



המרכז הירושלמי לענייני ציבור ומדינה  
Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

**“Post-Zionist” Philanthropists:**  
Emerging Attitudes of American Jewish  
Leaders Toward Communal Allocations

Steven M. Cohen and Gerald B. Bubis

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EMERGING ATTITUDES OF AMERICAN JEWISH  
LEADERS TOWARD COMMUNAL ALLOCATIONS**

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## Foreword

The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs is pleased to present the second of three reports derived from the 1996 American Jewish Leadership Survey conducted by Fellows Gerald B. Bubis and Steven M. Cohen. This report examines the changing attitudes of the voluntary and professional leadership of Federations and the Federation "family" of organizations regarding the allocation of American Jewish communal resources mobilized through federated giving to Israel.

The report comes at a time of considerable change in those attitudes. American Jewry is at the end of a cycle of pronounced Israel-centeredness that began with Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War and continued for half a generation beyond. That cycle was arrested by the events in Israel in the 1980s, from the Lebanese War through the intifada, and shifted by parallel events in the American Jewish community, principally in the form of a sharp rise in the intermarriage rate and new fears for Jewish continuity. That cycle had succeeded an earlier period of approximately the same length which followed the establishment of the state in 1948 and witnessed an increased growing apart of Israeli and American Jewry after 1955 until 1967.

Now, beginning a third cycle, we seem to be witnessing either a return to pre-1967 attitudes or, as is more likely, a continuation of the mutual involvement and interdependence of the two communities, but a growing feeling on the part of both that they have domestic needs that must take priority within the framework of the world Jewish polity that emerged after 1967. At the very least, this report is another piece of evidence indicating how a rethinking of the relationship is badly needed to enable the Jewish people, wherever they may be located, to enter into a new era in which we can enjoy reaping the fruits of our victories over the past century. We have already discovered that this is no easy task. We at the Jerusalem Center hope that all of us will be helped along by the addition of more accurate information and better understanding of the environment in which we live. We hope that this report contributes to both.

Daniel J. Elazar  
President

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## **Overview: Jewish Leaders and Israel-Oriented Philanthropy**

To what extent do high-ranking American Jewish communal leaders, both volunteer and professional, continue to support the allocation of philanthropic funds to Israel and other overseas causes? To what extent is support for Jewish education and Jewish social and human services successfully competing with support for Israel-oriented philanthropy? What is the thinking that underlies the positions of Jewish leaders in these areas? Who, among the leaders, is more likely to favor Israel-oriented philanthropy, and who is less likely to do so?

These are some of the principal questions addressed in this report of findings from a recently conducted social scientific survey of over 800 volunteer and professional leaders from several institutional sectors of American Jewish communal life. To our knowledge, it is the first study of American Jewish leadership on these sorts of issues, and complements a long line of cognate research on the American Jewish rank-and-file who, of course, provide the context in which the leaders operate and in which this study was undertaken.

## **The Context: Declining Attachment to Israel among the Jewish Public**

For some time now, social scientists and lay observers of American Jewry have been sensing a subtle but noticeable shift in attitudes toward Israel and Zionism (Cohen 1983d, 1985, 1989b, 1990a, 1992, 1996; Waxman 1992). They use various terms to refer to this shift, embracing such words as disillusionment, disappointment, disagreement, disengagement, and distancing. But however characterized, they all connote the weakening of emotional and other ties of American Jews to Israel.

The empirical evidence for the distancing phenomenon first emerged clearly in the 1980s and early 1990s when surveys began to pick up statistical associations between age and Israel attachment (Cohen 1987, 1989, 1991). In other words, older Jews were (and are) more attached to Israel; conversely, younger Jews were (and now are) less attached. For example, a 1997 national survey of American Jews uncovered rather sharp differences between old and young in Israel attachment. Those scoring high on a composite index of Israel attachment fell from 46 percent among 55-64 year olds, to just 29 percent among those 35-44 (Cohen 1998, 40).

Since it takes some time for age-related trends to work their way into the entire population, and owing to our rather rudimentary and sporadic means of collecting hard data on Israel-related attitudes, we could not be sure of these trends. It was not until quite recently that social scientists could detect reasonably firm quantitative evidence of a retreat from Israel involvement that characterized the Jewish population at large, and not just the younger adults alone. The population-wide data over several surveys from the early 1980s through 1993, in fact, pointed to no significant downturn in passion for Israel among American Jews, as a whole (Cohen 1996).

More recently collected evidence, though, substantiates the long-anticipated downturn. Data collected in the 1997 survey of American Jews mentioned above contained several indicators of Israel attachment, all of which were at lower levels than were the same indicators in a survey of a similar population conducted in 1988 (Cohen 1989). Some of the more striking findings certainly challenge the notion that Israel plays a central and vital role in the consciousness of American Jews. For example, when asked to assess the extent to which the respondents felt emotionally attached to Israel, just 9 percent answered "extremely attached," and only another 18 percent could say "very attached." In a question on what constitutes their view of a "good Jew," just 33 percent saw support of Israel as essential "for a person to be a good Jew" (51 percent said desirable). Just 18 percent said it was essential for a good Jew to "visit Israel during one's life." When asked about the importance of several symbols and concepts for their sense of being Jewish, just 33 percent saw Israel as extremely important. This number placed Israel well down the list, far below such items as Holocaust, Torah, God, anti-Semitism, the Jewish family, and the High Holidays.

Several explanations, none of them flatly contradictory with another, have been advanced to account for the apparent distancing of American Jews from Israel.

One such explanation reminds us that prior to the Six-Day War, American Jewish passion for Israel was not all that high or widespread. This perspective sees the 1967-1977 period as one of unusual engagement, idealization, and romanticizing. Since that "Golden Age" of Israel mobilization, American Jewry has experienced a slow, albeit somewhat fitful, decline in pro-Israel feelings (Cohen and Liebman 1997/98; Bubis 1992).

In addition, support for Israel was fueled by images of an economically needy society surrounded by hostile and threatening neighbors. Over the years, Israel's economy has grown and prospered, and its seeming relative security has grown as well. The struggle for peace and security is far more complex and ambiguous today, with numerous divisions within Israel as well as among Israel's Arab neighbors. Of importance, as well, is that leading Israelis have declared to American Jewish audiences that Israel has less need of American Jews' lobbying and philanthropy, undoubtedly contributing to declines in the perceived significance of long-standing American Jewish channels for expressing attachment to Israel (Cohen and Liebman 1997/98).

Another explanation focuses on unfavorable American Jewish responses to Israeli stances in its conflict with the Palestinians and its Arab neighbors. Since 1977, Israeli government policy has largely been set by Likud-led coalitions, in marked contrast with the prior four decades (and more years, if one counts the pre-state Yishuv) when Labor leaders formulated official policies. Numerous studies have documented the greater sympathy of American Jews for the more conciliatory policies favored by the likes of former Prime Ministers Rabin and Peres than the more tough-minded stances advocated by Prime Ministers Begin, Shamir and, now, Netanyahu (Cohen 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1985, 1987, 1989a, 1989c, 1990c, 1991b; Cohen and Lipset 1991; Gilboa 1987, 1990). Indeed, during in-depth interviews among "moderately affiliated" American Jews for a forthcoming book, Cohen and Eisen heard several respondents with views resembling those contained in this excerpt:

I think the last few years especially, the Religious Right of Israel has gained so much political power and has fomented so many more problems. Again, I find that very difficult to reconcile. How Israel is going to find its way into the future? That's very problematic.

Still another reason advanced for distancing revolves around issues related to what American Jews call "religious pluralism" in Israel. Conflicts over "Who is a Jew?," who may conduct recognized conversions to Judaism, funding for non-Orthodox religious institutions and activities in Israel, access to the Western Wall, and related issues have particularly troubled leaders of Reform and Conservative Judaism in the United States and their most ardent followers. In the 1997 survey, as many as 80 percent agreed with the statement, "I get upset when Orthodox Jews in Israel try to limit the practice of Conservative and Reform Judaism in Israel" (just 12 percent disagreed, meaning that hardly

any non-Orthodox respondents disagreed). Indeed, the Cohen-Eisen research cited above encountered numerous expressions of disgruntlement with seeming Israeli discrimination against the forms of Judaism most common to American Jews, as the following quote from one of the interviews illustrates:

What I have become much more aware of is how, despite being a somewhat observant Jew, Israel is the one place where I would have the most trouble practicing my brand of Judaism because it's not recognized by the State of Israel.

