2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study

Cohen Center *for* Modern Jewish Studies

Steinhardt Social Research Institute

cjp

Brandeis University

Janet Krasner Aronson Matthew Boxer Matthew A. Brookner Charles Kadushin Leonard Saxe

Steinhardt Social Research Institute
www.brandeis.edu/ssri

Established in 2005 and housed at the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, the Steinhardt Social Research Institute (SSRI) uses innovative research methods to collect and analyze sociodemographic data on the Jewish community.

The Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies (CMJS), founded in 1980, is dedicated to providing independent, high-quality research on issues related to contemporary Jewish life.

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"Sociological descriptions are helpful in expanding awareness of the facts. They should not be expected to unlock resources of creative imagination by which to modify the facts.

In contrast to those who call for amor fati (acceptance of fate) we call for ahavath Israel, for joy in being what we are, love for those who share our commitments."

—Abraham Joshua Heschel

"It's tough to make predictions, especially about the future."

—Yogi Berra

Every 10 years, CJP commissions the Greater Boston Community Study, an in-depth look at the perspectives, needs and challenges of our increasingly diverse Jewish community. The 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study was conducted by the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies (CMJS) and the Steinhardt Social Research Institute at Brandeis University under the sponsorship of CJP. We believe that this study breaks new ground in understanding the Jewish community in Boston and helping us develop strategies that will move the Boston and, potentially, national Jewish communities to greater vibrancy and engagement.

More than 5,000 respondents participated in the study, making it the most comprehensive survey ever of the Greater Boston Jewish population. Furthermore, CMJS used cutting-edge survey methodologies to gain deep insights into contemporary Jewish life — the beliefs, practices, values and rituals that add meaning for our core constituencies and the many subgroups of our community. Key findings are highlighted in the Overview prepared by CJP and in the CMJS executive summary.

Despite its breadth and depth, we view the 2015 study report not as a final document but as the starting point for an ongoing community dialogue. We must continue to analyze the data, conduct additional research and, most importantly, engage the broadest possible cross-section of our community in the conversations to come so that we continue to build a community of meaning and purpose.

CJP has always sought to avoid the traps described by Heschel (and by Yogi Berra!). We were and are deeply committed to placing these data into historical perspective and then converting statistical insight into creative action while always remembering that the data exist in service to our vision and our values. We must never be satisfied with where we are today but must look toward where we must be tomorrow.

The critically important "next generation," the millennials, is worth very special attention. As this report shows, millennials are not quite as different as some have suggested, and it is vital that we do not allow stereotypes to drive communal policy. Some have suggested that the next generation is radically different, rejecting all institutional affiliations, hostile to Israel, rejecting "tribal" or "particularistic" identification, and interested primarily in "universal" or "social justice" causes. This survey reveals a far more nuanced picture of this critically important demographic group. Even where data may support the stereotypes, however, we must not allow the data alone to determine our communal strategy and destiny. The data provide clues to our tactics, but our strategy must be values and vision driven.

If the next generation turns out to be insular and "tribal," our community needs to cry out for justice for all humankind. If the next generation turns out to be largely "universal," we need to teach love of the Jewish people. If the future belongs to the internet, we need to create space for face-to-face communities of caring and love. If the next generation is utterly uninterested in Jewish learning, we need to prioritize making Jewish learning compelling and meaningful and as viral as Birthright.

Jewish millennials are certainly different from previous generations, but they are complex and defy easy categorization. They are universal *and* particular; tribal *and* covenantal; interested in culture and art and music *and* rabid sports fans; deeply committed to volunteerism *and* deeply committed to success in their own careers and to material success; concerned about world hunger *and* aficionados of gourmet food; wary of institutions but also seeking community and interested in those institutions (including synagogues) that offer quality and meaning and purpose. Some millennials may be deeply concerned about the plight of Palestinians, but others are far more concerned with Israel's security and the world's hypocrisy. I fear that some millennials barely know that Israel exists. And of course, like each generation, their politics and priorities may well change over time. More significantly, Birthright-Israel has already made a measurable impact on the next generation's connection to Israel, with Birthright participants far more likely to feel "very close" to Israel than non-participants.

Moreover, I am not sure that communal strategy should be based entirely on any particular piece of research or what any expert thinks the next generation is looking for. If we believe that Israel's survival or well-being depends on our political support or, for that matter, constructive criticism of Israel's government, we are ethically bound to argue our position. In my experience, young adults respect adults who actually believe in something and offer compelling beliefs. An older generation that crafts its beliefs based solely on research of the next generation is not worth following.

It is through this lens that we report on the findings from the study and begin the process of exploring the meaning and implications of where we are today on how we achieve our vision for the future.

The 2015 study was our most ambitious to date, and we extend our deep appreciation to CJP Community Study Task Force Co-Chairs Cindy Janower and Professor Chris Winship, and committee members Rabbi Marc Baker, Karyn Cohen, Idit Klein, Rabbi Todd Markley, Marci Sapers, Yakir Siegel, and Anna Weiss.

Moreover, we are grateful to the Cohen Center team for their partnership in this endeavor — in particular Janet Krasner Aronson, Matthew Boxer, Matthew Brookner, Charles Kadushin and Leonard Saxe. They have worked tirelessly to produce an important study that helps us understand the Greater Boston Jewish community as well as provides significant new insight to changes within American Jewish life. We also thank the individual respondents, and our community partners for supporting the study — and for your continued contributions as, together, we seize new opportunities to strengthen and sustain our community.

Very truly yours,

Barry Shrage
President, CJP

Brandeis University

Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies
Steinhardt Social Research Institute

Mailstop 014
415 South Street
Waltham, Massachusetts
02454-9110

TEL: 781-736-3952
FAX : 781-736-3929
email: Saxe@Brandeis.edu

Leonard Saxe, Ph.D., Director
Klutznick Professor of Contemporary Jewish Studies

A maxim attributed to Albert Einstein says, "Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted." It's a pithy statement of humility that I think about often and should accompany any attempt to describe aspects of modern Jewish life. The present report is the result of a complex research endeavor designed to execute a relatively simple goal: to describe the size and character of the Jewish population of Greater Boston. I am very proud of the scope and quality of the study, and my fondest hope is that it will spark a rich communal conversation about our future.

Although the headlines about this study will no doubt refer to the size of the community and its growth and focus on, among other things, the proportion of intermarried families and estimates of Israeli and Russian-born community members, numbers are only one part of the story. Even more significant is what we discovered about the character of Boston Jews. Most importantly, we learned Boston Jews are not homogenous. Literally and figuratively, we come from different places and express our Judaism in a variety of ways. Some of us are deeply immersed in religious life, while others express our strongest Jewish connections through involvement in communal organizations. One contribution of the present study is the identification of five clusters of Jewish engagement. Explicitly, our goal was to extend demographic studies (such as Pew's *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*) that focus on how Jews think about their identities and instead examine what people actually do. I hope that the engagement index we developed will stimulate a new conversation about how the community can deepen the involvements of the many who are interested in, but not yet invested in, Boston Jewish life.

One of my favorite metaphors about Jewish life is that it's a "contact sport." Being Jewish is not solely a matter of one's faith, but rather about one's relationships with others. As write this preface, we are preparing for Sukkot and remembering our experience as a people wandering in the desert, learning how to depend on one another for work and survival. It should be clear, from the other prefatory materials, that this project was a collective effort. I would like to offer my own set of acknowledgments.

First, I am indebted to CJP professional staff for entrusting us with the conduct of the study. We are social science scholars and the design and implementation of surveys is our métier, but working on a project focused on our own community has been a privilege. I am particularly grateful to Barry Shrage, CJP President, with whom I have had a nearly 25-year conversation about Jewish life. Gil Preuss, Executive Vice President, who led the effort on behalf of CJP, and his team, Elisa Deener-Agus and Kimberly Schumacher, helped make the study possible. Each worked diligently to ensure a comprehensive and descriptive report.

Second, we were fortunate to be guided by an extraordinary group of CJP's volunteer leaders. The study was overseen by an advisory committee co-chaired by two of the community's most talented and dedicated members. Harvard Professor Christopher Winship, a distinguished sociologist, served for the third time as co-chair of the community study committee. He is a methodologist extraordinaire and an astute observer of the Jewish communal world. Committee co-chair Cindy Janower is a skillful communal activist and offered valuable feedback from a lay perspective. I also want to thank the members of the advisory committee and numerous agency leaders and staff who helped shape the questions for the survey and provide feedback at initial presentations. In particular, my appreciation extends to Neal Wallack, CJP Board Chair. I was in awe of his ability to facilitate productive discussions of our findings as we developed them.

Finally, the study was produced by a team of Cohen Center/Steinhardt Institute researchers of whom the key members are listed as authors of the report. We are also supported by a group of staff and students who are the most skilled colleagues I have ever had the privilege to work with. I cannot imagine having a better, more intellectually exciting and hard-working group of colleagues. The PhD members of the authorship group, Janet Aronson and Matthew Boxer, are gifts to the Jewish community. Both are trained as Judaic scholars and social scientists and are extraordinarily accomplished in both fields.

As the Einstein quip that framed this preface suggests, some qualities can't be measured. In the case of the 2015 Boston Jewish community study, we were not able to count the myriad ways in which being Jewish provides meaning and value to the lives of Boston Jews. That's the task for those of you who will use this report to help plan a vibrant and fulfilling future for all of us.

Leonard Saxe, PhD
Klutznick Professor of Contemporary Jewish Studies and Social Policy

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CMJS/SSRI Acknowledgments

The CMJS/SSRI research team is grateful to Combined Jewish Philanthropies for the opportunity to develop and conduct the 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study. The study was proposed and sponsored by CJP, whose staff, Board of Directors, and Community Study Committee provided valuable input on the study design, questionnaire, and report. We are particularly grateful to Executive Vice President Gil Preuss, Associate Vice President for Strategic Initiatives Elisa Deener-Agus, former Senior Director of Strategic Initiatives Kimberlee Schumacher, and Community Study Committee Co-Chairs Professor Christopher Winship and Cynthia Janower. We especially thank the thousands of respondents who completed the survey. Without their willingness to spend time answering numerous questions about their lives, there could be no study.

We are grateful for the efforts of the Survey Research Division (SRD) of the Social Development Research Group at the University of Washington, who served as the call center for this study. Danielle Woodward was our initial point of contact at SRD and oversaw administration of the study. Mary Grassley and Collene Gaolach programmed the survey instrument, and Wilson Chau provided technical support. Special thanks to Lorelei Lin for supervising data collection efforts and to Deborah Cohen for serving as the lead caller for the study. We would also like to thank the many callers who collected data from respondents; the study would not have been possible without them.

In conducting the study, we received the help of consultants outside of the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies. Mark Levitt helped us collect organizational membership lists used to create the sampling frame. The Latent Class Analysis used throughout the study was developed with the assistance of David Rindskopf, distinguished professor of educational psychology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

This project could not have been conducted without the assistance of a large team of our colleagues and students at the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and Steinhardt Social Research Institute. Central to this study was the work of the CMJS/SSRI team that spends countless hours on the American Jewish Population Project. Elizabeth Tighe, Raquel Magidin de Kramer, and Daniel Parmer led the efforts to develop an estimate of the adult Jewish-by-religion population in the Greater Boston area. These estimates were key for the analysis and interpretation of the survey. Daniel Parmer authored the sections of the methodological appendix that describe their work. Other colleagues, including Graham Wright and Michelle Shain, assisted with the report analysis. Sarah Meyer managed the collecting of mailing and membership lists and corresponded with community members. David Manchester cleaned mailing and membership lists and developed the maps. David and Ashley Perry assisted in the qualitative coding. Joseph Lebedew programmed new tools to aid in the statistical analysis. Ethan Aronson, Rebecca Delman, Alexander Dicenso, David Glass, Rebecca Hartman, Leora Kagedan, Eitan King-Levine, Gal Kramer, Devorah Kranz, Molly Moman, Alissa Platcow, Rebecca Rose, Gabriella Shapiro, Sophia Shoulson, and Breanna Vizlakh spent countless hours searching for missing contact information for members of the sample. Molly, Sophia, and Gal helped prepare mailings to contact households selected into the sample. Gal, Ethan, and Breanna also worked tirelessly coding responses to open-ended questions in the survey.

We are grateful to Deborah Grant for her careful editing of the report and to Deborah and Masha Lokshin for the layout of the final report. Shahar Hecht and Annette Koren offered constructive comments and feedback. Sarah Harpaz proofread the report, and Ilana Friedman provided logistical and editorial support through the study.

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Executive Summary

The 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community study provides a sociodemographic portrait of the current Greater Boston Jewish community and assesses participation in Jewish communal institutional life, private Jewish activities, and attitudes about Judaism and Israel. The findings, based on survey responses from more than 5,000 area Jews, reflect the diverse expressions of cultural, communal, and religious life in Boston. The 2015 study follows a long tradition of decennial surveys of Boston Jewry designed to inform planning and policy making by communal organizations.

There is tremendous diversity in how Boston Jewry identifies with, participates in, and connects to being Jewish, to their fellow Jews, and to communal organizations. An Index of Jewish Engagement, developed for this study, found five patterns of Jewish engagement within the community. The patterns of engagement are expected to provide guidance for Jewish communal organizations seeking to strategically target educational and programmatic efforts.

Key findings of this study include:

Greater Boston is home to the fourth-largest Jewish community in the country with 248,000 Jews. Of these, 190,600 are adults and 57,400 are children. The quarter-million Jews in Boston reside in approximately 123,400 households. This represents a population increase of approximately 4.6% since 2005. There are also 61,200 non-Jews living in Jewish households. When compared to other Jewish communities in the United States as defined by federation service areas, Greater Boston is the fourth largest, following New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

More than half of Jewish households are located in Boston, Brookline, Newton, Cambridge, Somerville, and the surrounding towns. The remainder live in suburban areas. Half of younger Jews live in Cambridge, Somerville, and Central Boston.

Greater Boston's Jewish community is demographically diverse. Boston Jewry includes members of the Israeli (8% of adults), Russian-born and Russian-speaking (7% of adults), and LGBTQ communities (7% of adults).

The median age of all Jews in Greater Boston is 39; the median age of adults is 52. Young adults, ages 18-34, comprise 22% of the community. Thirty-two percent of households include at least one child. One-quarter of households are comprised of a single adult living alone.

Sixty-three percent of households include a married, engaged, or cohabitating couple. Among those couples, 47% are interfaith relationships.

Half of Greater Boston's Jews do not identify with a specific Jewish denomination. The largest denominational affiliation is Reform, followed by Conservative and Orthodox. Denominational affiliation has declined since 2005 and, increasingly, Boston Jews describe themselves as "Just Jewish."

Nearly two in five households belong to a synagogue, but forms of synagogue involvement have changed. Thirty-seven percent of Jewish households belong to a synagogue or another type of congregation. Two-thirds of those pay dues to a "traditional," brick-and-mortar synagogue, and an additional 9% consider themselves to be members but do not pay dues to such a synagogue.

Nearly one-quarter of households belong to an "alternative" congregational structure, such as an independent minyan, Chabad, or some other non-synagogue organization that offers religious services. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Jewish adults attended services at least once in the past year, and over half (56%) attended High Holiday services.

Two-thirds of households donate to Jewish organizations and one-quarter volunteer. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of Boston's Jews donate to at least one Jewish organization. About one-quarter (23%) of Boston's Jews volunteer for a Jewish organization, mostly serving on boards and committees or helping with programming and fundraising.

One-fifth of the community's households are members of a Jewish organization and three-fifths of Jewish households include someone who attended a program. Overall, one-fifth of households are members of at least one Jewish organization aside from synagogues or the JCC. Three-fifths of households include someone who attended at least one organization-sponsored program in the previous year, and 18% include someone who attended at least one such program a month. The most frequent types of programs attended are religious, cultural, or educational in nature, with at least two-fifths of the community participating in each.

Participation in Jewish life extends beyond institutions. Three-fifths (61%) of Jewish households participate in at least one informal Jewish activity, such as a Shabbat meal or Jewish book club, and 17% do so monthly. Private Jewish cultural activities are also common, such as reading Jewish or Israeli literature (31%), listening to Jewish or Israeli music (35%), and visiting Jewish or Israeli websites (44%). Nearly all Jewish adults (92%) count at least one Jew among their closest friends, and the majority (53%) report that at least half of their closest friends are Jewish.

Holiday observance and ritual/cultural practices are widely observed by significant numbers of Greater Boston Jewry. Celebrations of Chanukah and Passover are widespread: 85% light Chanukah candles and 82% attend a Passover seder. Half (52%) of the community lights Shabbat candles at least occasionally. Thirty percent of Jews observe some form of kashrut.

Three-quarters of children in Jewish households are being raised exclusively Jewish. Among inmarried parents, 94% of children are being raised exclusively Jewish. Among intermarried parents, 57% of children are being raised exclusively Jewish. Almost one-fifth of Jewish preschool-age children attend Jewish pre-school. One-third of Jewish children in grades K-12 are enrolled in Jewish education, with 26% in part-time school and 7% in day school. In addition, 13% of Jewish children attend Jewish day camp and 20% attend Jewish overnight camp.

Two-thirds of Greater Boston's Jews have been to Israel at least once. One-third have travelled to Israel multiple times. More than half of Boston's Jews have friends or family living in Israel. Eighty-two percent say they feel an emotional connection to Israel, with 30% feeling very much connected. Two-fifths attend or are interested in programming on Israel, and a similar proportion say that Israel advocacy is a very important cause to them.

The Greater Boston Jewish community is affluent and highly educated, but some segments may be economically vulnerable. Nine-in-ten Jewish adults hold at least a college degree, including 61% who have a post-graduate degree. Consistent with their high level of education, almost half of Boston's Jews consider themselves to be prosperous or very comfortable, and

another 42% consider themselves reasonably comfortable. One percent describe themselves as "nearly poor" or "poor;" another 11% of households indicate they are "just getting along." Nearly three-fifths of households have an income of $100,000 or more, and 14% have incomes under $50,000. About one-in-eight of Jewish households include at least one person who is in fair or poor health, and nearly one-third include someone in need of counseling or mental health services.

The "Index of Jewish Engagement" reveals five distinct patterns of participation in Jewish life. The Index was the result of a statistical analysis of more than a dozen Jewish behaviors. The Index represents a summary of that analysis and reveals five behavior patterns among Boston area Jewish adults. The names of the five pattern groups are intended to capture the unique characteristics of each group. Although the groups reflect different degrees of engagement with Jewish life, the categories make clear that dichotomies—engaged/not engaged and religious/not religious—are inadequate descriptors of contemporary Jewish behavior.

The Minimally Involved (17%) have low engagement in all dimensions. The Familial (24%) engage primarily through family and home-based behaviors. The Affiliated (26%) engage through family and communal organizations. The Cultural (18%) engage through family and cultural activities. The Immersed (15%) engage in ritual activities, cultural and communal organizations, and family-based behaviors. Along with differences in Jewish behaviors and attitudes, the engagement groups are associated with distinct sociodemographic attributes and Jewish background characteristics.

The Index confirms that Boston Jewry is characterized by diverse ways of being involved in Jewish life. More importantly, the Index suggests multiple points of entry to greater involvement in Jewish life.

Chapter 1. Introduction:
The Greater Boston Jewish Community in 2015

Every decade since 1965, Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP) of Greater Boston has sponsored a scientific study of the size, characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes of the local Jewish community. These studies have provided a regular mid-decade snapshot of the community served by CJP and have tracked how Boston-area Jewry has evolved. The research has provided essential information that has been used to inform strategic planning and the use of CJP's philanthropic resources. The Pew Research Center's 2013 study, *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*, galvanized the American Jewish community, prompting discussions on a host of topics: growing and shrinking sub-populations, declining affiliation in traditional institutions as well as new forms of Jewish engagement, the rise of both secular and Orthodox Jews, and the impact of intermarriage on community growth (see Saxe, Sasson, & Krasner Aronson, 2015). With Pew and the related national discourse as a backdrop, understanding the dynamics of Boston's Jewish community takes on added significance.

The 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study is thus the latest in a long series of communal stock-taking endeavors. Conducted by the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies and the Steinhardt Social Research Institute at Brandeis University under the sponsorship of CJP, the study benefited from the guidance of a lay-led steering committee co-chaired by Professor Christopher Winship and Cynthia Janower. Much has changed in the approaches for conducting scientific surveys (Krasner Aronson, Boxer, & Saxe, Forthcoming) since 1965, and the present study employed innovative state-of-the-art methods in order to create a comprehensive portrait of the characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors of present-day Boston Jewry.

Goals

The principal goal of this study is to provide valid data about Boston Jewry that can be used by communal organizations and leadership to design programs and policies that support and enhance Jewish life. Valid data are essential to effective decision making, allocation of resources, strategic priorities, community support, and robust participation and outreach. The Boston Jewish community has long been a national leader in programs to engage the unengaged through outreach to college students, interfaith families, and families with young children, among others. Boston Jewish institutions have supported Jewish education in day schools and part-time schools, as well as overnight camps, adult programming, and online learning.

Specifically, the study sought to:

- Estimate the number of Jewish adults and children in the community as well as the number of non-Jewish adults and children who are part of those households
- Describe the community in terms of age and gender, geographic distribution, economic well-being, and other sociodemographic characteristics
- Measure participation in community programs and institutional Judaism and understand reasons for participation

- Understand the multifaceted cultural, communal, and religious expressions of Judaism that constitute Jewish engagement
- Assess attitudes toward Israel and Judaism

The present study provides a snapshot of today's Greater Boston Jewish community. At the same time, the report also considers trends and developments that diverge from the past—not only within the Greater Boston community, but also in the American Jewish community as a whole.

History

CJP conducted its first Boston Jewish Community Study in 1965 and repeated the study every ten years. The first survey was developed as part of the Long Range Planning Project of CJP, established in 1963. The 1965 report estimated the Jewish population at 176,000 and reported that Brookline and Newton were centers of Jewish life in the region. Subsequent studies conducted in each decade found the community exhibiting steady growth. Shifting geographical boundaries and changing methods for estimating the Jewish population make it difficult to draw precise comparisons; however, there is no question that the number of community members has increased and that the Boston area is home to a vibrant Jewish community.

Methodology

Community studies utilize scientific survey methods to collect information from selected members of the community and, from those responses, extrapolate information about the entire community. Over time, it has become increasingly complex to conduct these surveys, and, in particular, to obtain an unbiased sample of community members. The 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community study updates the methods that have been used since 1965, using innovative approaches to overcome the challenges of survey research (Saxe, Tighe, & Boxer, 2014).

At the heart of the methodological challenge is the fact that traditional methods to conduct community surveys are no longer feasible. The classic survey methodology, random digit dialing (RDD), relies on telephone calls to randomly selected households in a given geographic area and phone interviews with household members. Today, as a result of changing telephone technology (e.g., caller ID), fewer people answer the phone for unknown callers, putting response rates for telephone surveys in the single digits.[1] More significantly, nearly half of households no longer have landline phones[2] and rely exclusively on cell phones. Because of phone number portability (Lavrakas, Shuttles, Steeh, & Fienberg, 2007), cell phones frequently have an area code and exchange, and in some cases a billing address, that are not associated with the geographic location in which the phone user resides. Therefore, it is no longer possible to select a range of phone numbers and assume that the owners of those numbers will live in the specified area and be willing to answer the phone.

