

**THE 1996/97 JEWISH POPULATION STUDY
OF GREATER PHILADELPHIA**

Special Report No. 3

**BELIEVING, BEHAVING, BELONGING:
JEWISH IDENTITY AND AFFILIATION
IN GREATER PHILADELPHIA**

by

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Greater Philadelphia Jewish Population Study, 1996/97

STUDY AREA IN A REGIONAL CONTEXT



PENNSYLVANIA

NEW YORK

LONG ISLAND

STUDY AREA

NEW JERSEY

MARYLAND

DELAWARE

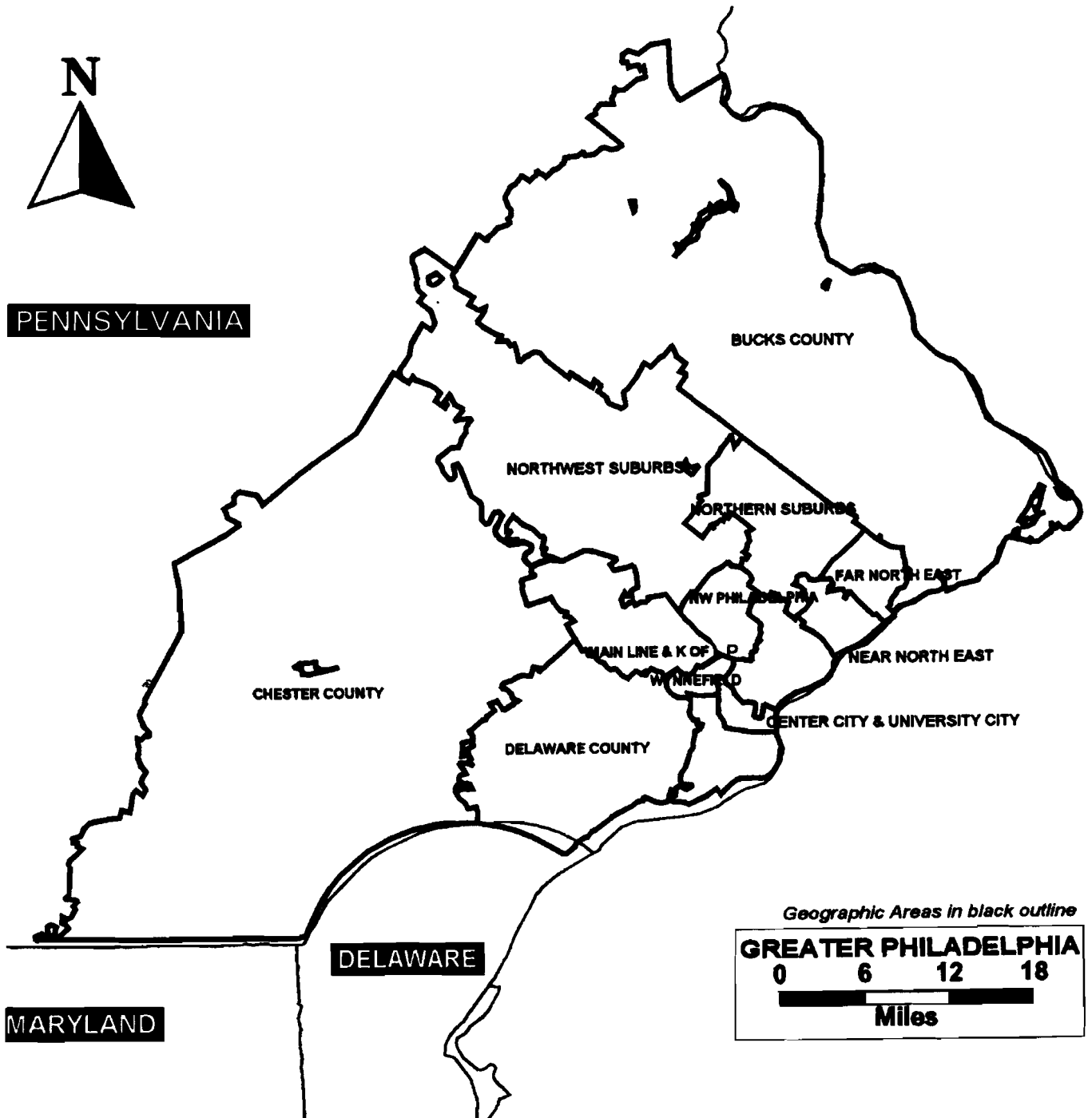


Greater Philadelphia Jewish Population Study, 1996/97

GEOGRAPHIC STUDY AREAS



PENNSYLVANIA



Geographic Areas in black outline



PREFACE

The 1996/97 Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia was commissioned by the Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia. The Study collected information from Jewish households and individuals in the 5-county Philadelphia Area to help the Federation and other Jewish communal institutions and organizations plan for the future. The Philadelphia Area includes the City of Philadelphia, Bucks County, Chester County, Delaware County, and Montgomery County.

The Study was under the direction of the Population Study Committee chaired by Alan Molod, and staffed by Lynda Paz y Mino. All project decisions were made jointly between UAI and the Federation's Population Study Committee.

A total of 1,437 randomly selected respondents were interviewed via a computer assisted telephone interviewing system [CATI] by ICR Survey Research Group of Media, Pennsylvania from September, 1996 through February, 1997. Sampling design, population estimation, and weighting decisions were jointly developed by UAI and by Marketing Systems Group of Fort Washington.¹ The 1996/97 data are compared throughout the reports to the last major survey of the region, conducted in 1984.

The study also included seven focus groups [55 people], conducted by UAI between May 4 and May 14, 1997. Focus group findings included in the report are not statistically significant. They are included to add a "human voice" to the quantitative, survey-based information.

This report, *Special Report #3: Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Jewish Identity and Affiliation in Greater Philadelphia*; is one of the four special topic reports completed as part of the study, in addition to the *Summary Report: The 1996/97 Jewish Population Study of Greater Philadelphia*. Special topic reports have also been prepared on *Geography and Mobility: The Changing Landscape of the Philadelphia Area Jewish Community*, *Economic Vulnerability: Jews at Risk in Greater Philadelphia*, and *Jewish Philanthropy: Patterns of Giving to Charitable Causes in Greater Philadelphia*.

¹A total of 738 interviews were completed in Philadelphia, 379 in Montgomery County, 174 in Bucks County, 97 in Delaware County, and 49 in Chester County. While these numbers essentially reflect the rank order of Jewish households in the five county area, all data presented in the reports reflect weighted numbers designed to project the results to the estimated 100,000 households in Greater Philadelphia. In general, for the entire Philadelphia area, survey data are accurate within a + and - 5% range.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Jewish Continuity

Contrary to prevailing concerns about "Jewish continuity" in the American Jewish community at large, all indications are that Jewish identification remains strong among virtually all segments of the Jewish population of Greater Philadelphia.

"Being Jewish" is "very important" to the majority [73%] of respondents. Two-thirds of Jewish households report having a mezuzah on their doorpost -- slightly down from 71% in 1984.

Identification with at least some branch of organized Judaism has actually increased among Greater Philadelphia Jewry, with only 10% indicating no identification with any branch -- down from 16% in 1984.

Branches of Judaism

Conservative Judaism continues to attract the greatest percentage of identifiers [42%], followed by Reform Judaism [30%]. Orthodox Judaism continues to attract a small minority [5%] as do Reconstructionist Judaism [4%] and Secular Humanist Judaism [4%].

Jewish Observance

Although identification with the main streams of organized Judaism remains robust, observance of the religious practices associated with them is not nearly as widespread as identification.

The percentage of the Jewish population reporting regular observance has declined by a few points for every holiday since 1984. However, the percentage of those keeping kosher has remained constant at about 16-17%. The celebration of Passover remains the most popular holiday observance.

In virtually all Jewish households there is some observance of Jewish holidays and/or rituals. Just 3% indicate a total absence of any Jewish practice. At the same time, only a small minority [3%] indicate that they observe all the holidays and rituals.

Orthodox report the highest degree of observance, followed by the Conservative and Traditional, followed by the Reconstructionist, followed by the Reform, and those identifying with no particular branch of Judaism. Secular Humanist Jews and Jews who do not identify with religion as such indicate the lowest levels of observance of any Jewish holidays or practices.

Jewish Affiliation

Formal affiliation in the form of membership in any Jewish institution is the choice of a minority [47%] of Jews in Greater Philadelphia in 1996-97. Affiliation is the highest [60%] in Montgomery County and lowest [41%] in Philadelphia County. Synagogue affiliation has remained constant at about forty percent since 1984. About half the households that are synagogue affiliated are also affiliated with some other Jewish communal institutions. The majority of those belong to some non-synagogue Jewish institution.

Familiarity with Jewish Institutions

The Allied Jewish Appeal clearly enjoys the highest level of familiarity among Philadelphia Jewry, while the Jewish Information and Referral Service [JIRS] has the lowest. The latter fact is of particular concern, as the JIRS cannot help people find services which the organized Jewish community has to offer if so few people are familiar with it. Interestingly, an examination of the varying degrees of organizational familiarity among Philadelphia Jewry in the five counties showed virtually no difference in levels of familiarity. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that there are fairly substantial differences between the counties on some of the other measures of Jewish identification.

Feel Part of the Jewish Community?

Although the majority of respondents feel that they are “part of the Jewish community in Philadelphia,” there is a sizable minority [33%] who do not feel that way. It is also useful to recall here that 27% of respondents did **not** say that “Being Jewish is very important to me.” While the majority of Jews do feel connected to the Jewish community, others - - who define themselves as Jewish - - do not feel that they are part of the Philadelphia Jewish community. Similarly, one-in-five family module respondents strongly feels that the Jewish community “has no services or programs that interest” them or that the Jewish community “does not care” about their needs.