It would, of course, be surprising if the views of the Jewish public were not translated into tangible changes in Israel-oriented philanthropy, a cause which for decades has stood at or near the center of organized Jewish life in the United States, and other countries as well (Elazar 1995; Woocher 1986; Bubis 1992). In this respect, several trends point to declining American Jewish support for Israeli philanthropy.

One such trend entails the decline in total UJA-Federation central campaign collections over the years, in inflation-adjusted terms (Bubis 1992). Mass-based Jewish charitable giving has always peaked around Israel's wars (at least up until, but not including, the ill-fated Lebanon War in 1982). But even putting aside the dramatic burst in giving in 1974, during and following the Yom Kippur War, total gifts have apparently declined, in an unsteady fashion, since 1975. In addition, it seems that over the years, these campaigns have been relying on fewer gifts, albeit of larger average size. Insofar as support for Israel has constituted the lead motivation for giving to these campaigns, declines in their overall size, accompanied by the narrowing of the contributor base to presumably more wealthy donors, certainly point to erosion of broad-based support for Israel among Jewish leadership.

Not only have the campaigns been stagnating, if not shrinking, when factoring for inflation, but the fractions of these community-based charitable drives that have been designated for Israel and other overseas needs has been shrinking. To elaborate, every Federated community must perforce arrive at some decision as to how much of its charitable funds will be sent to Israel (the Jewish Agency for Israel) and related causes, and how much will remain within the local community to fund local institutions. Over the last several years, the split of local versus overseas allocations has shifted dramatically in favor of the former, further demonstrating a declining donor interest in Israel.

At the same time as Israel has seemingly declined in importance, other charitable purposes have come to be seen as more needy. In particular, Jewish education, as a response to the challenge to Jewish continuity in the wake of the 1990 National Jewish Population Study (Kosmin et al. 1991; Goldstein 1992), is seen by many as a vital concern for American Jews. In addition, cutbacks in government support for social services generally, and for Russian Jewish resettlement in particular, have made these areas seemingly more needy than they have been in the past.

## Methods

To examine Jewish leaders' attitudes toward allocations, we included several pertinent questions in a national survey of attitudes and expectations of professional staff and volunteer board members about their relations. The report on the analysis of volunteer-staff issues was recently released (Bubis and Cohen 1998).

For the most part, our most important survey questions in this analysis revolved around attitudes toward three sorts of charitable purposes:

- Israel and other overseas needs
- Jewish education
- Jewish social and human services.

These three areas comprise the major destinations of Federation funding. In addition, in our experience, local volunteer leadership tend to align themselves around these areas. In some communities, one may, in fact, discern a pro-Israel camp (usually headed by those most identified with the UJA or the Jewish Agency), a Jewish education camp (day school parents and their sympathizers), and a social services camp (where Jewish Family Service leadership often plays a key role).

To conduct the survey, we mailed questionnaires, pre-tested with focus groups of professionals and volunteers, to 2,000 leaders, 1,400 of whom were volunteers, and the rest (600) who were professionals. The potential respondents were randomly selected from an unduplicated list of 5,000 volunteer and professional leaders. The list incorporated entries provided by the United Israel Appeal, United Jewish Appeal, Council of Jewish Federations, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (now Jewish Council for Public Affairs), Association of Jewish Family Service Agencies, and the Jewish Community Centers Association. Almost all questions were closed-ended, with a few open-ended questions. The A.B. Data Corporation of Milwaukee fielded the mail-back survey.

The questionnaires were sent out over a period of five months during late 1995 and the early part of 1996, in three waves. We administered the questionnaires by telephone to 100 respondents so as to ameliorate problems of sample bias connected with relying exclusively on the mail-back questionnaire.

Since the survey was conducted in 1995-96, several developments have ensued that may well have further diminished American Jewish leaders' support for Israel-bound philanthropy beyond that reported below. In particular, the Netanyahu government is arguably less popular with Jewish leaders (who tend to hold privately dovish views on the peace process) than was the Rabin-Peres government in 1995-96. In addition, the imbroglio over the conversion issue took place in 1997, possibly further alienating major sectors of Jewish leadership in the United States. Insofar as the results point to

surprisingly weak support for Israel-oriented allocations (as we believe they do), they probably only understate the principal “newsworthy” finding emerging from this study.

(One could make another argument. Since 1995-96, many communities managed to curtail their contributions to Israel and other overseas needs. Possibly, having reached lower levels, the attitudes of Jewish leaders might have shifted in the direction of holding Israel-bound allocations at the reduced levels. Though theoretically plausible, we have no evidence—*anecdotal or systematic*—to support such a speculation.)

We asked the respondents to report on all their communal and sub-executive affiliations and then to select their area of principal involvement. In light of the source of the names we sampled, it is not surprising that just over half (53 percent) regarded their Federation involvement as their primary Jewish communal commitment. Volunteers constituted 57 percent of the sample and professionals amounted to 43 percent of the respondents.

Of the 2,000 people we contacted, 842 (42 percent) returned usable questionnaires. Limited analysis could detect no particular pattern to those who chose to respond, except that the professionals were somewhat more likely to do so than the volunteers.

A profile of the respondents, divided into professionals and volunteers, appears as Appendix A. The questionnaire and the frequencies are found in Appendix B.

## Findings

When asked about the relative attractiveness of the three charitable areas, Jewish social services elicited the widest support, closely followed by Jewish education, with Israel clearly in third place.

Table 1

TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU FIND EACH OF THESE AREAS  
ATTRACTIVE AS A RECIPIENT OF FEDERATION SUPPORT?  
(in percentages)

How attractive.....?	Very	Somewhat	A little/Not at all	Total
Israel and other overseas needs	58	32	9	100
Jewish education	74	19	6	100
Jewish social and human services	77	21	2	100

Asking about "attractiveness" alone does not demand making difficult decisions among competing claims. The other questions we asked, though, more pointedly sharpen the competition among sympathy for the three philanthropic areas and, in turn, result in much wider variation in responses.

Accordingly, we found sharper differences with respect to the perceptions of how difficult it would be to replace lost funding in each of the three areas. As many as 64 percent thought it would be at least very difficult to replace social service funding. The comparable figure for Jewish education was 56 percent, but just 36 percent thought the same for Israel and other overseas needs.

