

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF AMERICAN JEWS

What do we mean by organizational affiliation among Jews, and how do we measure it? Using as a minimalist criterion "the joining or supporting of a Jewish institution or organization," Jonathan Woocher (1990) calls such affiliation "the public badge of Jewish identification." Within the context of contemporary North America, he suggests, this has become the defining act of citizenship in the community, creating a bridge between personal Jewish identity, often expressed in private observance, and communal Jewish life. Other researchers argue that a meaningful measure must go beyond "joining or supporting" to include the specific contribution of one's time and financial resources to a Jewish institution, organization, or cause (Berger and Tobin 1989).

Depending on the definition, the majority of American Jews can be considered either highly affiliated or only nominally affiliated to the larger Jewish community through its organizations and institutions. Some analysts suggest that American Jews typically pass through stages of affiliation and nonaffiliation in the course of their adult lives, and should thus be viewed differently at different points in time (Goldscheider 1990). Still others focus on the numbers of Jews who apparently fail to meet even limited criteria of involvement (Berger 1990b).

Clearly, the American Jewish community has changed from the time -- between the turn of the century and World War II -- when most Jews routinely interacted with other Jews in a communal context and were still very much "a distinct subcommunity within American society" (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984). Less clear, however, are the magnitude and overall effects of the changes that have occurred. A number of community studies and surveys focusing on behavioral indicators have reported relatively high levels of affiliation on the part of most American Jews; in some areas it may

actually have increased since 1971 (Tobin and Chenkin 1985; Tobin and Lipsman 1984; Berger and Tobin 1989; Goldscheider 1989; Cohen 1985; Woocher 1990). According to a 1985 summary, at least two-thirds of all American Jews routinely sent their children to some form of Jewish school, contributed to Jewish philanthropies, and -- at least in intermediate-size older cities -- belonged to Jewish organizations and read Jewish newspapers. Fifty percent claimed synagogue or temple membership, and the percentage was even higher for parents of school-age children (Cohen 1985).

In the recent 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS), however, only 54 percent of the Core Jewish respondents¹ had made contributions to Jewish causes in the previous year (Kosmin et al. 1991). Fewer than one-third (28 percent) reported belonging to one or more Jewish organizations other than a synagogue or temple, and only 13 percent belonged to two or more. In this same population, only 39 percent of the households claimed synagogue or temple membership. (The same data confirmed higher synagogue-affiliation levels among families with young children.) Judgments about the state of Jewish affiliation must also take into account the tremendous variations among Jewish communities, as well as the related social and demographic factors. In a summary of a number of community studies, the highest degree of affiliation with synagogues or temples was found in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Nashville, Seattle, and Rochester, and of Jewish organizational affiliation in Rochester and St. Louis -- all stable Jewish communities in medium-sized cities (Tobin and Lipsman 1984). High affiliators are also likeliest to be found among in-married Jews aged 35-49 who are parents of school-age children (e.g., Cohen 1985).

At the other end of the spectrum, affiliation of all sorts tends to be lowest among adults under age 35 (who are also likelier to be single), among older retirees, and among lower-income Jews living in large cities (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami) or Sunbelt communities. It is also low among the intermarried (conversionary or nonconversionary) and among recent migrants to Western and Southwestern areas (e.g., Phoenix, San Francisco, Denver, San Diego). Some argue, however, that the effects of migration to low-density Jewish communities are only temporary, until the newcomers can form new networks and ties (Goldscheider and Zuckerman 1984; see also Goldstein 1991).

¹In the NJPS, "Core Jews" refers to born Jews claiming Judaism as their religion plus converted Jews and born Jews who claim no current religion. This is the population most comparable with other studies of American Jews.

Finally, in a survey that asked respondents to indicate behaviors or attributes that constitute being a "good Jew," individuals who were more traditional in their denominational affiliations were more likely to cite affiliation with Jewish charities, organizations, or synagogues than were either Jews in less traditional denominations or those who called themselves "Just Jewish" (Cohen 1991).

Other analysts (Goldscheider 1990; Ukeles 1991; Berger 1990a) have attempted to separate and compare different kinds of involvement *within* the Jewish institutional world. One researcher uncovered an apparent distinction between synagogue or temple membership and organizational membership, finding that while 36 percent of adults reported feelings of attachment to a local synagogue or temple, only 10, 9, or 18 percent, respectively, felt similar attachment to a JCC or Y, a federation, or another local Jewish organization (Cohen 1991). Moreover, when asked to describe the attributes of the "good Jew," these respondents ranked synagogue affiliation and attendance higher than organizational affiliation and philanthropic involvement (69 and 64 percent vs. 54 and 53 percent).

Cohen interprets this as evidence of a cleavage between "synagogue Jews" and "federation Jews" among lay Jews as well as among Jewish leaders, with each group holding somewhat different beliefs, values, and agendas. In a discussion of denominational affiliation (including synagogue membership) and ritual observance, Goldscheider (1990) points out that here too there is frequently a "wide discrepancy" between these two forms of involvement, suggesting that commitment to institutions does not necessarily imply ideological commitment. If different forms of Jewish affiliation are indeed mutually exclusive and differentially valued, then changes in the rates of either may create very different outcomes for the community at large and may affect Jewish continuity in very different ways.

In examining the interrelationships between specific types of affiliation, Berger (1990a) found that volunteering time to Jewish organizations is positively correlated with making financial contributions to them and with attending religious services more often. It should be noted that the 1990 NJPS revealed higher levels of giving money to Jewish causes than of volunteering time to them (54 vs. 18 percent in 1989).² In his analysis of this data, Berger (1991) concluded: "Membership in a Jewish organization other than a synagogue is a significant predictor of volunteering for Jewish

²They also were likelier to give money than time to non-Jewish causes as well, though to a lesser extent.

organizations. Giving for Jewish organizations is also related to volunteering for [them] in the same way that volunteering affects giving."

Researchers who have studied the "quality and strength" of these ties dismiss the optimistic emphasis on overall affiliation as being "a mile wide and an inch deep" (Berger and Tobin 1989). In their exploration of the nature of affiliation in Baltimore and San Francisco, for example, they found that by a modest definition of affiliation -- contributing less than \$100, volunteering less than four hours a month, and belonging to a synagogue or Jewish organization -- the majority of Jews in both communities (77 and 88 percent) were indeed formally connected. But when they expanded the definition to include four hours a month *or more* of volunteer time and contributions of \$100 *or more*, the percentage of households involved in Jewish life dropped precipitously (to 11 percent in both communities). By these standards, the picture that emerges is of what Berger (1990b) calls "diminishing levels of participation in and commitment to Jewish institutional life."

Among other studies that emphasize the half-empty portion of the cup, there are a number that focus on Jews who report no memberships in Jewish organizations, make no contributions of money to them, and volunteer no time to them. This may or may not be linked to the increasing numbers (since 1971) of Jews who report no religious denominational identification (Tobin and Lipsman 1984; Kosmin et al. 1991). Berger (1991b) considers the possibility that it is the organizations' recruitment strategies and marketing practices that are responsible for the relatively low percentage of involved individuals. He suggests further that changes in organizational structures and processes might achieve increased levels of involvement. Goldscheider (1990) goes so far as to suggest that nonaffiliation itself should be considered an emergent form of Jewishness for the twenty-first century, coexisting with the retention of a completely nonreligious Jewish identity.

Turning to the involvement of Jews with non-Jewish philanthropies and organizations, Berger (1990a, 1990b) found that Jews who volunteer time for Jewish causes are equally likely to volunteer for non-Jewish causes. In fact, in his analysis of the relevant 1990 NJPS data (1991a), he shows that American Jews are actually likelier to volunteer for non-Jewish organizations than for Jewish ones (39 vs. 20 percent). Nonetheless, he suggests that both volunteering for and giving to non-Jewish organizations are significant predictors of volunteering for Jewish organizations. Berger also asserts that, contrary to widespread belief, Jews by and large do not contribute more than non-Jews to philanthropic causes overall (though critics point out that when dues to synagogues or temples are included, Jews probably do show higher

rates of giving).

The analyses of Jewish affiliative behavior discussed in this section are based on information drawn from community studies undertaken by local federations, from National Jewish Population Studies undertaken periodically, and from a small number of market surveys. Methodologically, the community surveys are rather limited in their ability to permit generalization to the larger American Jewish population. Moreover, relatively few questions have been asked about affiliative behavior in the population studies or the market surveys. Thus, the studies and surveys are very limited in their capacity to tap accurately and describe comprehensively the communal activities of large numbers of American Jews.