Intermarriage

Intermarriage status is strongly associated with the decision whether or not children in the household are raised as Jewish. Among **in**married couples, almost every child is being raised as Jewish: 95% of the children in Bucks County **in**married households are raised as Jewish, while 99% of children living in an **in**-married household in Montgomery County and in the City of Philadelphia are raised as Jewish.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Among **intermarried** households, approximately half of all children are being raised as Jewish; conversely, the other half are not. Moreover, the qualitative significance of what it means for children to be “raised Jewish” also differs substantially between the inmarried and the intermarried household. These issues clearly have long-range and serious implications for Jewish continuity.

Jewish Education

Three out of four school-age children, ages 6-17, who are being raised as Jewish, go to public school; 9% attend non-Jewish private school; and 18% go to a Jewish day school. In addition to the 18% in Jewish day schools, 59% are receiving or have received some type of Jewish education in a congregational school. Just over one in five [22%] have never received any Jewish education.

Conclusions: Policy Implications

As emphasized in the *Summary Report*, the central themes that emerge from the 1996/97 Jewish Population Study of the Greater Philadelphia area are the slight decline in the number of Jewish households in the five county region since 1984, the rapid growth of Bucks County and Chester County in contrast to Jewish household/population loss in Philadelphia and Delaware County, and the increasing rate of intermarriage in all counties [although Bucks County and Chester County had the highest percentage of intermarried households]. This *Special Report: Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Jewish Identity and Affiliation in Greater Philadelphia* has highlighted another major theme that was only partially developed in the *Summary Report* - - while a high degree of persistence in Jewish identification still exists in the five county Greater Philadelphia area, a low and apparently declining commitment exists to specific Jewish ritual practices and to affiliation with Jewish organizations.

As a demographic portrait of the Jewish community, the 1996/97 Study was not designed to explore in depth the long-term relationship between the forces of ethnic-religious self-identification and its expression in practice and affiliation. Yet, the timing and reasons why people relinquish Jewish practices and affiliations needs to be better understood. In focusing upon action implications of the 1996/97 Jewish Community Study of Greater Philadelphia, Federation leaders and the professional leadership of Jewish communal organizations [rabbis, educators, executive directors] could begin to explore the issues of declining Jewish practice and affiliation by a series of “follow-up” studies of Jewish households /individuals that have recently “dropped out” of the Jewish community, but still reside in the five county area. Alternately, Federation and Jewish communal leaders could explore this issue by identifying and interviewing non-participating, non-affiliating children of affiliated-ritually involved community members.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A second area for community response to the results of the 1996/97 study in terms of religious practice and Jewish organizational affiliation emerges from the reality that significant segments of the area's Jewish population are unfamiliar with the Jewish Information and Referral Service [JIRS] of the Federation. Accessing the Jewish community is made all the more difficult by the low level of familiarity with JIRS; enhancing awareness ought to be an immediate goal for action.

Finally, the increasing incidence of intermarriage in Greater Philadelphia has resulted in an increase in the number and proportion of children who are of Jewish parentage, but who will be raised in a home that is not all-Jewish - - half will be raised as Jewish [or Jewish and something else], and half will not be raised as Jewish. Synagogues, Jewish community centers, Jewish educational institutions, and Jewish recreational institutions [e. g., Jewish summer camps] need to re-intensify their efforts to attract and serve Jewish children being raised in an intermarried household. Both professional and lay leaders need to address this issue in conference. The central role of the synagogue in the Jewish community and its linkages with Jewish community centers, Jewish schools, and Jewish summer camps must be a focus of these community-wide conferences. Parental interest in affiliations with synagogues and Jewish community centers at the critical stages of pre-school education, early childhood education, summer camps, and the bar/bat mitzvah experience is a key opportunity to link Jewish identification with affiliation and ritual practice. The Jewish community's efforts and sensitivity in welcoming intermarried families at these life-cycle stages may be the critical factors that determine the future of Jewish identity and affiliation in Greater Philadelphia. •

INTRODUCTION

This Study, a special report of the 1996-97 Jewish Community Study of the Greater Philadelphia Jewish Population, describes with broad statistical brush-strokes the variety and extent of Jewish identification patterns among the Jews of Philadelphia. However, the purpose of this report is not purely descriptive. It is intended to enable those concerned about the continuity of Judaism and the Jewish community to plan more responsively to meet the complex social, cultural and religious needs of the people comprising the local Jewish community.

To describe the state of Jewish identity in the context of any modern American Jewish community, one must acknowledge a fact so obvious that it is easily forgotten: American Jews, in Philadelphia as elsewhere, live in the most open, most welcoming and most free society that any Jewish population has ever experienced. This historical fact has rendered Jewish identification a matter of personal choice to a degree un-imagined by previous generations.

So, people who have been identified as living in a “Jewish household” are not necessarily all Jewish. People who have identified themselves as “Jewish” do not necessarily act, affiliate or believe in ideas or values that one thinks of as typically “Jewish.”

The freedom of choice as to the manner and degree to which Jews identify with the theological and cultural content of their heritage, or with the institutions representing that heritage makes identity a product of greater or lesser competition among choices of varying desirability. Thus, for example, the frequency with which Jews attend synagogues or contribute to Jewish philanthropies is only partly a reflection of their Jewish convictions. It is also partly a reflection of how much competition they experience for their discretionary time and income, and how they choose among competing alternatives.

The data analyzed in this report generally do not address the varieties of competing ideas, values and institutions that comprise the full range of alternatives in which Jews find a sense of identity and community. This caution is emphasized at the outset so that one does not fall into an intellectual sand pit, thinking that Jewish identity is constructed and sustained solely within a Jewish frame of reference.

One other important intellectual caution needs to be mentioned at the outset. The survey data on which this report is based is most effective in portraying acts or affiliations. The survey is less effective in portraying how Jews think and/or feel about their Jewishness.

CONCEPTUALIZING “JEWISHNESS”

Most people are familiar with at least some aspect of the controversial question: Who is a Jew? They are probably less familiar with the puzzling if not as controversial question: How is one Jewish? How does one measure the “degree” of a person’s Jewishness.

In this study, the more controversial question – Who is a Jew? -- was settled quite simply and very much in the spirit of American individualism. Self-election was the sole criterion. Prospective survey respondents were asked if they considered themselves Jewish. If they answered in the affirmative, they qualified to be included in the survey sample.

The less controversial question of how to assess “Jewishness” requires a more varied set of indicators. Generally speaking, indicators of Jewishness are found in the categories of :

- Believing
- Behaving
- Belonging

Several questions from the survey address each of these broad categories within which the shape of Jewish identification is found. After describing the variety of ways that Jews of Philadelphia articulate their Jewishness in terms of those broad categories, the report will attempt to explain the reasons for variations in Jewish identification as well as the consequences of those variations with respect to key concerns of the organized Jewish community such as family structure, mate selection, Jewish education, other Jewish cultural experiences and philanthropic giving.

CHAPTER ONE: BELIEVING

Although Jews, as do members of other religious groups, vary greatly in terms of their particular theological convictions, their variations can be generally summed up by whether they identify with one or another branch of Judaism. The major religious movements: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and Reconstructionist, coupled with the somewhat lesser used Traditional and Secular Humanist labels, have become the most convenient short-hand for defining broadly what Jews believe about the central tenets of their faith.

While this short-hand works well for most, it leaves in a fairly high state of ambiguity the identities of those who do not subscribe to any one of them. This limitation is all the more pronounced when we try to describe the Jewishness of children who are not likely to be familiar with or deeply committed to any particular branch of Judaism.

Before probing the more subtle distinctions between different kinds of Jewishness, the survey sought to determine in general the religious identification choices of respondents, ranging from Jewish, Christian, Moslem, other religion to “no” religion.

The survey was administered to a total of **1,437** qualifying Jewish households in which one respondent answered on behalf of the entire household. The exhibits in this report summarize those data in their weighted form, so that all statistics pertain to the entirety of the Jewish population of Greater Philadelphia.

Exhibit 1 summarizes those response patterns for the adult population within the households they represent, estimating and projecting the number of households from the survey data.

Exhibit 1

Religious Self-Identification, All Adults in Jewish Households, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Consider Own Religion	Projected Number	Percent
Judaism	149,500	80%
Christianity	16,700	9
Islam	600	*
Other religion	7,300	4
No religion	14,300	7
TOTAL	188,400	100%

CHAPTER ONE: BELIEVING

As has been pointed out time and again, Jewish identification can imply a wide variety of religious beliefs, convictions and attitudes, and an equally wide variety of behaviors and practices associated with them. Exhibit 2 begins this exploration of the Jewish belief system in terms of how respondents report the identification patterns of adult household members with the main branches of Judaism.

Exhibit 2

Identification with Branches of Judaism, All Jewish Adults, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Jewish Denomination	Projected Number	Percent
Orthodox	7,100	5%
Traditional	7,800	5
Conservative	60,400	38
Reconstructionist	5,000	3
Reform	44,000	28
Secular Humanist	5,400	3
No Denomination	27,700	18
TOTAL	157,400²	100%

The historic primacy of Conservative Judaism in Philadelphia continues, with **38%** of Jewish adults identifying as Conservative. Because of the importance of the numbers associated with each of these branches of Judaism, particularly for synagogues, Exhibit 2 also reports the data as projected number of Jewish adults who self-identify with each branch of Judaism. Area synagogues might find it useful to compare their total memberships with the projected totals in Exhibit 2.

Possible trends in the population's distribution across the different branches of Judaism by the age of respondents are explored in Exhibit 2A. It is interesting to note that a slightly growing identification with the Reform branch of Judaism is a consistent pattern; comparing these age cohorts, there is no indication of a growing disaffection among the young with the major branches of Judaism.

²The difference between line one "Judaism" in Exhibit 1 and the total in Exhibit 2 is accounted for by the fact that Exhibit 2 includes Jews who identify with no religion but who self-identify as Jewish.