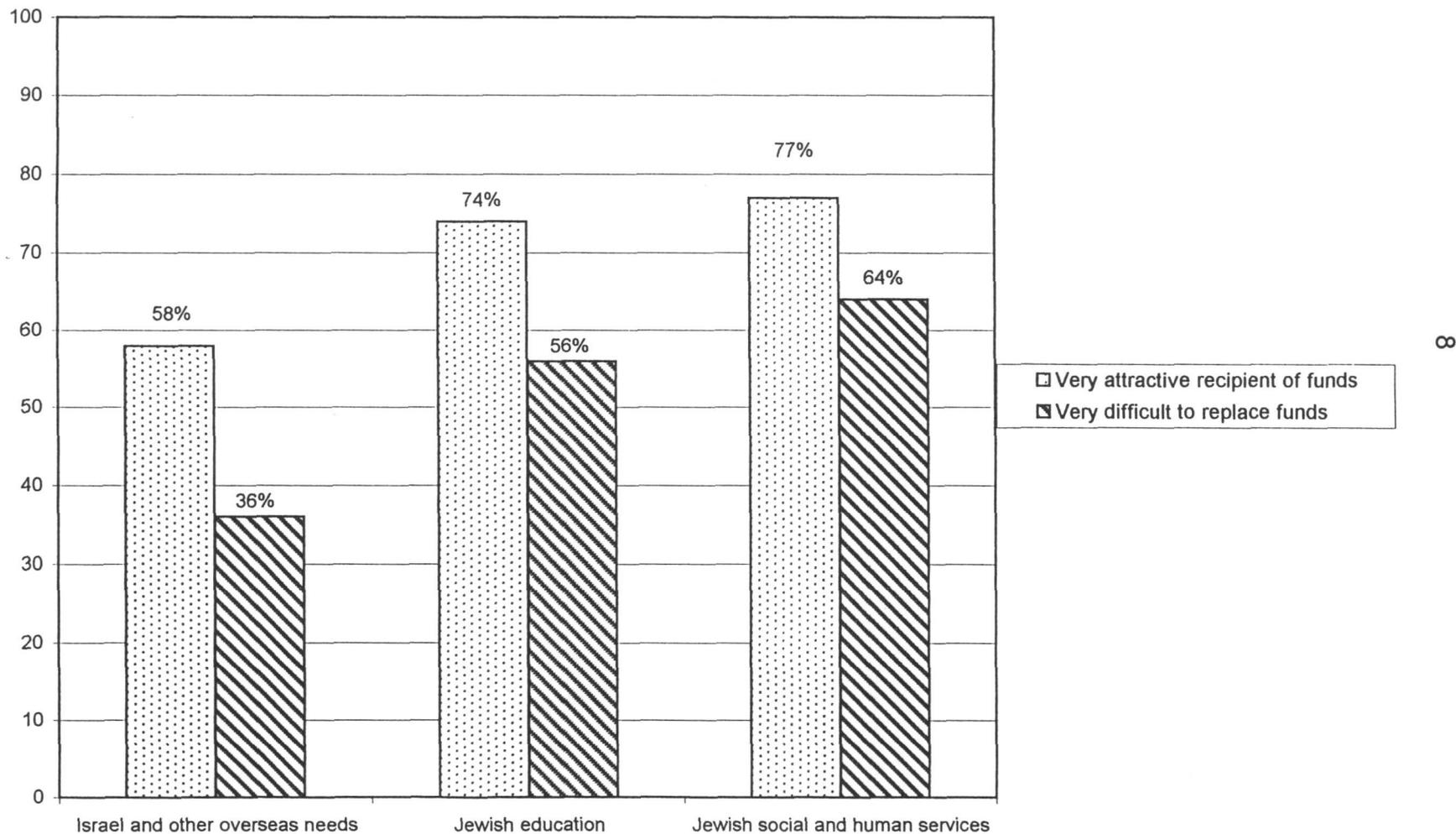
Table 2

HOW DIFFICULT WOULD IT BE TO REPLACE FUNDING  
FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING AREAS?  
(in percentages)

Difficult to replace	Impossible/ Very Difficult	Somewhat Difficult	Not too difficult	Total
Israel and other overseas needs	36	48	15	100
Jewish education	56	35	9	100
Jewish social and human services	64	30	6	100

Figure 1

**RELATIVELY FEW LEADERS VIEW ISRAEL AS AN ATTRACTIVE  
RECIPIENT OF FEDERATION SUPPORT; EVEN FEWER THINK  
FUNDS FOR ISRAEL ARE VERY DIFFICULT TO REPLACE**



Our impression is that leaders believe that the Government of Israel will take over funding for needs funded by the Jewish Agency for Israel, the principal beneficiary of this category of funding.

Related to these questions, as explained earlier, is the whole contentious issue of dividing funds between local and overseas needs. Again, here, the balance is clearly tipped in favor of local funding. Of those with a view on the matter, more favored increasing local funding (58 percent) than those who preferred to shift funds overseas (40 percent). Maybe even more telling is the imbalance with respect to those who are most extreme on the issue. More than twice as many wanted to allocate "much more locally" as those who wanted to allocate "much more overseas" (19 percent for the former versus just 9 percent for the latter). The locally-based causes, then, now enjoy more widespread support as well as possibly more passionate support.

Table 3

IN YOUR COMMUNITY, AS COMPARED WITH THE PRESENT DIVISION OF FUNDS, WOULD YOU WANT TO SEE MORE FEDERATION DOLLARS DEVOTED TO LOCAL NEEDS OR TO OVERSEAS (LARGELY ISRAEL-ORIENTED) NEEDS?

Much more locally	19
Somewhat more locally	39
Somewhat more overseas	31
Much more overseas	9
Keep the local/overseas split the same as now	<u>2</u>
	100

These underlying attitudes reported above translate quite dramatically into clear preferences for decreasing funding for Israel, on the one hand, and for increasing other areas' funding, on the other hand. Assuming a flat campaign over the next three years, just 5 percent would increase Israel funding as opposed to 51 percent who would want to decrease it. In contrast, with respect to Jewish education, 43 percent "vote" to increase and just 7 percent would decrease. For social services, somewhat fewer—40 percent—favor increases and only 8 percent would decrease funding.

Figure 2

**MORE SUPPORT FOR CHANGING THE DIVISION OF FUNDS TO FAVOR LOCAL NEEDS AS OPPOSED TO OVERSEAS NEEDS**

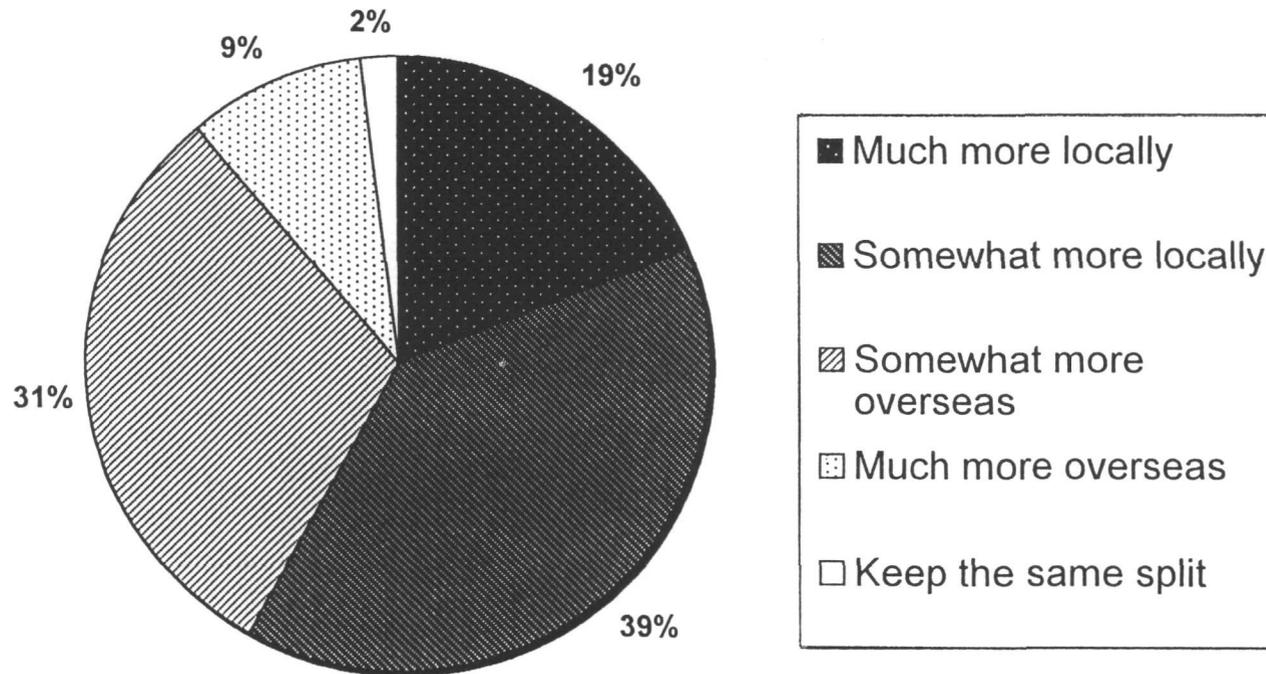


Table 4

ATTITUDES TOWARD FEDERATION FUNDING IN 3 AREAS,  
ASSUMING A FLAT CAMPAIGN

Proportion should . . . . .	Increase	Stay the same	Decrease
Israel and other overseas needs	5	42	51
Jewish education	43	50	7
Jewish social and human services	40	52	8

Both attractiveness and the perception of the ease with which cut funds can be replaced play a role in shaping attitudes toward allocations. With respect to each charitable area (Israel, education, social services), those who regard the particular area as attractive, and its funds as irreplaceable, are most inclined to champion that area of philanthropy. In contrast, the absence of these sentiments is associated with low levels of support for the particular charitable area. The table below demonstrates these inferences.

