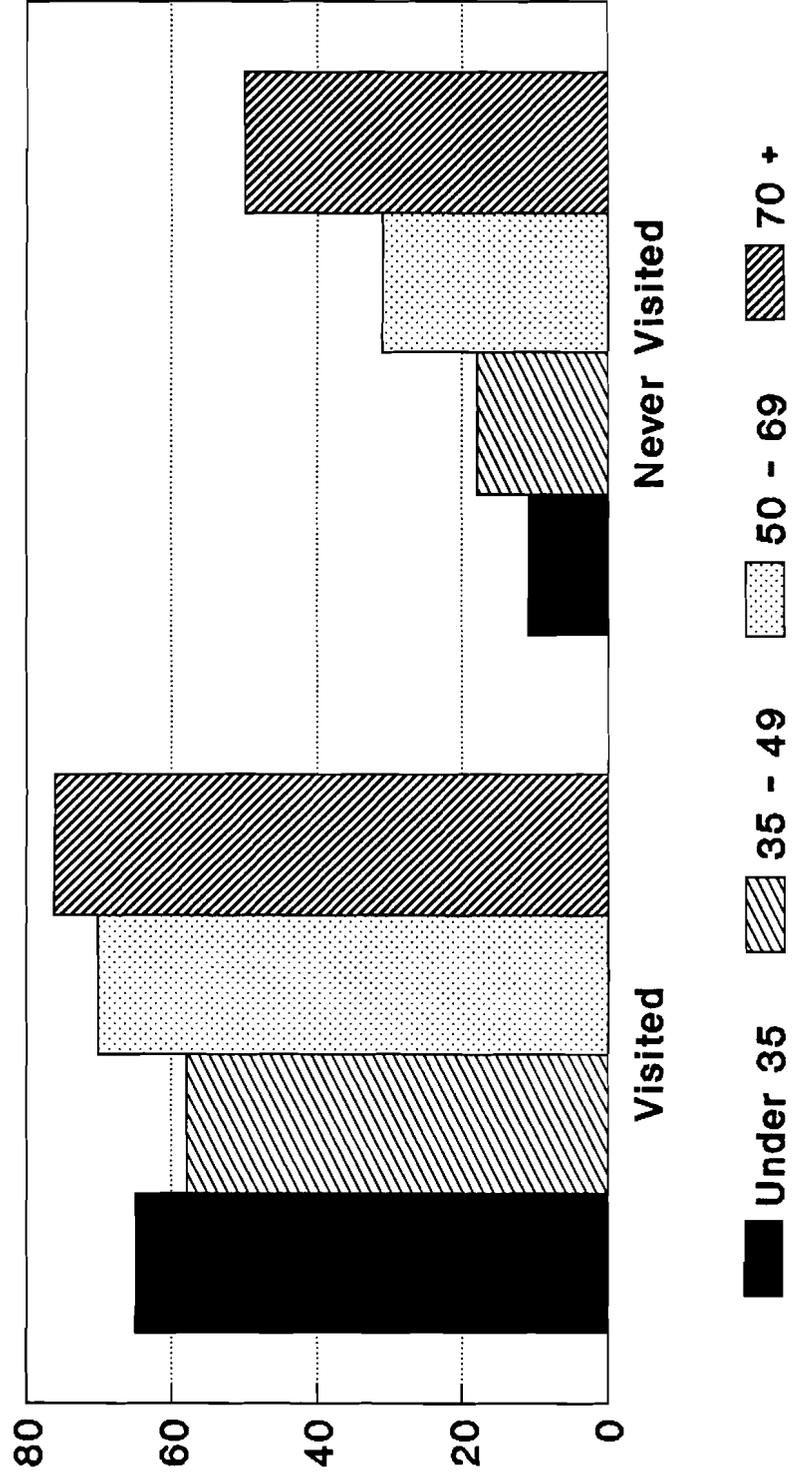
In short, insofar as we can locate a weakness in attachment to Israel, in terms of either travel or attitudes, it is found among younger Jews and the non-Orthodox.

The obvious policy implication here is that community leaders would be well-advised to consider ways of stimulating travel to Israel especially among teenagers, college students, and young adults.