CHAPTER ONE: BELIEVING

Exhibit 2A

Percentage of Respondents Identifying With Branches of Judaism by Age,
Philadelphia Area, 1996/97 & 1984

Jewish Denomination	18 - 34	35 - 49	50 - 64	65 - 74	75 +
Orthodox	2%	5%	2%	6%	9%
Traditional	8	5	4	4	7
Conservative	38	35	44	48	43
Reconstructionist	2	6	4	2	1
Reform	36	31	30	29	24
Other	14	18	16	11	16
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It should be noted that there is considerable variation among the five counties with respect to these patterns of identification with the different branches of organized Judaism. For example, in Philadelphia and Montgomery counties between 5-6% of the households are identified as Orthodox, while none of the households are identified as such in Chester or Delaware counties. On the other hand, in these latter counties between 6-9% of the households are identified as Secular Humanist. In Philadelphia, about 21% of the households identify with no denomination, while in Delaware and Montgomery counties the absence of identification with any of these branches of Judaism is found among just 10% of the households.

Exhibit 3 compares Jewish self-identification of respondents to the 1996/97 study with the results of the 1984 Jewish Population Survey of Greater Philadelphia.

Exhibit 3

Jewish Self-identification of Respondents, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97 & 1984

Jewish Denomination	1996/97 Projected Number	1996/97 Per Cent	1984 Per Cent
Orthodox	3,800	5%	5%
Traditional	4,400	5	7
Conservative	34,600	42	41
Reconstructionist	3,100	4	2
Reform	25,100	28	25
Secular Humanist	3,700	4	4
No denomination	10,600	12	16
TOTAL³	85,300	100%	100%

³Note: this table excludes those with "no religion" [5,000] in the 1996/97 survey as well as those [600] who gave some other answer. For comparability to the 1984 data, only the respondent's denomination is included.

CHAPTER ONE: BELIEVING

Only relatively small differences characterize the comparison between 1996/97 and 1984. The data suggest growth in the Reform population and slight growth in the Conservative and Reconstructionist population. The Orthodox seem to have remained constant at 5% and the Traditional declined from 7% to 5%. Those professing no identification with any of the major branches of Judaism seem to have declined from 16% in 1984 to 12% in 1996/97.

To what extent these labels of the main branches of Judaism are associated with any particular Jewish beliefs or theological convictions cannot be precisely determined, except insofar as there were questions in the survey bearing on beliefs. Several questions addressed issues of conviction, belief or the salience of certain basic Jewish values. These included the following items:

- [a] How important is **Being Jewish** to you?
- [b] How important is/was it to you to **Marry Someone Who Is Jewish**?
- [c] How important is it that your **Children/Grandchildren Marry Someone Jewish**?
- [d] How important is/was it that **Jewish Children Receive a Jewish Education**?
- [e] How important Is/was **Having Jewish Friends**?

For obvious methodological reasons, only Jewish survey respondents were asked to rank their replies to the above questions as follows: [1] Very Important, [2] Somewhat Important, [3] Not Too Important, and [4] Not At All Important.

Exhibit 4

Attitudes of Jewish Respondents to Key Values Question, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Question	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Very Important	Not At All Important	Total
[a] Being Jewish	73%	21	4	2	100%
[b] Respondent Marrying Jewish	59%	14	10	17	100%
[c] Children Grandchildren Marrying Jewish	50%	24	11	15	100%
[d] Children Receiving Jewish Education	58%	27	8	8	100%
[e] Having Jewish Friends	36%	38	15	11	100%

Taken together, these five questions suggest that “being Jewish” is “very important” for the majority of Jewish respondents. However, the meaning of that personal status varies considerably when applied to other values. For example, while 73% say that “being Jewish” is “very important,” just 59% say that “marrying Jewish” is very important to them and just 50% say that having their children or grandchildren marry Jewish is “very important.” Interestingly, a higher percentage consider it “very important” that their children receive a Jewish education than who say it is “very important” that their children or grandchildren marry Jewish.

With the exception of those who consider themselves Orthodox, only a minority of any segment of respondents consider it “very important” to have Jewish friends. Yet, the majority in every branch of Judaism consider “being Jewish” “very important.” The exception to this last generalization was respondents who consider themselves Secular Humanists or Jews who do not see themselves as having any religion. This finding strongly suggests that while Jewishness might be distinct from a belief in the religion of Judaism, in fact those who do not identify with any form of the religion are also not likely to set a high value on their Jewishness in general.

Insofar as “Being Jewish” and “Having a Jewish Education” refer to certain highly personal attributes, the above data lend themselves to some interpretation as to what is of greater or lesser significance to the contemporary Jewish Philadelphian. It appears that respondents assign the highest importance to those aspects of Jewishness that are private [i.e. a sense of personal identity and education]. They seem to be less certain about how important it is that those attributes play a determinate role in one’s social relationships [e.g. marriage and friendship].

Statistically, it is also possible to combine the five items into a single index, referred to hereafter as the Jewish Salience Index [JSI]. For the sake of generalization, each of the five items was allowed a score of 0-3 [with “not at all important” = 0 and “very important” = 3]. By adding the five items together, one obtains a simple JSI score that ranges from 0-15. The advantage of such an index is that it enables one to summarize the relative importance of “Jewishness.”

Exhibit 5

Average Jewish Salience Index Score, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Jewish Denomination	Score
Orthodox	13.9
Traditional	11.8
Conservative	12.5
Reconstructionist	11.0
Reform	10.8
Secular Humanist	8.4
No denomination	9.6
Jew With No Religion	5.8
Average	10.5

One important implication of this analysis is that, perhaps, the labels of organized Judaism with which most Jews identify do not distinguish nearly as much as one might think about how important Jewishness is to each. The groups whose score was substantially lower than all others were Jews who not only did not identify with any of the major branches of Judaism, but said they identify with no religion at all and Secular Humanists. Clearly, this index points to a continuum with relatively small differences between some of the major branches of Judaism.

CHAPTER TWO: BEHAVING

Perhaps, the single most distinctive feature of Jewish identity, in contrast to other forms of religious-ethnic identification patterns, is that it has always required expression in behavior. Traditional Jewish behaviors include the observance of *Shabbat*, the celebration of the holidays of the Jewish calendar and numerous other ritual observances. To enable comparisons, the ones included in the present study are those that have been used to assess Jewish behavior in other communities.

Exhibit 6

Jewish Ritual Observance Practices, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Ritual Observance Practices	Per Cent	
	[Projected Number]	
Observe Shabbat by lighting candles	Always 12	Sometimes 26
	Usually 8	Never 54
Participate in a Passover <i>Seder</i>	Always 63	Sometimes 17
	Usually 11	Never 9
Fast on <i>Yom Kippur</i>	Always 51	Sometimes 14
	Usually 9	Never 26
Light Hanukkah candles	Always 62	Sometimes 13
	Usually 9	Never 17
Have a Christmas tree*	Never 77	Usually 3
	Sometimes 6	Always 14
Celebrate <i>Purim</i>	Always 26	Sometimes 25
	Usually 9	Never 44
Keep <i>kosher</i>	YES 17% [Projected N=16,400]	NO 83%
IF "Keep <i>kosher</i> " is that both inside and outside the home	Inside and Outside 48% [Projected N=7,900]	Kosher Inside HouseOnly 52%
IF "Keep <i>kosher</i> " both inside and outside home, do you turn lights on and off during the Shabbat	NO Lights on Shabbat 42% [Projected N= 3,300]	YES 58%
Is there a <i>mezuzah</i> on your door	YES 67%	NO 33%

It is instructive to take note of the projected, weighted number of respondents who reported themselves to be Orthodox in Exhibit 3, above [Projected N=3,800] in light of the projected number of respondents indicating that they do not turn lights on or off on the Shabbat in Exhibit 6 [Projected N=3,300]. The juxtaposition of these numbers would suggest that approximately 85% of those who say they are Orthodox actually behave in a manner consistent with that label, at least so far as Sabbath observance is concerned -- or at least give consistent answers to questions of self-identification and the behavior that is supposed to accompany it.

CHAPTER TWO: BEHAVING

Exhibit 6 provides a telling description of both uniformity and diversity with respect to normative Jewish behavior among Philadelphia's Jewry. Ranking them in order of popularity from the most widely observed ["*always*" or "*usually*"] to the least, the practices that characterize Jewish behavior in 1996/97 are:

- the Passover *Seder* [74%]
- the Lighting of Hanukkah Candles [71%]
- Having a Mezuzah on the Door [67%]
- Fasting on *Yom Kippur* [60%]
- Celebrating *Purim* [35%]
- Lighting candles for the Sabbath [20%]
- Keeping *Kosher* [17%]
- Keeping *Kosher* both Inside and Outside the Home [8%]
- Refraining from Turning Lights On or Off on *Shabbat* [3%]

Jewish behavior is also characterized by how Jews demarcate themselves from their Christian and other non-Jewish neighbors. It is worth noting that **eighty-three percent [83%]** of the households surveyed do not usually have a Christmas tree in their home.

In the 1984 study, *The Jewish Population of the Greater Philadelphia Area*, some of the same aspects of Jewish behavior were assayed. Because the wording and response choices were somewhat different, a precise comparison is not possible. However, the patterns of Jewish behavior as revealed in that survey more than a dozen years ago bear a striking familiarity to the results of the current survey. The list below is a summary of the **affirmative/religiously observant** replies to the questions used to assess Jewish behavior in the 1984 study.:

- Do you Usually Attend a Passover *Seder* [89%]
- Do you Stay Home from Work on the High Holidays [80%]
- Do you [Usually] Light Chanukah Candles [78%]
- Do you Have a Mezuzah on your Door [71%]
- Do you Fast on *Yom Kippur* [67%]
- Do you Usually Light Sabbath Candles [32%]
- Do you Use Separate Dishes for Meat & Dairy at Home [16%]
- Do you Refrain from Using any Form of Transportation on the Sabbath [5%]

More than a generation ago, the eminent sociologist of American Jewry, the late Dr. Marshall Sklare, summarized the general standards of American Jewish behavior. He noted that Jews tend most toward those practices that are family and child centered, that take relatively little time, and do the least to isolate Jews from their non-Jewish neighbors. In that context, it is easy to understand the reason that the Passover *Seder* and the lighting of candles on Hanukkah continues to be the most popular ways in which Jews enact their sense of identification. These are both quintessentially family and child oriented holidays, celebrated at a time and in a manner not unlike the celebrations of all Americans.