Moreover, these surveys and studies do not even attempt to address the motivations or symbolic meanings attached to affiliative behaviors. Yet an understanding of the role of affiliation in present-day Jewish life must take into account the feelings and beliefs that lie behind the affiliative behaviors, be they minimal or more. Organizational or institutional affiliation is tacitly understood, at least by concerned leadership, to be the prerequisite for Jewish communal survival as well as the tangible expression of that survival. Thus, any attempts to understand the current condition of the community, much less to predict its future growth and vitality, must include a systematic exploration of the attitudes that underlie, predispose, or preclude affiliative acts.

Even the definition of "affiliative acts" needs to be revisited and clarified before large-scale conclusions are drawn. In much of the previously discussed literature, "affiliation" and even "organizational affiliation" refer variously to membership in organizations, attendance at religious services, synagogue or temple membership, contributions of time or money to an organization or philanthropic campaign, and even the enrollment of one's children in a Jewish school. In some of the studies, "keeping kosher" and "observing Shabbat" are also considered behaviors of affiliation (Cohen 1985). It is therefore understandably difficult to discuss this phenomenon when it is operationally defined in many different ways.

The research described below was designed to contribute to a clearer definition of affiliation as well as to uncover more data about the behaviors and beliefs of Jews who affiliate and Jews who do not. Thus questions were asked about "overall affiliation" (defined as belonging either to a Jewish organization or to a synagogue or temple, volunteering time, attending meetings, paying dues, holding office, or contributing money or gifts to a Jewish organization) and specifically about membership in Jewish organizations other than synagogues or temples -- the particular focus of this

survey. Questions were asked about the specific nature and range of this organizational affiliation, the individuals' contributions and commitments over time, and the meaning that affiliation holds for them. Information was gathered about the paths by which individuals came to involvement or noninvolvement, and their reasons for their current affiliative status. Respondents were asked what they believed to be true about the Jewish organization to which they were most attached, and the extent to which they were interested in and attracted by various organizational activities, goals, and guidelines. They were also asked to share the beliefs and images they held about other people who join Jewish organizations. Finally, affiliative patterns with "nonsectarian" (not specifically Jewish) organizations and causes were examined in a parallel series of questions.

Methodology

Design

Market Facts, Inc., a national survey-research company, mailed an eight-page questionnaire in February 1991 to a balanced national sample of 1,600 self-identified Jewish members of the company's consumer mail panel³ that reflected the best estimates of the Jewish population regarding age, household income, marital status, geographic region, and number of Jewish heads of household (one or two).⁴ After a follow-up reminder card was mailed and four weeks allowed for returns, the final usable sample was 1,114, representing a 70-percent response rate. The results were then weighted to reflect the estimated age distribution of the adult Jewish population and the estimated proportion of Orthodox.⁵

³See Steven M. Cohen, *Ties and Tensions: The 1986 Survey of American Jewish Attitudes Toward Israel and Israelis* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1987) for a complete discussion of the appropriateness of such a sample for the study of Jews, along with a comparison of Market Facts' Jewish sample to other then-existing Jewish samples.

⁴In selected households with only one Jewish head of household, that person was the designated respondent; in households with two Jewish heads of household, one was randomly chosen to be the designated respondent. Males were intentionally oversampled to allow for their typically lower rate of response to mail surveys of this type, resulting in an obtained sample of 49 percent men and 51 percent women.

⁵This process moderately increased the number of respondents under age 35 and decreased the number 55 and older; it also inflated the number of Orthodox and

Respondents

Forty-nine percent of the respondents were men and 51 percent were women. Thirty-one percent were aged 18-34, 38 percent 35-54, and 31 percent 55 and over. Sixty-one percent were married, 21 percent never-married, 8 percent divorced, 1 percent separated, and 8 percent widowed. In 1990, 19 percent had earned under \$25,000, 13 percent \$25-34,999, 19 percent \$35-49,999, 27 percent \$50-74,999, and 22 percent over \$75,000. Forty-one percent had "some college or less" (high-school graduate or less, 14 percent; some college, 27 percent), and 59 percent had a college degree or more (college degree, 22 percent; some graduate work, 12 percent; graduate degree, 25 percent). Politically, 7 percent described themselves as "very liberal," 31 percent as "liberal," 40 percent as "middle-of-the-road," 22 percent as "conservative," and 1 percent as "very conservative." Fifty-four percent considered themselves Democrats, 22 percent Republicans, and 24 percent independents.

The sample was typical of contemporary American Jewry in a variety of ways.⁶ While 99 percent were either born Jewish or had converted (the remaining 1 percent "identify as Jews"), only 72 percent of those who were married reported having Jewish spouses. Most of the respondents (75 percent) had received some kind of formal part-time Jewish education, while 7 percent reported having had day-school or yeshiva education. Ten percent identified as Orthodox, 34 percent as Conservative, 33 percent as Reform, 0.4 percent as Reconstructionist, 21 percent as "Just Jewish," and 2 percent "something else." Only 16 percent attended Jewish religious services two or three times a month or more; 24 percent attended once a month or five to ten times per year; 37 percent attended one to four times per year; and 24 percent never attended. Nine percent reported that they or another member of their household belonged to a church or other non-Jewish religious group.

Forty-one percent reported that most or all of their close friends were Jews; 35 percent said that some were; and 23 percent reported that few or

slightly diminished the number of non-Orthodox.

⁶Where appropriate, comparisons have been made with the 1990 NJPS data (Kosmin et al. 1991; Goldstein 1992). In general, the Market Facts sample was consistently "more Jewish" than the NJPS Core Jewish population and consistently more affiliated, both with Jewish organizations and with non-Jewish ones. For specific comparisons, see Addendum (p. 63).

none of their close friends were Jews. Fully 65 percent said it was either "very important" or "somewhat important" to read about Jews in the general press, but only 33 percent held paid subscriptions to Jewish periodicals, newspapers, or magazines.

The majority reported that they always or usually lit Hanukkah candles (78 percent) and attended a Passover seder (76 percent). Fifty-five percent said they fasted on Yom Kippur (10 percent said they were prevented from fasting by health reasons). Thirty-three percent reported that they always or usually celebrated Purim and 28 percent reported that they observed the Sabbath in some fashion. Twenty-one percent said they always or usually observed kashrut in some fashion, and 17 percent reported using separate dishes for meat and dairy. (Nineteen percent said that they always or usually had a Christmas tree.) Eighty-five percent said that being Jewish was "very important" or "somewhat important" in their lives, and 39 percent considered themselves "very religious" or "fairly religious."

Sixty-nine percent had never been to Israel, and 51 percent had no intentions of visiting there in the next three years. (Twenty-five percent were not sure.) However, 54 percent said that they often talked about Israel with friends or relatives, and 70 percent said that they paid special attention to articles about Israel when reading newspapers. Fifty-six percent said that they felt "very close" or "fairly close" to Israel, but only 19 percent considered themselves Zionists. (Seventeen percent were not sure.)

Results

Affiliation with Jewish Institutions and Organizations

Substantial numbers of respondents (70 percent) reported that they affiliated with the overall Jewish community in some way. When asked to indicate in which of a number of ways they had affiliated in the last twelve months, they cited "contributed money or gifts to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple" most frequently (50 percent), followed closely by "belonged to a synagogue or temple" (48 percent). A third (33 percent) indicated that they "belonged to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple (including JCCs or YM/YWHAs)," and the same percentage (33 percent) indicated that they "paid membership dues to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple." (It is quite likely that most of those who indicated that they belonged to an organization also were dues-paying members.) Further, 32 percent indicated that they "attended one or more meetings or functions of a Jewish organization other than a

synagogue or temple," and about one-fifth (21 percent) indicated that they "did volunteer work" for such an organization; only 9 percent reported that they "held office" in such a Jewish organization. Thirty percent of respondents reported no Jewish affiliation in any of the above ways (Table 1).

Of those respondents who indicated that they were not involved with the Jewish community in any of the ways specified, the three most frequently cited reasons were "too many other responsibilities/demands" (49 percent), "other interests and involvements" (40 percent), and "too costly" (28 percent) (Table 1).⁷ These overall unaffiliated respondents were less likely than the affiliated to engage in some of the less common ritual behaviors, such as observing the Sabbath in some fashion, observing kashrut in some fashion, and celebrating Purim.

When asked whether another adult member of their household had affiliated with the Jewish community in the last twelve months in any of the ways specified above, respondents in households with another adult (about 75 percent of the sample) answered "yes" or "no" in about equal numbers (Table 1). Respondents who reported no affiliative behavior of their own were more likely than the affiliated to say that other household members were also unaffiliated.