Exhibit 32: Attitudes to Israel by Age and Previous Visit to Israel

	UNDER 35	35-49	50-69	70+
VISITED				
Very Close	65	58	70	76
Distant	7	9	4	4
Balance	58	47	66	72
NEVER VISITED				
Very Close	11	18	31	50
Distant	53	34	16	17
Balance	-42	-16	-15	33

Exhibit 33: Feeling very Close to Israel by Age and Whether Ever Visited



FORMAL JEWISH EDUCATION

In the last two decades, Federations across the country have greatly expanded support for Jewish schooling. The Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation provides substantial support to several local day schools and yeshivas, as well as the United Hebrew Schools, a uniquely structured community-sponsored supplementary schools.

As a general principle, the Jewish community has an interest in expanding utilization of all sorts of Jewish schools. In particular, some leaders have urged expansion of day school enrollment on the assumption that day schools exert the most sustained and strongest impact on subsequent Jewish identity.

Schools not only educate Jewish youngsters and positively influence their commitment to Jewish life, they perform other functions as well. They act as foci for Jewish networks and communities, tying not only students to one another, but whole families to each other as well. Schools also serve as anchors and supports for synagogues, denominational movements, and, indeed, the wider Jewish community. In short, Jewish schools do more than provide Jewish students with a Jewish education.

In this section, we examine several issues pertinent to Jewish school policy. In particular, we focus on the following questions:

1) Who goes to which schools? Are there significant differences in the attendance patterns of boys and girls? At what age do children generally cease attending Jewish schools? In what ways do the educational patterns of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform families differ?

2) To what extent are parents and youngsters satisfied with different schools?

3) How do potential day school parents view this sort of Jewish education? To what extent are potential day school parents dissuaded from sending their children to day school because of financial considerations?

4) What is the likely impact of various sorts of schooling upon adult Jewish identity?

Utilization Patterns -- Age and Sex: Exhibit 34 reports the extent to which youngsters utilize different sorts of Jewish schools. This table is restricted to youngsters age 6-17 (we examine pre-school programs in another report). Typically, 6 year olds are enrolled in kindergarten or first grade, and 17 year olds are high school juniors or graduating seniors.

Within this school-age population, **over three-fifths are currently attending some sort of Jewish school**, and, conversely, almost two-fifths are receiving no formal Jewish schooling at the present time. About **a sixth of this population is enrolled in day schools**, less in United Hebrew Schools (U.H.S.), almost a quarter in synagogue-sponsored part-time schools that meet more than once a week (hereafter, we refer to these as "synagogue schools" for brevity's sake), and 15% are in Sunday Schools, that is, once-a-week schools generally sponsored by Reform temples.

Although 35% of school-age youngsters do not currently attend Jewish schools, the proportion who have never attended is far lower. Since supplementary school students typically start their Jewish schooling at age 8 and most complete it by age 13, the proportion who have ever attended schools is greater than the proportion who are currently enrolled. Among teenagers, approximately 17% never received Jewish schooling (some of these were tutored for their Bar or Bat Mitzvah). Thus, **over four Jewish youngsters in five attend some sort of Jewish school by the time they are 13 years old.**

The age-related patterns are very informative. Whereas over two-thirds of Jewish youngsters under the age of 15 are attending Jewish schools, less than a third of those 15-17 years old are enrolled. By implication, **most of those who have spent several of their younger years in Jewish schools drop out by the time they reach age 15, if not earlier.**

Day school enrollment is far more prevalent among younger rather than older children. Among those 6-9, almost a quarter are enrolled in day schools; of those 10-14, fewer (15%) are full-time students; and of those 15-17, only 7% are in day schools (and all of these are Orthodox). These findings suggest potential growth in day school enrollment in the middle school years. If, as seems likely, many of the youngest students continue in day school past age 9, then the proportion of 10-13 year olds in day schools will increase in the next few years.

Both day schools and supplementary schools suffer huge declines in enrollment past age 14, if not a little earlier.

For several years, boys have received more extensive and intensive Jewish schooling than girls. One would think that by now, more egalitarian attitudes may have closed the gap in educational experiences of boys and girls would have been erased by now, but such is not the case. **To a large extent sex-related differences in Jewish education may have diminished, but some still**

Exhibit 34: Current Jewish Schooling by Age and Sex
(Reports on Children age 6-17 ONLY).