CHAPTER TWO: BEHAVING

Although a comparison of the two lists suggests a high degree of continuity, at least with respect to the behavioral priorities of Philadelphia Jewry, it also hints at a pattern of decline in some of the most widely shared Jewish observances. For example, **89%** of respondents said in 1984 that they *usually* attended a Passover *Seder*. In 1996/97 that figure has slipped to **74%**. Likewise, while the observance of Hanukkah by the lighting of candles remains widely popular in Jewish homes, reported by **70%** of households in 1996/97, the 1984 study reported that Chanukah candles were lit in **78%** of Jewish homes. The lighting of Shabbat candles also declined from **32%** in 1984 to **20%** in 1996/97.

The question about keeping *kosher* was asked differently between 1984 and 1996/97. Nevertheless, in this area of Jewish behavior there appears to be no marked decline. **Sixteen percent [16%]** reported keeping *kosher* [as indicated by having separate dishes for meat and dairy products] in 1984. In the 1996/97 survey the question was asked more generally and resulted in **17%** affirmative response. On the other hand, the strict observance of the Sabbath – as measured by “not using any form of transportation” -- seems to have declined quite sharply – as measured by “not turning lights on or off,”-- from **5%** in 1984 to **3%** in 1996/97. Whether this change reflects a real decline in Sabbath observance, or just a change due to the ways in which observance was measured at two different points in time, must remain open to question.

As with statements referring to basic beliefs or attitudes, which were combined to form the **JSI**, the above listed practices can also be combined into an over-all **Jewish Practices Index [JPI]**. Treating “always” and “usually” as “1” and “sometimes” and “never” as “0” each observance has been given a score and collectively combined to form an over-all **JPI** score with a low value of “0” and a high value of “10”. The question concerning having a Christmas tree was reversed in scoring, with a “1” for not having one. Exhibit 7 describes the over-all distribution of Jewish households on the index.

Exhibit 7

Percentage Distribution of Households on Jewish Practices Index, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Jewish Practices Index Values	Percent of Households
0	3%
1	8
2	12
3	14
4	15
5	17
6	14
7	7
8	4
9	3
10	3
TOTAL	100%

CHAPTER TWO: BEHAVING

On the basis of Exhibit 7 it appears that the great majority of households engage in some affirmative behavior to signify their Jewish identification, even if [possibly for a small minority] it is nothing more than not having a seasonal Christmas tree in the home. Obviously, most do more than that. As expected, there is considerable variation among survey respondents by the main branches of Judaism as to how much they engage in Jewish practices, as shown in Exhibit 8. The Orthodox attain the highest average score on the **JPI**, with a mean that exceeds the total population average by about one and half standard deviation units. At the other end of the behavior spectrum are those who say they are Jewish but identify with no religion. Their average score on the **JPI** is 2.1, a figure that is more than one standard deviation below the over-all population mean.

Exhibit 8

Average Jewish Practices Index Score by Branch of Judaism, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Branch of Judaism	Number of Respondents	Mean JPI Score
Orthodox	3,800	7.9
Conservative	34,600	5.3
Traditional	4,400	5.3
Reconstructionist	3,100	5.0
Reform	25,100	4.1
Secular Humanist	3,700	2.8
No branch indicated	10,600	3.9
Jewish/with no religion	5,000	2.1
TOTAL	99,300	4.4

It is readily apparent from the distribution of the average **JPI** scores of different sub-groups of the population that Philadelphia Jewry falls into three rather distinct groups with respect to patterns of Jewish behavior. The great majority consists of Jews who define themselves as Conservative, Traditional, Reconstructionist or Reform. Secular Humanists are clearly at the outer edge of that range. The Orthodox minority is the furthest away from the mean, at the high end; Jews who indicate no preference for any branch of Judaism or who profess no religion are at the low end.

CHAPTER TWO: BEHAVING

Whether these Jewish behavior patterns are a product of the choices that Jews make in the branches of Judaism with which they identify or perhaps, these patterns of Jewish behavior determine which branch of Judaism one identifies with is not readily evident from the data. For example, it is possible that Jews who decide to join the Orthodox community become more observant as a result. It is also quite possible that those who are most observant opt to identify with Orthodoxy. The causal link is difficult to determine.

The two indexes described above, the **Jewish Salience Index [JSI]** and the **Jewish Practices Index [JPI]** have a very high statistical correlation with one another within every sub-group of the population. Put quite simply, *believing and behaving go very nearly hand in hand for the Jews of Greater Philadelphia*. Those who have the highest score on one index also have the highest score on the other and vice versa. The rare exception to this broad generalization are Reconstructionist and Secular Humanist Jews among whom there is a significantly lower correlation between the two indexes than among all the other groups. Perhaps, because these latter movements are the most self-consciously ideological, their members might feel that their sense of identification is completed through affirmation rather than through action.

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

Because the American Jewish community is fundamentally a voluntary community, the concept of “belonging” requires some elaboration. One belongs to the Jewish community through a variety of formal and informal associations. The most obvious of these is *membership by paying dues*. Somewhat less formally, one can express a sense of belonging through *attendance at and participation in the activities or programs* of the various organizations that make up the Jewish community. Finally, one can have a sense of belonging to the Jewish community by *maintaining an awareness of and an interest in* the institutions and activities that make up the organized life of the Jewish community.

The first and most formal dimension of belonging has been explored in the 1996/97 Survey by means of four questions:

1. Does your household belong to a synagogue?
2. Is anyone in your household currently paying dues to a Jewish community center [JCC]?
3. Are you or anyone in the household currently a member of any other Jewish organization [other than a synagogue or JCC]?

An affirmative answer to any one of these three questions indicates a current connection to the organized Jewish community. To be sure, there are other ways to ascertain belonging, such as having a child enrolled in some form of nursery or other schooling that is sponsored by the Jewish community. But all other ways of asking about belonging would be limited to a particular age or life style segment of the population. These three questions are applicable to everyone.

Exhibit 9

Percentage of Respondents Indicating Belonging to Jewish Organizations,
Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Jewish Organization	Projected Number of Households Belonging to Jewish Organization		Percentage of Households Belonging to Jewish Organization	
Belongs to a Synagogue	YES 36,800	NO 62,300	YES	37%
Pays Dues to a Jewish Community Center [JCC]	YES 7,000	NO 91,200	YES	8%
Member of Another Jewish Organization	YES 24,900	NO 74,500	YES	25%

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

It is readily apparent that the synagogue is the institution through which belonging is most likely to be expressed. With all that, only a minority of the households [37%] belong to a synagogue. It is worth noting that according to the findings of the 1984 Survey about 40% of households reported synagogue membership. *The discrepancy between the 1984 and the 1996 figures on synagogue membership is so small as to be negligible.* That fact is all the more remarkable in view of the rather substantial declines in some of the areas of Jewish practice since 1984.

Of course, many of those who belong to one Jewish organization belong to others as well. Looking at the three standards of belonging in combination yields some further insights into what aspects of belonging are most salient. By looking at the combinations of the three standards of belonging it becomes readily apparent that *forty-seven percent [47%] of Jewish households in the five county area of Philadelphia belong in some formal way to the organized Jewish community.*

Exhibit 10

Number and Percentage of Households Belonging to Different Combinations of Jewish Organizations, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Pattern of Organizational Belonging	Projected Number	Percent
Synagogue Only	18,100	18%
JCC or Other Organization Only - Not Synagogue Member	10,300	10
Synagogue + JCC or Other	15,900	16
All	2,300	2
None	51,700	53
TOTAL	98,300	100%

County of residence is related to the pattern of Jewish organizational membership [Exhibit 11].

Exhibit 11

Percentage of Households Belonging to Different Combinations of Jewish Organizations by County, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Affiliation	Philadelphia	Montgomery	Bucks	Chester	Delaware
Synagogue Only	14%	24%	22%	23%	18%
JCC or Other Only	12	10	9	3	11
Synagogue + JCC or Other	13	23	15	15	18
All	3	3	--	3	1
None	59	40	54	56	52
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

Philadelphia County has the highest percentage of Jewish households without any Jewish organizational belonging, while Montgomery County has the lowest percentage of non-affiliated households. Correspondingly, synagogue affiliation runs to a high of 47% in Montgomery County and a low of 27% in Philadelphia. What role particular sectors of the community play in fostering greater or lesser degrees of formal affiliation with the organized Jewish community is an issue that remains to be explored.

Besides formal affiliation through membership, people express a sense of belonging or are in effect connected to a community by participating in one or more of such activities as are likely to bring them into contact with fellow Jews. Indeed, many years ago the late Marshall Sklare referred to “associationalism” as one of the core driving motivations of Jews to identify with their community.

In the current study, the participatory aspect of belonging was measured through the series of questions listed below:

1. How Frequently have You or Your Spouse Attended Synagogue Services?
2. In 1995, Did Any Member of your Household Attend Any Program or Activity at a Jewish Community Center?
3. Do you Have any Children who have Received or are Receiving Any Jewish Education?
4. Has Any Adult in your Household Been to Israel?
5. Has Any Child in your Household been to Israel?
6. Has Anyone Made a Contribution to Federation?
7. Has Anyone made a Contribution to Any Other Jewish Cause or Organization?

Although some of these questions will be explored in greater detail further in this report, initially each of the items will be treated as a simple “yes or no” dichotomy in the Exhibit 12.