Table 5

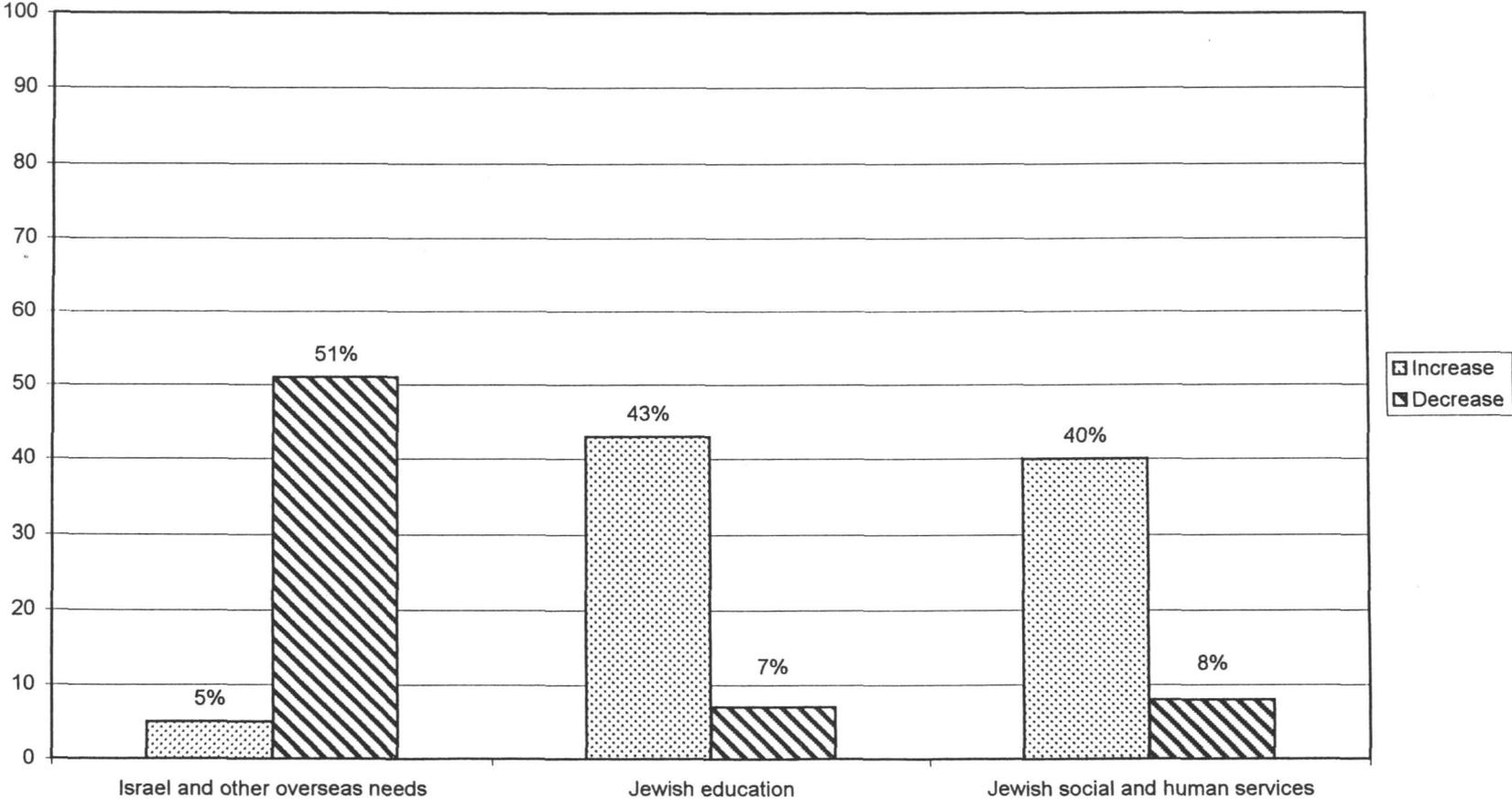
ATTITUDES TOWARD ALLOCATIONS IN 3 AREAS BY: 1) WHETHER EACH  
AREA OF FUNDING IS ATTRACTIVE; 2) WHETHER EACH SORT  
OF FUNDING WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO REPLACE

Attitudes toward allocations: Allocations in this area are . . .	Hold Israel allocations	Increase Jewish education	Increase social and human services
Attractive and hard to replace	69	59	48
Attractive and not hard to replace	49	38	38
Not attractive and hard to replace	22	27	30
Not attractive and not hard to replace	18	18	14

*Note on how to read this table:* Taking the first column as an illustration, with respect to allocations for Israel, the sample is divided into four groups. One believes Israel is an attractive target for funding and also believes funds for Israel would be hard to replace. The next group also sees Israel as attractive for funding, but does not believe lost funds would be hard to replace, and so forth. In the first group, 69 percent favor holding the Israel allocations at current levels; in the second group, 49 percent so believe; in the third, 22 percent want to hold Israel-oriented allocations steady; and in the last group (which sees Israel as not attractive and does not believe lost funds are hard to replace), just 18 percent would hold the Israel allocations at current levels.

Figure 3

**LEADERS' VIEWS ON FEDERATION ALLOCATIONS: INCREASE FUNDS FOR JEWISH EDUCATION, INCREASE FUNDS FOR SOCIAL AND HUMAN SERVICES, BUT REDUCE FUNDS FOR ISRAEL AND OVERSEAS NEEDS**



Note that in this table and in the one that follows, we define supporters of each area differently. For Jewish education and social services, we define supporters as those who would *increase* allocations. For Israel, we define supporters as those who would merely *hold* the Israel and other overseas allocations stable, since so few respondents would increase those allocations.

### **Which sorts of leaders take which sorts of positions on which sorts of allocations?**

The differences by gender are minor, with men somewhat more inclined to support Jewish education, and women more disposed toward social services. We suspect these differences derive from the institutional sectors where male and female leaders work or volunteer.

Older leaders are somewhat more favorable to Israel needs and less inclined to support social services. Younger leaders are clearly less Israel-oriented.

The more traditional the denomination, the greater the support for Israel and other overseas needs. Their high levels of support for Jewish education distinguish the Orthodox respondents. In contrast, members of the less traditional denominations more avidly support social services.

Only small differences distinguish volunteer from professional leaders. The professionals seem relatively more inclined to favor Jewish education and social services.

Rather dramatic differences can be seen with respect to the institutional sector. Not surprisingly, leaders in specific sectors do favor allocations in their own areas. But other patterns can be noted as well.

Support for Israel allocations is highest among Federation leaders, followed by Jewish education leaders. The Federations, of course, are the bodies charged with raising funds for Israel and overseas needs, as well as local needs. Those with a particular interest in raising funds for Israel would be drawn to Federation leadership and, as a result of their involvement, they are further educated and socialized to the cause of Israel and other overseas needs.

As for support for funding Jewish education, leaders in Jewish education agencies and synagogues are, quite logically, the most supportive, while among the others, Jewish Family Service leaders were, by far, the least supportive. Almost all synagogues sponsor Jewish schools, and almost all conduct adult Jewish education programs. It is no surprise, therefore, that aside from leaders in Jewish education agencies, synagogue leaders emerge as the most supportive of funding Jewish education.