Affiliated respondents were asked to indicate how many Jewish organizations *including* synagogues or temples they had been involved with in the last twelve months. (The following percentages are of affiliated respondents only.) Thirty-six percent indicated one; nearly a quarter (23 percent) indicated two; and 16 percent indicated three organizations. When then asked the number of Jewish organizations *other than* a synagogue or temple they were affiliated with in 1990, 37 percent said one, 20 percent two, and 10 percent three. Nineteen percent were associated with no additional organizations; these were the respondents who belonged to a synagogue or temple only with no other Jewish affiliation. When the respondents with only synagogue or temple affiliation were removed from the analysis, the number of organizational affiliations were as follows: one, 46 percent; two, 25 percent; and three, 12 percent (Table 2).

A series of questions was asked of those respondents who indicated involvement with at least one Jewish organization *other than* a synagogue or temple; percentages are of those respondents only. When those respondents were asked to cite the reasons for their involvement, the responses were

⁷The full range of options for each of the questions presented appears in the tables.

"helping others or a cause you believe in" (73 percent), "helping to maintain your religion, cultural heritage, or language" (64 percent), "meeting people/companionship" (44 percent), and "family and friendship ties to the organization" (43 percent) (Table 2).

Reporting further on the nature of their involvement, 56 percent of affiliated (belonging and otherwise) respondents indicated that they had not done any volunteer work in an average month in 1990, and 29 percent indicated that they had put in one to five hours of volunteer work. Approximately a third (34 percent) did not attend any meetings or functions in 1990, while 30 percent attended one to three and 14 percent attended four to six (Table 3). When they were asked how many of these organizations they had paid dues or membership fees to in 1990 (*not including* contributions or gifts), their most frequent answers were: none, 31 percent; one, 36 percent; and two, 17 percent. When they were then asked how many of these organizations they had contributed money or gifts to *other than* dues or membership fees, their most frequent answers were: none, 14 percent; one, 29 percent; two, 21 percent, and three, 14 percent. Finally, the vast majority of affiliated respondents (83 percent) did not hold office in a Jewish organization in 1990; 15 percent held local offices (Table 4).

When asked specifically about their involvement with the organization to which they felt most attached, affiliated respondents most frequently reported: "I contributed money" (56 percent). This form of affiliation was most common in general, as responses to the first item showed. "I belong" (53 percent), "I paid membership dues" (52 percent), and "I attended one or more meetings or functions" (50 percent) were also frequently cited (Table 5).

When asked how they became involved with the organization to which they felt most attached, "friend or relative invited me" (40 percent) was the most frequently cited response, followed by "family tradition" (24 percent), "approached the organization myself" (21 percent), and "responded to a telephone call or mailing" (18 percent) (Table 5).

Finally, again for the organization to which they felt most attached, respondents were asked to indicate which of a series of statements were true. In order of frequency, the responses were as follows: "The organization is doing important work" (85 percent); "The organization has an impact on the Jewish community" (81 percent); "The organization has an impact on Israel" (54 percent); and "I feel proud to be a member of this organization" (52 percent) (Table 5).

Before moving to the next series of questions, it is important to focus on some of the characteristics of those who belong to Jewish organizations

("belongers") and those who do not, a key variable of interest. Belongers (to a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple – 33 percent of the sample) were more likely than nonbelongers to indicate that while they were growing up their parents had been members of a Jewish organization, although parental synagogue membership was not related to respondents' current organizational membership. Belongers to organizations were more likely than nonmembers to belong to a synagogue or temple and were less likely to be intermarried. Respondents who belonged to a Jewish organization were less likely to have had two American-born parents and more likely to have had two foreign-born parents. Belongers to organizations were more likely to have paid subscriptions to Jewish periodicals, and to attend Jewish religious services more frequently; they were also more likely to indicate that being Jewish was important in their lives. Belongers to Jewish organizations were more likely to observe the Sabbath in some fashion, to observe kashrut in some fashion, to celebrate Purim, and to consider themselves "very" or "fairly" religious. There were no differences between belongers and nonbelongers in terms of how busy they considered themselves.

All respondents, regardless of their level of involvement with Jewish organizations other than a synagogue or temple, were asked to indicate whether their involvement was more, less, or just as much as they wanted. For the majority (65 percent), the level of involvement was "just as much" as they wanted; nearly a third (31 percent) said it was less than they wanted; and only 4 percent said it was more than they wanted (Table 6). Respondents who belonged to a Jewish organization were more likely than nonbelongers to indicate that they had "just as much involvement" as they wanted, and somewhat less likely to indicate that they had "less involvement" than they wanted.

Respondents were then asked to indicate whether there were any Jewish organizations other than a synagogue or temple that they used to be involved with as an adult but were no longer, and 28 percent responded yes. Among these, 58 percent cited one organization and 30 percent cited two. Of course, many of these respondents may now belong to another Jewish organization. The majority of these people (63 percent) did not regret ending their involvement, but over a third (37 percent) did (Table 7).

When asked to indicate the largest number of years they had belonged to an organization with which they were no longer involved, 31 percent indicated three years or fewer, 29 percent said four to six years, 16 percent said seven to ten years, and 24 percent said eleven or more years. When asked why they had ended their involvement, the two most frequently cited

reasons were: "change in personal or family schedule" (41 percent) and "moved to a different city/place" (36 percent) (Table 7).

All respondents were asked whether they had participated in any Jewish groups as youngsters. Thirty percent had participated in a Jewish youth group, 9 percent in a Jewish camp, 25 percent in both, and 36 percent in neither (Table 8). There was no relationship between participation in either a Jewish youth group or a Jewish camp as a child and belonging to a Jewish organization as an adult. The 83 percent of respondents who had attended college were twice as likely *not* to have participated in Jewish youth groups or organizations in college as they were to have participated (57 vs. 27 percent).

The vast majority of all respondents (84 percent) had not participated in any adult Jewish education programs in the past year, including any college studies (Table 8). Of those respondents who had joined a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple as an adult, 43 percent did so when they were 18-24 years old, 35 percent when they were 25-34, 10 percent when they were 35-44, and 8 percent when they were 45 and older. Five percent of the respondents did so when they were 13-17 years old.

Seventy-eight percent of all respondents indicated that while they were growing up their parents had belonged to a synagogue or temple, and 58 percent indicated that their parents had belonged to a Jewish organization *other than* a synagogue or temple (Table 9). If these retrospective accounts are accurate, it appears that these respondents were much less likely than were their parents to belong to a synagogue or temple (48 vs. 78 percent) or to a Jewish organization (33 vs. 58 percent). However, the higher figures for the parents represent a broader time span (i.e., at any point during the respondent's childhood), while the lower figures for the respondent's affiliation reflect only a current snapshot.

Finally, respondents were asked to indicate the value of their households' contributions, in money or gifts, to Jewish philanthropies, charities, causes, or organizations in 1990 (*not including* dues or membership fees). Twenty-eight percent contributed \$1-99, 26 percent contributed \$100-499, and 19 percent contributed \$500 or more. Twenty-seven percent said that their households had contributed no money or gifts to Jewish organizations.⁸ (Table 10).

⁸The disparity between this figure and the 50 percent who reported no such contributions in Question 1 may be explained in part by the fact that Question 1 refers to individual respondents only, and not to households.

Affiliation with Nonsectarian Organizations

Substantial and similar numbers of the respondents (67 percent) also affiliated with the general community. (But while this number is comparable to the 70-percent figure for overall Jewish organizational affiliation, it must be recalled that the latter figure included affiliation with synagogues or temples.) As with Jewish organizations, the most frequent type of affiliation was the contribution of money or gifts (49 percent). While 38 percent of respondents paid membership dues to a nonsectarian organization, only 28 percent reported belonging to one, including community centers and YM/YWCAs (compared with 33 percent who belonged and paid dues to Jewish organizations). Over a third (35 percent) of respondents attended one or more meetings or functions of a nonsectarian organization (32 percent attended Jewish organizations' meetings and functions), 32 percent did volunteer work (21 percent for Jewish organizations), and 15 percent held office in such organizations (9 percent in Jewish organizations). Thirty-three percent reported no such acts of affiliation (Table 11).

With regard to those who did not affiliate with the general community in any of the ways specified above, the four most frequently cited reasons were: "too many other responsibilities/demands" (48 percent), "other interests/involvements" (40 percent), "never thought about affiliating with a nonsectarian organization" (25 percent), and "have no interest in nonsectarian organizations" (24 percent) (Table 11).