The present study addresses these obstacles with several innovative methods, described in detail in Appendix A:

- ***Enhanced RDD***. Instead of deriving information about the population from a single RDD phone survey of the local area, the enhanced RDD method relies on a synthesis of national surveys that are conducted by government agencies and other organizations that include information about religion. The synthesis combines data from hundreds of surveys and uses information collected from Boston-area residents to estimate the Jewish population in the region. For details, see ajpp.brandeis.edu.
- ***Comprehensive list-based sample***. Rather than selecting survey participants from the entire Greater Boston area, the CMJS study selects respondents based on their appearance on the membership and contact lists of hundreds of Boston-area Jewish organizations. This comprehensive list-based approach ensures that anyone in the Boston area who has had even minimal contact with an area Jewish organization is eligible to participate in the sample.
- ***Ethnic name sample***. Needless to say, not all Jewish community members are known by a community organization. For that reason, the sample is supplemented with a list of households in the area comprised of individuals who have a Jewish first or last name or any consumer behavior that would suggest that he or she might be Jewish.
- ***Multiple survey modes***. Because households are increasingly difficult to reach by telephone, CMJS approaches survey participants by postal mail, phone, and email. Multiple attempts are made to reach respondents and efforts are made to update contact information and the respondent's status when initial efforts are unsuccessful.

The 2015 Boston Jewish community survey was based on a sampling frame of over 145,000 households. From this frame two samples were drawn: a primary sample of 8,900 households who were contacted by postal mail, email, and telephone, and a supplemental sample of 42,315 households who were contacted by email only. The primary sample was designed to be representative of the entire community and was used as a basis for population estimates and analyses of the community as a whole. The response rate for this sample was 32% (AAPOR RR2). In total, nearly 6,000 Jewish households were interviewed (Table 1.1). Because households from the supplement were only contacted by email, it was expected that highly engaged households would be more likely to complete the survey. Consequently, statistical adjustments were utilized to account for the different likelihood of response in the two samples. Survey weights were developed to ensure that the full response sample—primary and supplemental—represented the entire community in terms of key factors including age, Jewish denomination, and synagogue membership.

Throughout this report, for purposes of analysis and reporting, estimates about the entire population were derived from the primary sample only. The combined, or full, sample was used for analyses of subgroups—such as families with children—where the increased number of respondents supported more robust analysis.

Table 1.1. Summary of survey respondents

	Primary n	Supplemental n	Total n
Completed eligible HH	1,591	4,105	5,696
From lists	1,401	4,084	5,485
Ethnic name sample (de-duplicated)	190	21	211
Total HH on lists	--	--	145,787
Drawn sample size	8,900	42,315	51,215
Completed screeners	2,815	5,064	7,879
Response rate (AAPOR RR2)	32%	12%	--

Undercounted Populations

The goal of the community study was to develop a comprehensive understanding of the Jewish population. Nevertheless, some groups are likely to be undercounted and/or underrepresented. In particular, residents of institutional settings such as hospitals, nursing homes, and dormitories on college campuses, as well as adults who have never associated in any way with a Jewish organization in the Greater Boston area, are less likely to have been identified and contacted to complete the survey. Although we cannot produce an accurate count of these individuals, these undercounts are unlikely to introduce significant bias into the reported estimates. Where appropriate, we have noted the limitations of the methodology.

How to Read This Report

The present survey of Jewish households is designed to represent the views of an entire community by interviewing a randomly selected sample of households from the community. In order to extrapolate respondent data to the entire community, the data are adjusted ("weighted"). Each individual respondent is assigned a weight so that his/her survey answers represent the proportion of the overall community that has similar demographic characteristics. The weighted respondent thus stands in for that segment of the population and not only the household from which it was collected. (See Appendix A for more detail.) Unless otherwise specified, this report presents weighted survey data in the form of percentages or proportions. Accordingly, these data should be read not as the percentage or proportion of respondents who answered each question in a given way, but as the percentage or proportion of the population that it is estimated would answer each question in that way had each member of the population been surveyed.

No estimate should be considered an exact measurement. The reported estimate for any value, known as a "point estimate," is the most likely value for the variable in question for the entire population given available data, but it is possible that the true value is slightly lower or slightly higher. Because estimates are derived from data collected from a representative sample of the population, there is a degree of uncertainty. The amount of uncertainty depends on multiple factors, the most important of which is the number of survey respondents who provided the data from which an estimate is derived. The uncertainty is quantified as a set of values that range from some percentage below the reported estimate to a similar percentage above it. This range is known as a "confidence interval." By convention, the confidence interval is calculated to reflect 95% certainty that the true value for the population falls within the range defined by the confidence

interval, but other confidence levels are used where appropriate. (See Appendix A for details about the magnitude of the confidence intervals around estimates in this study.)

When size estimates of subpopulations (e.g., synagogue members, intermarried families, families with children) are provided, they are calculated as the weighted number of households or individuals for which the respondents provided sufficient information to classify them as members of the subgroup. When data are missing, those respondents are counted as if they are not part of the subgroups for purposes of estimation. For this reason, all subpopulation estimates may undercount information on those least likely to complete the survey or answer particular questions. Missing information cannot reliably be imputed in many such cases because the other information that could serve as a basis to impute data is also missing. Refer to the codebook, included as Appendix D, for the actual number of responses to each question.

Some tables and figures that present proportions do not add up to 100%. In some cases, this is a result of respondents having the option to select more than one response to a question; in such cases, the text of the report will indicate that multiple responses were possible. In most cases, however, the appearance that proportional estimates do not add up to 100% is a result of rounding. Proportional estimates are rounded to the nearest whole number. In some cases, there were insufficient responses to calculate an estimate. These are denoted by "--" in the tables.

How to Read the Tables

Most tables in this report present data in the form of row percentages. In this case, rows of the tables should be read across. The numbers in the table represent the proportion within the group labelled on each row that falls within each category listed as a column header. For example, reading *across* in Table 1.2, we see that within the 18 to 34-year-old age group, 26% of Jewish adults have not been to Israel and 74% have visited. Within the 35 to 49-year-old group, 36% have not been to Israel and 64% have visited.

EXAMPLE Table 1.2. Age by travel to Israel

	Never	Once or More
Overall	**37**	**63**
Age		
18-34	26	74
35-49	36	64
50-64	47	53
65 +	41	59

Note: % Jewish adults

For other tables in the report, column totals are presented. The tables are indicated with the words "by column" in the top left, and by the shaded vertical bars separating the columns. In these tables, numbers should be read down, rather than across. These numbers represent the proportion within each column header that has the characteristic listed in the row heading on the left. For example, reading *down* in Table 1.3, we see that, among those who have never been to Israel, 16% are ages 18-34 and 19% are ages 35-49. Among those who have been to Israel, 28% are ages 18-34 and 21% are ages 35-49. In column tables,

EXAMPLE Table 1.3. Travel to Israel by age

by column	Never	Once or More
Size of group	37	63
Age		
18-34	16	28
35-49	19	21
50-64	38	27
65 +	27	25

Note: % Jewish adults

the size of the group represented by each column is presented for reference below the column headers.

For simplicity, in some tables not all groups will be shown. For example, if the proportion of a group who participated in a Passover seder is shown, the proportion who did not participate will not be shown. As a result, not all rows or columns will add up to 100%.

Comparisons Across Surveys

As part of the goal to assess trends, comparisons of a number of questions are made to earlier data (in particular, the 2005 study [Saxe et. al., 2006]) and data from national studies (in particular, Pew's 2013 *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*). Although these analyses are informative, comparisons across studies are not as precise and reliable as the data from the present study. For several reasons, exact comparisons are not possible. As noted above, the methods used to develop sample frames in the present study differ from those used in 2005. We were better able to deal with the shift to cell phones and to identify unengaged members of the community. Second, CJP's catchment has been enlarged since 2005 by the inclusion of the North Shore (which had been a separate federated area). Although for some analyses an estimate can be made of the influence of the North Shore, doing so is imprecise. Finally, and in particular with respect to comparisons with Pew, although our framework for identifying Jews parallels Pew's, there are differences that affect direct comparisons.

Report Overview

This report presents key findings about the Greater Boston Jewish Community. It begins with a portrait of the community as a whole and is followed by a more in-depth look at topics of interest to community members and leaders.

Chapter 2. Demographic Snapshot
The report begins with an overview of the composition of the Greater Boston Jewish community: its size, demographic characteristics, and geographic distribution. It notes significant changes in the Jewish population's size and characteristics since 2005.

Chapter 3. Patterns of Jewish Engagement
This chapter describes the multifaceted ways in which the Jews of Greater Boston define and express their Jewish identity. It utilizes a set of behavioral measures to characterize Jewish engagement based on participation in Jewish life. In addition, it defines a typology of Jewish engagement that will be used throughout the report to understand Jewish behaviors and attitudes.

Chapters 4-7. Jewish Children, Synagogue and Ritual Life, Social and Communal Life, Israel
Each of these chapters focuses on a particular aspect of Jewish life and describes key behaviors and attitudes.

Chapter 8. Economic Well-Being, Health, and Social Service Needs
This chapter examines the living conditions of Boston Jewish households, in particular with regard to economic well being, economic hardship, and health and social service concerns.

Chapter 9. Conclusions
The concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the study with a focus on the patterns of Jewish engagement.

Chapter 2:
Demographic Snapshot of the Greater Boston Jewish Community

Knowledge of the size, geographic distribution, and basic socio-demographic characteristics of the Greater Boston Jewish community provides context to understand the Jewish character, behaviors, and attitudes of community members. As a large Jewish community, Boston Jewry is not homogenous. The ways in which Boston Jews identify as Jewish and engage with the Jewish community vary significantly, with regard to who they are, where they live, their household composition, their ages, and their Jewish identities. This demographic overview describes the size of the community and the basic characteristics of community members.

Greater Boston Jewish Population Estimates, 2015

Total Jews	248,000
Adults	
Jewish	190,600
Non-Jewish	47,500
Children	
Jewish	57,400
Non-Jewish	13,700
Total people	309,200
Total households	123,400

Jewish Population Estimate

Based on the 2015 community study, it is estimated that the Greater Boston Jewish community, as defined by the borders of the Combined Jewish Philanthropy's catchment area,[3] numbers about one-quarter of a million Jewish adults and children. It is the fourth largest Jewish community in the United States (Sheskin, 2016, p. 223).[4] Boston's Jews constitute almost 7% of the area population.[5] From 2005 to 2015, Boston's Jewish community grew by about 4.6%. This increase does not include growth due to the addition of the North Shore to the catchment area in 2013.[6] The overall regional population grew 6% during this period but much of this growth was driven by Hispanic immigration. Therefore, a more appropriate comparison is to the non-Hispanic white population, which decreased by 3% from 2005 to 2015.

Jewish Adults

Estimates of Jewish population sizes rest on a set of fundamental questions about who is counted as Jewish for the purposes of the study. Recent Jewish population studies, such as Pew Research Center's 2013 *A Portrait of Jewish Americans*, classify respondents according to their responses to a series of screening questions: What is your religion? Do you consider yourself to be Jewish aside from religion? Were either of your parents Jewish? Were you raised Jewish? On the basis of the answers to these questions, Jews have been categorized as "Jews by religion" (JBR)—they respond to a question about religion by stating that they are solely Jewish—and "Jews of no religion" (JNR)—their religion is not Judaism, but they consider themselves Jewish through some other means. Although Jews by religion as a group are more engaged with Judaism than are Jews of no religion, many JBRs and JNRs look similar when examining Jewish behaviors and attitudes. For the purposes of this study, and to ensure that Boston Jewry could be compared to the population

nationwide, we utilized a variant of Pew's scheme, supplemented by several other measures of identity. Included in the Jewish population are those adults who indicate they are Jewish and another religion: we refer to this category as Jews of multiple religions (JMR).

Among Jewish adults in the Greater Boston area, 76% (146,800 individuals) identify as Jewish by religion (JBR). The remaining Jewish adults (24%) identify as Jews of no religion (JNR) or Jews of multiple religions (JMR). The majority of these (37,200) have no religion but say they consider themselves Jewish for ethnic or cultural reasons. Another small subset (6,600) consider themselves to be Jewish along with another religion.[7] The proportion of Greater Boston Jewish adults who are Jewish by religion (76%) is comparable to that in the overall United States Jewish population as reported by Pew (78%).[8]

Jewish Households

Boston's Jewish population resides in an estimated 123,400 households. Households are classified as Jewish if they include at least one Jewish adult.

Not everyone who lives in a Jewish household is Jewish. Non-Jewish adults include two groups: those who report that they are not Jewish in any way and those who say they are Jewish but were not born to Jewish parents, were not raised Jewish, and did not convert. Non-Jewish children are being raised with no religion or a religion other than Judaism.

It is estimated that 47,500 non-Jewish adults and 13,700 non-Jewish children live in Jewish households in Greater Boston. These 61,200 individuals bring the total population of people living in Jewish households in the region to approximately 309,200 people (238,100 adults and 71,100 children).

Table 2.1. Jewish population of Greater Boston area, summary (rounded to nearest 100)

	2015	2015 excluding North Shore	2005*	Change 2005 to 2015
HH with at least one Jewish adult	123,400	108,100	105,500	2.5%
Total Jewish adults and children	248,000	218,000	208,500	4.6%
Total people in Jewish HH	309,200	271,900	265,500	2.4%

*Source: Saxe et al., 2006

Extended Jewish Population

Among the non-Jewish population, there are two groups of adults who have connections to Judaism but are not included in the Jewish population, corresponding to the practice of other community studies (e.g., Pew, 2013). The first (listed as Jewish background in Table 2.2), are those who have Jewish parents or were raised Jewish, but do not currently consider themselves to be Jewish in any way. There are 4,200 of these individuals who live in households with at least one

Jewish adult. In addition, there are 5,400 adults with Jewish backgrounds who do not live with any other Jewish adults (and are not included in Table 2.2).

The second group (listed as Jewish affinity in Table 2.2) are those who consider themselves to be Jewish in some way even though they do not have Jewish parents, were not raised Jewish, and did not convert. Many of these individuals are the spouses of Jewish adults. There are 4,300 adults with a Jewish affinity who live in Jewish households. In addition, there are fewer than 400 such adults who live outside of Jewish households in the Greater Boston area (and are not included in Table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Jewish population of Greater Boston area, detail*

	2015	2015 excluding North Shore	2005**	Change 2005 to 2015
Jewish adults	190,600	168,200	160,500	4.8%
JBR adults	146,800			
JNR adults	37,200			
JMR adults	6,600			
Non-Jewish adults in Jewish HH	47,500	40,700	42,500	-4.2%
Jewish background	4,200			
Jewish affinity	4,300			
Not Jewish***	39,000			
Jewish children in Jewish HH	57,400	49,900	48,000	4.0%
JBR children	35,800			
JNR children	16,100			
JMR children	5,600			
Non-Jewish children in Jewish HH	13,700	13,100	14,500	-9.7%
No religion****	9,000			
Other religion	4,700			

* Rounded to nearest 100. Sums may not add up due to rounding
**Source: Saxe et al., 2006
*** Not Jewish includes 1,500 adults whose religion was unspecified
****No religion includes 700 children whose religion was unspecified

Undercounted Populations

With Greater Boston's extensive college population, students constitute a significant portion of the local Jewish community, and many of these students come to Boston from outside the local area. Students who reside in college dormitories, however, were not explicitly included in the study sample and, thus, are not fully included in the population estimate. However, college students whose families live within the Greater Boston area were likely to have been counted as part of their family's households, whether or not they attend a school in Greater Boston. Local college students whose families are not from the Boston area were likely to be omitted from the study.

Overall, our study identified 10,000 full-time Jewish undergraduate students who attend school either in the Greater Boston area or elsewhere. Published estimates of the Boston college population suggest that there are 12,000 Jewish undergraduate students in the Greater Boston area.[9] Assuming that half of these undergraduates come from other parts of the country, there are likely several thousand undergraduate students not represented in these population estimates.

Residents of nursing homes constitute a second population that was not included in the study sample. There are 1,300 beds in Jewish-sponsored nursing homes in the Greater Boston area.[10] It is not known, however, what proportion of residents are Jewish, nor is it known how many Jewish residents reside in non-Jewish sponsored nursing homes.

Age and Gender Composition

Consistent with a community experiencing steady growth, the Jewish population of the Greater Boston area is relatively evenly distributed across all age groups. The mean age of Boston's Jewish adults based on the present population estimate is 51 and the median is 52, slightly older than the median age of Jewish adults nationally, 50 (Pew, 2013).

Table 2.3. Age of Jewish adults in Boston and nationally

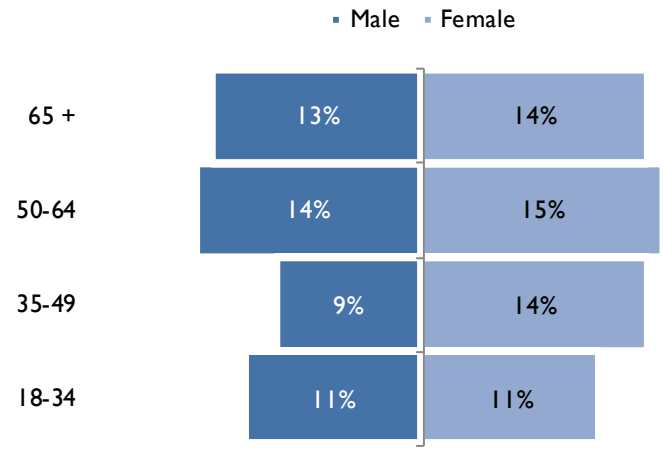
by column	Boston	National*
18-34	22	27
35-49	23	22
50-64	29	31
65 +	27	20

Note: % Jewish adults
*Source: Pew, 2013

The mean age of all Boston Jews is 39.5 and the median is 39. Compared to the national Jewish population, the Boston Jewish community has more seniors and fewer adults under age 35 (Table 2.3). The estimate of Jewish adults ages 18-34 is likely to be an undercount due to difficulties in reaching this population.

The age-gender pyramid (Figure 2.1) shows the distribution of the population. The largest share of the adult Jewish population is between ages 50 and 64. Gender is balanced in all age groups except the 35-49 year olds, in which women outnumber men.

Figure 2.1. Age-gender distribution of Jewish adults in Greater Boston[11]



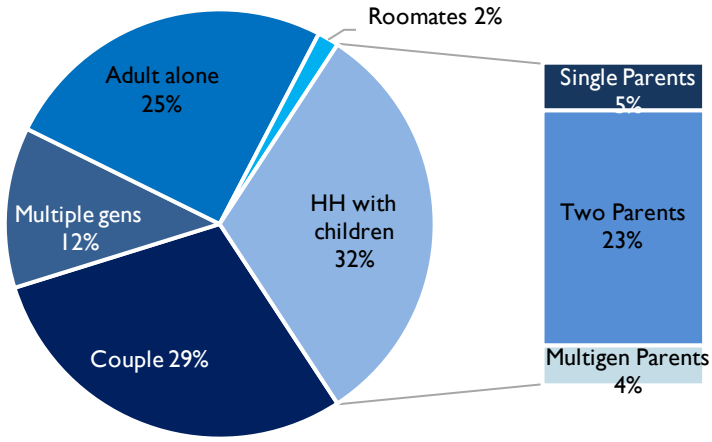
Overall, the Greater Boston Jewish community is evenly divided by gender, with 50% female and 49% male. A small proportion, less than 1% of adults, identify as a gender other than male or female.

Household Composition

Households with children under age 18 (comprised of single, two-parent, or multigenerational) make up 32% of Jewish

households in Greater Boston (Figure 2.2). The remaining households are comprised of single adults (25%), couples without children (29%), and households with parents and adult children living together (multigenerational households) (12%). Among households in which a single adult resides, 49% are seniors age 65 and older, a quarter (23%) are 50-64 years of age, 19% are 35-49, and the remaining 9% are 18-34 years of age.

Figure 2.2. Household composition



Note: % Jewish HH

Overall, two-thirds of households (63%) include a married, engaged, or cohabiting couple, living with or without children or other relatives. This rate is unchanged since 2005. Among households with children, the mean number of children ages 17 and younger is 1.8. The mean household size of all households is 2.5.

Jewish Identity by Age

Nationally, Jewish identity varies by age, with the proportion of Jews of no religion (JNR) increasing in the millennial generation (Pew, 2013). Using the categories of Jewish by religion (JBR), Jews of no religion (JNR), and Jews with multiple religions (JMR), the proportion of Boston Jewish adults in each category varies by age (Tables 2.4 and 2.5). The largest share of Jews of no religion (JNR) (40%) is ages 18 to 34. The largest share of JBRs is ages 50 and older.

Table 2.4. Jewish identity by age

by column	JBR	JNR	JMR
Size of group	76	20	3
Age			
18-34	20	40	25
35-49	21	16	37
50-64	31	29	17
65 +	28	15	21

Note: % Jewish adults

Jewish Denominations

Historically, denominational affiliation has been one of the basic indicators of Jewish identity and practice. Overall, about half of Boston's Jewish adults identify with a formal Jewish denomination, and the remainder indicate they are secular, just Jewish, or have no specific denomination (Table 2.6). The largest denomination, Reform, includes over one-quarter of Jewish adults.

Table 2.5. Age by Jewish identity

	JBR	JNR	JMR
Overall	76	20	3
Age			
18-34	64	33	3
35-49	80	15	5
50-64	80	19	2
65 +	86	12	2

Note: % Jewish adults

The proportion of Boston Jews who identify as Reform or Conservative has declined since 2005 (Table 2.7). Ten years ago, these two groups accounted for nearly three-quarters (74%) of Boston Jews. Today, they are only 44%. By contrast, those who claim no denomination—that is, those who are secular, culturally Jewish, or "just Jewish"—have increased from 17% to 45% of the population. Boston Jews are also less likely than US Jews overall to claim a denominational affiliation. Over half (52%) of Boston Jews do not identify with one of the three major denominations, compared to 36% of all US Jews. The Orthodox population in Boston is similarly smaller than the Orthodox population in the United States as a whole.

Table 2.6. Age by denomination

by column	Overall	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Orthodox	4	5	5	5	3
Conservative	18	15	16	18	21
Reform	26	17	33	27	27
Reconstructionist/ Renewal	4	2	2	9	3
Just Jewish	21	24	16	17	22
Secular	24	35	26	19	22
None/Other	3	2	1	6	<1

Note: % Jewish adults

Table 2.7. Denomination of Jews in 2015 compared to 2005 and the national Jewish community

by column	Boston 2015	Boston 2005	Pew 2013
Orthodox	4	4	10
Conservative	18	31	18
Reform	26	43	36
Reconstructionist/Renewal	4	1	n/a
Secular/Just Jewish	45	17	30
Other	3	3	6

Note: % Jewish adults

Inmarriage and Intermarriage

Two-thirds of Jewish households include a couple that is married or partnered. Among couples, 53% are inmarried (Table 2.8). Five percent of the inmarried couples include someone who converted to Judaism. The proportion of households that include a married couple, as well as the intermarriage rate, are similar to what was found in 2005.