Exhibit 12

Percentage of Households Indicating Various Forms of Jewish Communal Participation, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Communal Participation	YES	NO	TOTAL
Respondent or Spouse Ever Attend Synagogue Services?	78%	22	100%
Anyone in Household Participate in Any JCC Activities?	27%	73	100%
Any Child Received or Receiving Jewish Education?	60%	40	100%
Any Adult in Household been to Israel?	43%	57	100%
Any Child in the Household been to Israel?	10%	90	100%
Any Contribution Made to Federation?	49%	51	100%
Any Contribution Made to Any Other Jewish Organization?	45%	55	100%
Total Households Doing ANY of the above?	90%	10	100%

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

With the exception of the question concerning the education of any children in the household, which was asked only of a sub-sample in the survey [Module on Families and Children], all the other questions were asked of all the participating households. Therefore they can be used to develop a comprehensive overview of how well connected Jewish households are to the organized Jewish community through those various acts of association.

As one might have expected, participation in synagogue services is the most common way in which the majority of Jewish households are connected. It is particularly useful to recall in this context the finding shown on Exhibit 9 that *just 37% of all Jewish households report being dues paying members of a synagogue. More than twice as many households report having attended a synagogue at least once a year over the past three years.* This discrepancy between formal affiliation and participation has potentially serious implications for how synagogues plan their budgets, utilization patterns and marketing. The discrepancy implies that there is a greater desire for occasional participation than for full-time membership.

The relationship of Jewish households to Jewish Community Centers is similar to their relationship with synagogues – only much more so. As we have seen, more than twice as many respondents say that they or some other member of their household has attended a synagogue than say they belong. The ratio of users to members is even greater for JCCs. As we have seen in Exhibit 9, just **eight percent** [8%] of households report paying dues to belong to a JCC. On the other hand, we note in Exhibit 12 that **twenty-seven percent** [27%] of households have a member who has participated in one or more activities of a JCC in the past year.

It would seem that both with synagogues and with JCCs, participation is attracting far more people than membership. The impact of this disparity on the viability of those institutions needs to be examined carefully. Quite apart from the greater or lesser popularity of any of the forms of Jewish communal participation, it is illuminating to realize that, in fact, the vast majority of Jewish households do connect with the Jewish community in a number of different ways, as will be seen below. In fact, just **ten percent** [10%] of households report no participation in any way with the organized Jewish community.

Exhibit 13 is based on a combined measure of participation, which was constructed by adding all yes/no responses [where Yes=1 and No=0] listed in Exhibit 12. The measure was designated as the **Jewish Communal Participation Index [JCPI]**, which is characterized by a high score of “7” and a low score of “0”. As can be seen in Exhibit 13 just ten percent of households reached a score of “0”. All other Jewish households expressed at least some form of participatory belonging to the Jewish community.

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

Exhibit 13

Percentage Distribution of Households on Jewish Communal Participation Index, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97⁴

Jewish Communal Participation Score	Projected Number	Percent
0	10,000	10%
1	21,100	21
2	20,500	21
3	17,700	18
4	16,700	17
5	10,400	10
6	2,000	2
7	300	*
TOTAL	99,300	100%

At the high end of this index we find about three percent [3%] of households, suggesting that intense participation in organized Jewish life is also rare. In fact, the average score of the population as a whole was 2.5 with a standard deviation of about 1.6 -- very nearly a normal distribution. The value of these general statistics is that they will permit sub-group comparisons below.

For example, Exhibit 14 looks at the relative participation scores of Jewish households in the five counties of the Greater Philadelphia Jewish community.

Exhibit 14

Average Jewish Communal Participation Index Scores of Households by County, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Philadelphia	Montgomery	Bucks	Chester	Delaware
2.3	2.9	2.5	2.1	2.5

When compared with Exhibit 11, which summarizes formal affiliation patterns in each county, Exhibit 14 provides a somewhat more rounded view of how people use institutions in their community. Perhaps not surprisingly, participation in the life of the organized Jewish community is highest in Montgomery County. On the other hand, it is lowest in Chester County, even though affiliation by membership is not. A comparison of these two tables impels us to wonder about the relationship between the extent of formal affiliation as defined by membership, on the one hand, and participation, on the other. Exhibit 15 examines that relationship.

⁴In all tables, * indicates less than 1%.

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

Exhibit 15

Average Jewish Communal Participation Index Scores of Households by Jewish Organizational Belonging, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Categories of Membership Status

Synagogue Only	JCC or Other Only	Synagogue + JCC or +Other	All	None
3.1	3.1	4.1	4.5	1.6

Those households that hold membership in every form of Jewish communal institution clearly have the highest level of communal participation as well. Perhaps, the most surprising finding in Exhibit 15 is that *those households that have membership only in a synagogue actually have the same over-all communal participation score as those who hold membership only in a Jewish Community Center or some other Jewish organization.* The other very interesting finding is that the absence of any formal institutional membership is not associated with a complete absence of Jewish communal participation. The average participation score of those who hold no membership in the institutions of the organized Jewish community was 1.6, within one standard deviation unit of the total population average.

Familiarity with Jewish Organizations

Finally, one can think of belonging to the Jewish community as *a state of mind.* This state of mind is characterized by thoughts and feeling one holds toward one's own Jewishness, toward fellow Jews, toward the organized Jewish community and toward the wider society's view of Jews. Although the survey did not probe that state of mind very deeply, there was a series of questions that reflect upon it. Respondents were asked to indicate how familiar they are with six major Jewish communal institutions. It is reasonable to surmise that those who think themselves to be even somewhat familiar with the Jewish community's major organizational bodies are more mentally connected to the community than those who harbor no such familiarity.

Exhibit 16

Familiarity With Major Jewish Organizations, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Name of Organization	Not At All Familiar	Not Too Familiar	Somewhat Familiar	Very Familiar	Total
Anti Defamation League	17%	10	43	30	100%
Hadassah	18%	12	40	29	100%
Jewish National Fund	29%	15	34	22	100%
Jewish Information and Referral	60%	18	18	5	100%
Allied Jewish Appeal	17%	7	31	45	100%
Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia	18%	11	35	37	100%

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

The Allied Jewish Appeal clearly enjoys the highest level of familiarity among Philadelphia Jewry, while the Jewish Information and Referral Service the lowest. The latter fact is particularly regrettable as JIRS can in theory be the gateway to the full gamut of services that the organized Jewish community has to offer. But, as the great majority of people are unfamiliar with it, it seems unlikely that this organization can completely fulfill its mission.

In order to measure “familiarity” as a form of mental belonging or mental identification, in every case where respondents indicated that they were “not at all” familiar with one of the above mentioned organizations they were given a score of “0”. Where they reported even slight familiarity, such as that they were “not too familiar,” they were given a score of “1”. In that fashion it was possible to develop an over-all *Index of Jewish Organizational Familiarity*, which has a low score of “0” and a high score of “6.” Exhibit 17 summarizes the distribution of households on the extent to organizational familiarity reported by survey respondents.

Exhibit 17

Index of Organizational Familiarity, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Index Score	Projected Number of Households	Percent
0	5,800	6%
1	4,700	5
2	3,400	3
3	9,100	9
4	16,900	17
5	27,100	27
6	32,400	33
TOTAL	99,400	100%

The significance of the statistics in Exhibit 17 is that we find the great majority of Philadelphia Jewry at least somewhat familiar with one or another of the Jewish organizations mentioned in the survey. Just **six percent [6%]** were completely unfamiliar with any. At the other end of the spectrum, just a **third** report familiarity with all of the Jewish organizations mentioned.

Interestingly, an examination of the varying degrees of organizational familiarity among Philadelphia Jewry in the five counties showed virtually no difference among the counties. The absence of any significant differences among the counties in terms of how widely familiar people are with different Jewish organizations is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that we had found fairly substantial differences between the counties on some of the other measures of Jewish identification. For example, in Exhibit 11 we had seen that in Montgomery County there was a substantially higher level of organizational affiliation than in the other counties. Likewise, in Exhibit 14 we had seen that the average level of Jewish organizational participation was significantly higher in Montgomery County than in the others. Yet, when it comes to a general familiarity with the Jewish organizations mentioned in the survey, differences between the counties seem to be rather small.

CHAPTER THREE: BELONGING

Exhibit 18

Average Jewish Organizational Familiarity Index Scores, by County, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Philadelphia	Montgomery	Bucks	Chester	Delaware
4.1	4.9	4.4	3.7	4.7

If, indeed, affiliation and participation vary significantly among the populations of the five counties yet basic awareness of or familiarity with the existing Jewish organizations does not vary all that much, the question needs to be raised as to the reason that the latter cognitive states do not translate into behavior as readily in some parts of Greater Philadelphia as in others. Is the discrepancy a function of attitudes or opportunity or the competitive environment or something else?

CHAPTER FOUR: JEWISH EDUCATION

Thus far, this report has focused principally on the variety of ways in which Jewish households can be said to identify with Judaism and the organized Jewish community as reflected by the answers to questions pertaining to respondents' personal sense of Jewishness or of that of their household. In the following section, the focus shifts to the next generation, the children. The questions addressed here deal with the ways and the degrees to which respondents are rearing or expecting to rear their children as Jews, as reflected by the kinds of Jewish education they are providing or expecting to provide for them.

As a first step in addressing the question of Jewish continuity through the education of children, it is important to ascertain the size of the child population and how many households actually have how many Jewish children.

Out of the approximately one hundred thousand households in the Greater Philadelphia Jewish population, just **twenty-eight percent [28%]** have any children under the age of eighteen in the household. There are a total of **fifty-two thousand [52,000]** children in the Jewish households of Philadelphia. Of this child population, just **41,000** are identified as "being Jewish" or being "raised Jewish" or "partly Jewish" by their parents. Put another way, about **21%** of the children in households included in the total Jewish population of Greater Philadelphia are not currently identified by their parents as Jewish.

The discrepancy between the total number of children and the total number of Jewish children is almost entirely a function of intermarriage, as shown in the Exhibit below.