Nearly a quarter of the sample had no other adult household member; of those who did, 34 percent reported that the other adult affiliated with the nonsectarian community in the ways specified above, while 42 percent reported that the other adult did not (Table 11).

The 67 percent of respondents who did affiliate with the nonsectarian community in some way were asked a number of questions about their affiliations. The majority of these affiliated respondents were involved with one (33 percent), two (29 percent), or three (17 percent) nonsectarian organizations. The most frequently cited reason for involvement with a nonsectarian organization was "helping others or a cause you believe in" (72 percent), followed distantly by "feeling you owe something to your community" (40 percent), "meeting people, companionship" (38 percent), and "having influence in community affairs or political life" (36 percent) (Table 12).

Many respondents who were affiliated with nonsectarian organizations did not do any volunteer work in an average month in 1990 (45 percent); 32 percent reported that they did one to five hours in an average month. Thirty

percent did not attend any meetings or functions in 1990, while 26 percent attended one to three meetings and 14 percent four to six meetings (Table 13). When respondents were asked how many nonsectarian groups they had paid membership fees or dues to in 1990, *not including* contributions or gifts, their most frequent replies were: none, 31 percent; one, 25 percent; two, 20 percent; and three, 10 percent. When then asked how many organizations they had contributed money to, *not including* dues or membership fees, the responses were: none, 20 percent; one, 21 percent; two, 21 percent; and three, 12 percent. Over three-quarters (78 percent) of affiliated respondents did not hold office in a nonsectarian organization; 19 percent held office at the local level (Table 14).

Affiliated respondents were asked to specify the nature of their involvement with the nonsectarian organization to which they felt most attached, and their most frequent responses were: "I paid membership dues" (56 percent), "I belong" (54 percent), "I attended one or more meetings or functions" (51 percent), "I contributed money" (47 percent), and "I did volunteer work" (41 percent) (Table 15).

Finally, when asked to indicate which of a series of statements were true for the organization to which they felt most attached, they replied as follows: "The organization is doing important work" (84 percent), "I feel proud to be a member of this organization" (55 percent), "I enjoy the events and activities" (49 percent), and "The organization has an impact on the U.S." (42 percent) (Table 15).

All respondents were asked to assess their current level of involvement with nonsectarian organizations. Seventy-five percent said it was "just as much involvement" as they wanted, 19 percent said it was less than they wanted, and 6 percent said it was more than they wanted (Table 16). Forty-nine percent of respondents indicated that while they were growing up their parents had belonged to nonsectarian organizations (compared with 58 percent whose parents had belonged to Jewish organizations other than synagogues or temples) (Table 17).

Finally, all respondents were asked to indicate the amount that their households contributed in money or gifts in 1990 to nonsectarian philanthropies, charities, causes, or organizations (*not including* dues or membership fees). Thirty-four percent contributed \$1-99, 38 percent contributed \$100-499, and 15 percent contributed \$500 or more. Fourteen percent contributed no money or gifts to nonsectarian organizations (while 27 percent did not contribute to Jewish organizations) (Table 18).

A Comparison of Jewish Organizational Affiliation and Nonsectarian Organizational Affiliation

A number of questions allow for direct comparisons of the affiliation patterns of Jews in Jewish and in nonsectarian organizations. In terms of how they affiliated, respondents were more likely to say they "belonged" to a Jewish organization, but more likely to have "volunteered," "paid membership dues," and "held office" in a nonsectarian organization (Table 19). Respondents who belonged to a Jewish organization were also more likely to belong to a nonsectarian organization. For those respondents who did not affiliate in any of the listed ways, the most frequently cited reasons for noninvolvement in either organizational realm were "too many other responsibilities/ demands" and "other interests and involvements." The third most frequently cited reason for noninvolvement in Jewish organizations was "too costly," while for nonsectarian organizations it was "never thought about affiliating with a nonsectarian organization" (Table 19).

Respondents affiliated with Jewish organizations were more likely than respondents affiliated with nonsectarian organizations to cite only one organizational affiliation. Among the reasons that affiliated respondents cited for their involvement with each type of organization, some notable differences emerged. Not surprisingly, respondents were much more likely to cite "helping to maintain your religion, cultural heritage, or language" as a reason for involvement with Jewish organizations. Other reasons cited at least somewhat more frequently for Jewish organizational affiliation were: "emotional attachment to the organization," "family and friendship ties to the organization," and "meeting people/companionship." Reasons cited more frequently for nonsectarian organizational involvement, by contrast, were: "having influence in community affairs or political life," "establishing/improving professional and business networks," and "using your skills and experience" (Table 20). Social and/or emotional reasons were more frequently found with Jewish organizations than with nonsectarian organizations. Affiliated respondents were more likely to have paid dues to only one Jewish organization, while nonsectarian affiliators were more likely to have paid dues to two or more organizations (Table 21).

When asked about the nature of their own most significant affiliation, respondents were more likely to cite "I have a lifetime membership" and "I contributed money" for Jewish organizations, and "I did volunteer work" for nonsectarian organizations (Table 22). And when asked which of a series of statements were true for that organization, respondents were more likely to cite the following reasons for belonging to Jewish organizations than to

nonsectarian ones: "The organization has an impact on the world," "The organization has an impact on the Jewish community," "The organization has an impact on Israel," and "Most of the people in my community participate in this organization" (Table 23).

When all respondents were asked the total amount of their households' financial contributions to Jewish and to nonsectarian organizations, the number of respondents who contributed no money to Jewish organizations was nearly twice that of respondents who made no contributions to nonsectarian organizations (Table 24). Respondents were more likely to indicate that when they were growing up their parents had belonged to Jewish organizations than to nonsectarian organizations (Table 25). Finally, respondents were more likely to indicate that their level of involvement with Jewish organizations was "less" than they wanted but "just as much" as they wanted with nonsectarian organizations (Table 26).

Opinions about Jewish Organizations

All respondents, both affiliated and unaffiliated, were asked to select from a list of fourteen activities the four that they thought most important for a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple (Table 27). The most frequent responses were: "deal with issues related to anti-Semitism" (66 percent), "promote Jewish identity and education" (55 percent), "raise money for Jewish causes" (51 percent), "safeguard the rights of Jews worldwide" (46 percent), and "deal with issues related to Israel" (39 percent).

When respondents were asked to select the three most important goals (from a list of eight) for a Jewish organization other than a synagogue or temple to fulfill, the results were: "transmitting Jewish tradition and values" (67 percent), "helping other Jews" (59 percent), "helping humanity" (53 percent), "helping the State of Israel" (47 percent), and "creating a unified Jewish community" (37 percent) (Table 28).

Finally, respondents were asked whether they felt that it was important for Jewish organizations other than synagogues or temples to adhere to suggested guidelines, all of which had to do with ethnic and gender exclusivity and inclusivity (Table 29). Respondents chose: "Both men and women are encouraged to join" (77 percent), "The organization offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews" (65 percent), "Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join" (64 percent), and "The organization does not focus exclusively on Jewish issues" (53 percent).

When asked to indicate their beliefs about people who belong to Jewish organizations as compared with people who do not, respondents said

belongers were more likely to be "active in the community" (67 percent), "Jewishly observant" (64 percent), "interested in community or world affairs" (64 percent), "Jewishly knowledgeable" (63 percent), and "well-educated" (52 percent) (Table 30).

When asked about the importance of affiliating with Jewish organizations versus synagogues or temples, 65 percent of respondents thought it was equally important to affiliate with both, 30 percent thought synagogues or temples more important, and 5 percent thought other Jewish organizations more important (Table 31). Respondents who belonged to a synagogue or temple were more likely to think that synagogue/temple membership was more important and less likely to believe that it was of equal importance to organizational membership. By contrast, no differences emerged based on respondents' Jewish organizational membership.

Comparing the importance of affiliation with Jewish and nonsectarian organizations, 67 percent believed they were of equal importance, 28 percent said Jewish organizations were more important, and 5 percent believed nonsectarian organizations to be more important (Table 31). Respondents who belonged to a Jewish organization were more likely to say that Jewish organizations were more important and less likely to indicate that they were of equal importance; no differences emerged based on respondents' nonsectarian organizational involvement.

Subgroup Differences

The previous sections described in detail the results for the group of respondents as a whole. Some interesting patterns emerged when the sample was divided into various subgroups (by denomination, age, education, income, gender, region), and the results for a number of the more relevant questions are presented below (Tables 32-38).

Denomination and Affiliation

Differences among respondents identifying as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or Just Jewish were very consistent. The Orthodox were much more likely than the Just Jewish to affiliate with the organized Jewish community in every way. The Orthodox Jews were followed by the Conservative Jews and then Reform Jews, although the strength of these differences varies by type of affiliation.