Table 2.8. Age by inmarriage

by column	Overall	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Inmarried	53	56	50	50	61
Intermarried	47	44	50	50	39

Note: % Jewish HH
By age of respondent or first listed married adult
Includes partners who live together

Demographic Subgroups

There are a number of subgroups in the region that are of particular interest to Boston-area Jewish organizations. The size and key socio-demographic characteristics of each subgroup are described here. Details about the way these groups engage with Jewish life are described in later chapters.

Jewish young adults

Young adults, ages 18 to 34, constitute 22% of Boston's adult Jewish population. One-third (36%) are full-time students and another 3% are part-time students. The majority (61%) of students are undergraduates with the rest in graduate or professional programs. Two-in-five (39%) young adult Jews identify with a specific denomination. Of those, 5% are Orthodox, 15% Conservative, and 19% Reform. Overall, 68% of young adults are married or living with a partner or significant other. Among the 29% of young adult Jews who are married, 63% are married to someone who is Jewish. Among the 39% who are living with a partner or significant other, 51% have a Jewish partner.

Russian born/Russian speakers

Seven percent of Jewish adults in the Greater Boston area (12,800 adults)[12] were born or raised in the former Soviet Union/Russia, or were raised in a Russian-speaking household. Nearly all (87%) Russian-speaking Jews in the Greater Boston area were born in Russia or the former Soviet Union, and the remainder were raised in a household in which Russian was spoken. Ten percent of Jewish households include a Russian-speaking Jew or someone who was born or raised in Russia or the former Soviet Union; 24,400 adults and 6,300 children live in these households. Within those households, 82% include a married couple; among them, 30% are inmarried. The largest share of Russian-speaking Jews in Boston (42%) are between the ages of 18 and 34 followed by those ages 65 and over (30%). Only 19% of Russian-speaking Jews identify with a specific denomination: 5% are Orthodox, 9% Conservative, and 6% Reform.[13]

Israelis in Greater Boston

In Greater Boston, an estimated 8% of Jewish adults (15,900)[14] are Israeli, including those who were born or raised in Israel, are citizens of Israel, or consider themselves to be Israelis for other reasons. Over one-third (35%) of Israelis were born in Israel and another 12% were born in the former Soviet Union or Russia. Nine percent of households include someone who is Israeli; 23,300 adults and 12,500 children live in these households. Within those households, nearly three-quarters (72%) include a married couple; among them, 80% are inmarried. The largest share (42%) of Israelis are between the ages of 35 and 49, and 19% are younger than 35. About half of Israelis identify with a Jewish denomination: 15% Orthodox, 24% Conservative, and 8% Reform.[15]

LGBTQ Jewish adults

An estimated 7% of Jewish adults (13,200)[16] identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ).[17] About 10% of households include someone who is LGBTQ, whether Jewish or not; 17,500 adults and 4,100 children live in these households. One-third (34%) of LGBTQ Jewish adults are under age 35, three-in-ten are ages 35 to 49, and another three-in-ten are ages 50 to 64. Nearly half (45%) of LGBTQ Jews identify with a specific denomination: 3% are Orthodox, 8% Conservative, and 34% Reform. Among the half of LGBTQ Jews who are married or partnered, 69% are married (or partnered) to someone who is not Jewish.[18]

Geographic Distribution

The Jews of Greater Boston can be divided among three regions: Brighton, Brookline, and Newton (the highest Jewish concentration); the contiguous urban areas of Cambridge, Somerville, and Central Boston; and the surrounding suburbs to the north, west, and south. Within the suburbs, there are concentrations of Jews in the Greater Framingham/Metrowest area, the North Shore, and the Sharon area to the south of Boston. The distribution of Jews in Greater Boston is described in Table 2.9. Since 2005, there has been a reurbanization of the Jewish community; that is, a smaller share live in the suburbs and a greater share live in the urban and increasingly urbanized areas of Brighton, Newton, Brookline, as well as Cambridge and Somerville (Figure 2.3). Maps showing the distribution of Jewish households appear below (Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

Geographic Distribution by Age

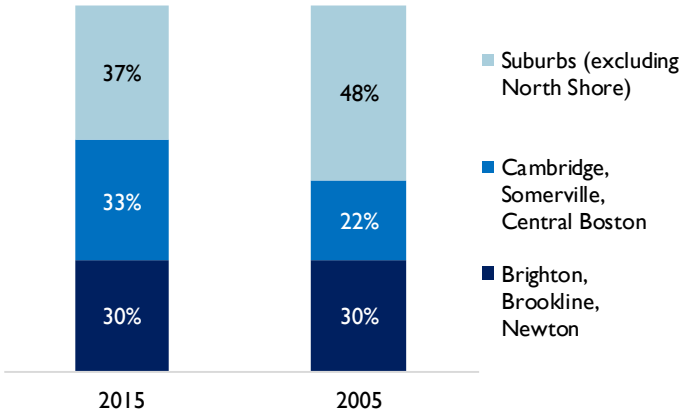
One explanation for the reurbanization of the community may lie in the trend of younger adults to live in the central areas (Table 2.10). Among 18 to 34 year olds, fully half live in Cambridge, Somerville, and Central Boston. Nearly half of adults ages 35-49, and majorities of adults ages 50 and older, live in the suburbs.

Table 2.9. Geographic distribution of Boston's Jews

Geographic region	HH	Jewish adults
Brighton, Brookline, Newton	27	28
Cambridge, Somerville, Central Boston	29	27
Suburbs		
North Shore	12	12
South area, excluding Greater Sharon	8	7
Greater Framingham	7	8
Northern suburbs	7	6
Northwestern suburbs	5	5
Greater Sharon	4	4
Southwestern suburbs	2	2

Note: % Jewish HH
Details of geographical areas appear on pages 19-20

Figure 2.3. Change in geographic distribution of Jewish households 2005-15



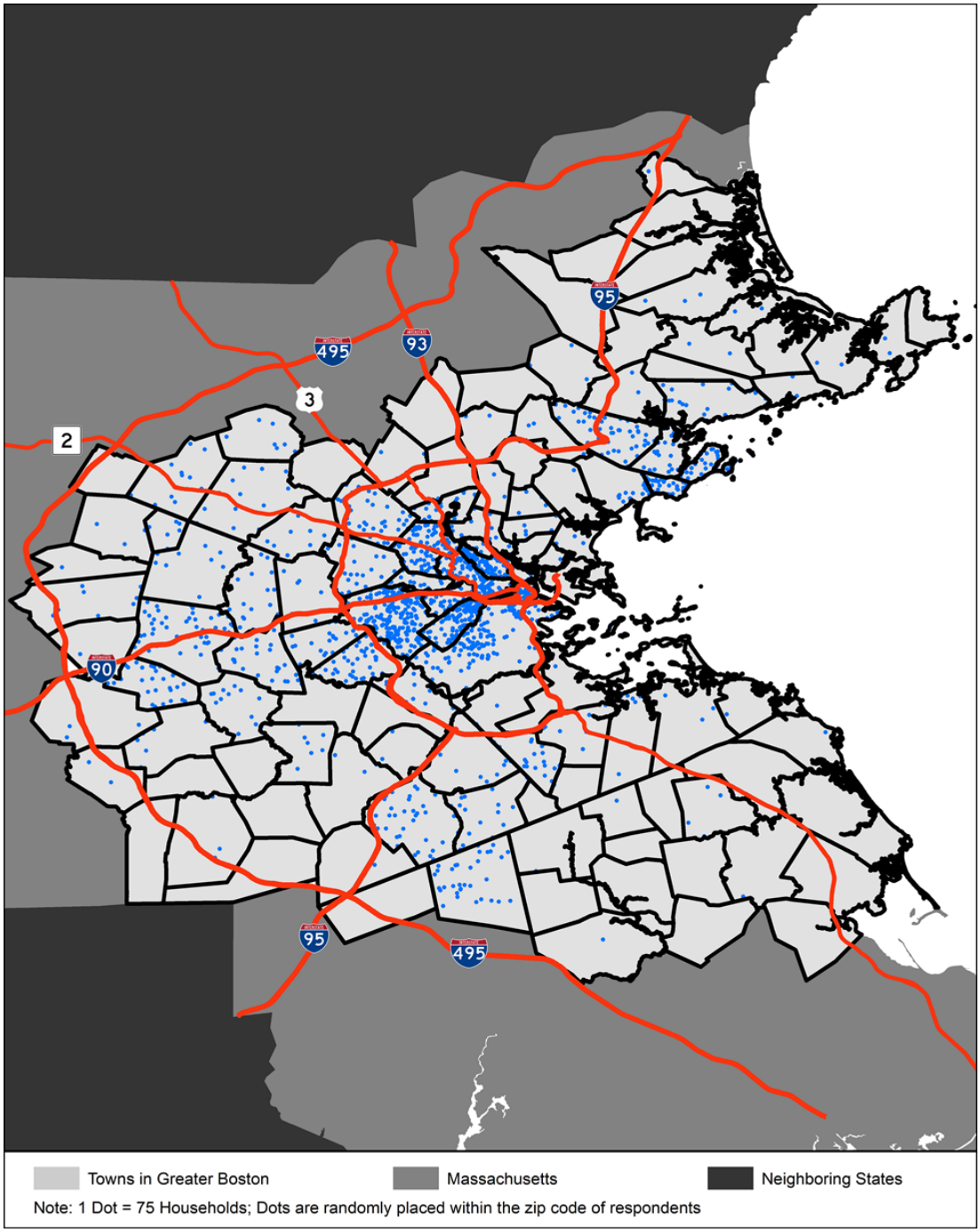
Note: Excludes North Shore for comparability

Table 2.10. Geographic region of Jewish adults by age

by column	18-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Brighton, Brookline, Newton	21	24	24	30
Cambridge, Somerville, Central Boston	50	29	20	19
Suburbs	29	47	57	51

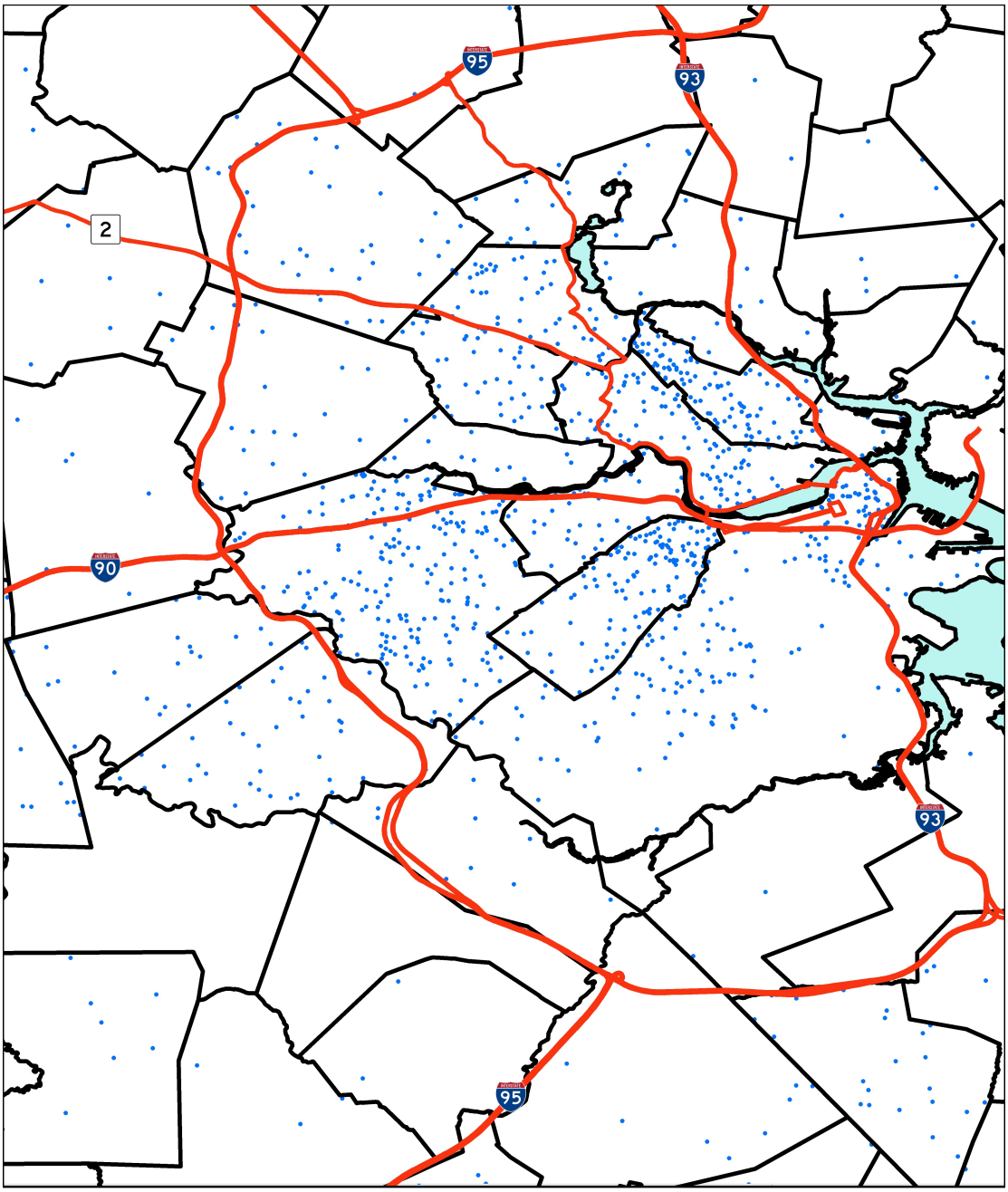
Note: % Jewish adults

Figure 2.4. Dot density map of Jewish households in Greater Boston*



***** For purposes of comparability, regional divisions are the same as were used in 2005. **"Brighton, Brookline, Newton"** includes Boston (Allston and Brighton), Brookline, Needham, Newton, and Wellesley. **"Cambridge, Somerville, Central Boston"** includes Arlington, Belmont, Boston (Back Bay, Bay Village, Beacon Hill, Chinatown, Downtown, Fenway, Jamaica Plain, Leather District, Longwood Medical Area, Mission Hill, North End, Roslindale, West End, and West Roxbury), Cambridge, Somerville, Waltham, and Watertown. **"Greater Framingham"** includes Ashland, Dover, Framingham, Marlborough, Natick, Sherborn, and Southborough. **"Greater Sharon"** includes Canton, Sharon, and Stoughton. **"North Shore"** includes Beverly, Boxford, Danvers, Essex, Georgetown, Gloucester, Hamilton, Ipswich, Lynn, Lynnfield, Manchester-by-the-Sea, Marblehead, Middleton, Newbury, Newburyport, Peabody, Rockport, Rowley, Salem, Saugus, Swampscott, Topsfield, and Wenham.

Figure 2.5. Dot density map of Jewish households inside Route 128/95



Note: 1 Dot = 75 Households; Dots are randomly placed within the zip code of respondents

"Northern Suburbs" includes Acton, Bedford, Boston (Charlestown and East Boston), Boxborough, Burlington, Carlisle, Chelsea, Concord, Everett, Hudson, Malden, Maynard, Medford, Melrose, North Reading, Reading, Revere, Stoneham, Stow, Wakefield, Wilmington, Winchester, Winthrop, and Woburn. **"Northwestern Suburbs"** includes Lexington, Lincoln, Sudbury, Wayland, and Weston. **"South Area"** includes Abington, Avon, Boston (Dorchester, Harbor Islands, Hyde Park, Mattapan, Roxbury, South Boston, South Boston Waterfront, and South End), Braintree, Bridgewater, Brockton, Cohasset, East Bridgewater, Easton, Halifax, Hanover, Hanson, Hingham, Holbrook, Hull, Kingston, Marshfield, Medway, Milton, Norwell, Pembroke, Quincy, Randolph, Rockland, Scituate, West Bridgewater, Weymouth, and Whitman. **"Southwestern Suburbs"** includes Bellingham, Dedham, Foxborough, Franklin, Holliston, Hopkinton, Mansfield, Medfield, Medway, Milford, Millis, Norfolk, Norwood, Walpole, Westwood, and Wrentham.

Chapter 3:
Patterns of Jewish Engagement

The diversity of Greater Boston Jewry is reflected not only by the varied backgrounds of the residents, but in the many types of Jewish identification and means of engagement in Jewish life. Examining the ways in which Boston-area Jews not only view but also enact their Jewish identities is necessary to understand this population and the ways in which Jewish life in the region can be enhanced. Jewish identification and engagement are best understood through diversity because Judaism is not only a religion, but is also an ethnicity, a culture, a people, and a heritage (see, e.g., Batnitzky, 2011).

Background: Classifications of Jewish Identity

Many Jewish community studies, including, most recently, Pew (2013), classify Jewish adults as either "Jewish by religion" (JBR; they respond that they are "Jewish" when asked about their religious identity) or "Jews of no religion" (JNR; they consider themselves to be Jewish through their ethnic or cultural background rather than their religious identity, or they consider themselves to be Jewish and another religion). These classifications are based primarily on a set of screening questions that center on religious identity: What is your religion? Do you consider yourself to be Jewish aside from religion? Were either of your parents Jewish? Were you raised Jewish? For purposes of this report and comparability with other studies, a variant of this set of classifications was used for the population estimates shown in Chapter 2. Research has shown that Jewish adults who are "JBR" are, overall, more engaged Jewishly than those who are "JNR."

A second classification that is commonly used to denote levels of Jewish engagement is denomination. Denominational affiliation is frequently associated with synagogue membership and ritual practice. However, within those who affiliate with denominations, particularly those who are Conservative and Reform, Jewish behaviors and attitudes vary widely. Furthermore, as noted previously, half of Boston's Jewish adults do not associate with a specific denomination.

In sum, both the JBR/JNR categorization, as well as Jewish denominations, are too broad to provide insight about the range of Jewish behaviors and attitudes within each group. For this report, we developed a new set of categories, designed specifically for this study, which are based on behavior rather than self-identification. We refer to these categories as the "Index of Jewish Engagement."

Index of Jewish Engagement

The Index of Jewish Engagement was designed specifically to identify opportunities for increased engagement that can be targeted toward groups with different needs and interests. The Index focuses on behaviors—the ways in which individuals occupy and involve themselves in Jewish life. Such behaviors are concrete and measurable expressions of Jewish identity. Behaviors, in many cases, are correlated with demographic characteristics, background, and attitudes. Jewish adults' decisions to take part in activities may reflect the value and meaning they find in these activities, the priority they place on them, the level of skills and resources that enable them to participate, and the

opportunities available and known to them. We are interested in how Boston-area Jews participate in Jewish life, in addition to how they think about their Jewish identities.

To develop the Index, we selected a range of Jewish behaviors that were included in the survey instrument. The set of Jewish behaviors used to develop the typology was selected to be inclusive of the different ways—public and private—that contemporary Jews engage with Jewish life. Included were ritual activities, such as attendance at religious services and observance of Jewish laws of Shabbat and kashrut, as well as cultural activities, such as participation in educational programs, reading Jewish literature, and using Jewish sources on the web. Activities ranged from those located primarily within institutions, such as synagogue membership, to home-based activities, such as Passover seders.[19] These behaviors are classified into four dimensions of Jewish life: family and home-based practices, ritual practices, cultural activities, and organizational participation. The behavioral measures include:

- Family holiday celebrations: Participating in a Passover seder and lighting Chanukah candles. (Family holiday celebrations are practiced by many American Jews for religious and other reasons, e.g., social, familial, cultural, and ethnic. In contrast to High Holiday services, these can be practiced at home without institutional affiliation.)
- Ritual practices: Keeping kosher, lighting Shabbat candles, attending religious services regularly, attending High Holiday services
- Cultural activities: Listening to Jewish or Israeli music, reading Jewish or Israeli literature, accessing Jewish or Israeli websites, following news about Israel
- Organizational participation: Joining a synagogue, attending Jewish programs, volunteering for Jewish organizations, donating to Jewish causes

We employed a statistical tool, latent class analysis (LCA),[20] to cluster similar patterns of behavior based on respondents' answers to survey questions. LCA identifies groups of behaviors that "cluster" together by analyzing patterns of responses. The result of the LCA analysis was the identification of five unique patterns of Jewish engagement. See Appendix B for details.

Patterns of Jewish Engagement

Within the set of behaviors listed above, Jewish individuals make unique choices regarding their participation in Jewish private and communal life. Nonetheless, individual sets of choices can be clustered into patterns of behavior that are similar to one another. Applying LCA to the data from the survey responses yielded five distinct patterns of behavior and engagement with Jewish life. The patterns are summarized in Figure 3.1. Table 3.1 shows, for each pattern, the level of participation in each of the 14 behaviors that were used to construct the Index of Jewish Engagement.

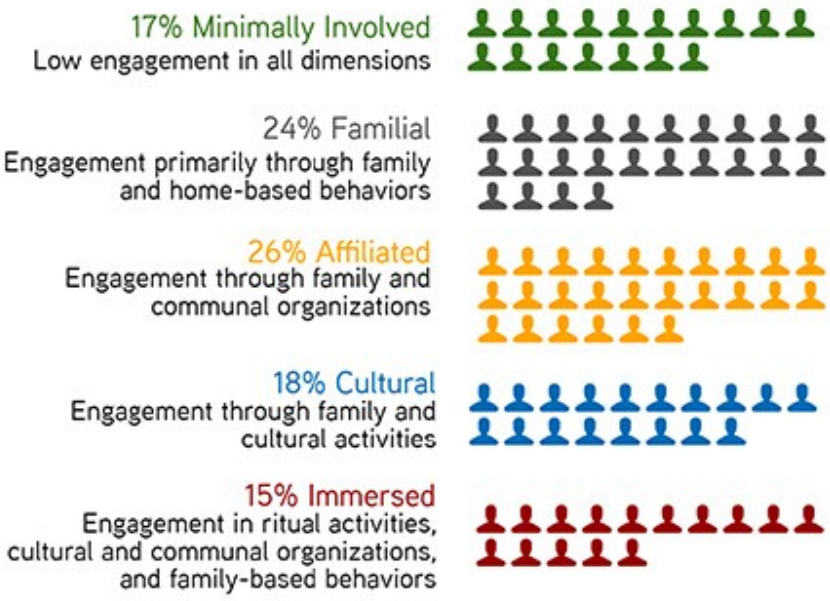
The set of behavior patterns and the names we assigned to them were developed specifically for the Greater Boston Jewish community study and are based upon the level of participation in each of these behaviors observed among Boston Jewry. The names of the groups are intended to highlight the behaviors that distinguish each group from the others.

The five patterns differ both in degree and types of engagement with a broad set of Jewish behaviors. "Minimally Involved" indicates occasional or intermittent participation in Jewish private and public activities. On the other end of the spectrum, "Immersed" suggests participation in multiple aspects of Jewish life, including ritual, cultural, as well as communal behaviors. In between the lowest and highest engagement patterns are three different clusters of engaging in Jewish life: Familial, Affiliated, and Cultural. In comparing these three patterns, on some behaviors all groups are similar; in some the Cultural are higher than the other groups, and in some behaviors the Affiliated are higher than the other groups. Depending upon the behaviors, these patterns could be ordered differently.