	DAY SCHOOL	U.H.S.	SYNA-GOGUE SCHOOL	SUNDAY SCHOOL	NONE	TOTAL
AGE OF CHILD						
Total	16	12	23	15	35	100
6 - 9	23	15	23	19	22	100
10 - 14	15	15	31	15	25	100
15 - 17	7	5	11	8	69	100
BOYS						
Total	17	14	25	14	31	100
6 - 9	24	17	25	16	20	100
10 - 14	14	17	34	13	22	100
15 - 17	10	5	10	13	63	100
GIRLS						
Total	15	17	21	15	39	100
6 - 9	21	13	20	23	24	100
10 - 14	15	12	28	17	29	100
15 - 17	5	5	12	3	75	100

remain. Among children 6-9, more girls than boys are enrolled in no Jewish school, and more boys than girls are attending synagogue schools. Among 10-14 year olds, more boys are in more-than-once-a-week supplementary schools and more girls attend Sunday Schools. Among the 15-17 year olds, only 25% of the young women are in Jewish school as compared with 37% of the young men.¹³

Several implications flow from these data. First, there may be an opportunity to expand day school enrollment, either by continuing to attract families in the younger grades or by working to prevent erosion in the upper grades of primary school. A second goal of a Jewish educational policy might consist of trying to extend the years of attendance beyond the Bar and Bat Mitzvahs. Third, the discrepancy between boys' and girls' education may provide a "hook" by which parents of daughters can be convinced to invest as much in their daughters' education as their sons'.

Denominational Patterns of School Utilization. Exhibit 35 demonstrates that Orthodox, Conservative and Reform families display distinctive patterns of Jewish school utilization.

The Orthodox are noted for their almost exclusive reliance on the day school or yeshiva and for their tendency to maintain attendance at these schools into the later teen years. Among the youngest children, over 9-in-10 attend day schools. Attendance remains high throughout the school career; over four-fifths of 15-17 year olds are also in day school.

Conservative families are distinctive in several ways as well. Far more than Reform families, and far less than Orthodox families, the Conservative families make use of day schools. In addition, far more than either of the other two denominations, they utilize the United Hebrew Schools. At the same time, attendance by Conservative youngsters at any Jewish school drops sharply at around age 13. By age 15-17, only a quarter of Conservative teenagers are enrolled in a Jewish school, and none of these are in day school.

The Reform population generally relies upon Sunday Schools and other temple-related schools. Around the Bar and Bat Mitzvah years, more Reform youngsters attend some type of Jewish school than their Conservative counterparts. Hardly any Reform families

¹³The number of cases here is too small to sustain very detailed comparisons; but the broad inference that boys receive more Jewish schooling than girls seems substantiated.)

Exhibit 35: Current Jewish Schooling by Age and Denomination
(Reports on Children Age 6-17 Only)

	DAY SCHOOL	U.H.S.	SYNA-GOGUE SCHOOL	SUNDAY SCHOOL	NONE	TOTAL
AGE:	ORTHODOX					
6 - 9	92	4	-	4	-	100
10 - 14	86	5	-	0	10	100
15 - 17	82	-	-	9	9	100
age:	CONSERVATIVE					
6 - 9	24	33	14	10	19	100
10 - 14	11	30	18	7	34	100
15 - 17	-	11	11	5	73	100
age:	REFORM					
6 - 9	3	5	40	29	23	100
10 - 14	3	6	56	22	13	100
15 - 17	-	2	15	12	71	100

currently send their children to day schools. The impact of a newly opened Reform day school has yet to be felt.

Low Utilization Among the Poor and Near-Poor. One of the historic concerns of organized Jewish communities has been the provision of Jewish education to the children of its poorest individuals. Indeed, like other Federations around the country, the Detroit community directly and indirectly helps subsidize the Jewish education of those least able to pay. To what extent are poorer families sending their children to Jewish schools in the Detroit area?

Exhibit 36 reports on the utilization patterns of families with school-age children by income.¹⁴ Families are categorized by the most intensive form of Jewish education any child in the family ever obtained. The families with children who have never attended a Jewish school (about a quarter of this population segment) include those who will never enroll their youngsters, as well as some whose children are all younger and can be expected to eventually enroll in some Jewish school.

With these qualifications in mind, we can examine the income-related differences in Jewish school utilization in some detail. The patterns for families earning \$30,000 or more are virtually identical. However, \$30,000 represents an important threshold. About one eighth of families with children earn under \$30,000. Almost half of these report they have never enrolled their children in a Jewish school. This figure is more than twice as large as that found among those earning at least \$30,000. In addition, few of the poorer families reported sending their children to day school.

These results demonstrate that not only are the non-Orthodox near-poor almost totally absent from day schools; a disproportionate number fail to receive any formal Jewish schooling whatsoever.