For nonsectarian organizations, the Just Jewish were more likely than the Conservative and the Reform Jews to have no affiliations; the Orthodox

fell in between.

When asked what activities were most important for Jewish organizations, the Orthodox and Conservative were at least somewhat more likely than the Reform and Just Jewish to indicate particularistic activities: "raise money for Jewish causes," "deal with issues related to anti-Semitism," "deal with issues related to Israel," and "safeguard the rights of Jews worldwide." On the other hand, the Reform and Just Jewish were likelier than the Orthodox to indicate universalistic activities: "promote civil rights and liberties for all," "provide service to the community, nation, or society," "deal with issues related to prejudice," and "promote intergroup relations."

Similarly, when asked to indicate the three most important goals for Jewish organizations, the Orthodox and Conservative were at least somewhat more likely than the Reform and Just Jewish to indicate "helping the State of Israel" and "helping other Jews," and somewhat less likely to indicate "helping humanity," "preserving democratic processes in the U.S.," and "transmitting basic Western values." The Orthodox were also more likely than the Just Jewish (with the Reform and Conservative falling in the middle) to indicate "creating a unified Jewish community."

Finally, the Orthodox were more likely than the Just Jewish to select the following guidelines that would make them personally interested in joining a Jewish organization: "incorporates Jewish customs and traditions," "emphasizes Jewish issues," and "Jewish education is part of every function." By contrast, the Just Jewish were more likely than the Orthodox to cite "Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join," "offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews," and "does not focus exclusively on Jewish issues." (Reform and Conservative Jews tended to fall between the other two groups.) Lastly, the Orthodox were more likely than all others to select "men and women belong to separate branches or divisions."

Age and Affiliation

Of the three age groups, respondents 55 and over were the most highly affiliated with the Jewish community in every way. Those aged 35-54 were next most affiliated and those aged 18-34 were the least affiliated, although the magnitude of some of these differences was small. The youngest age group was more likely than the 55+ group to cite no affiliations; the 35-54 group fell in between.

Older respondents were most likely, and younger respondents least likely, to indicate that their level of involvement with Jewish organizations was "as much involvement" as they wanted. The pattern reversed for those

indicating "less involvement than they wanted," with the youngest most likely and the oldest least likely to select this alternative.

As with Jewish organizations, the youngest age group was more likely than the oldest to cite no affiliations with nonsectarian organizations.

When respondents were asked to choose the four most important activities for a Jewish organization, no consistent pattern was evident among age groups. The oldest group was more likely than the two younger groups to cite a number of both universalistic and particularistic items -- "deal with issues related to Israel," "conduct research," "promote civil rights and liberties for all," "raise money for civic or national causes," "deal with issues related to prejudice," "deal with world affairs," "promote intergroup relations" -- and less likely to cite "provide social/recreational activities in a Jewish setting" and "promote Jewish identity and education." Mention of the activity "deal with issues related to anti-Semitism" increased with age.

With regard to the three most important goals for Jewish organizations, the 55+ group was the likeliest to cite: "preserving democratic processes in the U.S.," "helping the State of Israel," "preserving democratic processes in Israel," and "helping humanity" (which was also highly cited by those aged 18-34); and less likely than the other groups to cite: "creating a unified Jewish community," "helping other Jews," and "transmitting Jewish tradition and values."

Finally, in selecting preferred guidelines for Jewish organizations, those aged 35-54 were somewhat more likely than their elders to cite "incorporates Jewish customs and traditions" and "emphasizes Jewish issues," and somewhat less likely to cite "does not focus exclusively on Jewish issues." The 55+ group were more likely than the others to cite "Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join" and "offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews," while the youngest group was more likely than the others to cite "both men and women are encouraged to join."

Education and Affiliation

No differences emerged between education subgroups ("some college or less" and "college graduate or more") in Jewish affiliation, except that college graduates were more likely than nongraduates to contribute to Jewish organizations.

A fairly consistent relationship is apparent between education and affiliation with nonsectarian organizations, with college graduates more likely than nongraduates to express affiliation in many of the indicated ways. Thus graduates were more likely than nongraduates to belong to a nonsectarian

organization, to attend one or more meetings or functions, to pay membership dues, to hold office, and to contribute money or gifts. Nongraduates were more likely than graduates to have no affiliations with nonsectarian organizations.

Similar percentages of nongraduates and graduates indicated that they had no Jewish organizational affiliations, while a higher percentage of nongraduates than graduates cited no nonsectarian affiliations.

Graduates were somewhat more likely than nongraduates to cite "promote Jewish identity and education" as an important activity for Jewish organizations, while nongraduates were somewhat more likely to cite a number of the other more global activities ("promote civil rights and liberties for all," "raise money for civic or national causes," and "deal with world affairs").

A similar pattern emerged when respondents were asked to indicate the three most important goals for Jewish organizations. Again, graduates were somewhat more likely than nongraduates to cite two of the specifically Jewish goals ("helping other Jews" and "transmitting Jewish tradition and values"), while nongraduates were more likely to cite two of the more general goals ("helping humanity" and "preserving democratic processes in the U.S.").

When asked about the guidelines to which Jewish organizations should adhere, nongraduates were somewhat more likely than graduates to cite two of the more inclusive guidelines ("Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join" and "offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews"). Graduates, on the other hand, were more likely to say it was important that "the organization emphasizes Jewish issues."

Income and Affiliation

For the purposes of this analysis, the sample was divided into three income categories: low (less than \$25,000 annually), medium (\$25-49,999), and high (\$50,000 or more). Respondents in the high-income group were more likely than low-income respondents to pay membership dues and to contribute money or gifts to Jewish organizations other than synagogues or temples; the middle group fell in between. High-income respondents were the likeliest to say that their current involvement with Jewish organizations was "just as much involvement" as they wanted, and the least likely to indicate it was "less involvement" than they wanted.

As for nonsectarian organizations, high-income respondents were more likely than low-income respondents to indicate that they paid membership

dues, held office, or contributed money or gifts, with the middle-income group again falling in the middle. The low-income group was more likely than the high-income group to have no affiliations.

In choosing preferred activities for Jewish organizations, high-income respondents were at least somewhat more likely to cite "deal with issues related to anti-Semitism" and "promote Jewish identity and education," while low-income respondents were more likely than high-income respondents to cite "deal with issues related to prejudice," "promote intergroup relations," and "conduct research."

In selecting preferred organizational goals, high-income respondents were more likely than low-income respondents to cite "helping the Jews" and "transmitting Jewish tradition and values," while low-income people more frequently than high-income people mentioned "helping humanity," "preserving democratic processes in the U.S.," and "preserving democratic processes in Israel."

Finally, in the section on guidelines for Jewish organizations, high-income respondents were most likely to cite "emphasizes Jewish issues," whereas low-income people more frequently than high-income people indicated "Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join," "Jewish education is part of every function," and "offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews."

Gender and Affiliation

No differences between men and women emerged on the various types of Jewish organizational affiliation (e.g., did volunteer work, paid dues, etc.). For the various types of nonsectarian affiliation, the only difference in degree of involvement was in volunteer work, with women more likely than men to volunteer. Few differences between men and women emerged on other items. The only activity cited as important more frequently by one group was "raise money for Jewish causes," cited more often by men than women. In terms of important goals for Jewish organizations, women were more likely than men to cite "helping humanity," while men were more likely than women to cite "helping the State of Israel." No substantial differences emerged on the item regarding guidelines to which Jewish organizations should adhere.⁹

⁹Some interesting male-female differences were found on a number of the other items. For example, in citing their reasons for being involved with Jewish organizations

Region and Affiliation

For analysis of the relation between region and affiliation, the sample was divided into four geographical regions: Northeast, South, West, North Central.¹⁰ In overall level of affiliation with the Jewish community, Western Jews were likeliest to cite no affiliative activities. They were also the least likely to belong to synagogues or temples and to contribute money or gifts to Jewish organizations. Southern Jews were likeliest to attend meetings of Jewish organizations.

Northeastern Jews were at least somewhat less likely to belong to nonsectarian organizations, to do volunteer work for them, to contribute money or gifts, or to attend their meetings; they were most likely not to have affiliated with the general community in any of the ways mentioned. Southerners were most likely to have held office in a nonsectarian organization.

Northeastern Jews were at least somewhat more likely than either Western or Southern Jews to prefer particularistic Jewish organizational activities: "raise money for Jewish causes," "deal with issues related to anti-Semitism," and "deal with issues related to Israel." Western Jews, however, were more likely than Northeastern Jews to prefer universalistic activities for Jewish organizations, specifically: "promotes civil rights and liberties for all" and "provide service to the community."