Using LCA, each Jewish adult in the community was classified into one of the five engagement groups according to the pattern that most closely matches the individual's participation in different types of Jewish behaviors. The classification enables us to understand the characteristics of people who participate in Jewish life in different ways: the demographics, background, and attitudes that are associated with each pattern of participation. For purposes of this report, the names of the engagement groups will be used to refer to the groups of Jewish adults who most closely adhere to each pattern.

As shown in Figure 3.1, approximately one-quarter of Jewish adults are described by the Familial pattern and another quarter are characterized by the Affiliated pattern. Each of the other groups accounts for less than one in five Boston Jewish adults.

Figure 3.1. Jewish engagement groups (% Jewish adults)[21]



Jewish Behaviors and Jewish Engagement

As shown in Table 3.1, the Jewish behaviors across the five engagement patterns vary widely, but all patterns include at least some behaviors that represent a connection to Jewish life. This section focuses on the 14 behaviors that were used to construct the typology of Jewish engagement. Later chapters of this report relate these patterns to specific areas of Jewish communal engagement and attitudes about Judaism and Jewish life.

Overall, the most common Jewish behaviors are celebration of the holidays that are home- and family-based: participation in a Passover seder and lighting Chanukah candles. For all groups other than the Minimally Involved, participation in both of these celebrations is nearly universal. By contrast, participation in Jewish religious rituals are the least commonly practiced behaviors, and are only widely practiced in the Immersed group.

The Immersed pattern (15% of the community) is highest in nearly all of the behaviors and reflects broad immersion in all aspects of Jewish life. It is the only pattern in which ritual behavior is normative. Over half of the Immersed keep kosher at home, and two-thirds usually light Shabbat candles and attend Shabbat services regularly. This pattern includes the highest rates of all communal practices and some cultural practices.

Table 3.1. Behaviors used to construct Index of Jewish Engagement

by column	Minimally Involved	Familial	Affiliated	Cultural	Immersed
Size of group	**17**	**24**	**26**	**18**	**15**
Family holidays					
Attended seder	0	100	99	98	100
Lit Chanukah candles	33	92	98	94	100
Ritual practices					
Keep kosher at home	1	0	7	4	53
Usually light Shabbat candles	0	1	18	10	67
Go to services 3 times month +	0	0	8	0	62
Attended High Holiday services	8	9	92	60	99
Cultural activities					
Listen to Jewish/Israeli music	4	10	18	73	81
Read Jewish/Israeli literature	22	10	20	59	71
Visit Jewish/Israeli websites	24	11	30	97	86
Seek out news of Israel often	7	19	11	80	64
Communal practices					
Paid synagogue dues	1	0	54	13	67
Attended a Jewish program	32	37	71	85	98
Volunteered for Jewish cause	10	10	30	17	60
Donated to Jewish cause	29	39	92	66	97

Note: % Jewish adults

Jewish cultural behaviors are the primary component of the Cultural behavior group (18%). This pattern is distinguished by high levels of participation in Jewish cultural activities. Nearly all visit Jewish or Israeli websites and follow news about Israel regularly. Three-fifths of the Cultural pattern group read Jewish or Israeli books and three-quarters listened to Jewish or Israeli music in the previous month. In addition, 85% of those in this group attended a non-religious Jewish program, a higher percentage than the Immersed. Over half of the Cultural attend High Holiday services, but few participate in other Jewish rituals. Synagogue membership is uncommon as is volunteering for Jewish causes.

The Affiliated pattern group (26%) includes high rates of dues-paying synagogue membership, second only to the Immersed, and nearly universal attendance at High Holiday services. Nearly all of the Affiliated made at least one donation to a Jewish cause in the past year and 71% attended a Jewish program during the year. Nearly one-third volunteered for a Jewish organization at least once. The Affiliated pattern group is characterized by much lower participation in Jewish cultural activities than exhibited by the Cultural and Immersed Jews. About one-in-five Affiliated light Shabbat candles regularly, but less than half that number keep kosher at home or attend Shabbat services regularly.

The Familial pattern group (24%) is marked by high levels of participation in family-based holidays, in particular, Chanukah and Passover. At the same time, individuals in this group have low participation in all other Jewish behaviors. The Familial pattern rarely includes High Holiday service attendance or synagogue membership, and members of this group have very little involvement in Jewish religious rituals. Cultural activities are rare, but one-third attended a Jewish program, three-out-of-ten participated in an informal Jewish activity, and two-in-five made a donation to a Jewish cause.

The Minimally Involved pattern group (17%) includes those who are least engaged with Jewish life. Unlike the Familial, this pattern does not include Passover seder attendance, although about one-third light Chanukah candles. Jewish ritual behavior, High Holiday services, and synagogue membership is not part of this behavior pattern. However, one-third of the Minimally Involved group attended a Jewish program and one-quarter have visited Jewish or Israeli websites.

A reminder on reading tables

Table 3.2 shows data by columns. Read the columns going down for the proportion within each engagement group with the characteristic described to the left. For instance, the first row of age data in Table 3.2 tells us that 28% of the Minimally Involved are ages 18-34.

Table 3.3 shows data by rows. Read this table across, in rows, to determine the proportion of each of the demographic groups that fall within each engagement group. The first row of age data in Table 3.3 tells us that 22% of 18-34 year olds are Minimally Involved. See chapter 1, pg. 9 for details.

Demographics and Jewish Engagement

The patterns of engagement are loosely linked to demographic characteristics of respondents. Table 3.2 shows the demographic composition of the Jewish adults who are part of each engagement group (column totals). Table 3.3 shows the distribution of demographic characteristics over the Jewish engagement categories (row totals). (See sidebar, "A reminder on reading tables").

Age and Gender

Jewish engagement is associated with both age and stage of life. Jewish adults who are ages 35-49 are most likely to be Affiliated Jews (39%), which is consistent with the finding that 41% of the Affiliated have children. Adults ages 35-49 make up the smallest share of Minimally Involved, Familial, and Cultural Jews. Among the Immersed, the largest share is ages 50-64 (36%). Younger Jews, ages 18-34, are equally likely to be Minimally Involved, Familial, and Cultural and less likely to be Affiliated or Immersed. Seniors ages 65 and older are most likely to be Familial and Affiliated, and least likely to be Cultural or Immersed.

Table 3.2. Jewish engagement by demographics

by column	Minimally Involved	Familial	Affiliated	Cultural	Immersed	Overall
Size of group	**17**	**24**	**26**	**18**	**15**	**100**
Age						
18-34	28	25	15	32	22	22
35-49	17	17	30	17	18	23
50-64	28	29	31	29	36	29
65 +	27	29	24	21	25	27
Gender						
Male	74	50	33	59	48	49
Female	26	49	67	41	52	50
HH composition						
Married	48	55	75	55	71	67
Single adult(s)	52	45	25	45	29	33
Children in HH						
Has child(ren)	21	30	41	25	35	34
No child(ren)	79	70	59	75	65	66
Financial status						
Prosperous/very comfortable	25	43	54	49	44	46
Not prosperous	75	57	46	51	56	54
Country of birth						
United States	72	90	94	61	87	81
Other country	28	10	6	39	13	19
Raised in Boston area						
Gr. Boston raised	40	38	34	43	30	39
Raised elsewhere	60	62	66	57	70	61
Subgroups						
Israeli	1	2	3	12	9	9
Russian	25	7	5	12	6	7
LGBTQ	5	7	7	8	7	7

Note: % Jewish adults

Males are the predominant group among the Minimally Involved (74%) and Cultural (59%), whereas females are predominant among the Affiliated (67%).[22] The Familial and Immersed are evenly divided between male and female.

Economic Well-Being[23]

Jewish adults who report that they are financially prosperous or very comfortable are most likely to be Affiliated (33%) and least likely to be Minimally Involved (10%). In contrast, those who are less well off are more likely to be Minimally Involved (23%), Familial (22%), or Affiliated (22%). Just over half (54%) of the Affiliated are prosperous or very comfortable, but only one-quarter (25%) of the Minimally Involved are prosperous or very comfortable. Note that differences in financial well-being are associated with age and stage of life. It is possible that the association between Jewish engagement and financial prosperity is a result of the fact that both are related to age, marriage, and having children.

Table 3.3. Demographics by Jewish engagement

	Minimally Involved	Familial	Affiliated	Cultural	Immersed
Size of group	**17**	**24**	**26**	**18**	**15**
Age					
18-34	22	24	17	23	14
35-49	15	19	39	14	13
50-64	17	22	28	16	18
65 +	20	26	26	14	15
Gender					
Male	27	23	18	19	14
Female	10	23	37	14	16
Household composition					
Married	14	21	33	14	18
Single adult(s)	25	27	18	19	12
Children in the household					
Has child(ren)	12	22	35	13	17
No children	21	23	23	18	15
Financial status					
Prosperous or very comfortable	10	21	33	19	16
Not prosperous	23	22	22	16	16
Country of birth					
United States	16	25	31	12	16
Other country	29	13	10	36	12
Raised in Boston area					
Gr. Boston raised	20	23	25	19	13
Raised elsewhere	34	11	21	14	19
Subgroups					
Israeli	4	12	9	43	32
Russian	43	15	13	19	9
LGBTQ	14	24	26	20	16

Note: % Jewish adults

Families

About half (48%) of the Minimally Involved are married and only 21% have children under age 18. Just over half (55%) of the Familial and Cultural are married compared to three-quarters (75%) of the Affiliated and 71% of the Immersed. The Affiliated are most likely to have children (41%).

Subgroups

The Minimally Involved (72%) and Cultural (61%) groups have smaller proportions of American-born Jews than the other groups and include the largest share of Russian-speaking or Russian-born Jews. Israelis are most likely to be Cultural (43%) and Immersed (32%). Russian speakers are most likely to be Minimally Involved (43%).

Jewish Background and Jewish Engagement

The following two tables describe the Jewish background characteristics of each Jewish engagement category. Table 3.4 shows the composition of each Jewish engagement group (column totals) and Table 3.5 shows the distribution of Jewish background characteristics over the Jewish engagement categories (row totals).

Table 3.4. Jewish engagement by Jewish background

by column	Minimally Involved	Familial	Affiliated	Cultural	Immersed	Overall
Size of group	**17**	**24**	**26**	**18**	**15**	**100**
Jewish identity						
JBR	43	63	97	84	98	76
JNR	52	32	2	14	2	20
JMR	5	5	1	2	<1	3
Denomination						
Orthodox	<1	<1	1	2	21	4
Conservative	3	9	25	16	39	18
Reform*	10	27	55	25	25	31
None/Other	87	64	19	57	15	47
Inmarriage (of married)						
Inmarried	15	34	62	66	87	52
Intermarried	85	66	38	34	13	48
Jewish background						
Parents inmarried	65	77	91	73	92	78
Parents intermarried**	35	23	9	27	8	22
Jewish education						
No Jewish education	38	13	11	16	8	16
Any Jewish education	62	87	89	84	92	84
Formal Jewish education	54	81	89	63	92	72

Note: % Jewish adults
* Includes Reconstructionist and Renewal
** Includes those who had no Jewish parents and converted

Jewish Identity and Denomination

Jewish adults in the more engaged patterns are more likely to be Jewish by Religion (JBR). Nearly all of those in the Affiliated and Immersed groups are Jewish by Religion (JBR); in addition, the vast majority (84%) of the Cultural group fall into this category. About two-thirds (63%) of the Familial are JBR compared to fewer than half (43%) of the Minimally Involved.

Similarly, those in the more engaged patterns are more likely to identify with a specific Jewish denomination. Nearly all Immersed (85%) and Affiliated (81%) identify with a specific denomination compared with fewer than half of all other groups. The majority (78%), but not all, of Orthodox Jews are Immersed. About one-third (34%) who identify as Conservative are Immersed and another third (37%) are Affiliated. Nearly half (48%) who identify as Reform are Affiliated.

Intermarriage

Among Jewish adults who are married, those who are married to another Jew constitute the largest share of the Immersed (87%) and about two-thirds of the Affiliated (62%) and Cultural (66%) categories. The largest share of married Familial Jews are intermarried (66%) as well as an even larger share of married Minimally Involved (85%).

Table 3.5. Jewish background by Jewish engagement

	Minimally Involved	Familial	Affiliated	Cultural	Immersed
Size of group	**17**	**24**	**26**	**18**	**15**
Jewish identity					
JBR	10	19	34	18	20
JNR	48	37	3	11	2
JMR	36	41	11	12	<1
Denomination					
Orthodox	2	2	10	9	78
Conservative	3	12	37	14	34
Reform*	6	20	48	13	12
None/Other	34	31	11	19	5
Inmarriage (of married)					
Inmarried	4	13	37	17	28
Intermarried	27	30	28	11	5
Jewish background					
Parents inmarried	15	22	31	15	18
Parents intermarried**	33	27	12	22	6
Jewish education					
No Jewish education	42	17	18	16	8
Any Jewish education	14	24	29	16	17
Formal Jewish education	13	24	31	13	18

Note: % Jewish adults
* Includes Reconstructionist and Renewal
** Includes those who had no Jewish parents and converted

Jewish Background

Nearly all Jewish adults in the Immersed and Affiliated groups were raised by two Jewish parents, as were three-quarters of those who are part of the Familial and Cultural groups. Two-thirds of the Minimally Involved group had inmarried parents. Similarly, nearly all of the Immersed (92%) and Affiliated (89%) Jews participated in formal Jewish education, either day school (29% and 13%, respectively) or part-time school (79% and 85%, respectively), in childhood, followed by 81% of the Familial (8% day school, 78% part-time school). Childhood participation in informal education, either camps or youth groups, follows a similar pattern: four-fifths of the Immersed attended such a program in childhood, followed by two-thirds each of the Affiliated and the Cultural. Among the Cultural, only two-thirds (63%) had formal Jewish education, but another 19% had informal Jewish education including camps and youth groups. It is likely that this is related to the high proportion of Russian and Israelis in the Cultural category. Just over half (54%) of the Minimally Involved had any formal Jewish education.

Attitudes about Being Jewish and Jewish Engagement

Jewish behavior patterns are, not surprisingly, strongly associated with attitudes about being Jewish. The four figures below show responses to a set of attitudinal questions. Figure 3.2 shows the proportion of the overall Boston-area Jewish population and of the Jewish adults in each behavior pattern category who feel that Judaism is very much a matter of religion or community. The majority of those in the highest three engagement patterns feel Judaism is very much a matter of community, compared to less than one-third of the two lowest engagement groups. Over 70% of those in the Immersed consider Judaism to be a matter of religion as do nearly half of those in the

Figure 3.2. Meaning of being Jewish, community and religion (% very much)

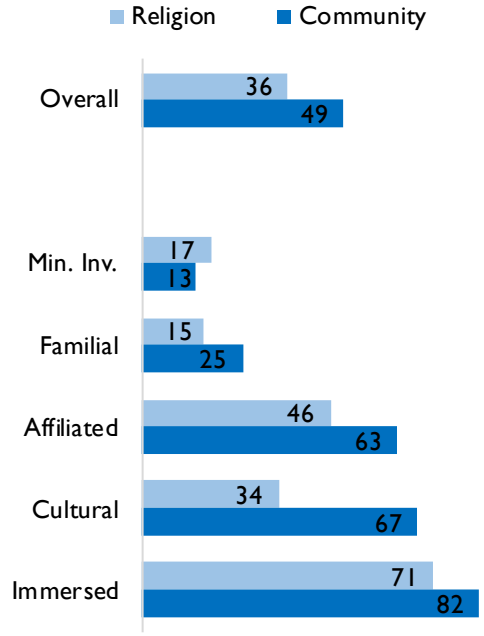
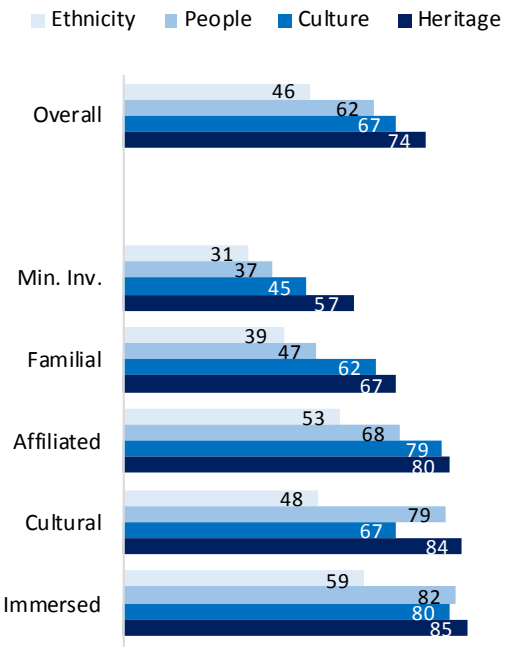


Figure 3.3. Meaning of being Jewish, other aspects (% very much)



Affiliated group; those in the other three groups are far less likely to consider Judaism to be a matter of religion.

When it comes to other aspects of Jewish identity, there is more agreement across groups. Figure 3.3 shows the proportion of each group who consider Judaism an ethnicity, a people, a culture, and a heritage. Although the higher immersion patterns are more likely to connect to each of these aspects of Jewish life, the differences are not as pronounced. All groups most agree that Judaism is a heritage and feel least that it is an ethnicity.

Figure 3.4 shows the proportions of adult Jews who feel very connected to the worldwide Jewish community, to Israel, and to the local Jewish community. Overall the connection to the worldwide Jewish community is higher than it is to Israel, and the connection to the local Jewish community is lower than either. The Minimally Involved are less connected than the other groups, but their strongest connection is with Israel. The Familial are also weakly connected, but their strongest connection is with the worldwide Jewish community. Among the Cultural, consistent with their strong sense of peoplehood, connections are strong for all three. The Affiliated, in contrast, appear to have weak ties to other Jews. The Immersed feel the strongest sense of connection and a nearly equal connection to the worldwide Jewish community, Israel, and local Jewish communities.

Figure 3.5 illustrates the proportion of adult Jews who feel that Judaism is very much part of their daily life, who feel that it is very important that their children marry someone Jewish, and who feel it is very important that their grandchildren are raised Jewish. In all cases, the importance of having Jewish grandchildren was higher than the other two measures. The Minimally Involved and Familial had similar low levels for the three questions, Affiliated and Cultural had similar moderate levels, and the Immersed had the highest levels of all. The Immersed were far more likely than other groups to feel that Judaism is part of their daily lives.

Figure 3.4. Jewish connections (% very much)

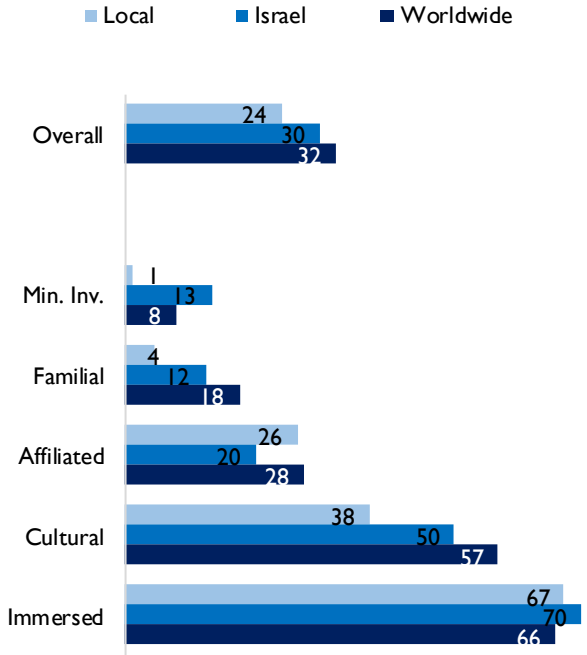
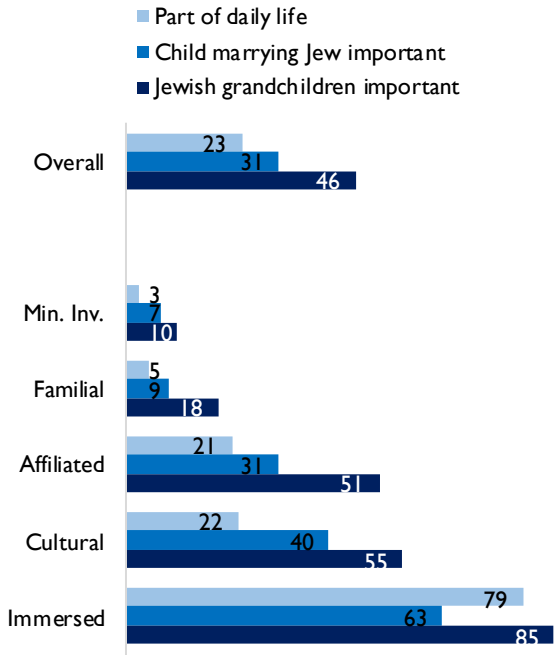


Figure 3.5. Importance of being Jewish (% very much/very important)



Chapter 4:
Jewish Children

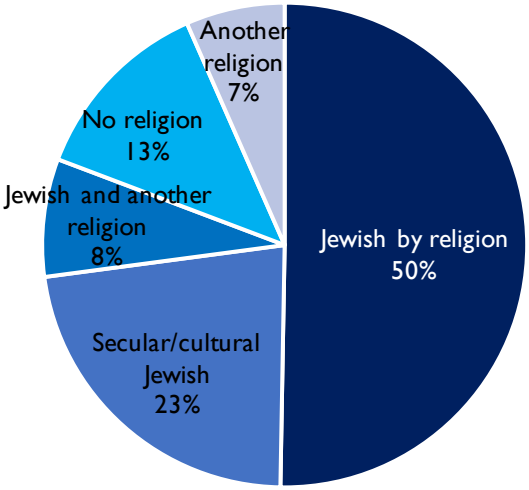
Nearly 60,000 Jewish children reside in the Greater Boston area. To support their educational needs, there are 38 Jewish early childhood centers, 14 Jewish day schools and yeshivot, along with 78 part-time schools.[24] In addition, the community is served by more than a dozen summer overnight and day camps.

The focus of this chapter is on the choices that parents make regarding how to raise their children and how families take advantage—or, in some cases, do not—of Boston's Jewish educational opportunities. The goal is to describe the landscape of educational programs, including Jewish preschools, formal Jewish education programs, both part-time and full-time; as well as informal Jewish education programs, including camp and youth groups.

Table 4.1. Greater Boston child population estimates, 2015

Age	Jewish	Jewish + No Religion
Age 0-4	16,400	18,500
Age 5-9	14,500	17,500
Age 10-14	18,000	19,600
Age 15-17	8,400	9,400
Total	**57,400**	**66,400**

Figure 4.1. Religion of children in Jewish households (% children)



Jewish Children

Raising Jewish children does not start with educational institutions. Parents make initial decisions regarding how to raise their children: Jewish religiously or culturally, no religion, multiple religions, or even another religion.