Exhibit 19

Number and Percent of Children Being Raised As Jewish by Whether Respondent is in an Inmarried, Conversionary or Intermarried Marriage, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Children Raised As:	Inmarried Household	Conversionary Household	Intermarried Household	Total
Jewish	25,900 [96%]	2,400 [54%]	6,000 [47%]	34,300 [78%]
Jewish & Something Else	400 [1]	400 [9]	1,200 [10]	2,000 [5]
Not Jewish	600 [2]	1,600 [37]	4,200 [33]	6,500 [15]
Undecided	----	----	1,400 [11]	1,400 [3]
TOTAL	26,900 [100%]	4,400 [100%]	12,900 [100%]	44,200 [100%]

Note: Read: a projected total of 25,900 children from inmarried households are being raised as Jewish; this represents 96% of the children who live in inmarried households. Since some children live in households with unmarried respondents, this Exhibit shows a smaller total than that reported in the text discussion above.

Some of the findings in Exhibit 19 confirm well-known patterns of American Jewish identification while others suggest new insights. In households in which the marriage partners are both Jewish by birth, nearly all children are raised as Jews. There is virtually no loss of Jewish identity transmission from parents to children. This pattern has been shown consistently in every Jewish population survey over the past several decades. This pattern was borne out as well by the findings of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey.

Matters become more complex when the household contains an intermarried couple or a couple in which only one of the partners was born and/or raised Jewish. The present survey did not ask specifically about religious conversion. However, where a person indicated that he or she was born and/or raised as something other than Jewish, but currently identified as Jewish, such as person was labeled as a “Jew-by-choice” or a “convert.” Hence, a household that included a marriage between a person who was identified as “Jewish by birth and/or upbringing” and one who was a “Jew-by-choice” was designated as a “conversionary couple” -- even though we have no direct evidence that one of the spouses formally converted to Judaism.

That lack of precision about the nature of conversion has possibly resulted in the finding that there is not a very large difference between conversionary families and intermarried families with respect to the percentage who raise their children as Jews. On the other hand, there is a striking difference between the two categories of families with respect to any uncertainty about the Jewishness of their children. None of the conversionary families seem to be uncertain about whether or not they are raising their children as Jews; while **eleven percent [11%]** of the intermarried families indicate uncertainty in this matter.

In Exhibit 19, we note that **forty-seven percent [47%]** of the intermarried couples are raising their children as Jews and another **ten percent [10%]** as “Jewish and something else” [i.e. some sort of dual-faith upbringing]. This pattern is at considerable variance from the findings of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, which found that only about **thirty percent [30%]** of intermarried families were raising their children Jewish. Perhaps, the major reason for that discrepancy is to be found in the nature of the questions asked in the two surveys. The 1990 NJPS asked “in what religion” a person was being raised; while the current survey simply asked whether the child[ren] was/were being “raised Jewish.” The option to report that a child is being “raised Jewish” may generate a higher percentage of Jewish replies than a question that requires the affirmation of Judaism as a religion.

These apparently statistical curiosities may well have much broader significance in how one wants to define the boundaries of the Jewish population and the nature of Jewish identity. Somewhat surprisingly, there is considerable variation amongst the five counties of the Greater Philadelphia Jewish community with respect to whether the children of households in which the spouses are not both Jewish by birth and/or upbringing will be reared as Jews. There is no such variation amongst the five counties with respect to the children of all Jewish couples. **Ninety-five percent or more** of all Jewish couples are raising their children as Jews in every county.

However, as shown below in Exhibit 20, whether the children of intermarried or the “conversionary” families are raised as Jews, varies quite substantially from one county to another.

Exhibit 20

Percentage of Children of **Intermarried or Conversionary Families** Being Raised as Jewish by County, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Children Raised as:	Philadelphia	Montgomery	Bucks	Chester	Delaware
Jewish	37%	38%	42%	59%	74%
Jewish & Something Else	15	9	3	23	5
Not Jewish	40	36	37	18	21
Undecided	9	17	18	*	*
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

What reason there might be that there is a such a great variation between the counties with respect to the decisions that intermarried and conversionary couples make about the upbringing of their children is difficult to surmise. Perhaps, there are unique institutional or educational opportunities in one county and not in another that might account for the fact that **seventy-four percent [74%]** and **fifty-nine percent [59%]** of intermarried and conversionary families are raising their children as Jews in Delaware and Chester Counties respectively; while only **thirty-seven [37%]** of such families are doing so in Philadelphia and only **thirty eight percent [38%]** are doing so in Montgomery County. Or, is it the case, perhaps, that couples who are more inclined to make Jewish choices in the upbringing of their children are more likely to move to one area than another?

Apart from how parents identified their children [i.e. as “Jewish” or “Jewish and something else” or “Not Jewish” or “Undecided”], respondents who have children were also asked to indicate what kind of Jewish educational experiences [if any] they are providing for their children, and were also asked their preferences for the kind of Jewish education or exposure they wish to provide for their children.

To better appreciate both the kinds of Jewish education being provided and the kinds of Jewish educational experiences parents envision for their children, it is important to take note of the age structure of the child population. Exhibit 21 is a summary of the distribution of children across the age spectrum from 0-17 within the households surveyed.

Exhibit 21

Age Distribution of All Children Living in Jewish Households, and Children Being Raised as Jewish, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Age in Years	Projected Number of All Children	Projected Number of Jewish Children	Percent Children Raised Jewish
0	2,300	1,500	65%
1	1,800	1,100	61%
2	3,000	2,200	73%
3	3,000	2,200	73%
4	2,500	1,900	76%
5	2,600	2,000	77%
6	4,000	3,000	75%
7	3,200	2,800	88%
8	3,300	2,800	86%
9	4,400	3,200	73%
10	3,300	3,000	91%
11	3,500	2,500	71%
12	3,300	3,000	91%
13	2,800	2,400	86%
14	3,300	2,400	73%
15	1,400	1,200	86%
16	1,700	1,500	88%
17	2,700	2,400	89%
TOTAL	52,000	41,000	79%

There are about **15,200** children ages 0-5 years living in Philadelphia area Jewish households; **24,900** children 6-12 years; and **11,800** children in the 13-17 years age category. In other words, approximately **30%** of the child population is under the age of six; about **48%** are 6-12 years old; and about **22%** are 13-17. These numbers and percentages have the broadest significance for educational planning in the decade ahead. For example, it is important to note that the size of each year's cohort under the age of six is generally smaller than each year's age cohort 6-12. Therefore, the capacities of local Jewish schools are apt to be more than adequate for the available child population. On the other hand, there appears to be a population bulge for those in possible need of teen services.

Exhibit 21 also reveals the decreasing proportion of Jewish children as a share of all children born to households that include a Jewish adult. In the age categories of 0-6 years, fewer than 80% of children are being raised Jewish. In the youngest age categories of 0-1, the percentages have slipped to below 70%. The remainder of this analysis focuses on Jewish children only.

School-age Jewish children, ages 6-17, receive the following types of schooling:

- 72% public school
- 9% non Jewish private school
- 18% Jewish day school or *yeshiva*⁵, and

Of those Jewish children who are not enrolled in a Jewish day school or *yeshiva*, 59% are receiving or have received in the past some type of Jewish education. And, of those who have received some type of Jewish education [other than full-time day school of *yeshiva*], **thirty-nine percent [39%]** continued past their Bar or Bat Mitzvah education.

The relationship between the age of the child and the type of schooling provided is explored in Exhibit 22, below. As this Exhibit indicates, a far greater percentage of children 6-12 years receive a full-time day school or *yeshiva* education than is the case for older children 13-17.

Exhibit 22

Type of Full-time Education, by Age of Jewish Children, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of School	Ages 6 – 12	Ages 13 - 17
Public School	67%	83%
Non-Jewish Private School	9	8
Other Full Time Education	*	2
Jewish Day School/Yeshiva	21	7
Other Jewish Education	2	---
TOTAL	100%	100%

⁵It should be noted that the reported number of students in day schools appears to be somewhat overstated given the actual numbers of students enrolled in local Jewish day schools. In part, this reflects the fact that some local families send their children to Jewish day schools outside of the Greater Philadelphia Area. There may be additional factors including the possibility that some respondents confused after-school programs with day schools as well as the potential for sampling error.

Therefore, the author believes that these tables should be viewed as being illustrative of trends, rather than a precise reporting of day school enrollment.

These patterns of educating children also vary greatly among the five counties surveyed in this study. For example, in Montgomery County, **32%** of the children ages 6-12 attend a Jewish day school or *yeshiva*; while in Chester and Delaware Counties the comparable figure is **3%** and **2%** respectively. In Bucks County, **7%** of the children between ages 6-12 are attending a Jewish day school or *yeshiva*; while in Philadelphia, the comparable figure is **20%**. Undoubtedly, the availability of such schools has something to do with what percentage of children get sent to them.

On the other hand, parents of children under age five who were sending their children to day care or nursery school at the time of the survey, were asked if they would consider sending their children to a Jewish Day School or *Yeshiva* when their children reached school age. **Twenty-eight percent [28%]** reply in the affirmative; **sixty-six percent [66%]** reply in the negative and the remaining **6%** indicate that they are unsure.

Eighty-four percent [84%] of parents indicate that they prefer to have their children continue Jewish education beyond the children's Bar or Bat Mitzvah. The fact that fewer than half as many children actually continue their Jewish education beyond the Bar or Bat Mitzvah is an interesting phenomenon to consider. Are parents providing less than accurate information on the survey about their preferences for their children's Jewish education? Or, perhaps, they are unable to fulfill their expectations for one reason or another?

Of children between age 0-5, **sixty-seven percent [67%]** participate in some type of nursery school or day care program. But, just **twenty-five percent [25%]** of those who are in such programs are in programs under Jewish auspices. It would seem that whatever importance parents attach to Jewish educational experiences for their children, that preference emerges into action only at later ages of the children for the great majority.

It is worth noting that of parents whose children are now five years old or younger, **twenty-seven percent [27%]** indicated that they will consider sending their children to a Jewish day school, and another **five percent [5%]** said they "might consider" Jewish day school for their children when the children reach school age. Obviously, the majority **[68%]** said they would not consider sending their children to a Jewish day school. Still, there is a considerable difference between the **10%** of children now attending a Jewish day school and the much higher percentage of young parents who say they will or "might" consider sending their children to a Jewish day school when their children reach school age.