In terms of important goals for Jewish organizations, Northeasterners

other than synagogues or temples, the only reason given more frequently by affiliated men than women (20 vs. 10 percent) was "establishing or improving professional or business networks," and mentioned more frequently by affiliated women than by men (76 vs. 69 percent) was "helping others or a cause you believe in." Among men and women not at all affiliated with Jewish organizations, women were likelier than men (35 vs. 21 percent) to cite "too costly" as a reason for their noninvolvement. Women were likelier than men to cite "lifetime membership" (18 vs. 8 percent) and "volunteer work" (36 vs. 29 percent) as the nature of the affiliation to the organization with which they were most affiliated. This presumably also reflects differences in the structure of organizations targeted to women as opposed to general-membership organizations.

Further, women were likelier than men to report "volunteer work" (46 vs. 35 percent) and "attended one or more meetings or functions" (55 vs. 47 percent) as the nature of their affiliation with the nonsectarian organizations with which they were most involved.

¹⁰The Market Facts sample underrepresented the Jews of this region. Results for this subgroup, with a total *N* of 64, were not included in the analysis.

similarly favored "helping the Jews" and "helping the State of Israel," while Westerners were more likely than Northeasterners to cite "helping humanity," "preserving democratic processes in the U.S.," and "transmitting basic Western values."

Finally, Westerners were more likely than Southerners to prefer the organizational guideline "both men and women are encouraged to join," and Northeasterners more likely than Westerners to prefer "emphasizes Jewish issues."

Discussion

This study has attempted to draw an "affiliation portrait" of a large national sample of Jewish men and women representative of diverse Jewish denominational identifications, age groups, educational levels, and incomes. The portrait includes detailed descriptions of their past and present affiliations with Jewish and with nonsectarian organizations, their reasons for involvement or noninvolvement, their beliefs about the organizations with which they are affiliated, and the feelings and attitudes they associate with affiliation, theirs as well as those of others. Respondents have provided information about their Jewish backgrounds and family histories, especially as they related to affiliation with synagogues or temples and other organizations, and they answered questions about their preferences for Jewish organizational activities, goals, and operating guidelines. The picture that has emerged is the most in-depth study of Jews and affiliation undertaken to date.

The finding that a majority of all respondents affiliated in one way or another with the organized Jewish community is consistent with many previous studies. As in other studies, the most common form of affiliation was contributing money or belonging to a synagogue or temple. Seemingly consistent with earlier findings, a positive relationship was found between belonging to a Jewish organization (*other than* a synagogue or temple) and the following: affluence, traditional denominational identification, and increased age. As expected, intermarried respondents, those who lived in the West, and those identifying themselves denominationally as "Just Jewish" were least likely to belong to Jewish organizations. This study also confirmed the relationships between volunteering time for Jewish causes and giving money to them, and between volunteering for Jewish causes or organizations and volunteering for nonsectarian ones.

On the other hand, the data did not seem to support distinctions and preferences among Jews between types of affiliation and involvement. Not

only did respondents in this study indicate strong feelings of attachment to all kinds of Jewish institutions, but the findings also revealed positive relationships between many of the various types of affiliation and many measures of Jewish identity. Further, the majority (65 percent) felt that affiliation with Jewish organizations was as important as affiliation with synagogues or temples. (Thirty percent thought that belonging to a synagogue or temple was more important.)¹¹ While to a certain extent these positive findings might be artificially enhanced in the context of a survey devoted entirely to the topic of Jewish organizational involvement, they also suggest that most lay Jews do not strongly feel or operate according to distinctions between "synagogue Jews" and "federation Jews," or between "observant Jews" and "affiliated Jews."

One interesting and perhaps surprising finding of this study is the overall warmth and familiarity with which many American Jews regard Jewish organizations and their involvement with them. This survey offered respondents the opportunity to criticize the organizations for their agendas and activities, or at least to express a sense of personal distance from them. Respondents were also free to share negative images of people who do affiliate, and to "blame" the organizations for their own terminated affiliations. However, the people in this sample rarely chose these options. Instead, they responded most often with praise for many of the current agendas of Jewish organizations, the caliber of their membership, and the extent of their impact.

Most respondents affiliated with Jewish organizations in some fashion -- by making contributions or paying dues to at least one organization or cause, or by volunteering time to them. (Many also belonged to a synagogue or temple.) Their stated reasons for involvement with Jewish organizations incorporated a sense of larger purpose: the majority cited altruistic principles, and only a minority referred to motivations of personal or professional advantage. Paths to organizational involvement often reflected family and friendship ties, with many respondents having been "invited" to join or having felt that they were continuing a family tradition, and fewer claiming a self-initiated path or response to a public appeal.

Respondents' statements about the organizations with which they

¹¹Cohen (1991) reported that 64 percent of his sample felt that belonging to a synagogue was essential or desirable to being "a good Jew," while only 54 and 53 percent, respectively, felt that belonging to Jewish organizations or contributing to Jewish philanthropies was essential or desirable.

themselves were most involved reflected a belief in the importance of the organization and its impact on the Jewish world and on the world at large, with relatively few citing personal gain or even community custom as affecting their involvement. They were more likely to identify as preferred organizational activities and goals those that comprise a traditional and particularistic Jewish agenda, and less likely to cite activities and goals of a broader and more universalistic nature. At the same time, they indicated a preference for organizational guidelines that were inclusive in nature (of men and women and of Jews and non-Jews).

At a personal level, they reported a positive image of other Jews who belong to Jewish organizations ("active in the community," "Jewishly observant and knowledgeable," "interested in community affairs," and "well-educated"), rarely choosing the negative labels offered. And while most respondents were satisfied with their level of involvement, nearly one-third (31 percent) suggested that they would want to have even more, and 37 percent expressed regret over the ending of a prior organizational involvement.

Even among those who reported no involvement at all, the cited reasons reflected less ideological disagreement or unhappiness with organizational structures or agendas, and more a "polite process" of setting priorities in a world filled with many demands on limited time and energies. Only 19 percent were willing to cite "have not found a Jewish organization I can identify with," and even this potentially critical answer can be interpreted as more of a comment on the individual's incomplete search.

At the same time, however, the overall politeness hints at a lack of depth that may coexist with the breadth of their Jewish organizational involvement. If commitment is defined in terms of regular contributions of one's time, energy, and money across the seasons and throughout the years, a rather different picture emerges. While 70 percent had some type of affiliation, only 32 percent had attended a single organizational meeting or function in the past year, only 21 percent had done volunteer work, and only 9 percent had held office. The majority had done no volunteer work whatsoever and fully two-thirds had attended no meetings or functions, while just under two-thirds paid absolutely no dues or membership fees. Contributions hovered in the \$1 to \$199 range for 41 percent of the respondents' households, but 27 percent of households gave no money or gifts at all. These findings notwithstanding, fully 65 percent were perfectly satisfied with their level of involvement. When looked at in this light, the affiliation of the majority of American Jews and the positive expressions of high altruism and importance attributed to Jewish organizations may

alternatively be seen as rote behaviors and perfunctory statements that are in reality based on relatively little actual commitment.

Moreover, the traditionalism of the responses regarding preferred organizational activities and goals can also be alternatively interpreted as unexamined statements of faith, not necessarily related to respondents' actual beliefs about Judaism or to contemporary political realities. Similarly, their preference for organizational guidelines that were ethnic and gender inclusive, which may be somewhat contradictory to their preference for particularistic Jewish agendas, can perhaps be best understood in the context of the fact that they did not actually *participate* on an ongoing basis with these organizations.

In behavioral terms, they affiliated in rather similar ways with the world of nonsectarian organizations and causes. Contributing modest amounts of money (53 percent gave between \$1 and \$199 in 1990), belonging, or paying dues were the major modes of affiliation, though more did volunteer work (32 vs. 21 percent). Again, allegiance to the cause provided the primary motivation, though with a higher reporting of other reasons such as achieving community influence, affiliating with like-minded people, or using one's skills and experience. While they less often mentioned family traditions and other kinds of strong affective ties, it is not known if this means that their nonsectarian affiliation was less affective overall, or if the affect is rooted in emotions other than traditional Jewish ones (e.g., "serving my country" and "being a good citizen" versus "helping my people" and "transmitting Jewish tradition to the next generation").