Among the 71,100 children who live in Greater Boston Jewish households, there are 57,400 children being raised Jewish. A total of 66,400 children are being raised as either Jewish or no religion (Table 4.1). Of all children in Jewish households, half (49%) are being raised by inmarried parents, one-third (33%) by intermarried parents, and the remainder, 18%, by single parents. Among Jewish children, 53% have inmarried parents, 32% have intermarried parents, and 16% have single parents. Half (50%) of children in Jewish homes are being raised Jewish by religion (Figure 4.1). Another 23% are being raised as secular or cultural Jews.

Eight percent of children are Jewish and another religion, 13% have no religion, and 7% are being raised in a different religion.

Religion of Children by Household Characteristics

Overall, 81% of children in Jewish households are being raised Jewish (Table 4.2). Nearly all parents who are part of the Affiliated, Cultural, and Immersed engagement groups are raising their children Jewish in some way, as are the majority (79%) of parents in the Familial group. Very few (3%) children with parents who are Minimally Involved are being raised Jewish in any way.

Nearly all children of inmarried parents are being raised exclusively Jewish, with 65% being raised Jewish by religion and 28% raised as secular or cultural Jews (Figure 4.2). Among children of intermarried parents, just over half (57%) are being raised exclusively Jewish, and another 12% are being raised Jewish and another religion (Figure 4.3). Only 10% are being raised in another religion. These rates have remained steady since 2005.[25]

Table 4.2. Children raised Jewish by household characteristics

	% of children
Overall	81
Engagement Pattern	
Minimally Involved	3
Familial	79
Affiliated	96
Cultural	93
Immersed	>99
Financial status	
Prosperous/very comfortable	88
Not prosperous	74
Marriage	
Inmarried	95
Intermarried	69
Single adult(s)	64
Subpopulations	
Israelis	92
Russian speakers	87
LGBTQ	73

Note: % children in Jewish HH
Engagement based on respondent only
Includes JBR, JNR, JM children

Figure 4.2. Religion raised, children of inmarriage (% children)

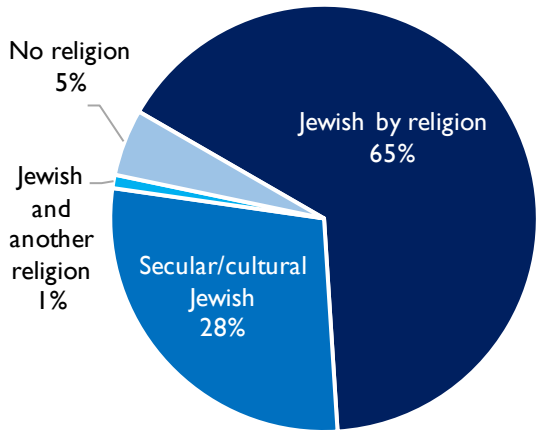
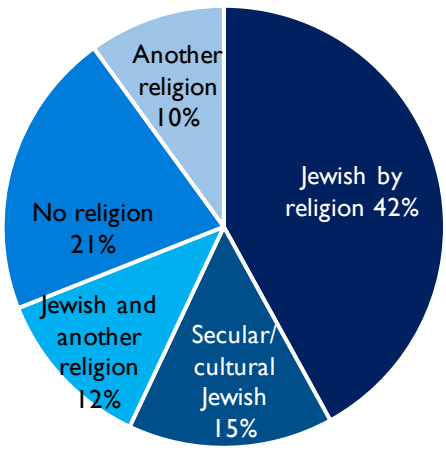


Figure 4.3. Religion raised, children of intermarriage (% children)



Participation in Jewish Education

Jewish education is provided in the context of Jewish preschools; formal classroom settings, such as day schools and part-time supplementary schools; and informal settings, including camps, youth groups, and peer trips to Israel. Overall, one-third of Jewish children are enrolled in some form of formal Jewish education. Table 4.3 shows the overall numbers of children in each form of Jewish education. This table also displays the proportion of Jewish children who are enrolled in each form of Jewish education, among Jewish children who are age-eligible to attend that form of Jewish education. Among children in Jewish households who are not being raised Jewish in any way, several hundred attend Jewish camps or preschool (not shown in table).

Table 4.3. Children in Jewish education

	Jewish student enrollment	Proportion of age-eligible Jewish children
Formal Jewish Education		
Jewish preschool	3,600	19%
Day School		
Day school, K-8	2,200	7%
Day school, 9-12	400	5%
Day school, K-12	2,600	7%
Part-time School		
Part-time school, K-8	8,500	29%
Part-time school, 9-12	1,400	14%
Part-time school, K-12	10,000	26%
Informal Jewish Education		
Jewish day camp, K-12	5,200	13%
Jewish overnight camp, K-12	7,900	20%
Jewish youth group, K-12	4,100	11%
Peer Israel trip, 9-12	2,200	23%

Note: Number and % age-eligible Jewish children

Of Jewish children who are not yet in kindergarten, 19% are currently enrolled in a Jewish preschool program (Table 4.3). Formal Jewish education includes both part-time and full-time school programs. One-quarter of Jewish children in grades K-12 are enrolled in part-time schools, including 29% of those in grades K-8 and 14% of those in grades 9-12. For full-time day schools, 7% of K-12 students are enrolled, including 7% of K-8 Jewish students and 5% of Jewish high school students.

Informal Jewish education refers to camps and youth groups. Approximately 13% of Jewish children in grades K through 12 attended Jewish day camp in summer 2015, and 20% attended an overnight Jewish camp. Slightly more than one-tenth of Jewish children in grades K-12 participated in a youth group in the prior school year. Just under one-quarter (23%) of Jewish high school students have traveled to Israel on a peer trip.

In addition to enrollment in Jewish educational institutions, 25% of households with children participate in some other form of Jewish learning, such as bar or bat mitzvah tutoring, Hebrew or Yiddish language lessons, or Rosh Hodesh clubs.

Drivers of participation in Jewish education

Decisions to participate in Jewish education are typically made by parents, and therefore are associated with the overall engagement and characteristics of adults. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 describe the households who participate in various forms of Jewish education. In these two tables, for each household characteristic listed, the table shows the proportion of Jewish households with Jewish age-eligible children who have at least one child enrolled in that form of Jewish education.

Table 4.4. Household participation in formal Jewish education

	Pre-K	Part-time school K-12	Day school K-12
Overall	18	22	5
Engagement Pattern			
Minimally Involved	--	1	0
Familial	7	4	2
Affiliated	21	45	3
Cultural	16	14	3
Immersed	44	45	27
Marriage			
Inmarried	27	34	10
Intermarried	12	19	2
Single adult(s)	16	15	3
Subpopulations HH			
Israelis	29	39	14
Russian speakers	28	23	6
LGBTQ	3	22	4
Financial status			
Prosperous/very comfortable	20	26	6
Not prosperous	20	25	5

Note: % HH with age-eligible children
HH counts as participating if at least one child is enrolled
Engagement based on respondent only

Formal Jewish Education: Preschool, Part-time school, Day school

Families in the Immersed group participate in formal Jewish education at higher rates than other groups, with the exception of part-time school (Table 4.4). Participation (45%) is equal to that of the Affiliated group, likely because more than one-quarter of the Immersed group has children in Jewish day school instead of part-time school.

One-third (34%) of inmarried households with Jewish children in K-12 have at least one child in part-time school, in contrast to under one-fifth of intermarried and single adult households. Israelis and Russian speakers participate in Jewish preschool at similar rates (just under 30%), but Israelis are more likely than Russian speakers to enroll in part-time or day school education. Financial status has no bearing on participation in formal Jewish education.

Respondents with children enrolled in any early childhood program were asked about the motivating factors behind their choices. Nearly all cite the program's quality (99%), the schedule (91%), and, if it were a Jewish pre-school, its Judaic curriculum (89%). Only two-fifths say that knowing other families in the school influences a choice of school (38%). The main reason children are not enrolled in a program at all is that they are too young and receive care at home.

Respondents with K-12 age children were asked for the reasons for their school choices. School quality is the most common reason parents give for choosing a particular Jewish school, whether it

is the secular academics of a day school (95%), the Jewish curriculum of a day school (86%) or of a part-time school (88%), or a part-time school's reputation (94%). Parents also noted the importance of the fit of the day school (92%) or part-time school (82%) for their children's needs. Logistical concerns such as location (81% for day school, 88% for part-time school) and schedule (81% for part-time school) as well as cost (70% for day school, 61% for part-time school) are less frequently cited but also important considerations. Other reasons for choosing a particular day school or part-time school include the school's environment and educational style, the community with which it affiliates, shared values, and a pre-existing family connection.

Table 4.5. Household participation in informal Jewish education

	Day camp K-12	Overnight Camp K-12	Youth Group K-12	Israel trip 9-12
Overall	13	15	16	20
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	3	1	0	0
Familial	12	6	1	4
Affiliated	13	26	20	18
Cultural	20	8	5	57
Immersed	28	39	33	29
Marriage				
Inmarried	19	27	17	37
Intermarried	9	7	15	8
Single adult(s)	12	12	6	5
Subpopulations HH				
Israelis	22	21	10	21
Russian speakers	23	13	8	6
LGBTQ	15	10	16	6
Financial status				
Prosperous/very comfortable	11	23	15	19
Not prosperous	16	14	14	24

Note: % HH with age-eligible children
HH counts as participating if at least one child is enrolled
Engagement based on respondent only

About half of parents who do not send their children to either form of Jewish school cite lack of interest, either their own (53%) or that of their children (61%). The second most common reason is scheduling difficulties (51%).

Informal Jewish Education: Camps and Youth Groups

For most forms of informal education, participation follows patterns of engagement (Table 4.5). Participation is highest among families in the Immersed group. However, Israel travel is an exception. Among households with teenage children of those families who engage in the Cultural pattern, nearly three-fifths have sent a child on a youth trip to Israel, double the rate of teenaged children of the Immersed. About one-quarter (26%) of the Affiliated group parents send at least one child to a Jewish overnight camp.

Participation in camp and Israel travel is higher for inmarried than intermarried families. Youth group participation, however, is the same for inmarried and intermarried families. Youth group involvement is the most common informal education activity for intermarried families with Jewish school-age children.

Families who are financially prosperous are more likely to participate in overnight Jewish camp than other families. They are, however, less likely to send children to high-school group Israel trips.

Respondents with K-12 age children were asked for the reasons for participation in informal Jewish education. Virtually every parent with a child in a Jewish day or overnight camp says that its quality (99%) and the fit of the camp with the child's needs (97%) are motivating factors in selecting it. Logistical issues such as scheduling (80%) and location (75%) as well as cost (67%) are also important. Two-thirds cite the Jewish programming at a camp as a reason for sending their child to that particular camp. Other reasons noted include a family history at the particular camp.

Parents who did not send their child to a Jewish camp primarily cite a preference for other activities (73%) or a lack of interest on the child's part (53%) or their own (46%). Logistical concerns such as cost, location, and scheduling are not widely regarded as important reasons to reject Jewish camp. For very young children and older children, some parents report there are no good camp options.

Adult Support for Jewish Education

About one-in-seven Jewish adults is involved in some way with a Jewish school or camp (Table 4.6) through enrolling children, attending programs, volunteering, or providing financial support. Of those, adults ages 35-49 are most likely to have school-aged children and are also the most likely to be involved (25%). They are also more likely than younger adults to donate to Jewish schools or camps.

Two-in-five of the Immersed pattern families are involved in educational institutions and donate to them (39% and 38%, respectively), more than double the proportion of the next-highest group, the Affiliated (18% and 16%, respectively). Almost one-quarter of inmarried Jews are involved in educational institutions and donate to them.

Table 4.6. Involvement with Jewish educational institutions

	Involved with school or camp	Donated to school or camp
Overall	14	12
Engagement Pattern		
Minimally Involved	2	1
Familial	5	3
Affiliated	18	16
Cultural	15	11
Immersed	39	38
Age		
18-34	11	8
35-49	25	18
50-64	15	15
65 +	9	11
Marriage		
Inmarried	23	22
Intermarried	10	8
Single adult(s)	11	8
Subpopulations		
Israelis	24	20
Russian speakers	11	9
LGBTQ	12	7
Financial status		
Prosperous/very comfortable	12	12
Not prosperous	16	12

Note: % Jewish adults

Chapter 5:
Synagogue and Ritual Life

Religious and ritual observance constitute one means through which Boston Jews express their Jewish identities. Synagogues have long been the central communal and religious "home" for American Jews, and membership in a congregation is one of the primary ways in which Jews affiliate with the Jewish community. Synagogue membership notwithstanding, many Jews participate in rituals on a regular or intermittent basis at home. Some Jews perform rituals for religious purposes, while other Jews are motivated by civic, familial, and cultural reasons.

Synagogue Membership

In the Greater Boston Jewish community, 37% of households (44,200) belong to a synagogue or another Jewish worship community of some type (Table 5.1). The rate of synagogue membership in the Greater Boston area is comparable to that of the rest of the country (39%) but has declined since 2005 (42%).[26] The number of synagogue-member households in the Greater Boston area, however, is unchanged since 2005, when it was just over 44,000.[27]

In this chapter, member households refer to Jewish households in which anyone is a synagogue member. Synagogue membership is highest among those in the Immersed group (90%), followed by those in the Affiliated group (64%). Rates of synagogue membership vary somewhat across age groups, with the lowest rate among those ages 18-34 (30%) and highest among those ages 50-64 (40%). Half (51%) of households with Jewish children are synagogue members compared to one-third (32%) of households without Jewish children. Among households that are prosperous, a greater share (42%) include synagogue members than is the case among those that are not prosperous (34%).[28]

Over half (57%) of inmarried households are synagogue members and, among

Table 5.1. Synagogue membership

	Any synagogue membership
Overall	37
Engagement Pattern	
Minimally Involved	3
Familial	5
Affiliated	64
Cultural	30
Immersed	90
Age	
18-34	30
35-49	37
50-64	40
65 +	36
Marriage and family	
Inmarried	57
Intermarried	23
Single adult(s)	28
HH, no Jewish child(ren)	32
HH, Jewish child(ren)	51
Inmarried, Jewish child(ren)	64
Intermarried, Jewish child(ren)	37
Single, Jewish child(ren)	35
Subpopulations	
Israelis	43
Russian speakers	23
LGBTQ	37
Financial status	
Prosperous/very comfortable	42
Not prosperous	34

Note: % Jewish HH
Age and engagement based on respondent only

those who have Jewish children, nearly two-thirds are synagogue members. Almost one-quarter (23%) of intermarried households are synagogue members and over one-third (37%) of intermarried households with Jewish children are synagogue members.

Alternative Synagogue Membership Models

The nature of synagogue affiliation appears to be changing. Congregational affiliation is less often a matter of paying dues to a brick-and-mortar synagogue. Alternatives such as minyanim, chavurot, and Chabad have grown in popularity, and voluntary contributions have replaced dues in some congregations (Olitzky & Judson, 2002). For this study, respondents indicated whether they were members of "a Jewish congregation, such as a synagogue, temple, minyan, chavurah, or High Holy Day congregation." Members were asked to name each congregation (up to five) and, for each one, to indicate whether they pay dues, consider themselves members without paying dues, or are not required to pay dues for membership. Using this information, all congregations that could be identified were coded with a type and denomination. "Brick-and-mortar" synagogues, or those with a "traditional model" (usually including a permanent building, membership dues, and paid clergy) were classified by denomination. Based on an analysis of synagogue records for brick-and-mortar synagogues,[29] there has been an 11% decline in dues-paying household memberships from 2006 to 2015. Because synagogue membership has only decreased by 5%, this trend suggests that there has been an offsetting increase in alternative model memberships in that same time period.

Sixty-eight percent of synagogue-member households are dues-paying members of brick-and-mortar synagogues (Table 5.2). Among households in which someone is a synagogue member, the majority (89%) belong to a single synagogue or worship group and the remainder (11%) report holding multiple memberships. Almost two-thirds of member households (63%) hold only "traditional" dues-paying memberships in brick-and-mortar synagogues. Approximately one-quarter (23%) hold only alternative or non-traditional memberships, including either a non-dues-paying membership in a brick-and-mortar synagogue or membership in a minyan, chavurah, or Chabad, or a non-synagogue organization such as Workmen's Circle, a Kollel, or the Moishe Kavod House. Five percent of member households hold both traditional and non-traditional memberships. The remaining 9% of member households belong exclusively to synagogues that are out of the Greater Boston area or could not be identified.

Among households who are members of brick-and-mortar synagogues, approximately three-quarters are members of Orthodox (7%), Conservative (30%) or Reform (41%) congregations (Table 5.3). Four percent

Table 5.2. Household membership in congregations of different types

Congregation type	% of HH
Brick-and-mortar synagogue, pays dues	68
Brick-and-mortar synagogue, doesn't pay dues	9
Minyan/chavurah	6
Chabad	5
Other organization	7
Unknown or out of area	11

Note: % synagogue member HH
Total adds to more than 100 because HH can belong to multiple synagogues

Table 5.3. Denomination of brick and mortar synagogues

Denomination	% of HH
Orthodox	7
Conservative	30
Reform	41
Other denomination	4
Nondenominational, unaffiliated	22

Note: % of brick and mortar member HH
Total adds to more than 100 because HH can belong to multiple synagogues

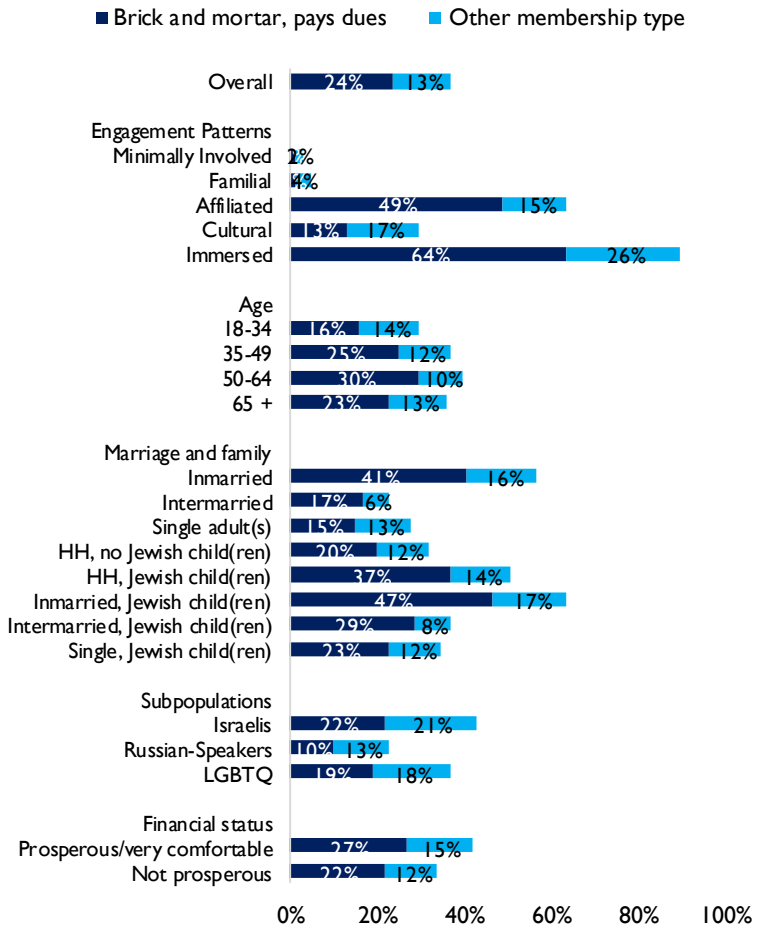
are members of synagogues with other denominations (for example, Renewal or Reconstructionist). The remaining 22% belong to synagogues that are nondenominational or unaffiliated. This finding is consistent with the general decline in denominational affiliation among Boston-area Jews.

Patterns of synagogue membership vary across engagement groups and family structure. Of the 37% of Jewish households who are synagogue members of some type, about two-thirds (or 24% of all households) are dues-paying members of a brick-and-mortar synagogue (Figure 5.1). The remaining third of synagogue member households (13% of all Jewish households) are synagogue members but are not dues-paying members of a brick-and-mortar synagogue.

Figure 5.1 indicates, for each household type, the proportion of households who are dues-paying members of brick-and-mortar synagogues and the proportion who hold an alternative synagogue membership. Synagogue membership is highest among those in the Immersed group, followed by those in the Affiliated group. Among the Immersed group, membership in both brick-and-mortar and alternative synagogues is higher than is the case for all other engagement groups. Over half of those in the Cultural group who are members of any synagogue belong to a non-traditional synagogue model. In contrast, those in the Affiliated group are much more likely to belong to a brick-and-mortar synagogue than to an alternative.

Among households with Jewish children, whether parents are inmarried, intermarried, or single, the largest share of synagogue members affiliate with a brick-and-mortar synagogue. For many other subgroups, affiliation with synagogue alternatives is equal to that of brick-and-mortar synagogues. Among both young adults and single adults, almost

Figure 5.1. Synagogue membership, "brick and mortar" and other types



Note: % Jewish HH
Age and engagement based on respondent only

half of those who are synagogue members are members of a synagogue alternative. For Israelis, Russian speakers, and LGBTQ households, about half of synagogue member households affiliate with a synagogue alternative model.

Synagogue Participation

Both members and non-members of synagogues participate to varying degrees in synagogue life, including attending religious services or other synagogue-based programs, volunteering, or donating (Table 5.4). Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Jewish adults attended at least one religious service in the past year, with attendance nearly universal among those who are part of the

Table 5.4. Synagogue participation

	Attended services in past year	Attended High Holiday services	Attended religious programs	Interested in religious program	Involved in synagogue	Involved in Jewish Outreach (Chabad, Aish)	Donated to syn.
Overall	72	56	45	14	41	12	31
Engagement Pattern							
Minimally Involved	18	8	11	10	4	6	4
Familial	43	9	13	23	8	5	4
Affiliated	98	92	57	15	64	7	57
Cultural	84	60	60	16	45	10	17
Immersed	100	99	88	7	86	30	74
Age							
18-34	73	57	64	13	43	15	14
35-49	74	58	42	21	50	9	36
50-64	67	54	43	16	44	8	38
65 +	63	47	34	11	33	11	36
Marriage and family							
Inmarried	87	75	60	13	61	13	48
Intermarried	57	42	37	15	27	8	22
Single adult(s)	59	40	33	17	31	9	22
Has Jewish child(ren)	86	71	56	22	60	11	45
No Jewish child(ren)	63	48	41	12	35	10	27
Inmarried, Jewish child(ren)	93	83	61	16	71	14	54
Intermarried, Jewish child(ren)	83	61	56	22	50	7	35
Single, Jewish child(ren)	61	45	36	42	39	9	29
Subpopulations							
Israelis	80	61	52	17	42	28	30
Russian speakers	60	42	43	19	21	33	16
LGBTQ	71	57	52	19	40	4	19
Financial status							
Prosperous or very comfortable	73	61	47	13	48	10	38
Not prosperous	69	51	44	16	38	11	28

Note: % Jewish adults
Jewish children in HH may or may not be the children of the respondent

Immersed and Affiliated groups. Almost half of adult Jews (45%) attended a program about Judaism that was not a religious service, and another 14% expressed interest in such a program. Two-fifths (41%) of Jews are involved in some way in synagogues, corresponding to the proportion of Jewish adults who live in households belonging to congregations. An additional 12% are involved in a Jewish outreach organization, like Chabad or Aish.