Table 6

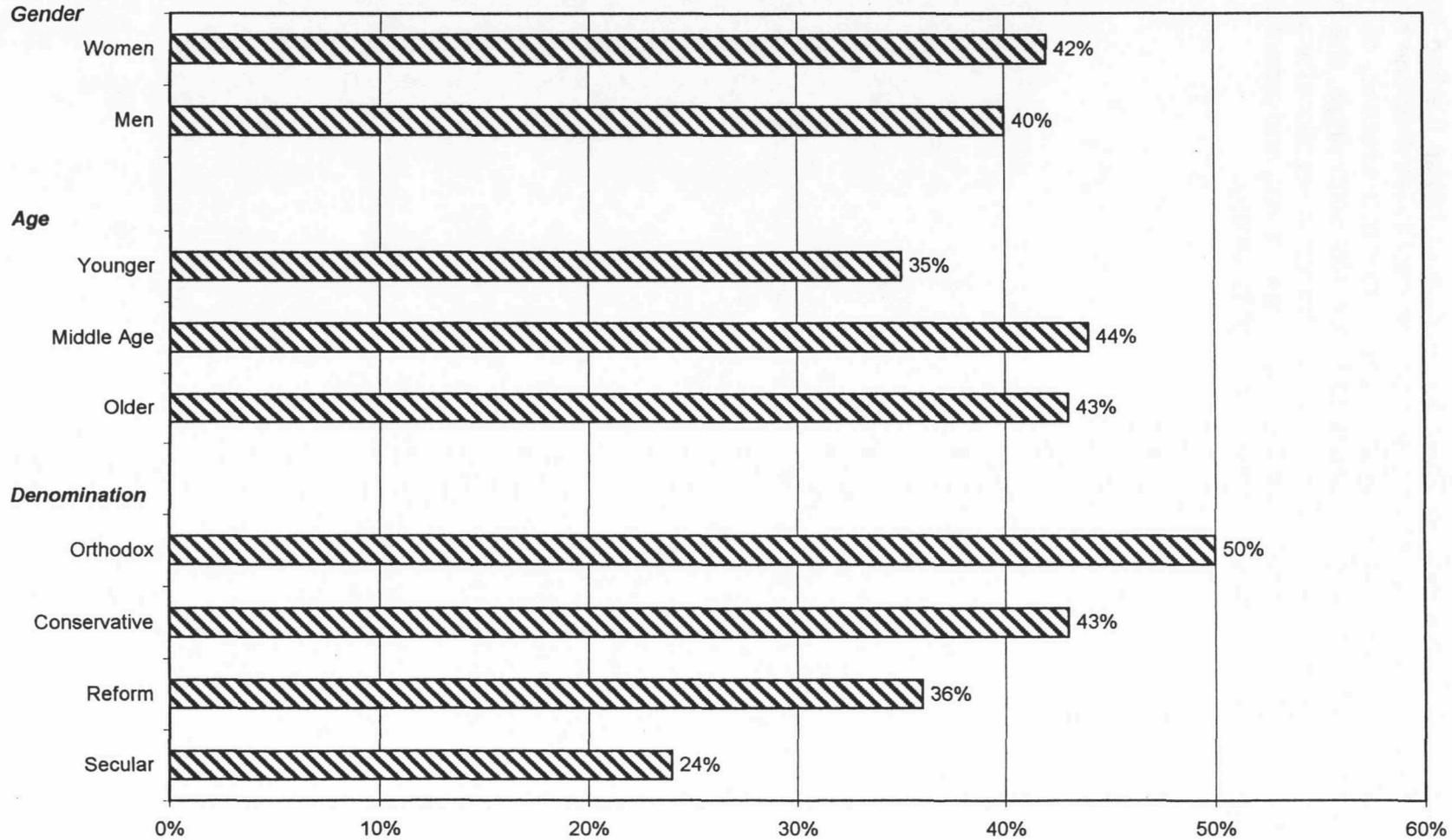
## ATTITUDES TOWARD ALLOCATIONS BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

	Hold Israel allocation	Increase Jewish education	Increase social and human services
<b>Gender</b>			
Men	40	46	38
Women	42	41	43
<b>Age</b>			
Older	43	44	36
Middle Age	44	38	43
Younger	35	43	43
<b>Denomination</b>			
Orthodox	50	63	34
Conservative	43	44	33
Reform	36	38	50
Secular	24	45	64
Other	58	44	47
<b>Roles</b>			
Volunteer	43	40	36
Profession	40	46	43
<b>Institutional Sector</b>			
Federation	51	43	32
Education	40	73	23
Synagogue	30	51	38
CRC	22	48	74
JCC	19	33	59
JFS	18	13	63
<b>When last visited Israel</b>			
Last year	55	75	26
Last 4 years	43	46	43
5 or more years ago	28	35	47

With respect to social services, the CRC (Community Relations Council or defense agency) leaders, joined by the JCC (Jewish Community Center) leaders and the Family Service leaders, are arrayed against leaders from Jewish education, Federations, and synagogues. Though possibly an oversimplification, the latter may well exceed the former in terms of Jewish traditionalism and Jewish particularism.

Figure 4

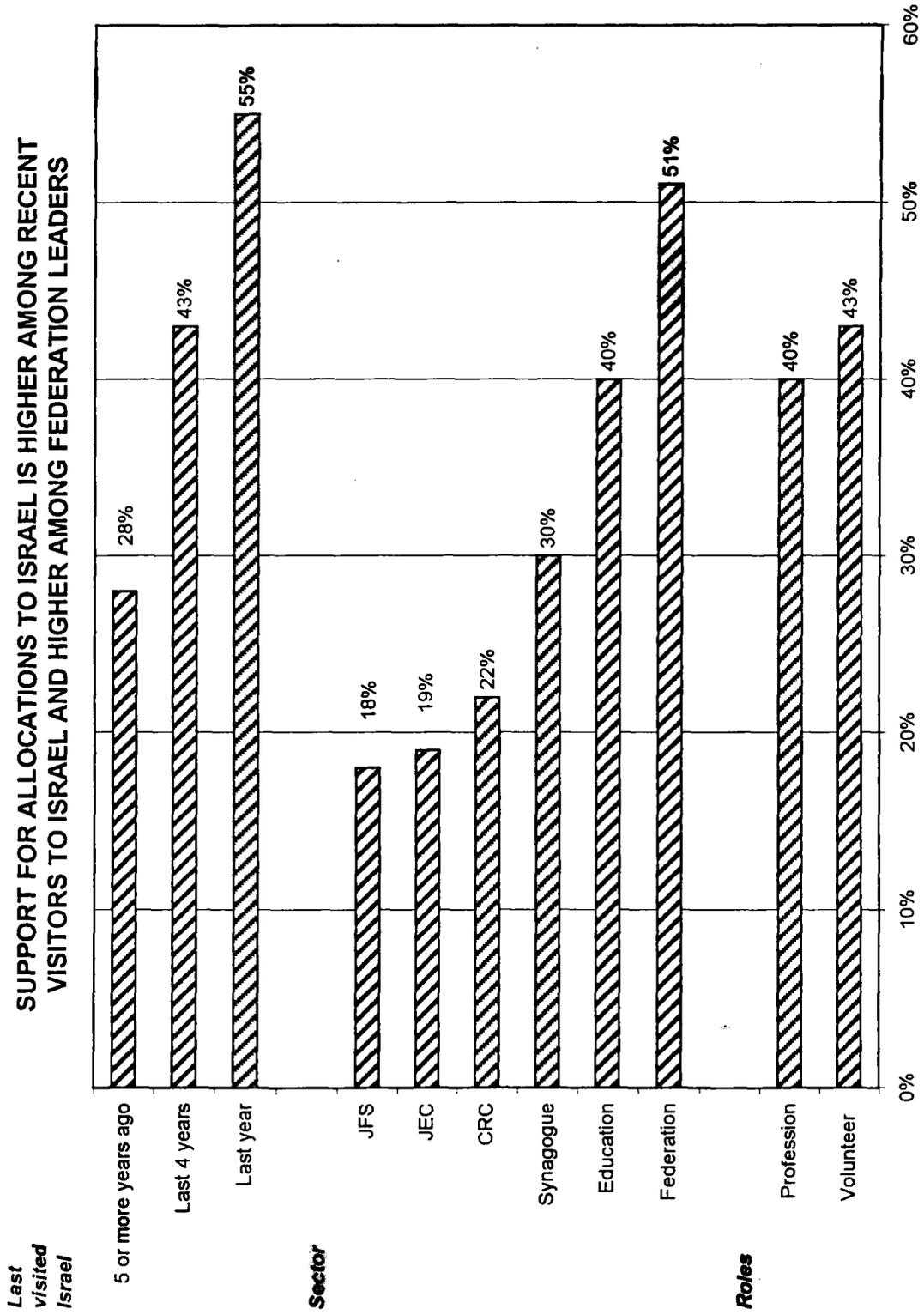
**SUPPORT FOR ALLOCATIONS TO ISRAEL IS LOWER AMONG THE YOUNG,  
AND HIGHER AMONG ORTHODOX AND CONSERVATIVE JEWS**



Visiting Israel is associated with wide variations in philanthropic attitudes as well. The survey determined that almost all these top leaders in Jewish life had been to Israel. Thus, the dividing line could not be drawn with respect to whether one had been to Israel, but rather how often or how recently. We found that the recency of visit is the key to understanding who favors allocations to Israel. Not surprisingly, the more recently one has visited Israel, the more likely one is to support Israel allocations. A recent visit reflects a commitment to Israel on the part of a respondent, and recent visits to Israel serve to underscore the value of Israel-directed philanthropy.

Figure 5

**SUPPORT FOR ALLOCATIONS TO ISRAEL IS HIGHER AMONG RECENT VISITORS TO ISRAEL AND HIGHER AMONG FEDERATION LEADERS**



## Conclusions

In this, the first survey of national professional and volunteer Jewish leadership in the United States, we learned of a broadly held reluctance to support philanthropic contributions to Israel (and other overseas needs) at then-current levels.

We have also learned of some of the reasons for this reluctance. First, Israel-oriented philanthropy is seen as somewhat less attractive than that designated for Jewish education and Jewish social services. Second, and more dramatically, leaders believe that any funds cut from Israel-related needs can be more easily replaced than in other areas. Third, leaders are inclined to keep more of their philanthropic funds in the local communities rather than send them elsewhere.