Satisfaction -- Higher with Day Schools. We asked parents whether they were satisfied with their children's Jewish schooling. We asked them to estimate the extent to which their children liked their Jewish school experience. In both instances, vast majorities expressed at least qualified levels of satisfaction (i.e., at least "somewhat satisfied" or "liked somewhat"). Indeed, using these qualified levels of satisfaction as the criterion, we found only small differences between different types of schools.

¹⁴Orthodox families were excluded from this income analysis because their school utilization patterns are so different from the non-Orthodox. Their inclusion would result in larger numbers of day school families and smaller numbers of families with no Jewish school enrollment.

Exhibit 36: Most Intensive Form of Jewish School Children Ever Utilized by Family Income*

	UNDER \$30,000	\$30-49,000	\$50-79,000	\$80,000+
NONE	45	30	15	18
SUNDAY SCHOOL	18	12	10	19
PART-TIME	26	26	5	46
DAY SCHOOL	10	32	21	18

* Only Families with Child(ren) 6-17 years old.

However, when we focused on whether parents were "very satisfied" or whether they thought their children liked their Jewish schools "very much," we found rather startling differences among users of the different types of schools (Exhibit 37). Considerably more current or former day school parents are "very satisfied" with their children's Jewish schooling than are parents of children in other schools (81% for the day schools versus only about half for the part-time or Sunday Schools). The gap in perceptions of children's attitude to their Jewish schools is even larger. In the parents' mind, three times as many day school students like their Jewish school "very much" than their part-time or Sunday School counterparts.

We considered the possibility that the denominational distributions were distorting the results. After all, Orthodox parents disproportionately send their children to day schools and hardly any Reform parents do so. For the crucial group where internal comparisons are possible -- the Conservative parents -- the satisfaction gap between day schools and part-time schools, though diminished, remains substantial.

The high levels of support for day schools among the current users represent a marketing resource for expanding day school enrollment. The parents themselves may serve as the most enthusiastic and able recruiters of other parents. In addition, their high levels of satisfaction and those of their children, in itself, represent a major selling point for day school education.

The "Impact" of Jewish Schooling. One of the main purposes of Jewish schooling is to produce students who will grow up as Jewishly involved adults. Policy makers have routinely been keenly interested in assessing the impact of different Jewish educational schools, programs, and experiences upon adult Jewish identity. Unfortunately, no methodologically rigorous way of doing so is available. The ideal study would collect information on students, their families and other background factors, their educational experiences, and Jewish identity measures over an extended period of time, from childhood to maturity.

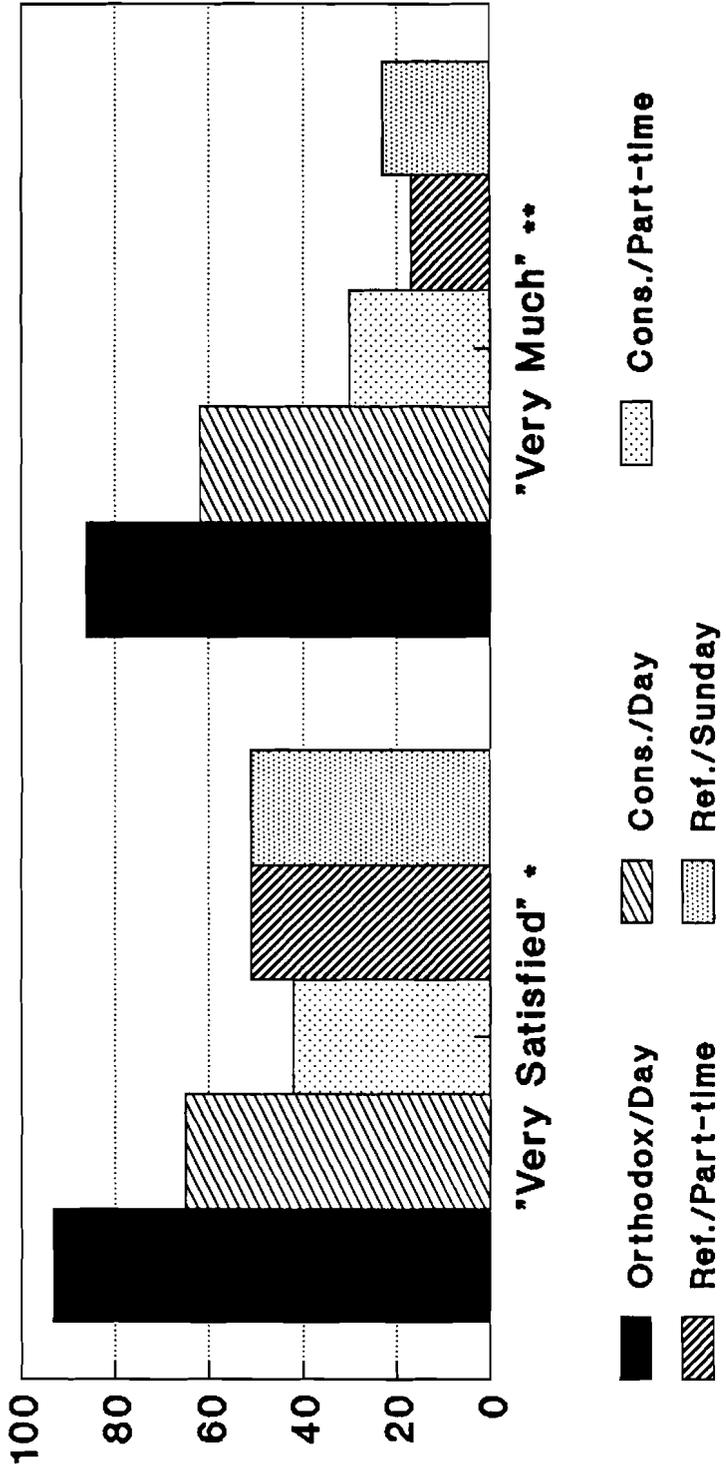
Short of that ideal, we are left with no alternative other than comparing today's adults with different educational backgrounds and inferring (with great caution) the impact of Jewish schooling. Exhibit 38 presents several measures of Jewish involvement for adult respondents who attended four different types of Jewish schools: day schools, the United Hebrew Schools, synagogue schools, and Sunday Schools.