Younger Jews are most likely to participate in religious programs aside from religious services. However, they are least likely to donate to a synagogue. Israelis and Russian speakers are more involved in Jewish Outreach groups (e.g., Chabad or Aish) than are other Jewish adults. Inmarried Jews are more likely than their intermarried or single counterparts to be involved in any sort of religion-related organization. Those who are financially prosperous are more likely to be involved in a synagogue and make a charitable donation to a synagogue than those who are less well off.

Ritual Practices

The majority of Boston's Jewish adults mark Jewish holidays over the course of the year, with 85% lighting Chanukah candles and 82% attending a Passover seder (Table 5.5). Passover and Chanukah celebrations are nearly universal among all of the engagement groups other than the

Table 5.5. Ritual practice

	Light Hanukkah Candles	Attend Seder	Ever light Shabbat Candles	Any Kosher Practices
Overall	85	82	52	30
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	33	0	10	8
Familial	92	100	22	10
Affiliated	98	99	62	29
Cultural	94	98	66	42
Immersed	100	100	92	75
Age				
18-34	81	77	58	43
35-49	91	84	54	33
50-64	83	82	46	26
65 +	82	79	38	21
Marriage and family				
Inmarried	96	96	70	45
Intermarried	79	70	34	14
Single adult(s)	75	73	37	28
HH, Jewish child(ren)	100	97	69	36
HH, no Jewish child(ren)	78	75	41	28
Inmarried, Jewish child(ren)	100	99	81	45
Intermarried, Jewish child(ren)	100	93	59	22
Single, Jewish child(ren)	100	98	41	27
Subpopulations				
Israelis	94	96	68	44
Russian speakers	55	58	47	26
LGBTQ	85	82	42	34
Financial status				
Prosperous/very comfortable	90	90	54	30
Not prosperous	81	70	48	32

Note: % Jewish adults
Jewish children in HH may or may not be the children of the respondent

Minimally Involved. In contrast, nearly all those in the Immersed group light Shabbat candles at least sometimes, as do two-thirds of the Affiliated and Cultural.

Chanukah candle lighting is universally practiced among Jewish adults with Jewish children, and Passover seders are almost universal— regardless of whether the parents are intermarried, inmarried, or single. Observance of these holidays is lower for those who do not have Jewish children. Shabbat candle lighting and observance of kashrut are more common for inmarried than for intermarried or single Jewish adults.

Table 5.6. Ritual practice in Boston 2015, Boston 2005, and Pew 2013

by column	Boston 2015	Boston 2005	Pew 2013
Shabbat candles			
Never	48	47	53
Sometime	36	28	24
Usually	7	7	6
Always	9	18	16
Religious service attendance			
Never	28	18	22
Less than once a month	46	50	55
Monthly	26	31	23
Other rituals			
Follow some kosher rules	30	28	--
Seder last year	82	--	70

Sources: Saxe et al., 2006, Pew Research Center, 2013
Note: % Jewish adults

Compared to ten years ago (Table 5.6), a similar proportion of Jews in the community keep kosher. Just over half (52%) light candles at least sometimes, unchanged since 2005 (53%), and slightly higher than the national average of 47%. However, there has been a decline in those who always light Shabbat candles from 18% in 2005 to 9% in 2015.

The proportion who never attend religious services has increased from 18% to 28%, which is slightly higher than the national average of 22%. A decline in religious service attendance is consistent with the finding of lower synagogue membership. Among Boston-area Jewish adults, 82% attended a Passover seder, a larger share than that of US Jews overall (70%).

Chapter 6:
Social and Community Life

The Greater Boston Jewish community offers myriad avenues for communal participation. Boston-area Jews join local and national membership organizations and attend an array of cultural, educational, and religious events. They volunteer and donate their time to causes both Jewish and non-Jewish. Through their participation, they make Jewish friends and strengthen their ties to the local community. This chapter describes the multiple ways in which Boston-area Jews interact and participate with their local peers and institutions and provides insight into measures that can enhance these connections.

Organizations and activities

Boston-area Jews participate in a wide range of Jewish organizations and activities. Seven percent of households currently belong to a Jewish Community Center (JCC) and one-fifth (21%) of households belong to at least one Jewish organization other than a synagogue or JCC, such as Hadassah or AIPAC (Table 6.1). At least one person in 60% of households participated in at least one organized program in the past year, aside from religious services, and 18% did so monthly.

Those in the Immersed group are most likely to be members of an organization and to attend Jewish programs. One-in-five of those in the Minimally Involved group attended at least one program in the past year.

Table 6.1. Household memberships and activities

	JCC Member	Member other Jewish org	Attended program past year	Attended program monthly
Overall	7	21	60	18
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	2	3	20	3
Familial	4	9	37	4
Affiliated	7	21	72	18
Cultural	15	30	83	24
Immersed	10	50	98	51
Age				
18-34	10	27	77	24
35-49	9	14	63	16
50-64	5	22	57	17
65 +	6	21	52	15
Marriage and family				
Inmarried	9	28	74	25
Intermarried	7	12	46	9
Single adult(s)	5	19	55	17
HH has child(ren)	9	16	63	19
Subpopulations				
Israelis	9	27	71	28
Russian speakers	15	14	55	12
LGBTQ	4	29	66	20
Financial status				
Prosperous/very comfortable	8	22	63	17
Not prosperous	7	20	58	18

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement and age based on respondent only

Among Jewish adults who attended any programs, the most popular program types are religious, cultural, and educational (Table 6.2). About one-quarter of Jewish adults attended community service programs, and 14% had been to Israel-related programs. Slightly more than one-in-ten had

Table 6.2. Types of programs attended in past year

	Religious	Cultural	Educational	Community Service	Israel	Family or parenting
Overall	45	43	40	26	14	12
Engagement Pattern						
Minimally Involved	11	39	26	5	4	6
Familial	13	26	20	16	4	11
Affiliated	57	42	40	31	11	16
Cultural	60	43	36	16	18	7
Immersed	88	69	77	53	43	26
Age						
18-34	64	40	42	19	17	16
35-49	42	40	32	23	14	21
50-64	43	33	40	29	13	11
65 +	34	23	41	23	13	8
Marriage and family						
Inmarried	60	45	45	27	19	18
Intermarried	37	36	35	20	7	13
Single adult(s)	33	45	34	24	15	8
HH has child(ren)	48	36	34	25	12	28
Subpopulations						
Israelis	52	44	40	28	48	14
Russian speakers	43	42	31	13	17	8
LGBTQ	52	52	44	30	20	16
Financial status						
Prosperous/very comfortable	47	42	38	25	15	14
Not prosperous	44	44	40	25	14	12

Note: % Jewish adults

been to a family program in the past year. For those in the Minimally Involved and Familial groups, cultural and educational programs are most popular. Among those in the Cultural and Affiliated pattern groups, religion-related programs are most popular, followed by cultural and educational programs.

The three most engaged group categories, the Immersed, the Affiliated, and the Cultural, participate frequently in organized Jewish events, although the types of events in which they participate differ (Table 6.2).

The Affiliated and the Immersed groups are involved in synagogues more than any other organizations (Table 6.3) The Familial and the Minimally Involved are less involved in Jewish organizations of all kinds than are the Affiliated, the Cultural, and the Immersed. The inmarried are more involved than the intermarried in all types of organizations, as are in most cases the single adults. The inmarried are more involved than the single adults only in synagogues and educational institutions; for the others, they participate at about the same rate. LGBTQ Jews are the most likely to be involved of any group in community advocacy organizations.

Table 6.3. Any organizational involvement in past year

	Synagogue	Membership org.	Cultural	School or camp	Social service	Young adult	Jewish outreach (e.g. Chabad)	Israel advocacy	Community advocacy
Overall	41	17	15	14	14	12	12	12	11
Engagement Pattern									
Minimally Involved	4	5	4	2	3	6	6	3	1
Familial	8	14	9	5	10	5	5	6	6
Affiliated	64	20	15	18	15	26	7	9	11
Cultural	45	22	20	15	12	15	10	16	14
Immersed	86	41	27	39	29	40	30	43	28
Age									
18-34	43	15	13	11	12	23	15	11	15
35-49	50	21	10	25	14	4	9	12	9
50-64	44	20	13	15	14	--	8	13	11
65 +	33	22	21	9	15	--	11	19	12
Marriage and family									
Inmarried	61	27	16	23	16	15	13	18	12
Intermarried	27	10	12	10	8	11	8	6	7
Single adult(s)	31	19	15	11	15	27	9	15	15
HH has child(ren)	49	20	10	27	13	9	9	11	8
Subpopulations									
Israelis	42	28	22	23	14	13	28	27	21
Russian speakers	21	18	7	11	12	15	33	20	9
LGBTQ	40	17	17	12	11	17	4	12	33
Financial status									
Prosperous/very comfortable	48	19	17	14	13	10	10	15	11
Not prosperous	38	21	13	16	14	24	11	13	12

Note: % Jewish adults

Volunteering

In the Boston Jewish community, two-in-five (38%) Jewish adults did some volunteer activity in the past month (Table 6.4). Of those, 62%, or about one-quarter (23%) of the overall population, volunteered with at least one Jewish organization in the month leading up to their participation in the study.

Of all volunteers, 15% volunteered exclusively for Jewish organizations. An additional 17% report volunteering mostly for Jewish causes. Those who gave their time equally to Jewish and non-Jewish efforts made up 14% of the volunteering population, while 16% say they primarily volunteered for non-Jewish causes. Nearly two-in-five (38%) volunteers did not volunteer with any Jewish organizations.

Of those who engaged in any volunteering for Jewish organizations, more than half served on a board or committee. The next most frequent forms of volunteering were helping with programming and fundraising. The most popular cause among Greater Boston's Jews is education; 62% say it is very important (Table 6.4). Other causes of interest are poverty and social justice concerns (52%) and health and medicine (48%). Arts and culture, Israel, and politics are very important to about one-third of Boston's Jews.

Jewish adults in the Cultural, the Affiliated, and the Immersed groups volunteer for Jewish organizations at a higher rate than those in the other groups (Table 6.4). Older Jews are more likely to volunteer for Jewish groups than younger Jews, while Russian speakers and the intermarried are less likely than their counterparts to do so. Not only does the level of volunteering differ, but different subgroups are also interested in different types of volunteer activities. For example,

Table 6.4. Volunteering

	Volunteered past month		Issue Area, very important					
	Any	Any Jewish	Education	Poverty/ Social Justice	Medical/ Health	Arts and Culture	Israel	Politics/ Activism
Overall	38	23	62	52	48	39	38	30
Engagement Pattern								
Minimally Involved	19	10	65	48	54	47	24	22
Familial	36	10	55	54	52	50	22	31
Affiliated	45	30	56	50	44	39	24	33
Cultural	26	17	50	39	38	35	62	34
Immersed	65	60	68	52	44	36	64	38
Age								
18-34	26	14	50	47	31	32	39	23
35-49	40	24	55	39	39	28	24	26
50-64	47	31	65	49	48	44	40	35
65 +	38	26	61	60	63	57	41	40
Marriage and family								
Inmarried	40	31	56	41	37	32	45	30
Intermarried	40	17	62	56	47	47	27	36
Single adult(s)	34	23	57	52	56	48	35	30
HH has child(ren)	40	24	65	40	42	30	30	25
Subpopulations								
Israelis	24	25	59	31	53	35	70	40
Russian speakers	12	7	62	33	45	35	66	26
LGBTQ	48	29	54	66	40	47	20	44
Financial status								
Prosperous/very comfortable	43	28	56	47	42	39	38	32
Not prosperous	36	24	60	50	50	43	35	31

Note: % Jewish adults

Israelis, Russian speakers, the Cultural, and the Immersed have the highest interest in Israel-related causes compared to other groups. Older Jews are more interested than younger Jews in culture, politics, and health-related causes. Intermarried and single Jews are generally more interested than their counterparts in causes that are less specifically Jewish, such as culture and poverty. LGBTQ Jews are the most interested of any group in political and activist causes.

Philanthropy

Within the Greater Boston Jewish community, most (83%) Jews report making a charitable contribution in the past year (Table 6.5). Only a small proportion (3%) donated exclusively to Jewish organizations; however, nearly two-thirds (63%) donated to at least one Jewish charity. Approximately half of Jewish donors gave less than $2,500, one-third contributed $2,500 or more, and the remainder declined to indicate an amount.

Table 6.5. Philanthropy

	Donations in past year			Annual amount (of donors to Jewish cause)*		Organization (of donors to Jewish cause)		
	Any	Any Jewish	Received request to donate	Less than $2500	$2,500 or more	Synagogue	Social Service	Jewish Education
Overall	83	63	60	52	36	51	34	20
Engagement Pattern								
Minimally Involved	70	29	39	70	19	13	10	2
Familial	81	39	48	55	25	12	30	8
Affiliated	96	92	74	48	41	64	27	19
Cultural	74	66	53	66	24	29	42	19
Immersed	97	97	88	43	43	78	52	42
Age								
18-34	66	46	50	82	14	31	27	14
35-49	92	70	65	53	39	54	28	39
50-64	92	71	58	50	40	56	40	40
65 +	84	72	68	38	37	54	38	37
Marriage and family								
Inmarried	88	80	69	46	43	63	39	29
Intermarried	87	60	48	57	28	38	28	14
Single adult(s)	78	55	62	59	27	43	33	16
HH has child(ren)	93	71	64	56	35	54	36	28
Subpopulations								
Israelis	84	74	72	56	21	44	22	24
Russian speakers	81	68	59	71	8	31	21	18
LGBTQ	92	56	64	69	21	35	31	14
Financial status								
Prosperous/very comfortable	87	70	63	34	55	55	39	22
Not prosperous	82	64	59	69	18	47	31	22

Note: % Jewish adults
* Table does not show those who declined to answer and those who did not donate

Half (51%) of those who donated to a Jewish organization gave money to a synagogue (aside from membership dues), one-third (34%) donated to a Jewish social service agency, and one-fifth donated to a Jewish educational institution. Over half (55%; not shown in table) indicated other organizations. Of these, the most commonly supported additional organizations included local community groups, such as local chapters of the Anti-Defamation League or American Jewish Committee, Israel-advocacy organizations, Jewish social justice organizations, and Jewish cultural agencies.

Nearly all of those in the Affiliated and the Immersed groups donated to a nonprofit organization in the past year, and majorities of all groups did so (Table 6.5). Nearly one-third of the Minimally Involved and two-fifths of the Familial donated to at least one Jewish organization. Those in the Immersed and the Affiliated groups are most likely to donate to a synagogue. At least half of all Jews from each engagement group except for the Minimally Involved say they received a solicitation from a Jewish nonprofit. Fewer intermarried Jews receive solicitations than inmarried and single Jews.

Combined Jewish Philanthropies (CJP), Boston's Jewish Federation

About one-fifth (22%) of the overall Jewish adult population, or 35% of donors to Jewish organizations, report that they made a donation to CJP in the past year (Table 6.6). Aside from donations, just under one-in-five (18%) of Jewish adults report being involved with the organization in some way.

Among community members who are aware of CJP, two-fifths rate the organization excellent or good. However, 23% of Jewish adults are not aware of CJP, and among those who are aware of it, 44% have no opinion of its performance.

Table 6.6. CJP

	Connection to CJP			Ratings of CJP	
	Aware	Involved	Donated	Excellent/ Good	Don't Know
Overall	77	18	22	40	44
Engagement Pattern					
Minimally Involved	57	5	5	15	76
Familial	63	5	8	23	59
Affiliated	93	22	29	50	35
Cultural	72	27	29	38	43
Immersed	99	38	43	62	22
Age					
18-34	51	21	13	49	33
35-49	88	17	14	43	39
50-64	82	19	28	36	46
65 +	87	17	31	37	52
Marriage and family					
Inmarried	82	24	31	47	36
Intermarried	67	10	13	35	50
Single adult(s)	80	19	18	36	48
HH has child(ren)	84	17	17	42	43
Subpopulations					
Israelis	80	21	16	60	36
Russian speakers	39	7	11	39	37
LGBTQ	80	12	11	24	51
Financial status					
Prosperous/very comfortable	78	22	27	45	41
Not prosperous	76	15	17	36	46

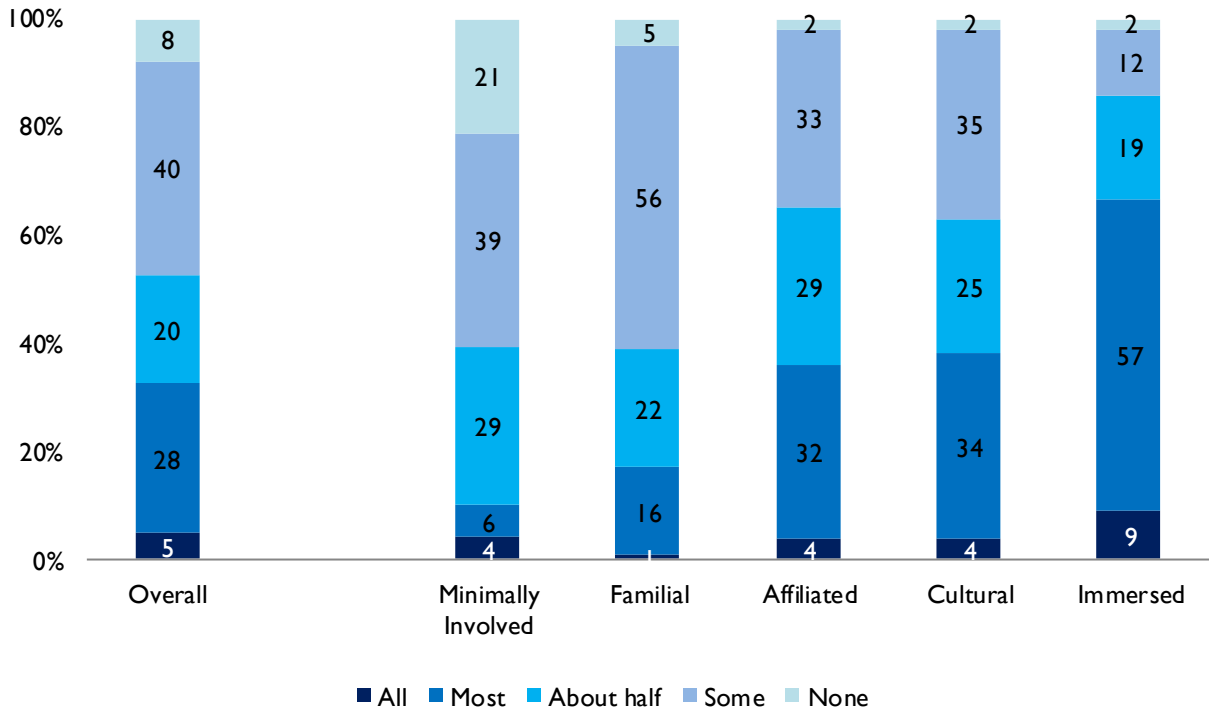
Note: % Jewish adults

Nearly all of the Immersed and the Affiliated group are familiar with CJP, and rate it most highly out of all the groups. Three-quarters of the Cultural group are also familiar with CJP, though 43% of these people do not feel they know enough about it to rate its performance accurately. Over half of the Minimally Involved group and two-thirds of the Familial group have heard of CJP, but the majority of both do not know enough to rate it at all. Younger Jews are the least likely to be familiar with or donate to CJP of any age group.

Informal Involvement in the Jewish Community

Community engagement is closely tied to personal connections and friendships among Jews. The vast majority (92%) of Jews in Greater Boston have at least some connection to other Jews, and 53% say at least half of their closest friends are Jewish (Figure 6.1). Two-thirds (66%) of the Immersed group respondents indicate that most or all of their close friends are Jewish, reflecting their immersion in the Jewish community. In contrast, one-in-five (21%) of the Minimally Involved

Figure 6.1. Jewish friends by engagement



Note: % Jewish adults

group have no Jewish friends. Older Jews have greater shares of Jewish friends than younger ones.

Informal Activities

Informal activities include Jewish activities that are not sponsored by organizations, such as Shabbat or holiday meals with friends or informal Jewish book clubs. Three-fifths (61%) of Greater Boston's Jewish households participated in at least one informal Jewish activity over the course of the previous year, and 17% did so at least monthly (Table 6.7).

Preferences for sponsored and informal activities varied by engagement group and by age. Overall, almost half of all households participated in both sponsored and informal activities in the past year and one-quarter did neither (Table 6.8). Nearly all in the Immersed pattern group participated in both, as did about half of the Affiliated and Cultural. The largest share (29%) of the Familial participated in informal activities only, but a similar share (24%) did both. Over half of the Minimally Involved did neither.

Table 6.7. Informal activities

	Unsponsored activity past year	Unsponsored activity monthly
Overall	61	17
Engagement Pattern		
Minimally Involved	20	<1
Familial	51	2
Affiliated	67	14
Cultural	69	14
Immersed	92	55
Age		
18-34	77	24
35-49	64	15
50-64	60	12
65 +	47	12
Marriage and family		
Inmarried	73	23
Intermarried	49	7
Single adult(s)	53	13
HH has child(ren)	68	16
Subpopulations		
Israelis	79	33
Russian speakers	51	15
LGBTQ	76	18
Financial status		
Prosperous/very comfortable	61	15
Not prosperous	57	14

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement and age based on respondent only

Among young people ages 18-34, almost half did both sponsored and informal activities. Of the remainder, sponsored activities were more popular than informal ones.

Table 6.8. Household participation in sponsored programs and informal activities

	None	Sponsored programs only	Informal activities only	Both
Overall	26	13	14	47
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	54	23	14	9
Familial	34	13	29	24
Affiliated	18	15	11	57
Cultural	7	29	7	56
Immersed	1	6	1	92
Age				
18-34	8	31	14	47
35-49	20	15	15	50
50-64	26	11	15	48
65 +	39	14	8	39
Subpopulations				
Israelis	14	7	15	64
Russian speakers	32	17	13	39
LGBTQ	16	6	17	61
Marriage and family				
Inmarried	15	12	10	63
Intermarried	36	15	18	32
Single adult(s)	32	15	12	40
HH has child(ren)	20	13	18	49
Financial status				
Prosperous/very comfortable	24	15	14	47
Not prosperous	30	13	12	45

Note: % Jewish HH

Cultural Activities

Another avenue for participating in Jewish life is through activities pursued outside a group context (Table 6.9). Activities include reading Jewish or Israeli books, listening to Jewish or Israeli music, or visiting Jewish or Israeli websites. In Greater Boston, three-in-five (59%) Jewish adults engaged in at least one of these activities in the past month and 13% did all three. Of the three, the most frequent was website visits (44%), and about one-third of Jewish adults pursued each of the other two cultural activities. For all of these activities, those in the Cultural and Immersed groups participated most extensively. Nearly all of the Cultural (97%) and the Immersed (86%) visited Jewish or Israeli websites over the past month.