Once again, the majority did no volunteer work at all, attended no meetings, paid no dues, and did not belong. Yet here too they cited the importance of the organization as the key statement about the organizations with which they were most affiliated, and even more of them expressed satisfaction with their overall levels of involvement. Perhaps not surprisingly, a majority also believed that affiliations with Jewish and with nonsectarian organizations were equally important.

This, then, is the reality of affiliation with which Jewish organizations and Jewish leadership must grapple: a potential membership pool that "believes in" Jewish organizations, gives to them of their time and money at relatively modest levels, and prefers the organizations to adhere to an unchanged agenda that emphasizes fighting anti-Semitism, supporting Israel, and preserving Jewish identity. One may question whether the traditional nature of this agenda represents thoughtful consensus or communal nostalgia. There do not appear to be large numbers of Jews here who are willing to participate with greater expenditures of time and money, or who

care enough to reevaluate current organizational structures and agendas.

Moreover, the same Jews who maintain this behaviorally modest but warm affiliation to Jewish organizations also apparently place on themselves a "minimum daily requirement" of civic affiliation and participation as well, which takes a further toll on their time and energy. Future investigation should focus on whether this is a new phenomenon, and whether it is possible for large numbers of people to make significant and ongoing contributions in both arenas.

This thrust toward what some call "a diversified profile" of participation may be a growing trend in the American Jewish community.¹² Whether it is a new phenomenon or just a new wave, it raises some important questions. What are the implications of this pattern for the contemporary Jewish community, and how do its leaders envision the effects? How might it affect Jewish organizations in particular -- their size, their strength, and their agendas?¹³

Clearly, more research needs to be done among Jews who participate in both communities, as it were, to learn more about their attitudes and behaviors as well as to consider the perceived and actual outcomes of their involvement. We also need to learn more about the relationship between both sorts of affiliation and Jewishness, and to explore the possibility of different associations with what may or may not be different dimensions of that Jewishness.

We need to begin extracting from data such as these appropriate

¹²A recent article in the *Baltimore Jewish Times* ("Volunteering Outside the Jewish Community," July 26, 1991) approached it head-on with a feature story about how "Baltimore Jews are extending their volunteer leadership abilities to non-Jewish-based philanthropic organizations." Reporter Lisa Goldberg interviewed several high-profile Jewish communal activists whose involvements currently include the Salvation Army, the Junior League, and United Way as well as the American Jewish Committee, the National Council of Jewish Women, and other Jewish agencies. Discussing the motivations for their nonsectarian activities, the interviewees cited "educating non-Jews about Jews," "giving back to the community," and "networking." One woman asserted that she feels "a commitment not only to my own faith but also to the community in which I live," and yet another individual invoked the value of "*tikkun olam*" (repairing the world) as the specifically Jewish basis for his nonsectarian involvement.

¹³At least in Baltimore, federation executives and rabbis have expressed approval, suggesting that the local federation should actively promote such involvement since it serves everyone. Others referred to the perceived advantage in helping to build non-Jewish support for Jewish causes.

messages about the future of Jewish organizational affiliation. Are the lower levels of involvement associated with younger Jews, intermarried Jews, and those living in the Western states suggestive of weaker affiliation in future decades? Is the appeal to a traditional particularistic agenda likely to resonate less and less, especially as the call to participate in the secular community may resonate more and more? And what might be the effects on Jewish organizations of two important yet seemingly contradictory realities among American Jewry: their continued perception of high levels of anti-Semitism, on the one hand, and, on the other, their increased acceptance into all sectors of American society?

Furthermore, the increasing numbers of single-adult, dual-earner, and remarried households, with or without children (1990 NJPS and elsewhere), provide the backdrop for the time squeeze and financial pressure that many contemporary Jews routinely experience. Some Jewish organizations have revamped programs and schedules to accommodate some of these new realities; more systemic changes may yet be required to attract new generations of Jewish men and women to the organizational fold. New and more permanent coalitions between Jewish and nonsectarian organizations may be appropriate to address new issues and to reflect the greater diversity in the Jewish population, and organizations may need to find new ways to reach out to individuals for whom Jewish identity is only one of several religious and ethnic identities they call their own. There needs to be more systematic exploration of the role that Jewish organizations have historically played in the life of the American Jewish community, so that there can be a more enlightened discussion of new roles for the future. Researchers and policymakers must pool efforts to link demographic realities with communal goals, and to seek new ways to relate personal Jewish identity to public Jewish life.

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Table 1
Affiliation and Nonaffiliation of Respondents and
Another Household Member with Jewish
Organizations, 1990

Affiliative behaviors in last 12 months
(in percents of all respondents)

Belonged to a synagogue or temple	48
Belonged to an organization (Includes JCCs and YM/YWHAs)	33
Did volunteer work for an organization	21
Attended meeting(s)/function(s) of an organization	32
Paid membership dues to an organization	33
Held office in an organization	9
Contributed money or gifts to an organization	50
None of the above	30

Reasons for nonaffiliation
(in percents of nonaffiliated respondents)

Too costly	28
Too far away	13
Other demands/responsibilities	49
Other interests/involvements	40
Never thought to affiliate with Jewish organization	12
Not knowledgeable about Jewish culture/Judaism	6
No interest in Jewish organizations	18
Have not found a Jewish organization to identify with	19
Not comfortable with emphasis on Jews only	17
Other	16

Has another adult household member
affiliated in the last 12 months?
(in percents of all respondents)

Yes	37
No	36

Table 2
Affiliation of Respondents with Jewish
Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples,
1990 (in percents of respondents affiliated with
organizations other than synagogues or temples)

Number of organizational affiliations

One	46
Two	25
Three	12
Four	6
Five	5
Six or more	5

Reasons for organizational affiliation

Meeting people/companionship	44
Helping others or a cause you believe in	73
Maintain religion/cultural heritage/language	64
Influence in community affairs/political life	27
Establish/improve professional/business networks	15
Using your skills and experience	20
Feeling you owe something to your community	39
Kind of people who are involved in organization	31
Emotional attachment to the organization	34
Family and friendship ties to the organization	43

Table 3
Hours of Volunteer Work and Number of Meetings or Functions Attended for Jewish Organizations, 1990 (in percents of respondents affiliated with organizations other than synagogues or temples)

<i>Hours of volunteer work</i>	
<i>in an average month</i>	
<hr/>	
None	56
One to five	29
Six to ten	9
Eleven to twenty	4
Twenty-one or more	2
<i>Number of meetings or</i>	
<i>functions attended</i>	
<hr/>	
None	34
One to three	30
Four to six	14
Seven to nine	6
Ten or more	16

Table 4
Number of Jewish Organizations Respondents Paid
Dues to, Contributed to, and Held Office in, 1990
(in percents of respondents affiliated with
organizations other than synagogues or temples)

<i>Paid dues or membership fees</i>	
None	31
One	36
Two	17
Three	8
Four	3
Five	2
Six or more	3
<i>Contributed money or gave gifts</i>	
None	14
One	29
Two	21
Three	14
Four	6
Five	3
Six or more	12
<i>Held office</i>	
None	83
Local	15
Regional/statewide	2
National	1
International	1

Table 5
Nature of Affiliation, How Respondent Became Involved, and Statements About Jewish Organization Respondents Cited as Their Strongest Affiliation, 1990 (in percents of respondents affiliated with organizations other than synagogues or temples)

Nature of affiliation to organization most affiliated with

I have a lifetime membership.	13
I belong.	53
I did volunteer work.	32
I attended one or more meetings or functions.	50
I paid membership dues.	52
I held office.	17
I contributed money.	56
Other	8

How respondent became involved with organization most affiliated with

Friend or relative invited me	40
Business associate invited me	3
Family tradition	24
Responded to a telephone call or mailing	18
Read about it in a newspaper or magazine	8
Heard about it on radio or TV	1
Responded to a public appeal	7
Approached the organization myself	21
Other	12

Statements are true of the organization to which respondent feels most affiliated

The organization is doing important work.	85
The organization has an impact on the world.	43
The organization has an impact on the U.S.	42
The organization has an impact on the Jewish community.	81
The organization has an impact on Israel.	54
The people I meet there are a lot like me.	32
Most of the people in my community participate in this organization.	14
I feel proud to be a member of this organization.	52
I really admire the people I meet there.	25
I enjoy the events and activities.	45
I enjoy the meetings.	30

Table 6
Satisfaction with Jewish Organizational Affiliation,
1990 (in percents)

Just as much involvement as wanted	65
More involvement than wanted	4
Less involvement than wanted	31

Table 7
Previous Jewish Organizational Affiliations

Any Jewish organizations that you were involved with as an adult but are no longer? (in percents)

Yes	28
No	72

How many? (in percents of respondents answering "Yes" above)