Reluctance to support Israel-related allocations is unevenly distributed among the leadership. It is somewhat more pronounced among professionals than volunteers and among younger rather than older leaders. In addition, the more resistant are more widely found among leaders from social service sectors rather than in Federations, synagogues, and Jewish education agencies. The less religiously traditional are also more inclined to oppose holding Israel allocations at current levels, as are, especially, those who have not recently visited Israel.

Some (Bloom 1998) have recently argued that interest in Israel continues to be highly positive as evidenced by the increasing success of Israel-based drives focused on educational institutions, hospitals, and special needs in Israel. The Technion, New Israel Fund, and others are referenced as examples of these successful drives. We believe that, aside from the New Israel Fund, the money being raised in America is probably coming from those individuals who are still seriously committed to Israel but desire, as Bloom argues, more personalized and specific giving opportunities than is often possible under UJA-Federation auspices.

In turn, Project 2000, which emphasizes more targeted giving opportunities, has hit a responsive chord among some givers. Because giving to Israel has always been pyramidal in its nature, the few have supplied the bulk of the dollars. Our study did not try to identify differential responses by giving levels but by age. It should be noted that as of 1998, at least two major UJA-Federation drives have been conducted with major marketing efforts geared to local preferences rather than Israel-based needs. These drives emphasized unmet social service needs in the former Soviet Union without linkage to Israel.

The results of this study may also be seen in the context of larger changes affecting Jews, Judaism, and Jewry. Israelis speak of having entered a post-Zionist age, when the collectivist concerns of state-building and nation-building have given way to more individualistic concerns (Ezrahi 1996). Recent research on American Jews points to the

rise of the self as the arbiter and locus of Jewish identity and expression (Cohen and Eisen 1998).

In like fashion, on the communal plane, the ties of peoplehood seem to be fraying. Resistance to funding Israel-related causes is part of larger trends toward localism and individualism. Thus, not only is American Jewry less enthusiastic about supporting Israel. In addition, local communities are less enthusiastic, it appears, in supporting national-level communal agencies. Within localities, centralized Federation campaigns are yielding power and centrality to drives for particular institutions. Individual donors are less frequent, less generous, and more interested in "hands-on" or individual experiences rather than seeing their philanthropy in purely communal contexts.

All of these trends entail and derive from greater diversity, personalism, voluntarism, and individualism in American Jewry, if not world Jewry. The findings we have presented on philanthropic attitudes may be important in themselves, but they may be even more important in pointing to larger and possibly more significant phenomena in contemporary Jewish life.

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## Appendix A

### Profile of Respondents: Volunteers versus Professionals

#### Volunteers are Older

To put some of these findings in perspective, it is useful to begin with the understanding that the volunteer leaders are considerably older than the professionals. Among Federation-related leaders, the mean age for volunteers is 59, as compared with just 46 among the professionals. For the other agencies, the gap is somewhat smaller: mean ages of 56 versus 48 respectively. Given the rising availability of Jewish educational opportunities over time, one would therefore expect the considerably younger professionals to report higher levels of Jewish education.

#### Professionals have More Jewish Education

We would expect professionals to exceed volunteers in terms of Jewish education, in part because Jewish educational levels of both sorts of leaders have risen over the years, and because professionals are younger than volunteer leaders.

Indeed, we do find a gap in Jewish education levels between professionals and volunteers, but by far larger margins than age alone would account for. In every measure of Jewish education, the professionals lead the board members. More than twice as many professionals as volunteer leaders went to day school or yeshiva. While under half of the volunteers belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth group, about two-thirds of the professionals did so. As youngsters, fewer than 20 percent of the volunteers had visited Israel as compared with more than twice as many professionals. About a quarter of the volunteer leaders had taken a Jewish studies course in college, but over half the professionals had done so.

While no definitive benchmark data are available, it seems that the Jewish education rates for the volunteer leaders are not all that different from other American Jews their age. The professionals, in contrast, report rates of childhood Jewish educational experience far in excess of the national rates.

With respect to Jewish educational experiences, professionals in Federations hardly differ from those in other agencies. However, among volunteers, those in Federations on many measures slightly trail their counterparts in other agencies.

#### Conservative Preponderance, Especially in Federations

Most Federation volunteer and professional leaders identify with the Conservative movement, about a third with Reform, and only 5 percent with Orthodoxy. Conservative

affiliation also leads in other agencies, but not to the same extent. Here, just under half are Conservative and over a third are Reform. Somewhat more of them than among Federation leaders are Orthodox (9 percent for the volunteer leaders and 12 percent among professionals). Noticeable by their relative absence are the non-denominational choices: in surveys of the Jewish public, this choice is associated with lower levels of involvement in Jewish life than are any of the explicit denominational choices.

In comparison with the American Jewish population, these leaders are far more prepared to declare a mainstream denominational affiliation. However, given their activism in Jewish life, it is somewhat surprising that the Orthodox do not pick up even a proportional share of the denominationally identified. With 8 percent of the American Jewish population at large, the Orthodox comprise about the same proportion of the leadership ranks of the organizations represented in our national sample. Their low representation may testify to the growing rift between Orthodoxy and non-Orthodoxy, with the Orthodox absenting themselves from multi-denominational contexts in Jewish life.

### **Above-Average Religious Practice**

We included only two measures of religious practice in our survey, but both point in the same direction. Well more than half claim to attend religious services at least monthly and about two-thirds say that Sabbath candles are usually lit in their homes. Both these figures are more than triple the national averages. It is reasonable to assume that lay and professional leaders also perform other religious activities far more often than the American Jewish public.

### **Widespread Personal Attachment to Israel**

In a variety of ways, leaders reported numerous instances of personal attachment to Israel. On three measures, the professionals sharply outpaced the volunteer leaders: the ability to conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew (almost half of the professionals versus less than one in five volunteer leaders); having lived in Israel for a year or more (a fifth of the professionals and just a few volunteers); and having considered at one point making aliya (over a quarter of the volunteer leaders and twice as many professionals). By any reasonable measure, these represent sizable levels of attachment to Israel.

The vast majority (86 percent) of Federation-affiliated leaders, whether volunteer or professional, have participated in a Mission to Israel, as compared with roughly two-thirds of those in other agencies. This is one of the few areas where Federation leaders differ from their counterparts elsewhere, and is certainly not surprising in light of the Federation leaders' involvement in fund-raising on behalf of Israel. About a third of American Jewish leaders were in Israel the previous year, with volunteer leaders having visited more than professionals, and those outside the Federation system having gone more than those within Federations.

**Below-Average Levels of Inter-marriage**

About one in ten of these leaders are married to non-Jews, a figure that is about half the American average (about 20 percent of all adult Jews, older and younger, are married to non-Jews). Among their children, the rate of intermarriage reaches approximately 18 percent, with little variation between volunteer and professional leaders. This level is much lower than the American average for intermarriage of people their children's age, but is significant nonetheless. Considering that those who can report on grown children are older than others (implying a lower current rate of intermarriage), the rate may be seen to have more than doubled in a single generation.

Table 7

**JEWISH IDENTITY OF AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERS**  
(Entries are percentages)

	Federation		Other	
	Vol.	Pro.	Vol.	Pro.
Mean Age	59	46	56	48
<i>Jewish Upbringing/Education</i>				
Raised as a Jew	94	96	94	96
Attended a day school or full-time yeshiva	5	13	5	14
Attended a 3-day-a-week religious school	51	59	51	55
Attended a 1-day-a-week religious school	39	31	29	28
Attended a Jewish educational camp	23	53	38	53
Belonged to a Jewish or Zionist youth group	49	72	45	63
Took at least one Jewish studies course at a university	21	57	34	53
Visited Israel before the age of 22	14	40	21	37
<i>Denomination</i>				
Orthodox	5	5	9	12
Conservative	54	59	49	45
Reform	35	26	39	33
Other	6	10	4	11
<i>Religious Practice</i>				
Attend synagogue services at least monthly	53	66	66	63
Sabbath candles usually lit in home	65	73	62	70
<i>Israel Attachment</i>				
Can conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew	22	45	17	43
Ever lived in Israel for a year or more	4	21	6	19
Ever considered making aliya	28	57	27	49
Visited Israel last year	30	21	48	34
Ever participated in a "Mission" to Israel	86	86	65	68
Any children ever spent 4 months or more in Israel	31	21	30	22
<i>Intermarriage</i>				
Intermarried	9	10	9	11
Parents of children intermarried	17	19	19	17
Number of cases	337	112	140	353

## Appendix B

# THE 1996 AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERSHIP SURVEY RESULTS

(in percent)

Is your role in the Jewish community life primarily as:

A VOLUNTEER (V) – 53    A PROFESSIONAL (P) – 47

### YOUR PRIOR JEWISH COMMUNAL LEADERSHIP INVOLVEMENT

Have you ever served on the board of each of the following types of organizations?