One problem with this analysis is that we cannot completely eliminate self-selection as a factor. That is, should we find (as we do) that day school graduates score higher than others on measures of Jewish involvement, we cannot attribute that difference to the school experience alone. After all, more day school students

Exhibit 37: Satisfaction with Jewish Schooling by Type of School Children Attend(ed) and by Denomination/School Type Attend(ed)

	"VERY SATISFIED" WITH CHILDRENS JEWISH SCHOOLING	CHILDREN LIKED SCHOOL "VERY MUCH"
TYPE OF SCHOOL		
Day School	81	77
Part Time	48	22
Sunday	48	26
DENOMINATION / SCHOOL TYPE		
Orthodox / Day	93	86
Cons. / Day	65	62
Cons. / Part-time	42	30
Ref. / Part-time	51	17
Ref. / Sunday	51	23

Exhibit 38: Satisfaction with Jewish Schooling by Denomination / School Type Attend(ed)



* With Childrens Jewish Schooling
 ** Children Like School

benefit from a stronger Jewish home and community environment than others.

To at least partially control for self-selection bias, the analysis excludes those raised by Orthodox parents and, at the other extreme, excludes those who received no Jewish education whatever. In addition, it statistically controls for age, family life cycle, sex, and parents' denomination. After controlling for these factors, day school graduates celebrate these holidays about 7 percentage points more often than former UHS students.

Using UHS as the alternative, we learn that day schools have the apparent effect of elevating the ritual observance score by 20 points, the communal affiliation measure by nine points, the pro-Israel attachment scores by six points and the percentage of closest friends who are Jewish by six points as well. In other words, this imperfect statistical procedure suggests that **day school education in the past has served to elevate diverse measures of Jewish involvement**, particularly in the religious domain. In contrast, there are no statistically significant or substantively meaningful differences among the former students of the three other forms of Jewish schooling (UHS, synagogue schools, and Sunday schools).

Whether today's day schools will have the same impact upon tomorrow's adults remains to be seen. However, the indications from previous experience suggest that day schools may impart lasting positive effects upon Jewish involvement in the community and (even more so) in the home.

Interest in Day Schools: Would more Detroit area parents consider the day school option for their children, and, if they would, would are their major concerns or hesitations?

We asked parents of school-age children, none of whom ever attended a day school, "Are there conditions under which you would have sent your child(ren) to a Jewish Day school?" Over a third of these parents responded affirmatively. Twice as many Conservative parents (57%) were receptive, than Reform parents (28%).