If even half those parents are serious about their intentions and actually end up sending their children to a Jewish Day School, there could be a significant increase in Jewish day school enrollment in the Greater Philadelphia Jewish community. Unfortunately, there is no historical information regarding the relationship between parents' intentions about the Jewish education of their children and the actual types of Jewish education children receive. We only have the example of the parents of Bar and Bat Mitzvah age children, most of whom say they want their children to continue Jewish education beyond the Bar or Bat Mitzvah, yet relatively few of their children do.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

At this point, the Report shifts its focus from a broad description of the patterns of Jewish identification throughout the entirety of the Greater Philadelphia Jewish Population to a more finely focused look at how different segments of the population express their Jewishness and how they articulate the needs and interests discussed earlier. First, the indicators of Jewish identity will be examined within different types of Jewish households as defined by age, marital status and whether or not there are children present. Then, the analysis will look at the variations between all-Jewish and mixed households, focusing on the comparison between the inmarried and the intermarried.

Exhibit 23 below provides an over-all distribution of the types of households that comprise the totality of Jewish households in the five counties of Greater Philadelphia.

Exhibit 23

Percentage Distribution of Household Types, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Household	Number	Percent
18-34, Single Adult, No Children in HH	7,400	8%
18-34, Married, No Children in HH	3,800	4
35-64, Single adult, No Children in HH	10,900	11
35-64, Married, No Children in HH	17,300	18
18-64, Single, with Children in HH	3,300	3
18-64 Married with Children in HH	24,400	26
65-74 Married and Non-Married	15,200	16
75+ Married and Non-Married	13,200	13
TOTAL	95,400	100%

The so-called typical Jewish household, “married with children,” is not all that typical. Just **26%** of households fall into that category. Nevertheless, it is the single largest category among the twelve types. Middle-aged households, consisting of married couples without children – presumably “empty nesters” – are the second large minority with **18%**. Of the twelve categories, five are married, totaling **59,500** households or **62%** of the total.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

Exhibit 24 looks at the **Jewish Salience Index [JSI]** in relation to the typology of households.

Exhibit 24

Jewish Salience Index Scores by Household Type, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Household	Salience Index Score
18-34, Single Adult, No Children in HH	9.3
18-34, Married, No Children in HH	10.7
35-64, Single Adult, No Children in HH	9.6
35-64, Married, No Children in HH	10.4
18-64, Single, with Children in HH	8.2
18-64 Married with Children in HH	9.8
65-74 Married and Non-Married	11.9
75+ Married and Non-Married	11.8
TOTAL	x= 10.5

This Jewish Salience Index was designed to measure the importance attached by respondents to five Jewish value statements. The high score on this index was 15 and low score was 0. The average score for the sample as a whole was 10.5. As can be seen above, single parents show the lowest commitment to those five value statements [8.2], followed by young, single adults living alone [9.3].⁶ The highest commitment to Jewish values was voiced by 65 year or older adults. On the whole, every married group was above the mean, while both groups whose average scores fell below the total population mean were single.

Exhibit 25 examines the connection between household structure and the extent of Jewish ritual practices as measured by the nine items listed earlier in Exhibit 6.

⁶See Exhibit 4 for details on the variables included in the index; the items on having children/grandchildren marrying someone Jewish were not asked for “never married” respondents. Thus, lower scores for never married respondents were anticipated. However, the low index score for single parents is not a reflection of the question-asking sequence; they were asked to answer all questions in the index. The relatively low index score reflects a lower level of Jewish salience for them.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

Exhibit 25

Jewish Ritual Practices Index by Household Type, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Household	Score
18-34, Single Adult, No Children in HH	3.8
18-34, Married, No Children in HH	4.5
35-64, Single Adult, No Children in HH	3.8
35-64, Married, No Children in HH	4.4
18-64, Single, with Children in HH	3.4
18-64 Married with Children in HH	4.8
65-74 Married and Non-Married	4.5
75+ Married and Non-Married	4.5
TOTAL	x=4.4

Exhibit 26

Jewish Communal Participation Index by Household Type, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Household	Score
18-34, Single Adult, No Children in HH	1.8
18-34, Married, No Children in HH	1.9
35-64, Single Adult, No Children in HH	2.0
35-64, Married, No Children in HH	2.4
18-64, Single, with Children in HH	2.2
18-64 Married with Children in HH	2.8
65-74 Married and Non-Married	2.9
75+ Married and Non-Married	2.7
TOTAL	x=2.5

The younger age cohorts - - singles, and those without children in the household - - showed lower scores than those in the older, married and with children-in-the-household cohorts. It is instructive to note in Exhibit 26, that the highest scores are attained by those over sixty-five years of age. When it comes to traditional Jewish practices, those in the younger age cohorts simply do less, regardless of household structure or marital status. Those who are married and have children in the household have the highest score, while single parents have the lowest score.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

Of all married households **72%** are in-marriages [both partners born and/or raised Jewish], **5%** are marriages in which the spouse who was not born or raised Jewish considers himself or herself Jewish now, and **23%** are mixed or interfaith marriages in which only one of the spouses was born and/or raised Jewish and is currently Jewish. The other was not and is not. In short, about **28%** of current marriages are intermarriages [at least in terms of the religious origins of the couple]. Of those marriages, about **17%** have become what might be called “conversionary,” in the sense that the spouse who was not born or raised Jewish reports identifying as Jewish now. Looking across the age spectrum, the percentage of Jewish respondents living in intermarried households has clearly increased, as shown in Exhibit 27.

Exhibit 27

Inmarried/Intermarried Status by Age of Respondent, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Type of Marriage	18 - 34	35 - 49	50 - 64	65 and over
Inmarriage	64%	61%	79%	91%
Conversionary	6	9	3	-
Intermarriage	30	30	18	9
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

The 1984 study of the Jewish population of Greater Philadelphia found an intermarriage rate of **15%** of which **12%** were interfaith marriages and **3%** were conversionary. A comparison between the current findings and those of 1984 suggests that *the proportion of interfaith marriages has nearly doubled in the past thirteen years*. The proportion of intermarriages resulting in the non-Jewish partner becoming Jewish has remained about the same.

In a separate analysis, not shown in the above exhibit, the Jewish Salience Index scores of the three married groups – the inmarried, those in “conversionary” marriages, and those in intermarriages – were compared. The inmarried had an average score of 12.6; those in a conversionary marriage had an average score of 10.4 and those in an intermarriage had an average score of 6.5. Since this particular index included two questions pertaining to intermarriage, a separate analysis was done to explore Jewish commitments among the intermarried independent of the intermarriage issue. When the two intermarriage questions are eliminated from the index, the average Jewish Salience Index score for inmarried respondents was 7.7; for “conversionary” household respondents the average was 6.8 and for the intermarried it was 4.8.

These data suggest that whatever the relationship is between commitment to Jewish values and household structure, marriage in general has a positive relationship to those values. Whether as a cause or as an effect, intermarriage has a very negative relationship to them. On the other hand, “conversionary” families show a level of commitment to Jewish values that is far closer to the inmarried than it is to the intermarried.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

Married respondents who were in an all-Jewish origins marriage showed an average Jewish **participation score** of 4.7; those in the so-called conversionary marriages showed a score of 3.5 and those in intermarriages showed a score of 2.8. This finding reinforces the view that while the intermarried clearly have a lower level of participation in organized Jewish life than their inmarried counterparts, they are not simply non-participants.

The critical questions to be addressed about the intermarried are: [a] do they feel part of the Jewish community, [b] do they want to be served by it and [c] do they want to be supportive of it. Exhibit 28 below compares the responses of those in all-Jewish, conversionary and intermarriages on the question: “Do you feel that you are part of the Philadelphia Jewish Community?”

Exhibit 28

Does Respondent “Feel a Part of the Philadelphia Jewish Community,”⁷ by Inmarried/Intermarried Status, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Do You Feel Part of Jewish Community?	Inmarried	Conversionary	Intermarried
Agree/Strongly	83%	66%	43%
Disagree/Strongly	17	34	57
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

As is readily apparent, the intermarried are about half as likely to feel like they are a part of the Jewish community of Philadelphia as those who are inmarried. Interestingly, when asked whether they “*dislike being asked for money by Jewish organizations*” the three groups did not differ nearly as much. The majority of all three groups answered that question in the negative – suggesting that they do not “dislike” being asked. **Seventy-two percent** of the inmarried disagreed with the statement, as did **86%** of those in conversionary marriages and so did **68%** of those in intermarriages. It would appear from the response to that question that the intermarried as a group are not much more resistant to being asked for financial support by Jewish organizations than other Jewish respondents.

Finally, the study compared the interests of the inmarried with those respondents who are in conversionary marriages or intermarriages. Exhibit 29 is a summary of the percentage of respondents in the three marriage types indicating at least **some interest** in the programs or services listed. The purpose of this exhibit is to explore whether and in what ways respondents in different marriage types might differ in their Jewish communal interests.

⁷Asked of family module respondents only.

CHAPTER FIVE: DEMOGRAPHY OF JEWISH IDENTITY PATTERNS

Exhibit 29

Percentage of Respondents Indicating At Least Some Interest in Potential Programs or Services, by Type of Marriage, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Potential Program or Service	In-Married	Conversionary	Intermarried
Affordable Trips to Israel for Teens	70%	45%	39%
Affordable Jewish Camping Programs	65%	38%	38%
Shabbat & Holiday Programs for Families	64%	60%	45%
Involvement in Social Action Projects	69%	76%	72%
More Familiarity with Jewish Life and Culture	78%	79%	66%
How to Raise Children to be Jewish**	69%	61%	50%
How to Prepare for Jewish Holidays**	59%	69%	69%
How to Prepare for Participation in Temple or Synagogue Life**	46%	56%	47%
Jewish Cultural Events**	84%	76%	71%

Note: ** Asked only if respondent indicated that household was somewhat or very interested in becoming more familiar with Jewish life and culture.