	V	P
	(Yes)	
1. Synagogue	69	43
2. Jewish School or BJE	38	16
3. Jewish Family Service	29	6
4. Other Jewish social service agency	51	20
5. Federation	97	22
6. JCRC or defense agency	33	10
7. Jewish Community Center	49	13
8. National Jewish organization board of directors	52	25
9. Other	36	27

### WHO'S RESPONSIBLE? LAY PEOPLE, PROFESSIONALS, OR BOTH?

Listed below are several functions performed by Jewish organization leaders, be they lay, professional, or both. In the ideal world, to what extent should lay leaders or professionals be responsible for each of these functions?

This responsibility should be ...

		Only Lay People	Mostly Lay People	Both Equally	Mostly Pro- fessionals	Only Pro- fessionals
Determining the agency's mission	V	13	55	31	1	0
	P	7	47	45	2	0
Setting major policy guidelines	V	12	58	28	2	0
	P	9	51	36	3	1
Deciding on allocations	V	21	54	24	1	0
	P	18	54	24	4	0
Setting personnel policy	V	8	21	31	38	2
	P	6	22	27	40	6
Evaluating personnel below the Executive Director	V	1	3	13	56	27
	P	1	1	4	34	60

		Only Lay People	Mostly Lay People	Both Equally	Mostly Pro- fessionals	Only Pro- fessionals
Hiring and firing personnel below the Executive Director	V	1	3	7	47	42
	P	1	1	1	27	70
Providing personal Jewish role models for the Jewish community	V	2	15	82	2	0
	P	1	3	96	1	0
Raising money	V	3	55	41	1	0
	P	1	50	48	1	0
Articulating a vision	V	3	24	68	5	0
	P	1	9	77	12	0
Building consensus	V	2	18	76	4	0
	P	0	11	80	10	0
Planning	V	1	14	74	12	0
	P	0	5	68	27	0
Managing	V	1	3	21	64	11
	P	0	1	8	61	31

### THE CURRENT REALITY IN LAY-PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

At your agency (the one with which you are now most involved),  
to what extent ...

		To a Great Extent	Somewhat	A Little	Not at All
Are the professionals competent in terms of what they need to know to perform their roles?	V	78	21	2	0
	P	77	21	1	1
Do the professionals approach their roles with the proper attitudes and motivation?	V	79	19	2	0
	P	79	19	2	1
Do the professionals readily share information with the lay leaders?	V	56	37	7	0
	P	68	26	5	1
Do the professionals respect the lay leaders?	V	64	31	4	0
	P	56	38	5	0
Do the professionals ignore the proper instructions of the lay leaders?	V	4	16	41	39
	P	2	8	31	60
Are the lay leaders competent in terms of what they need to know to perform their roles?	V	35	57	7	0
	P	28	54	16	3
Do the lay leaders approach their role with the proper attitudes and motivation?	V	53	42	4	0
	P	46	40	13	1
Do the lay leaders readily share information with the professionals?	V	71	28	2	0
	P	50	39	10	1
Do the lay leaders respect the professionals?	V	61	35	3	1
	P	52	36	10	1
Do the lay leaders ignore the sound advice of the professionals?	V	1	17	49	34
	P	5	27	46	22
Are board and executive committee meetings essentially meaningless, because the real decisions have been made before the meetings?	V	16	29	27	28
	P	13	25	32	30

Overall, how would you rate the following in the organization in which you are most active?

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
The quality of professional leaders	V	58	34	7	1
	P	56	40	4	1
The quality of lay leaders	V	39	48	11	1
	P	35	44	18	2
Lay-professional relations	V	38	52	9	1
	P	34	50	13	3
Clarity of boundaries between the proper roles of professionals and lay leaders	V	21	53	21	5
	P	20	46	26	7
The congruence between the visions of the lay and professional leaders	V	30	51	16	2
	P	27	51	17	5

During the last three years, did your agency's top executive resign under pressure (or dismissed)?

	<u>Yes</u>
V	17
P	16

### CRITICAL QUESTIONS

With respect to lay and professional leadership in *your agency*, do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
Jewish agencies should be run like a good business, with high standards of efficiency and effectiveness	V	53	42	0	1	4
	P	49	47	1	1	3
A Jewish communal agency should be run very differently from a profit-making operation	V	8	33	13	2	44
	P	9	35	12	4	41
Lay leaders should make the policy and the professionals should carry them out	V	21	51	4	2	23
	P	9	44	14	3	31
Professionals should subordinate their own visions to those of the agency	V	7	46	5	5	37
	P	3	34	14	4	44
Professionals act as if they — rather than the lay community — own the organization	V	4	14	27	5	51
	P	1	12	35	1	52
Professionals don't take the lay leaders very seriously	V	1	10	37	3	49
	P	0	6	46	0	47
Professionals work to manipulate lay leaders	V	5	27	24	5	38
	P	1	24	35	1	39
Given that they're working for a Jewish charitable agency, some professionals here are significantly overpaid for what they do	V	3	12	31	4	51
	P	2	4	66	2	27
Lay leaders should subordinate their own visions to those of the organization	V	4	38	14	3	40
	P	3	37	12	4	44
Lay leaders try to micro-manage rather than let the professionals do their job	V	2	27	16	4	52
	P	6	29	17	3	46
Lay leaders let their egos get in the way of exercising high quality leadership	V	7	30	11	7	45
	P	9	34	9	3	45
Lay leaders treat professionals in a demeaning fashion	V	2	11	36	1	49
	P	6	17	29	3	46

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
The top professionals here could easily be fired on a moment's notice	V	1	4	50	3	42
	P	5	17	28	4	48
In general, the lay leaders have too much power	V	1	5	23	2	70
	P	3	11	24	2	60
The agency is really run by the professionals, not by the lay leaders	V	4	32	12	4	48
	P	3	33	11	2	51
Most of the important decisions in the agency are made by lay leaders and not by professionals	V	4	43	7	4	42
	P	5	38	8	3	47
Large contributors have too much power in decision-making	V	8	25	13	3	51
	P	9	24	12	4	53

### THE FEDERATION DOLLAR

In your own community, as compared with the present division of funds, would you want to see more Federation dollars devoted to the local needs, or more devoted to overseas (largely Israel-oriented) needs?

	V	P
Much more locally	19	19
Somewhat more locally	38	41
Keep the local/overseas split the same as now	32	29
Somewhat more overseas	9	9
Much more overseas	2	1

Listed below are three broad areas that Federation funds support. To what extent do you find each of these areas attractive as a recipient of Federation support?

		Very	Somewhat	A Little	Not at All
Israel and other overseas needs	V	62	32	6	0
	P	56	33	11	1
Jewish education	V	76	18	6	0
	P	72	22	6	1
Jewish social and human services	V	78	20	2	0
	P	75	23	2	0

Now, to the best of your knowledge, if Federation had to cut its funding in any of the following areas, how difficult would it be for the agencies in each area to find substantial replacement funding?

		Not Too Difficult	Somewhat Difficult	Very Difficult	Nearly Impossible
Israel and other overseas needs	V	13	49	31	7
	P	17	48	29	6
Jewish education	V	11	37	45	8
	P	7	34	48	11
Jewish social and human services	V	8	31	48	13
	P	4	30	50	17

Assuming a flat campaign, over the next several years, do you think the proportion of your Federation's funding to each of these areas should increase, decrease, or stay the same?

		Increase	Stay the Same	Decrease
Israel and other overseas needs	V	5	44	51
	P	5	40	55
Jewish education	V	40	52	8
	P	47	48	6
Jewish social and human services	V	37	54	9
	P	44	49	7

With respect to the Jewish community's efforts to ensure Jewish continuity, in your view, which group should be the primary target?

V	P	
11	9	Active Jews (the most active 1/4 of the Jewish population)
75	80	Affiliated, but not very active Jews (the middle of the population)
13	10	Unaffiliated Jews (the least affiliated 1/4 of the population)

## YOUR BACKGROUND

Now we want to know a bit about you.