Of those who said they might have been interested in day schools, we asked several "what if" questions to determine the conditions that might provoke them to utilize the day schools (Exhibit 39). Three quarters of the parents who were interested said they would have sent their children to day schools "if the cost for tuition was the same as for an afternoon religious school." The other three conditions elicited similar answers from about half the interested parents. These were: "If a day school was closer to your home"; "If there was a day school sponsored by Reform Judaism"; and "If there was a day school sponsored by the Jewish

Exhibit 39: The Approximate Impact of Jewish Schooling as a Child Upon Measures of Adult Jewish Identification

(Figures are deviations from the mean, adjusting for parent's denomination, age, family life cycle and sex. This sub-sample excludes those raised Orthodox and those who received no Jewish schooling.)

	DAY SCHOOL	U.H.S.	SYNA-GOGUE SCHOOL	SUNDAY SCHOOL
Seasonal Holidays	.05	-.02	.05	-.01
Ritual Observance	.19	-.01	-.01	.00
Communal Affiliation	.08	-.01	.01	-.01
Pro-Israel Attachment	.06	.00	.02	-.02
Closest Friends Jewish	.06	.00	.02	-.02

Explanation: The first row report that controlling for parents' denomination and other variables, those who went to day schools are now 5% more likely to celebrate seasonal Jewish holidays than the statistical mean; those who went to United Hebrew Schools are 2% less likely to celebrate the holidays, and so forth.

community rather than by any particular branch of Judaism." The Conservative parents were especially sensitive to location, and the Reform parents were especially sensitive to Reform sponsorship.

The sensitivity to financial concerns is, as one would expect, especially prevalent among the near poor. Among the relevant population, interest in day schools was greater among the near-poor (about half of those earning under \$30,000) than among those with moderate or high incomes (where about a third said they might have considered day school education for their youngsters). Moreover, those earning under \$50,000 were somewhat more likely than their more affluent counterparts to say they would have considered day schools had the tuition been made more affordable.

Survey research is not particularly well-suited for the exploration of reasons behind a hypothetical consumer decision. Respondents tend to give spontaneous responses without much prior thought. Thus, we should be careful not to over-interpret these attitudinal responses. On the other hand, they certainly point to the possibility of a growing pool of day school families and they also point to the concerns those parents may well have. These include location and sponsorship, with cost constituting a significant barrier, especially for the low and moderate income families.

**Exhibit 40: Attitudes of Parents to Day Schools by Denomination
(Excluding Parents of Current or Former Day School
Students)**

	CONSERVATIVE	REFORM	TOTAL
Would have sent child to Day School	57	28	36
if...	OF THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE SENT CHILD TO DAY SCHOOL...		
Tuition Less	77	61	74
School Closer	67	38	54
Reform Sponsored	44	58	51
Community Sponsored	60	50	58

Note: "Total" includes all denominations. Only Conservative and Reform have enough cases for separate tabulation.

CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The key problem in the current state of Jewish identity is the lack of intensive enthusiasm for Jewish life endemic among the large number of Jews who occasionally patronize or perfunctorily support Jewish communal institutions. These are people who tend to be involved but not deeply committed.

The evidence we have presented suggests strongly that the community's identity-building strategy should give greater weight to the enrichment model and commensurately lesser weight to the outreach model. True, there are some totally unaffiliated Jews; but they are very small in number, and many are temporarily rather than permanently unaffiliated. The intermarriage rate, however measured, has been growing and the mixed married constitute the major population segment that is generally distant from Jewish life. But the vast majority of Jews continue to marry other Jews, continue to affiliate with the Jewish community in several ways, and continue to observe such holidays as Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Hanukkah, and Passover. The vast majority send their children to some sort of Jewish school at some point.

The goal of enrichment is not to move Jews from non-affiliation to affiliation. After all, by definition, the principal target group is already affiliated. Rather, the chief objective is to broaden involvement, intensify commitment, and to create opportunities for enhanced Judaic knowledge and skills among the affiliated population. In any event, the unaffiliated are far more costly to reach than the vast number who already appear on the lists of members, subscribers, contributors, and participants.

One or many intensive Judaic experiences will probably appeal to large numbers of the moderately affiliated. An enrichment policy would aim at multiplying the opportunities for the many moderately affiliated Jews to partake in one or more of these experiences.

The enrichment component ought to reflect these elements of the analysis:

1. Younger Jews are more distant from Jewish philanthropy and organizational life.

2. Less affluent Jews participate less frequently in Jewish communal life even though they seem as committed to Judaism as their wealthier counterparts.

3. Younger Jews do feel more distant from Israel. The problem is particularly severe among those who have never been to Israel, and travel to Israel seems to result in much warmer feelings toward the Jewish State.

4. Stimulating travel to Israel especially among teenagers, college students, and young adults is a logical programming area.