This exhibit makes it quite clear that although intermarried Jews generally show a much lower level of Jewish engagement than others -- as was measured by the several indexes described in previous exhibits -- a relatively large percentage nevertheless harbor interests in a wide variety of Jewish programs and services. It is particularly interesting to note that **47%** of intermarried respondents are at least somewhat interested in programs that help them learn about participation in synagogue life, **50%** do not completely lack interest in programs that would help them with how to raise their children to be Jewish, and **71%** express interest in Jewish cultural events.

Since about **58%** of the respondents who answered the question in the Family Module indicated that they do not feel part of the Jewish community of Philadelphia, the fact that such a large percentage show evidence of at least some interest in Jewish programs and services related to synagogue involvement, and in learning how to raise their children to be Jewish, is suggestive of some unmet needs.

CHAPTER SIX: PROSPECTS AND PREFERENCES FOR A JEWISH FUTURE

Securing the future of a Jewish community depends only in part upon what its members bring to the community in the form of attitudes, attributes and behavior. It also depends upon what they wish to take from the community and what they believe about whether the community is able to meet their needs. This last point is all the more significant for families with children. Five questions addressed the general perception that respondents in households with children had of the Philadelphia Jewish community. Exhibit 30 below summarizes the responses to these questions.

Exhibit 30

Respondent Perceptions of the Philadelphia Jewish Community, Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
I Feel I Am Part of the Jewish Community in Philadelphia	20%	47	28	5	100%
The Jewish Community Has No Services or Programs that Interest Me	3%	17	59	20	100%
I Dislike Being Asked to Contribute to Jewish Organizations	7%	21	61	11	100%
The Jewish Community Does Not Care About My Needs	6%	14	61	19	100%
I Would Like to be More Active in the Jewish Community	5%	56	34	5	100%

Although the majority of respondents feel that they are “part of the Jewish community in Philadelphia,” there is a sizable minority of **33%** who do not feel that way. It is also useful to recall here that **73%** of respondents said “Being Jewish is very important to me.” So, in fact there are a fair number of Jews in Philadelphia who, while feeling Jewish, do not feel they are part of the Jewish community. Perhaps, one reason for feeling they are not part of the Jewish community is suggested by the fact that almost one-in-five family module respondents strongly feel the Jewish community “has no services or programs that interest” them or that the Jewish community “does not care” about their needs. Whether those perceptions are correct or not, it would seem to be desirable to try to give a feeling of inclusion to a greater percentage of the Jewish population in Greater Philadelphia.

CHAPTER SIX: PROSPECTS AND PREFERENCES FOR A JEWISH FUTURE

With respect to those who might feel the need for particular services, the survey asked about ten areas of service and interests. Exhibit 31 summarizes responses to these service need questions below.

Exhibit 31

Respondent Interest in Jewish Programs and Participation,⁸ Philadelphia Area, 1996/97

Item	Very Interested	Somewhat Interested	Not Very Interested	Not At All Interested	TOTAL
Affordable Trips to Israel for Teens	30%	27	15	27	100%
Affordable Jewish Camping Programs	26%	27	20	28	100%
Involvement in Social Action Projects	18%	55	17	10	100%
Programs for Single Jewish Parents	5%	13	19	62	100%
Interested in Becoming More Familiar with Jewish Life and Culture	24%	46	23	7	100%
How to Raise Children to be Jewish**	21%	42	24	13	100%
How to Prepare for Jewish Holidays**	24%	40	19	18	100%
How to Prepare for Participation in Temple or Synagogue Life**	10%	38	31	21	100%
Jewish Cultural Events**	31%	52	13	4	100%

Note: **Indicates question was only asked if respondent said that household was somewhat or very interested in becoming "more familiar" with Jewish life and culture.

Using disinterest as a reliable negative indicator, it would seem that the largest percentage of people would have the greatest interest in Jewish cultural events -- that is, programs devoted to music, theater, dance and art. Putting the matter more positively, **83%** of respondents indicate at least some interest in Jewish cultural events. This finding is confirmed by the other item that refers to interest in "Jewish life and culture;" **70%** of respondents express at least some interest in it. It is useful to note that this area of service or programming is generally the least supported by the various agencies of the organized Jewish community.

Programs aimed at the socialization needs of children follow a close second, with **63%** expressing at least some interest in programs on how to raise children to be Jewish, followed by affordable trips to Israel for teens [**57%**] and **53%** expressing interest in Jewish camping programs. **Sixty-four percent [64%]** of respondents expressed at least some interest in programs on how to prepare for the Jewish holidays -- suggesting the need for Jewish family life education. However, that interest is not completely matched by interest in participation in temple or synagogue life.

⁸Includes all respondents, married and not currently married.

CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

As emphasized in the *Summary Report*, the central themes that emerge from the 1996/97 Jewish Population Study of the Greater Philadelphia area are the slight decline in the number of Jewish households in the five county region since 1984, the rapid growth of Bucks County and Chester County in contrast to Jewish household/population loss in Philadelphia and Delaware County, and the increasing rate of intermarriage in all counties [although Bucks County and Chester County had the highest percentage of intermarried households]. This *Special Report: Believing, Behaving, Belonging: Jewish Identity and Affiliation in Greater Philadelphia* has highlighted another major theme that was only partially developed in the *Summary Report* - - while a high degree of persistence in Jewish identification still exists in the five county Greater Philadelphia area, a low and apparently declining commitment exists to specific Jewish ritual practices and to affiliation with Jewish organizations.

As a demographic portrait of the Jewish community, the 1996/97 Study was not designed to explore in depth the long-term relationship between the forces of ethnic-religious self-identification and its expression in practice and affiliation. Yet, the timing and reasons why people relinquish Jewish practices and affiliations needs to be better understood. In focusing upon action implications of the 1996/97 Jewish Community Study of Greater Philadelphia, Federation leaders and the professional leadership of Jewish communal organizations [rabbis, educators, executive directors] could begin to explore the issues of declining Jewish practice and affiliation by a series of "follow-up" studies of Jewish households/individuals that have recently "dropped out" of the Jewish community, but still reside in the five county area. Alternately, Federation and Jewish communal leaders could explore this issue by identifying and interviewing non-participating, non-affiliating **children** of affiliated, ritually involved community members.

A second area for community response to the results of the 1996/97 study in terms of religious practice and Jewish organizational affiliation emerges from the reality that significant segments of the area's Jewish population are unfamiliar with the Jewish Information and Referral Service [JIRS] of the Federation. Accessing the Jewish community is made all the more difficult by the low level of familiarity with JIRS; enhancing awareness ought to be an immediate goal for action.

CONCLUSIONS: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Finally, the increasing incidence of intermarriage in Greater Philadelphia has resulted in an increase in the number and proportion of children who are of Jewish parentage, but who will be raised in a home that is not all-Jewish - - half will be raised as Jewish [or Jewish and something else], and half will not be raised as Jewish. Synagogues, Jewish community centers, Jewish educational institutions, and Jewish recreational institutions [e. g., Jewish summer camps] need to re-intensify their efforts to attract and serve Jewish children being raised in an intermarried household. Both professional and lay leaders need to address this issue in conference. The central role of the synagogue in the Jewish community and its linkages with Jewish community centers, Jewish schools, and Jewish summer camps must be a focus of these community-wide conferences. Parental interest in affiliations with synagogues and Jewish community centers at the critical stages of pre-school education, early childhood education, summer camps, and the bar/bat mitzvah experience is a key opportunity to link Jewish identification with affiliation and ritual practice. The Jewish community's efforts and sensitivity in welcoming intermarried families at these life-cycle stages may be the critical factors that determine the future of Jewish identity and affiliation in Greater Philadelphia.

APPENDIX EXHIBITS

Exhibit A-1 Branch of Judaism of Respondent,
Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs 1996/97

Branch of Judaism	1984	1996/97
Orthodox	5%	5%
Conservative	41	42
Traditional	7	5
Reform	25	30
Reconstructionist	2	4
Secular Humanist	4	4
Just Jewish	16	10
Not Raised Jewish	3	7
TOTAL	100%	100%

Exhibit A-2 Did Respondent [or Spouse] Receive
Any Type of Formal Jewish Education?,
Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Did Respondent [or Spouse] Receive Any Type of Formal Jewish Education?	1984	1996/97
Yes	75%	71%
No	25	29
TOTAL	100%	100%

APPENDIX EXHIBITS

Exhibit A-3 Inmarried/Intermarried Status of Respondents,
Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Percentage of Respondents in an Intermarriage or a Conversionary Marriage	1984	1996/97
Intermarriage	12%	23%
Conversionary Marriage	3	5
Inmarriage	85	72
TOTAL	100%	100%

Exhibit A-4 Percent of Children of Intermarried Raised Jewish,
Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Percent of Children of Intermarried Raised Jewish	1984	1996/97
Children Jewish	31%	47%
Children Not Jewish	69	53
TOTAL	100%	100%

Exhibit A-5 Comparison of Religious Practices,
Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Comparison of Religious Practices	1984	1996/97
Fast on Yom Kippur	67%	74%
Light Hanukkah Candles	78%	83%
Have a Mezuzah on Door	71%	67%
Attend a <i>Seder</i>	89%	91%
Light Candles on Friday Night	32%	20%

Exhibit A-6 Comparison of Synagogue Membership/Attendance, Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Comparison of Synagogue Membership Attendance	1984	1996 97
Percent of Respondents Who Never Attend Synagogue	20%	22%
Percent of Respondents Who Attend Synagogue At Least Once a Week	9%	10%
Percent of Respondents Who Are Members of a Synagogue	40%	37%

Exhibit A-7 Percent of Households in Which an Adult Has Visited Israel, Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

	1984	1996 97
Percent of Households in Which an Adult Has Visited Israel	33%	39%

Exhibit A-8 Percent of Households Which Subscribe To/Read the *Philadelphia Exponent*, Philadelphia Area, 1984 vs. 1996/97

Philadelphia Exponent Read?	1984	1996 97
Household Subscribes to or Reads the <i>Philadelphia Exponent</i>	58%	60%