Table 6.9. Jewish or Israeli cultural activities

	In past month		
	Listen to music	**Read literature**	**Visit websites**
Overall	35	31	44
Engagement Pattern			
Minimally Involved	4	22	24
Familial	10	10	11
Affiliated	18	20	30
Cultural	73	59	97
Immersed	81	71	86
Age			
18-34	39	32	54
35-49	32	28	49
50-64	27	31	47
65 +	32	39	31
Marriage and family			
Inmarried	48	41	61
Intermarried	18	26	32
Single adult(s)	27	30	37
HH has child(ren)	32	29	46
Subpopulations			
Israelis	79	73	74
Russian speakers	34	50	41
LGBTQ	43	41	57
Financial status			
Prosperous/very comfortable	34	32	49
Not prosperous	33	32	46

Note: % Jewish adults

Perceptions of Antisemitism

Boston's Jews are very concerned about global antisemitism, but are far less concerned about the situation on American college campuses, and even less concerned about antisemitism in the local area (Table 6.10). There is strong consensus about the problem of antisemitism worldwide; 91% of Jewish adults are somewhat or very concerned about antisemitic threats to Jews throughout the world. This concern is shared by members of all engagement groups. Older Jews are more concerned about local antisemitism and antisemitism on US college campuses than younger Jews.

Table 6.10. Concerned about antisemitism, % somewhat/very

	Local	College	World
Overall	46	66	91
Engagement Pattern			
Minimally Involved	42	58	82
Familial	39	49	85
Affiliated	43	66	93
Cultural	58	80	95
Immersed	54	81	95
Age			
18-34	28	48	80
35-49	41	57	89
50-64	50	74	95
65 +	63	78	95
Marriage and family			
Inmarried	53	75	95
Intermarried	33	57	86
Single adult(s)	50	62	88
HH has child(ren)	44	66	93
Subpopulations			
Israelis	42	69	87
Russian speakers	38	59	76
LGBTQ	26	44	90
Financial status			
Prosperous/very comfortable	47	71	93
Not prosperous	48	65	91

Note: % Jewish adults

Chapter 7:
Connections to Israel

The Boston Jewish community has strong ties to Israel, grounded in religious, cultural, familial, and business connections. For many Jewish adults, Israel is central to their Jewish identity. Travel to Israel is frequent and friendships with Israelis are common.

Approximately two-thirds (66%) of Boston's Jews have been to Israel (Table 7.1, Figure 7.1). Nearly one-third (32%) have been to Israel once. Another 18% have been to Israel four or more times or lived in Israel, including the 9% of Boston Jews who are Israeli. This represents a substantial increase in Israel travel since 2005, when 46% of Boston's Jews had been to Israel. It also represents a substantially higher proportion than among US Jews in general, of whom 43% had been to Israel (Pew, 2013).

The Immersed pattern group are the most likely to have been to Israel (90%), followed by the Cultural (78%), which is the group that includes the largest share of Israelis. Among the Minimally Involved, one-third (35%) have been to Israel. Three-quarters (77%) of inmarried Jews have been to Israel, compared to half (52%) of the intermarried and 58% of the singles.

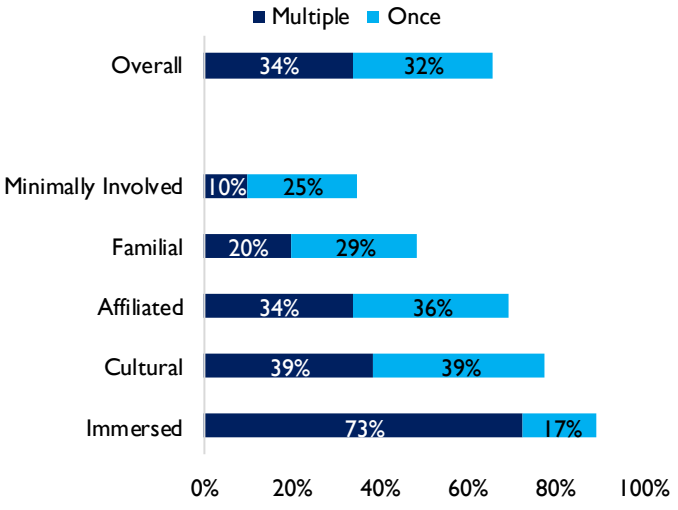
Aside from travel to Israel, Boston-area Jews connect to Israel through their family and friends who live there. Over half (55%) of Boston-area Jews indicate that they have close family or friends living in Israel. Engagement with Israel is further facilitated by fluency in the Hebrew language. Among Jewish adults who are not Israeli, 8% can understand

Table 7.1. Frequency of Israel travel

	Never	Once	Multiple
Overall	34	32	34
Engagement Pattern			
Minimally Involved	64	25	10
Familial	51	29	20
Affiliated	30	34	36
Cultural	22	39	39
Immersed	10	17	73
Attachment to Israel			
None / A little	62	26	12
Somewhat / Very	20	33	46
Age			
18-34	25	42	32
35-49	32	33	35
50-64	46	22	33
65 +	39	27	34
Marriage			
Inmarried	23	34	43
Intermarried	48	29	23
Single adult(s)	42	27	31
Subpopulations			
Israelis	n/a	n/a	n/a
Russian speakers	40	28	32
LGBTQ	30	34	36

Note: % Jewish adults
All Israelis are assumed to have visited Israel multiple times

Figure 7.1. Frequency of Israel travel by engagement



Note: % Jewish adults

most or all of what they read in Hebrew and another 22% can understand some. Hebrew is spoken in 8% of Jewish households.

Types of Israel Travel

Among those who have traveled to Israel, vacation and visits to friends and family are the most common types of visits, followed by education trips (Table 7.2). Nearly half (44%) of those under age 43 who have traveled to Israel have gone on Birthright Israel trips, representing 15% of the overall adult population. The Minimally Involved and the Familial group include the largest proportion who have been on a Birthright Israel trip, possibly because Jews from other engagement groups were ineligible, having previously gone to Israel on other peer-group educational trips.[30] Those in the Immersed group include the largest proportion who have been to Israel for every other reason.

Table 7.2. Types of Israel travel

	Vacation	Visit Friends/ Family	Education trip	Birthright	Federation trip	Volunteer trip
Overall	65	49	28	15	13	13
Engagement Pattern						
Minimally Involved	37	44	25	26	9	2
Familial	64	33	19	25	5	8
Affiliated	73	42	32	9	17	12
Cultural	62	52	29	10	14	14
Immersed	84	70	48	9	29	21
Past Travel to Israel						
Never	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Once	49	23	15	16	9	4
Multiple	84	71	47	12	23	20
Attachment to Israel						
None/A little	57	32	31	19	9	9
Somewhat/Very	71	54	32	12	19	14
Age						
18-34	45	37	33	47	11	9
35-49	70	54	42	8	16	12
50-64	78	50	31	n/a	18	19
65 +	80	57	24	n/a	21	11
Marriage						
Inmarried	70	53	33	8	17	13
Intermarried	62	38	25	18	12	10
Single adult(s)	70	52	36	19	19	15
Subpopulations						
Israelis	75	90	39	10	22	26
Russian speakers	54	63	20	34	11	15
LGBTQ	66	50	31	19	16	17

Note: % Jewish adults who have been to Israel

Emotional Connection to Israel

Feelings of connection to Israel are intimately tied to both Israel travel and Jewish engagement. Jewish adults who have been to Israel feel much more connected to Israel, and those who have travelled multiple times exhibit even stronger connections (Table 7.3, Figure 7.2). Inmarried Jews feel more connected than single Jews, who in turn feel more connected than intermarried Jews. In terms of Jewish engagement, the strongest connections to Israel are found among the Immersed pattern group (70% very much) and the Cultural group (50% very much).

Israel-Related Programs

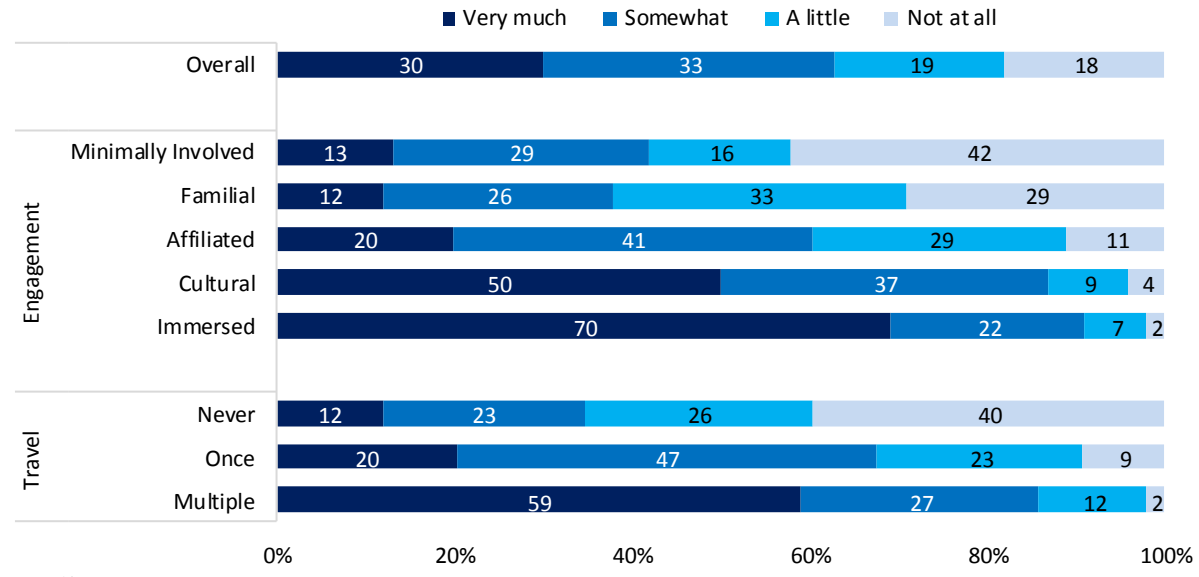
Boston-area Jews express their interest in and connection to Israel through volunteering and program participation. The majority (71%) are somewhat or very interested in

Table 7.3. Emotional connection to Israel

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very much
Overall	18	19	33	30
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	42	16	29	13
Familial	29	33	26	12
Affiliated	11	29	41	20
Cultural	4	9	37	50
Immersed	2	7	22	70
Past Travel to Israel				
Never	40	26	23	11
Once	9	24	47	20
Multiple	2	12	28	58
Age				
18-34	28	16	35	21
35-49	19	25	31	25
50-64	16	21	29	34
65 +	10	20	33	37
Marriage				
Inmarried	7	18	34	41
Intermarried	28	22	34	16
Single adult(s)	22	21	27	30
Subpopulations				
Israelis	2	4	15	79
Russian speakers	27	9	26	37
LGBTQ	28	23	25	25

Note: % Jewish adults

Figure 7.2. Emotional connection to Israel by engagement and past travel



Note: % Jewish adults

organizations and activities that relate to Israel. Over the past year, one-in-seven Jewish adults participated in programs relating to Israel, and another one-quarter expressed interest in such events (Table 7.4). Roughly one-in-eight are involved in an Israel advocacy organization.

Those who have been to Israel at least once, and especially those who have traveled multiple times, are more likely to attend Israel-related programs, be involved in Israel advocacy, and believe Israel is an important cause. More than half of those who have never been to Israel, however, feel that Israel is a somewhat or very important cause for volunteering. The Immersed and the Cultural

Table 7.4. Participation in Israel-related organizations

	Consider Israel to be somewhat/ very important cause	Attended Israel program in past year	Interested in Israel program	Involved in Israel Advocacy
Overall	71	14	25	12
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	61	4	18	3
Familial	53	4	12	6
Affiliated	68	11	26	9
Cultural	89	18	30	16
Immersed	87	43	31	43
Past Travel to Israel				
Never	56	4	18	6
Once	71	9	24	9
Multiple	83	31	26	27
Attachment to Israel				
None/A little	34	3	14	3
Somewhat/Very	91	21	28	19
Age				
18-34	61	17	23	11
35-49	67	14	25	12
50-64	71	13	25	13
65 +	80	13	18	19
Marriage				
Inmarried	77	19	28	18
Intermarried	61	7	19	6
Single adult(s)	69	15	19	15
Subpopulations				
Israelis	95	48	24	27
Russian speakers	87	17	44	20
LGBTQ	52	20	22	12

Note: % Jewish adults

groups are most interested in volunteering for Israel and attending Israel programs, but the Immersed are more likely to have attended an Israel program or be involved with Israel advocacy. Similarly, inmarried Jews are more interested in Israel programs than intermarried and single Jews. While less than one-fifth of Russian speakers have attended an Israel program, nearly half (44%) are interested in one. There are no differences across age groups for program participation or organizational involvement, but younger Jews are less interested in volunteering for Israel-related causes than are older Jews.

News about Israel

Almost half (46%) of Boston-area Jews follow news about Israel at least once a week (Table 7.5). Those who have been to Israel multiple times follow news more closely, with over one-quarter (28%) following news about Israel daily. The Immersed and the Cultural group members follow Israel news most closely, with two-in-five of each following news on a daily basis.

Table 7.5. Following news about Israel in past month

	Never	Once/Twice Month	Weekly	Daily
Overall	31	23	30	16
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	60	28	9	2
Familial	46	27	23	4
Affiliated	33	37	27	3
Cultural	6	9	45	40
Immersed	4	16	40	40
Past Travel to Israel				
Never	50	25	19	7
Once	29	30	33	9
Multiple	16	21	34	28
Attachment to Israel				
None/A little	58	28	12	2
Somewhat/Very	16	23	37	23
Age				
18-34	40	25	26	9
35-49	37	29	23	11
50-64	31	20	30	19
65 +	21	29	30	20
Marriage				
Inmarried	16	24	39	21
Intermarried	44	29	19	7
Single adult(s)	40	21	27	12
Subpopulations				
Israelis	6	14	23	57
Russian speakers	30	23	26	20
LGBTQ	30	38	19	12

Note: % Jewish adults

For Boston-area Jews, the most frequent source of news about Israel is the general American media (83%), followed by American Jewish news sources and Israel-based English media (51% each) (Table 7.6). Younger adults read Israel-based news in English more than older adults, as do those who have been to Israel multiple times, presumably because they access these sources online.

Table 7.6. Sources of news about Israel[31]

	American, general	American, Jewish	Israel-based English language	Israel-based Hebrew language (of Hebrew speakers)	International
Overall	83	51	51	43	40
Engagement Pattern					
Minimally Involved	57	37	39	--	47
Familial	87	26	26	21	39
Affiliated	85	49	28	16	33
Cultural	90	72	74	62	43
Immersed	85	75	72	36	46
Past Travel to Israel					
Never	79	45	34	12	36
Once	87	56	43	45	36
Multiple	84	60	63	45	48
Attachment to Israel					
None /A little	83	32	27	2	47
Somewhat/Very	83	61	56	46	39
Age					
18-34	88	65	71	42	45
35-49	86	55	41	55	42
50-64	88	56	55	23	42
65 +	74	46	33	57	34
Marriage					
Inmarried	87	64	56	40	38
Intermarried	84	41	44	28	43
Single adult(s)	77	51	42	52	43
Subpopulations					
Israelis	72	45	66	83	54
Russian speakers	66	54	58	84	62
LGBTQ	90	54	47	36	55

Note: % Jewish adults who follow any news

Chapter 8:
Education, Income, and Health

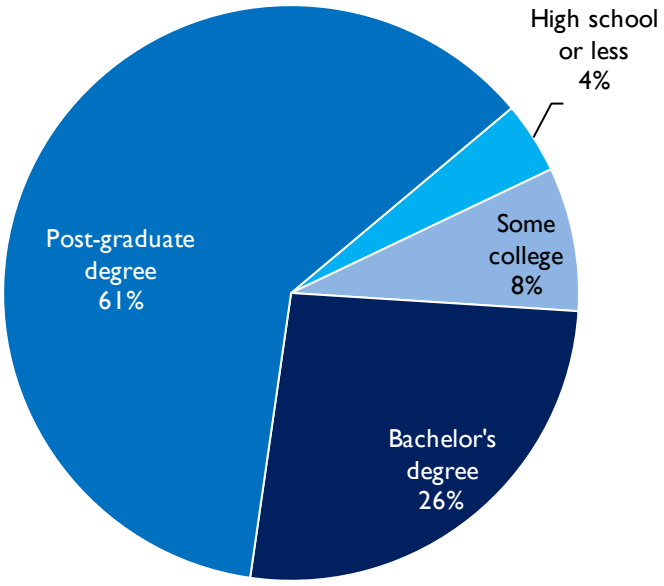
The Greater Boston Jewish community devotes a significant share of its resources toward caring for families and individuals who have economic, social, and health needs. The relative affluence of the Greater Boston Jewish community, both financially and in terms of human capital, has provided the resources necessary for the organized Jewish community to meet many of these needs.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there are some unmet needs in the community. Aside from the expenses associated with affiliating with Jewish organizations, providing Jewish education for children, purchasing kosher food, and other means of engaging in Jewish life, less affluent families are also more likely to be struggling with basic necessities such as adequate housing and good health. There are underserved households throughout the community, but particularly among the elderly and households that include Russian speakers and Jews from the former Soviet Union. Counseling and mental health needs within the community are significant, particularly among the LGBTQ population.

Educational Attainment and Employment

The Jewish population of Greater Boston is highly educated, not only in comparison with the overall American population, but also in comparison with the American Jewish population as a whole. Nine-in-ten (87%) Jewish adults in Greater Boston have earned at least a bachelor's degree, including six-in-ten (61%) with at least one post-graduate degree (Figure 8.1). Among Jews in the United States, over half have attained at least a bachelor's degree (58%) and 28% have post-graduate degrees (Pew, 2013). In the US population overall, 29% of adults hold bachelor's degrees and 10% hold advanced degrees.

Figure 8.1. Educational attainment



Commensurate with their high levels of education, the Jews of Greater Boston work in fields requiring significant training, including science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields (19%); business and finance (17%); education (14%); and medicine and healthcare (13%). Substantial proportions also work in the legal system (10%) or social services (6%).

Two-thirds (68%) of Jewish adults in the community are currently employed either full- (51%) or part-time (17%). Most adults who are not employed are either retired or pursuing higher education.

Economic Well-Being and Income

The Greater Boston Jewish community is relatively affluent. Among those who responded to the question about income, three-in-five (59%) households have total income of $100,000 per year or greater,[32] including one-in-four (24%) whose household income was $200,000 per year or greater (Table 8.1). On the lower end of the spectrum, 14% indicate their household income is less than $50,000 per year, including 6% with household incomes less than $25,000 per year. Over one-quarter (28%) of households did not provide income information.

Consistent with high-income levels, 46% describe their standard of living as being prosperous or very comfortable and another 42% report they are "reasonably comfortable." A total of 1% indicated they are "nearly poor," or "poor." As a measure of possible economic vulnerability, 11% of Jewish households indicate they are "just getting along."

Table 8.1. Household income and standard of living

Income (of responding HH)	
$200,000+	24%
$150-199,999	13%
$100-149,999	22%
$75-99,999	14%
$50-74,999	14%
$25-49,999	8%
Less than $25,000	6%
Standard of living	
Prosperous	10%
Very comfortable	36%
Reasonably comfortable	42%
Just getting along	11%
Nearly poor	<1%
Poor	<1%

Note: % Jewish HH

Table 8.2. Household income and standard of living by household characteristics

	Income				Standard of living			
	< $50K	$50-99K	$100-199K	$200K+	Nearly poor/ poor	Just getting along	Somewhat comfortable	Very comfortable/ prosperous
Overall	14	28	34	24	1	11	42	46
Engagement Pattern								
Minimally Involved	31	28	24	18	1	18	53	27
Familial	7	32	42	19	1	11	41	47
Affiliated	8	32	35	26	1	7	40	53
Cultural	10	35	31	23	1	11	46	42
Immersed	13	19	34	34	2	7	45	46
Age of oldest member of HH								
18-34	20	34	37	10	1	14	57	28
35-49	13	20	38	30	1	15	49	35
50-64	9	19	42	31	1	8	44	48
65 +	13	44	24	18	1	9	39	51
Marriage and family								
Inmarried	3	24	37	36	<1	6	43	51
Intermarried	3	30	45	22	1	8	45	46
Single adult(s)	29	33	23	15	1	16	46	36
HH has child(ren)	3	15	48	34	1	9	47	43
Subpopulations								
Israelis	9	28	32	31	3	8	45	44
Russian speakers	20	15	35	30	3	22	45	31
LGBTQ	17	31	34	18	2	12	49	37

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement based on respondent only

Although there are small differences in economic well being based on Jewish engagement and other demographic groups, most are not significant (Table 8.2).

Households whose oldest adult is under age 35 or age 64 and over have somewhat lower incomes than do those ages 36-64. In addition, a slightly smaller share of Russian-speaking households, single households, and LGBTQ households are financially comfortable or prosperous than other households. Older adults are more confident in their retirement prospects than are younger adults.

Jewish households in Greater Boston also display relatively high confidence in their ability to afford their children's college expenses and their own retirement (Table 8.3). Of households currently raising children, two-in-three (68%) are somewhat or very confident in their ability to pay for their children's college educations; 7% are not very confident or not at all confident. Similarly, seven-in-ten (70%) Jewish households in Greater Boston are somewhat or very confident in their ability to finance their retirement; 8% are not very confident or not at all confident.

Economic Insecurity and Poverty

Although the Greater Boston Jewish community as a whole is relatively affluent, some households struggle with significant economic challenges. Precise assessment of economic insecurity is not possible as part of an omnibus survey, conducted primarily by phone, which can only include a limited set of measures. Moreover, economic insecurity also makes it more difficult to identify and reach respondents.[33] In addition, respondents who face economic challenges may be reluctant to report these in a survey. To the extent that this is the case, we may be underestimating the rate of poverty. A more precise measure of poverty would require a separate study focused on financial security and be conducted in conjunction with anti-poverty agencies.

Table 8.3. Confidence in economic future

	Confident paying for college (of parents)	Confident paying for retirement
Overall	68	71
Engagement Pattern		
Minimally Involved	64	64
Familial	70	74
Affiliated	71	77
Cultural	75	66
Immersed	64	72
Age of oldest member of HH		
18-34	65	52
35-49	70	66
50-64	73	69
65 +	--	81
Marriage and family		
Inmarried	74	76
Intermarried	69	71
Single adult(s)	57	66
HH has child(ren)	69	66
Subpopulations		
Israelis	65	70
Russian speakers	54	62
LGBTQ	56	59

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement based on respondent only

Table 8.4. Economic needs

Public benefits	
Social security or medicare	35
SSDI or SSI	5
Energy/utility assistance	1
SNAP, Medicaid, subsidized housing, or day care assistance	6
Unemployment	2
Necessities skipped	
Meals	1
Rent/mortgage payment	2
Prescription medication	2

Note: % Jewish HH

As one measure of economic need, respondents indicated whether they skipped necessities in the past year or received government benefits (Table 8.4). These benefits included Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) or Supplemental Security Income (SSI); energy or utility assistance; SNAP (Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program), Medicaid, subsidized housing, or day care assistance; or unemployment benefits. However, it is important to note that some of these benefits are not entirely restricted to low-income households (e.g., SSDI, Medicaid); accordingly, receipt of these benefits is only a possible indicator of financial need, not a definite indicator. In addition, respondents indicated whether, in the past year, they skipped or cut the size of their meals, missed a rent or mortgage payment, or did not get a prescription filled for needed medication due to financial troubles.