	V	P
	(Yes)	
Were you raised as a Jew?	94	96
Did you attend a 3-day-a-week religious school as a youngster?	51	56
Did you attend 1-day-a-week religious school as a youngster?	36	29
Did you attend a day school or full-time yeshiva?	5	14
Did you attend a Jewish secular or Yiddish school?	3	6
Did you attend at least one of the following: Camp Ramah, a UAHC camp, a JCC camp, an Orthodox camp, or one sponsored by a Zionist movement?	31	53
Did you belong to a Jewish or Zionist youth group?	48	66
Did you ever take a Jewish studies course at a university?	24	55
Before the age of 22, did you ever visit Israel?	16	38
Have you ever lived in Israel for a year or more?	4	20
Can you conduct a simple conversation in Hebrew?	19	43
Have you ever considered making aliyah?	28	52
Do you attend synagogue service once a month or more?	57	64
Are Sabbath candles usually lit in your home?	64	71
(If married) Is your spouse now Jewish?	91	89
Have any of your children ever spent 4 months or more in Israel?	31	22
Are any of your children now living in Israel?	4	2
Have you ever participated on a "Mission" to Israel?	80	74

How many of your children are currently married?

# Children	V	P
0	28	69
1	22	18
2	24	8
3	20	4
4+	7	2

Of these, how many are married to Jews (both born-Jews or converted)?

# Children	V	P
0	8	20
1	33	49
2	37	16
3	17	12
4+	5	3

You are:

	V	P
Male	62	56
Female	38	44

You are:

	V	P
Orthodox	6	10
Conservative	53	49
Reform	36	31
Secular	2	5
Other	4	5

If you were an Israeli voting in the last election for Prime Minister, do you think you would have voted for Bibi Netanyahu or Shimon Peres?

	V	P
Netanyahu	19	14
Peres	71	71
Not Sure	8	11
Don't know enough to make a good judgment	3	4

How much did you and your household contribute to the UJA/Federation in 1995?

	V	P
Under \$1,000	7	25
\$1,000-\$4,999	24	54
\$5,000-\$9,999	17	15
\$10,000-\$24,999	23	5
\$25,000-\$49,999	13	1
\$50,000 and over	15	1

You usually think of yourself as a:

	V	P
Republican	15	4
Democrat	67	82
Independent	19	14

Your usual stand on political issues is:

	V	P
Liberal	45	58
Middle-of-the-road	46	39
Conservative	9	3

Your household income:

	V	P
Under \$50,000	3	10
\$50,000-\$74,999	7	17
\$75,000-\$99,999	7	20
\$100,000-\$149,999	18	32
\$150,000-\$199,999	14	12
\$200,000+	52	9

## About the Authors

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He is the co-author of *Two Worlds of Judaism: The Israeli and American Experiences and Cosmopolitans and Parochials: Modern Orthodox Jews in America*. His earlier books include *American Modernity & Jewish Identity* and *American Assimilation or Jewish Revival?* The results from his many national surveys of American Jews have been widely cited in the mass media.

For over 20 years he was a professor of sociology at Queens College in New York, and he has been a Visiting Professor at Brandeis University, Yale University, and the Jewish Theological Seminary. In July 1992, he and his family made Aliyah and moved to Jerusalem.

He has served as a consultant to several agencies including: JCC Association, Jewish Agency, WZO, UJA, CRB Foundation, Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Wexner Foundation, Nathan Cummings Foundation, and American Jewish Committee, as well as the Jewish Federations of Detroit, New York, and New Haven.

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He has written, edited, and/or co-authored eight books and major monographs and published nearly 80 articles. He continues as a lecturer, trainer, and consultant. Over the years he has functioned in one of those capacities in over 100 communities throughout the world. He continues as a faculty member in the Council of Jewish Federations' professional education program and in the Wexner program for graduate training. He has been honored by over ten organizations locally and nationally.

He serves on many local, national, and international boards of directors, a number of which have elected him to the presidency.

He and his wife reside in Los Angeles and spend a number of months annually in Israel.

## THE JERUSALEM CENTER'S NEWEST PUBLICATIONS

### *A Classification System for Libraries of Judaica*

David H. Elazar and Daniel J. Elazar,

The third revised edition of the Elazar Classification System, first invented and applied in 1952 to allow for the cataloging of materials in any Judaica collection based on internal Jewish criteria. The system has been adopted throughout the Jewish world for use in libraries in synagogues, community centers, Hebrew schools, college campuses, and research institutions. (Jason Aronson, 1997) 264 pp.; \$50 – NIS185

### *Constitutionalizing Globalization*

Daniel J. Elazar

This book documents the revival of federal arrangements around the world and the development of appropriate global and regional constitutional mechanisms and controls that are part of a general shift from modern statism to postmodern federalism. (Rowman & Littlefield, 1998) 258 pp.; \$23.95 – NIS90

### *Covenant and Civil Society: The Constitutional Matrix of Modern Democracy*

Volume 4 of the Covenant Tradition in Politics

Daniel J. Elazar

This volume explores the idea of political compact, constitutional systems, popular sovereignty, and the development of consociational and cooperative forms of political and social organization, especially in modern and early postmodern Europe. (Transaction Publishers, 1998) 382 pp.; \$54.95 – NIS220

### *Covenant and Constitutionalism: The Great Frontier and the Matrix of Federal Democracy*

Volume 3 of the Covenant Tradition in Politics

Daniel J. Elazar

The ancient biblical idea of covenant gave birth to the late medieval Protestant pursuit of commonwealth in a polity constructed on the proper covenantal principles. These principles subsequently were transformed into the foundations of modern civil society that was given its best political form through constitutionalism. The way in which these ideas were transformed by modernity is the subject of this book. (Transaction Publishers, 1998) 300 pp.; \$50 – NIS185

### *Israel at the Polls, 1996*

Shmuel Sandler and Daniel J. Elazar, eds.

The sixth volume in the JCPA's "Israel at the Polls" series analyzing Israeli Knesset elections since 1977. (Frank Cass [London], 1998) 288 pp.; \$22.50 – NIS85

*Jewish Centers and Peripheries: Europe between America and Israel 50 Years after World War II*

S. Ilan Troen, ed.

This book documents the reemergence of European Jewry at the end of the twentieth century. (Transaction Publishers, 1998) 440 pp.

*Kinship and Consent: The Jewish Political Tradition and Its Contemporary Uses*

Daniel J. Elazar, ed.

Major scholars, leaders in their fields, explore the Jewish political tradition from their several disciplinary perspectives from biblical times to the present. The essays collected here demonstrate the connections between the earliest days of the Jewish political tradition through the expression of that tradition in the Land of Israel and in exile to modern and contemporary times. Third edition, revised and expanded. (Transaction Publishers, 1997) 630 pp.; \$29.95 – NIS110

**Monographs:**

*American Jewish Leaders View Board-Staff Relations*

Gerald B. Bubis and Steven M. Cohen

The first study of its kind conducted in the American Jewish community, this monograph probes the thinking of 830 national and local professional and volunteer leaders in UJA, CJF, UIA, Federations, Jewish Community Centers, Community Relations Councils, and Family Services. Based on a social scientific survey, it reports on the issues which most frequently cause difficulties between board and staff members including views on their respective power, how well they perform their jobs, and what they perceive as points of agreement and conflict. (JCPA) 48 pp.; \$12.50 – NIS50

*How European Jewish Communities Can Choose and Plan Their Own Future*

Daniel J. Elazar and Shmuel Trigano

This report discusses the shape of postmodern Europe and the revival of European Jewry, and the place of European Jewry in world Jewish affairs. (JCPA and Institute of the World Jewish Congress, 1998) 32 pp.

*Religious Zionists in Jerusalem* (Hebrew and English)

This detailed study looks at the role of religious Zionists in the city, a fourth major population group (after ultra-Orthodox Jews, secular Jews, and Arabs), who serve as a bridging element between the secular and ultra-Orthodox. (JCPA, 1998) 62 pp.; NIS35

*Serving the Jewish Polity: The Application of Jewish Political Theory to Jewish Communal Practice*

Gerald B. Bubis, Daniel J. Elazar, and Melvin L. Silberman, eds.

A handbook for the use of teachers and students in the schools and programs of Jewish communal service in the United States. (JCPA, 1997) 265 pp.

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