Table 8.5. Economic insecurity by household characteristics

	Received any public benefit	Skipped necessity
Overall	10	4
Engagement Pattern		
Minimally Involved	13	2
Familial	16	7
Affiliated	7	3
Cultural	7	5
Immersed	11	6
Age of oldest member of HH		
18-34	7	7
35-49	5	5
50-64	7	3
65 +	19	4
Marriage and family		
Inmarried	6	4
Intermarried	5	3
Single adult(s)	19	5
HH has child(ren)	7	5
Subpopulations		
Israelis	14	7
Russian speakers	29	4
LGBTQ	9	6

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement based on respondent only

Overall, a small proportion of households report having skipped any necessity in the past year (4%) or received any government benefit other than Social Security (10%) (Table 8.5). There is little difference across different population groups in terms of economic needs. Households with a senior citizen received more public benefits. In addition, Russian speakers and single individuals received more public benefits than did other groups.

Health Status and Needs

Poor health of community members is a matter of concern to the Greater Boston Jewish community because it may be an indicator of need for community-based services and because it may prevent individuals from participating in the community's programs.

Overall, about one-in-eight (12%) Jewish households in Greater Boston include at least one person who is in fair or poor health (Table 8.6). Some households have greater rates of poor health: three-in-ten (29%) Russian-speaking households and one-in-four (23%) households with a senior citizen (Table 8.6). One-in-eight households (12%) include at least one person with impaired function due to a physical or intellectual disability, as do 18% of households with someone age 65 or older. Nearly one-in-three households (31%) include someone in need of counseling or mental health services. Half (51%) of households that include someone who identifies as LGBTQ indicate that someone in the household requires counseling or mental health services. And although only 8% of all households indicate they needed assistance with housekeeping or home maintenance, older

respondents are significantly more likely to say they need such help.

Table 8.6. Health challenges for anyone in household

	Fair/poor health	Disability	Counseling or mental health	House-keeping
Overall	12	12	31	8
Engagement Pattern				
Minimally Involved	12	10	26	10
Familial	19	15	32	13
Affiliated	8	7	27	5
Cultural	16	8	26	7
Immersed	9	13	30	9
Age of oldest in HH				
18-34	6	3	33	2
35-49	6	5	40	3
50-64	6	8	32	5
65 +	23	18	18	17
Marriage and family				
Inmarried	14	8	28	5
Intermarried	10	10	29	4
Single adult(s)	14	13	29	16
HH has child(ren)	9	8	36	5
Subpopulations				
Israelis	11	8	30	7
Russian speakers	29	7	12	14
LGBTQ	14	9	51	11
Financial status				
Prosperous/very comfortable	8	10	24	7
Not prosperous	16	11	32	10

Note: % Jewish HH
Engagement based on respondent only
Age based on age of oldest member of HH

Many members of the Greater Boston Jewish community have elderly parents in the area and are either already providing significant care to them or are planning for the possibility of doing so in the future. One-in-ten (9%) indicate that they have a parent living in the area in a household other than their own who requires elder care services. A similar proportion (8%) have parents living in independent living facilities, assisted living facilities, or nursing homes; of these, seven-in-ten (70%) are in the Greater Boston area. Additionally, one-in-nine (11%) households are providing regular caregiving to one or more adult family members. Although some of these family members may be adult children, siblings, or spouses with disabilities, it is likely that most are aging parents.

Members of the community express some preference for social services provided by Jewish agencies, assuming that the quality is similar to services provided by non-Jewish agencies. Over half (54%) would be more likely to solicit Jewish agencies for their social service needs; very few (2%) prefer service from non-Jewish agencies. In particular, the Immersed (84%) and the Affiliated 75%) Jews express very strong preferences for Jewish agencies. In contrast, one-in-three (35%) of the Minimally Involved also would prefer social services from a Jewish agency, but most (59%) express no preference.

Chapter 9:
Conclusions

The 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community study provides an elaborate sociodemographic portrait of Greater Boston's Jewish community and assesses community members' participation in Jewish communal institutional life, their private Jewish activities, and their attitudes about Judaism and Israel. The report reflects the diverse expressions of cultural, communal, and religious life in Boston. The study was designed to contribute to a better understanding of contemporary Boston Jewry and to inform planning and policy making by Jewish communal organizations. This chapter summarizes the key findings of the study regarding Jewish engagement throughout the community.

In order to describe comprehensively Greater Boston's Jewish community, a large-scale survey was conducted with nearly 6,000 respondents. Nearly 1,600 of the respondents were randomly selected from multiple sample frames. Data from hundreds of publicly available surveys were used to estimate the size and demographic characteristics of the Greater Boston-area Jewish population. The 6,000 responses to the Boston community survey were statistically adjusted to be representative of the Jewish population of the Boston area and to represent the attitudes and behaviors of all members of the community. Analysis of our data provided by our respondents focused on understanding the diverse ways in which Boston Jews express their Jewish identity and engage with Jewish life. Five distinct patterns of engagement were identified. These patterns of engagement are expected to provide guidance for Jewish communal organizations seeking to strategically target educational and programmatic efforts.

Jewish Population and Characteristics

As of 2015, Greater Boston is home to the fourth-largest Jewish community in the country (as defined by federation service areas), with an estimated Jewish population of 248,000. The Jewish population has increased almost 5% since 2005, when the last decennial study of the community was conducted.

The quarter-million Jews in Boston reside in approximately 123,400 households. One-third of those households include children, and one-quarter of households are comprised of one adult living alone.

Boston Jews are highly educated and economically well-off. Nine-in-ten adults are college graduates and 61% hold at least one post-graduate degree. Consistent with their high level of education, almost half of Boston Jews consider themselves to be prosperous or very comfortable, and another 42% consider themselves reasonably comfortable. In addition, 11% of households consider themselves to be "just getting along," and 1% consider themselves "nearly poor" or "poor."

The rate of inmarriage, 53% of couples, is unchanged from ten years ago. Three-quarters of children in Jewish homes are being raised exclusively Jewish and another 8% are being raised Jewish and another religion. Among children in intermarried homes, 57% are being raised exclusively Jewish. One-third of Jewish children in grades K-12 are enrolled in formal Jewish education, 13% attended Jewish day camp and 20% Jewish overnight camp.

New Ways of Engaging with Jewish Life

Respondents were asked about the ways in which they engage with Jewish life, including measures that have been used commonly in community studies such as synagogue membership, ritual behavior, and communal support. In addition, the survey incorporated additional measures, including synagogue membership distinct from dues payment and involvement in alternatives to "brick-and-mortar" synagogues such as minyanim, chavurot, and Chabad. Thus, for example, of the 37% of Jewish households who are members of a synagogue or worship community, one-third belong to an alternative synagogue.

Varieties and Categories of Jewish Identity

Pew Research Center's 2013 *A Portrait of Jewish Americans* classified Jewish adults as "Jews by religion" (JBR)—those who respond to a question about religion by stating that they are solely Jewish—and "Jews of no religion" (JNR)—those who consider themselves Jewish through some means other than religion. The present study utilized a variant of Pew's scheme. Included in the Jewish population are those adults who indicate they are Jewish and another religion: These individuals are referred to as Jews of multiple religions (JMR).

Among Jewish adults in the Greater Boston area, 76% (146,800 individuals) identify as Jewish by religion (JBR). The remaining Jewish adults (24%) identify as Jews of no religion (JNR) or Jews of multiple religions (JMR). The majority of these (37,200) have no religion but say they consider themselves Jewish for ethnic or cultural reasons. Another small subset (6,600) consider themselves to be Jewish along with another religion.

A more familiar classification of Jewish identity is Jewish denominational affiliation. Just over half of Greater Boston's Jewish adults identify with a specific denomination. The proportion of Orthodox Jews, 4%, is unchanged since 2005, but the share of Conservative and Reform Jews has decreased in the last ten years. In contrast, nearly half (45%) of Boston's Jews consider themselves to be secular, "Just Jewish," or no denomination, more than double the 18% found in 2005.

Although commonly used, the utility of these categories and designations—JBR, JNR; Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and no denomination—is limited. They are based on the traditional ways in which the Jewish community has viewed identities but do not provide much information about how these individuals behave or engage with Jewish life. Thus, for example, while those who identify as Orthodox may observe more Jewish rituals than most members of the Jewish community, many of the non-Orthodox are also highly engaged in Jewish life. Similarly, while Pew's JBRs tend to be more engaged in Jewish life, many of the JNRs are also actively involved.

Studies of Jewish engagement that account for Jewish behavior frequently measure that behavior on a unidirectional scale of less to more. A single scale, however, fails to capture the multidimensional nature of Jewish life or the many ways to be Jewish. Religiosity for example does not necessarily manifest itself in a way that many people think of as "religious": prayer, ritual behavior, or particular beliefs. A multidimensional view recognizes that Judaism also includes cultural, ethnic, and communal aspects. In fact, as expressed by the Jews of Greater Boston, these non-religious aspects of Judaism are the ones that resonate most deeply for the majority.

Index of Jewish Engagement

The responses to the survey confirmed that the Jews of Greater Boston express their Jewish identity by engaging in broad set of public and private Jewish behaviors, not limited by whether individuals are synagogue members, light Shabbat candles, or travel to Israel. Much of Jewish behavior occurs outside of institutional and religious frameworks. Particularly in terms of shaping communal strategy and investments in Boston Jewish life, it appears important to understand patterns of engagement with Jewish life. By identifying those behaviors and activities, the Jewish community can better respond to the needs and interests of its members. In so doing, opportunities for involvement in Jewish life can be enhanced and expanded.

The "Index of Jewish Engagement" was the result of an examination of more than a dozen Jewish behaviors. The Index represents a summary of that analysis and reveals five behavior patterns. The names of the five pattern groups are intended to capture the unique characteristics of each group. Although the groups reflect different degrees of engagement with Jewish life, the categories make clear that dichotomies—engaged/not engaged and religious/not religious—are inadequate descriptors of contemporary Jewish behavior.

The typology presented in this report allows community planners to identify current practices and attitudes of each group, as well as the differences in sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with varieties of Jewish behavior. The Index confirms that Boston Jewry is characterized by diverse ways of being involved in Jewish life. More importantly, the Index suggests multiple points of entry to greater involvement in Jewish life. By understanding the ways in which various groups currently engage with aspects of Jewish life, this approach can be extended to all members of the Jewish community.

Five Patterns of Jewish Engagement

The Minimally Involved and the Familial groups comprise the largely unaffiliated portion of the community who have little contact with Jewish institutions and organizations. When considering some typical indicators of Jewish engagement, such as synagogue membership and ritual practice, those in the Minimally Involved and Familial Engagement groups demonstrate the lowest levels of engagement. Nonetheless, both groups include those who participate in Jewish life in some ways. At the same time, there are notable differences between the two groups.

The Affiliated and Cultural engagement patterns represent two distinct ways of expressing engagement with Jewish life in which commitment is strong but not a central aspect of daily life, and in which communal, cultural, and peoplehood aspects of Judaism are more meaningful than are religious aspects. Within both groups, nearly all children are being raised Jewish. Nearly all Affiliated and Cultural Jewish adults light Chanukah candles and attend Passover seders, and about two-thirds of each light Shabbat candles at least occasionally. The majority of both groups have attended at least one Jewish program in the past year. Among both groups, over one-third say that most or all of their friends are Jewish. Nonetheless, the differences between these patterns of engagement are striking.

For Jewish adults in the Immersed engagement group, Judaism is central to their lives. Jewish identification informs the choices they make about selecting friends raising children, joining institutions, volunteering their time, and donating their money.

The sections below describe the behaviors and attitudes of each engagement group in greater detail.

Minimally involved (17% of Jewish adults)

Jewish adults who fall into the Minimally Involved pattern do little in the way of Jewish activities, rarely affiliate with Jewish organizations, and feel lower levels of attachment or interest in Jewish life and community than do those in the other engagement groups. Of those who have children, very few are raising those children Jewish or providing Jewish education. Virtually none are synagogue members and none participate in one of the most popular home-based Jewish rituals, a Passover seder.

Minimally Involved adults tend to have lower attachments to the Jewish community, both locally and worldwide, and to Israel, than to Jews with other behavior patterns. They are least likely to have close Jewish friends. They are more likely to consider being Jewish a heritage than any other aspect of being Jewish.

Nonetheless, Jewish adults who are Minimally Involved do occasionally participate in Jewish events and activities—they are not totally disconnected. One-in-five attended a Jewish-sponsored program in the past year, primarily cultural in nature, and nearly one-third (29%) donated to a Jewish charity in the past year. In addition, nearly one-in-five (18%) attended a High Holiday service in the past year.

Familial (24% of Jewish adults)

Jewish adults in the Familial engagement pattern incorporate Judaism into their lives through home- and family-based rituals that do not involve institutional participation or commitment. For example, of those who have children, most are raising those children Jewish, but few are enrolled in Jewish education. Although few are synagogue members, almost half attended High Holiday services in the past year. Nearly all attend Passover seders and light Chanukah candles.

Familial Jews participate in the life of the community around them, but do not focus on Jewish life. For example, 81% make charitable donations of some kind, but only half of those individuals donate to Jewish causes. One-third volunteer, but only one-in-ten volunteer for a Jewish organization.

Similar to what was found among Minimally Involved Jews, Jewish adults in the Familial engagement pattern feel relatively weak attachments to the Jewish community, whether locally, in Israel, or around the world. Like the Minimally Involved, those with the Familial engagement behavior view Judaism primarily as a heritage.

Affiliated (26% of Jewish adults)

Affiliated Jews are more strongly tied to Jewish institutions, particularly synagogues, than are Cultural Jews. About two-thirds of Affiliated Jews belong to synagogues compared to 30% of those in the Cultural pattern. More than nine-in-ten of the Affiliated attended High Holiday services in the prior year, compared to six-in-ten of the Cultural. As an indicator of support for Jewish institutions, nearly all in the Affiliated engagement pattern (92%) have made a donation to a Jewish cause in the past year.

Given the high level of synagogue membership, it is not surprising that three-quarters of the Jewish children of the Affiliated are enrolled in Jewish education, primarily in part-time schools. Consistent with their high degree of synagogue involvement, over half of the Affiliated are Reform and one-quarter are Conservative.

Nevertheless, despite their Jewish institutional affiliations, those with the Affiliated pattern are less likely to feel very connected to the local and worldwide Jewish communities, and are less attached to Israel, than are the Cultural Jews. Although Affiliated Jews join and support Jewish organizations, this connection does not appear to translate into believing that Judaism is part of their daily life or fostering emotional connections to the Jewish community.

Cultural (18% of Jewish adults)

Among those in the Cultural engagement pattern, just one-third are synagogue members and of those, half are members of a synagogue alternative such as a minyan, chavurah, or Chabad. Over half of the Cultural have no specific Jewish denomination. A large majority (84%), however, attended at least one religious service in the past year, although just 60% attended any High Holiday service. Although nearly all are raising their children Jewish, just half of their children are enrolled in formal Jewish education.

Those whose Jewish engagement fits the Cultural engagement pattern tend to participate in Jewish life through personal activities rather than institutional connections. For example, almost all use the internet to seek out information about Judaism and Israel. Three-quarters listen to Jewish music and over half read Jewish books.

Compared to those in the Affiliated group, Cultural Jews are far more likely to feel very connected to the local Jewish community, the worldwide community, and to Israel. Consistent with the connection to the community, they define Judaism as belonging to a people.

Much of the Jewish behavior among Cultural Jews is secular and non-institutional rather than based in organizational affiliation. For example, half of the synagogue members in this group belong to chavurot or other non-traditional Jewish worship groups.

Immersed Engagement Group (15% of Jewish adults)

Nearly all of the Immersed Jewish adults are raising their children as Jews and providing them with Jewish education, with half in part-time school and half in day school. Nearly all (90%) are synagogue members. Nearly all attended at least one Jewish program in the past month and have donated to a Jewish cause in the past year. Nine-in-ten have been to Israel at least once and two-thirds closely follow news about Israel. Two-thirds say that most or all of their friends are Jewish.

This is not to say that everyone in this group is "religious" in the ritual sense. Three-quarters observe some form of kashrut, but just over half keep kosher at home. Two-thirds usually light Shabbat candles and nearly all do so at least occasionally. Two-thirds attend Shabbat services almost weekly but all attend High Holiday services. One-in-five is Orthodox and two-in-five are Conservative. One quarter are Reform and 15% do not have a specific denomination. Thirteen percent are intermarried.

The attitudes of those whose behavior follows the Immersed behavior pattern reflects the centrality of Judaism in their lives. Four-in-five say that Judaism is very much part of their daily lives. They are strongly connected to the worldwide and local Jewish community as well as to Israel.

Looking Ahead

The findings of the 2015 Greater Boston Community Study reveal a vibrant religious-ethnic community that has continued to grow. Although some measures of engagement have declined, new avenues for involvement have emerged. It is no longer sufficient to speak of Jews as being "more" or "less" engaged on a single continuous axis. Instead, this report provides a more nuanced and varied picture of the many ways that Jews participate in Jewish life, from private life to institutional affiliation, from behaviors to attitudes. The next decade will undoubtedly present new challenges and opportunities. Communal planning will require a rich understanding the broad spectrum of the Jewish community and the multidimensional aspects of Jewish involvement for maximum effectiveness. The results of this study are expected to inform planning and policy making for Jewish communal organizations and contribute to the continued strength and growth of the Greater Boston Jewish community.

Notes

[1] http://www.people-press.org/2012/05/15/assessing-the-representativeness-of-public-opinion-surveys/

[3] http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhis/earlyrelease/wireless201512.pdf

[3] Including all of Suffolk County, and most of Middlesex, Norfolk and Essex Counties.

[4] Based on Jewish federation service areas. The three larger federation service areas are New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago.

[5] Based on data from the US Census Bureau's Population Division County Characteristics Resident Population Estimates File, 2014 vintage. The 2015 data was not available at the time of analysis.

[6] When presenting trends from 2005 to 2015, we exclude the North Shore estimates from 2015 totals to ensure comparability. Comparing population estimates across surveys is imprecise for a number of reasons. Each estimate has a confidence interval around it and should be considered the most likely value within a range of possible values. Changes in methodology as well as in geographic boundaries of CJP's catchment area add to the imprecision. Given these limitations, an increase of just under 5% is our best estimate of the change in population size.

[7] The definitions used in this study are similar but not identical to those used in Pew's *A Portrait of Jewish Americans* (2013). Adults who are Jewish and a second religion, if they were raised Jewish or have Jewish parents, are classified by Pew as "Jewish Background" and are not included among the Jewish "count." This study classifies them as Jews of No Religion and includes them in the count of both Jewish Adults and Jewish Children.

[8] If the Jews of multiple religions were excluded from the total Jewish population, as was done in the Pew study, the resulting proportion of Jews by religion would be 80%.

[9] Source: Hillel International, http://www.hillel.org/college-guide. Schools included Boston University, Brandeis University, Tufts University, Northeastern University, Harvard University, Bentley University, Emerson College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Wellesley College, Simmons College, Boston College, and Suffolk University.

[10] Based on estimates derived from nursing home websites and key informants.

[11] The 1% of the population who identify as neither male nor female are not represented in the figure.

[12] This estimate should be considered to be the minimum number of Russian-born and Russian-speaking Jewish adults. The actual number is likely to include additional individuals in Russian households. The maximum number of Russian-born and Russian-speaking Jews is the total number of Jewish adults (20,900) and Jewish children (5,500) who reside in those households. Due to data limitations, more precise estimates cannot be developed.

[13] Birthplace, age, and denomination are estimated only for Russian Jewish adults who were respondents to the survey, not for other Russian Jews in their households.

[14] This estimate should be considered to be the minimum number of Jewish Israeli adults. The actual number of Israeli Jews is likely to include additional individuals in Israeli households. The maximum number of Israeli Jews is the total number of Jewish adults (20,500) and Jewish children (11,500) who reside in those households. Due to data limitations, more precise estimates cannot be developed.

[15] Birthplace, age, and denomination are estimated only for Israeli Jewish adults who were respondents to the survey, not for other Israelis in their households.

[16] This estimate should be considered to be the minimum number of LGBTQ Jewish adults. The actual number may include additional individuals in those households. The maximum number of LGBTQ Jews is

the total number of Jewish adults (19,500) and Jewish children (3,100) who reside in those households. Due to data limitations, more precise estimates cannot be developed.

[17] Gender identity terminology follows the language utilized by Keshet, www.keshetonline.org.

[18] Age, denomination, and marital status are estimated only for LGBTQ Jewish adults who were respondents to the survey, not for others in their households.

[19] Although many other behaviors were considered for this index, we were limited to those that were included as part of the survey.

[20] A description of latent class analysis and details of how it was applied to our data are provided in Appendix B.

[21] As is the case with all analyses in this study, estimates of the proportions of each group in the overall population are based on the primary sample. Analyses of characteristics within each group are based on the full sample.

[22] It is possible that females are over-represented among the Affiliated group because women may have been more likely to complete the survey on behalf of their households than were men.

[23] See chapter 8 for details on the self-reported standard of living that is used in this analysis.

[24] JData.com

[25] As was noted in the Boston Jewish Community Study of 2005, when more than half of the children of intermarriage are being raised as Jews, the result is a net increase in the number of Jews in subsequent generations.

[26] Comparing estimates across surveys is imprecise for a number of reasons. Each estimate has a confidence interval around it and should be considered the most likely value within a range of possible values. Changes in methodology as well as in geographic boundaries of CJP's catchment area add to the imprecision. Given these limitations, a decrease of five percentage points is our best estimate of the change in proportion of synagogue-member households.

[27] This comparison does not account for changes in CJP catchment area. A direct comparison of 2005 to 2015 excluding the North Shore would indicate a decline in synagogue member households.

[28] Differences in synagogue membership based on financial status are likely related to the fact that both are related to age, marriage, and having children.

[29] Based on analysis of records of the Synagogue Council of Massachusetts for 2006 and 2015.

[30] Until 2013, those who participated in peer educational programs after age 13 were ineligible for Birthright Israel. That rule has been relaxed. Currently, an applicant is ineligible only if he or she has been on an educational program for longer than three months.

[31]News sources not mutually exclusive.

[32] Twenty-eight percent of respondents specifically indicated that they preferred not to answer the income question and are excluded from this analysis. However, responses to other questions suggest that those who did not provide income information were more well-off than average. Of respondents who did not answer the income question, 85% had at least a bachelor's degree, including 57% with one or more advanced degrees. Further, 91% indicated they were living at least "reasonably comfortably," including 9% who described themselves as "prosperous" and 39% who were living "very comfortably." Eight percent described themselves as "just getting along." Fewer than 1% said they were "poor" or "nearly poor."

[33] To protect privacy, recipients of community services were not included in organization lists from which the survey sample was drawn.

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