One	58
Two	30
Three	9
Four	3
Five	1

Regret ending involvement? (in percents of respondents answering "Yes" above)

Yes	37
No	63

Length of longest former organizational involvement (in percents of respondents answering "Yes" above)

To three years	31
Four to six years	29
Seven to ten years	16
Eleven to fifteen years	10
Sixteen to twenty years	1
Twenty-one years or more	13

Reasons for ending involvement (in percents of respondents answering "Yes" above)

Dues or other costs too high	21
Inconvenient meeting times	15
Inconvenient meeting locations	10
No longer met my needs	29
Change in organizational agenda	10
Change in personal or family schedule	41
My interests changed	27
Moved to a different city/place	36
My needs changed	19
No longer met my interests	25
Friends no longer there	19

Table 8
Participation in Various Jewish Programs (in percents)

<i>Jewish youth group or camp as a youngster?</i>	
Yes, Jewish youth group	30
Yes, Jewish camp	9
Yes, both	25
No	36
<i>Jewish youth group or Jewish organization in college?</i>	
Yes	27
No	57
Did not attend college	17
<i>Any adult Jewish education programs in past year including any college studies?</i>	
Yes	16
No	84

Table 9
Reported Parental Jewish Affiliations When Respondent Was Growing Up (in percents)

<i>Parents belonged to a synagogue or temple</i>	
Yes	78
No	22
<i>Parents were members of Jewish organization other than synagogue or temple</i>	
Yes	58
No	42

Table 10
Total Household Contributions (Exclusive of Dues
and Membership Fees) to Nonsectarian
Philanthropies, Charities, Causes, or Organizations,
1990

Value of contributions	Percent of respondents
\$0	27
\$1-99	28
\$100-199	13
\$200-299	6
\$300-499	7
\$500-999	8
\$1,000-2,499	7
\$2,500-4,999	2
\$5,000-9,999	1
\$10,000+	1

Table 11
Affiliation and Nonaffiliation of Respondents and
Another Household Member with Nonsectarian
Organizations, 1990

Affiliative behaviors in last 12 months
(in percent of all respondents)

Belonged to an organization (Includes nonsectarian community centers or YM/YWCAs)	28
Did volunteer work for an organization	32
Attended meeting(s)/function(s) of an organization	35
Paid membership dues to an organization	38
Held office in an organization	15
Contributed money or gifts to an organization	49
None of the above	33

Reasons for nonaffiliation
(in percent of nonaffiliated respondents)

Too costly	11
Too far away	5
Other demands/responsibilities	48
Other interests/involvements	40
Never thought to affiliate with nonsectarian organization	25
No interest in nonsectarian organizations	24
Have not found a nonsectarian organization to identify with	19
Other	11

Has another adult household member affiliated in the last 12 months?
(in percent of all respondents)

Yes	34
No	42

Table 12
Affiliation of Respondents with Nonsectarian
Organizations, 1990 (in percents of affiliated
respondents)

<i>Number of organizational affiliations</i>	
One	33
Two	29
Three	17
Four	7
Five	4
Six or more	10
<i>Reasons for organizational affiliation</i>	
Meeting people/companionship	38
Helping others or a cause you believe in	72
Maintain religion/cultural heritage/language	8
Influence in community affairs/political life	36
Establish/improve professional/business networks	33
Using your skills and experience	34
Feeling you owe something to your community	40
Kind of people who are involved in organization	31
Emotional attachment to the organization	19
Family and friendship ties to the organization	21

Table 13
Hours of Volunteer Work and Number of
Meetings or Functions Attended for Nonsectarian
Organizations, 1990 (in percents of affiliated
respondents)

<i>Hours of volunteer work</i>	
<i>in an average month</i>	
<hr/>	
None	45
One to five	32
Six to ten	12
Eleven to twenty	6
Twenty-one or more	5
<i>Number of meetings or</i>	
<i>functions attended</i>	
<hr/>	
None	30
One to three	26
Four to six	14
Seven to nine	7
Ten or more	24

Table 14
Number of Nonsectarian Organizations
Respondents Paid Dues to, Contributed to, and
Held Office in, 1990 (in percents of affiliated
respondents)

Paid dues or membership fees

None	31
One	25
Two	20
Three	10
Four	5
Five	2
Six or more	7

Contributed money or gave gifts

None	20
One	21
Two	21
Three	12
Four	7
Five	4
Six or more	15

Held office

None	78
Local	19
Regional/statewide	4
National	1
International	1

Table 15
Nature of Affiliation and Statements About the
Nonsectarian Organization Respondents Cited as
Their Strongest Affiliation, 1990 (in percents of
affiliated respondents)

*Nature of affiliation to organization
most affiliated with*

I have a lifetime membership.	5
I belong.	54
I did volunteer work.	41
I attended one or more meetings or functions.	51
I paid membership dues.	56
I held office.	21
I contributed money.	47
Other	11

*Statements are true of the organization
to which respondent feels most affiliated*

The organization is doing important work.	84
The organization has an impact on the world.	27
The organization has an impact on the U.S.	42
The organization has an impact on the Jewish community.	11
The organization has an impact on Israel.	4
The people I meet there are a lot like me.	35
Most of the people in my community participate in this organization.	9
I feel proud to be a member of this organization.	55
I really admire the people I meet there.	28
I enjoy the events and activities.	49
I enjoy the meetings.	34

Table 16
Satisfaction with Nonsectarian Organizational
Affiliation, 1990 (in percents)

Just as much involvement as wanted	75
More involvement than wanted	6
Less involvement than wanted	19

Table 17
Reported Parental Nonsectarian Affiliations When
Respondent Was Growing Up (in percents)

*Parents were members of a
 nonsectarian organization*

Yes	49
No	51

Table 18
Total Household Contributions (Exclusive of Dues
and Membership Fees) to Nonsectarian
Philanthropies, Charities, Causes, or Organizations,
1990

Value of contributions	Percent of respondents
\$0	14
\$1-99	34
\$100-199	19
\$200-299	9
\$300-499	10
\$500-999	7
\$1,000-2,499	5
\$2,500-4,999	2
\$5,000-9,999	1
\$10,000+	0

Table 19**Affiliation and Nonaffiliation of Respondents with Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizations**

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
<i>Affiliative behaviors in last 12 months (in percent of all respondents)</i>		
Belonged to a synagogue or temple	48	--
Belonged to organization (Includes JCCs and YM/YWHAs, nonsectarian community centers and YM/YWCAs)	33	28
Did volunteer work for organization	21	32
Attended meeting(s)/function(s) of organization	32	35
Paid membership dues to organization	33	38
Held office in organization	9	15
Contributed money or gifts to organization	50	49
None of the above	30	33
<i>Reasons for nonaffiliation (in percent of nonaffiliated respondents)</i>		
Too costly	28	11
Too far away	13	5
Other demands/responsibilities	49	48
Other interests/involvements	40	40
Never thought to affiliate with organization	12	25
Not knowledgeable about Jewish culture/Judaism	6	--
No interest in organizations	18	24
Have not found an organization to identify with	19	19
Not comfortable with emphasis on Jews only	17	--
Other	16	11

Table 20

Affiliation of Respondents with Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizations
 (in percents of respondents affiliated with organizations other than
 synagogues or temples)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
<i>Number of organizational affiliations</i>		
One	46	33
Two	25	29
Three	12	17
Four	6	7
Five	5	4
Six or more	5	10
<i>Reasons for organizational affiliation</i>		
Meeting people/companionship	44	38
Helping others or a cause you believe in	73	72
Maintain religion/cultural heritage/language	64	8
Influence in community affairs/political life	27	36
Establish/improve professional/business networks	15	33
Using your skills and experience	20	34
Feeling you owe something to your community	39	40
Kind of people who are involved in organization	31	31
Emotional attachment to the organization	34	19
Family and friendship ties to the organization	43	21

Table 21

Number of Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizations to Which
 Respondents Paid Dues, 1990 (in percents of respondents affiliated with
 organizations other than synagogues or temples)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
None	31	31
One	36	25
Two	17	20
Three	8	10
Four	3	5
Five	2	2
Six or more	3	7

Table 22

Nature of Affiliation with the Jewish and the Nonsectarian Organization Respondents Cited as Their Strongest Affiliation (in percents of respondents affiliated with organizations other than synagogues or temples)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
I have a lifetime membership.	13	5
I belong.	53	54
I did volunteer work.	32	41
I attended one or more meetings or functions.	50	51
I paid membership dues.	52	56
I held office.	17	21
I contributed money.	56	47
Other	8	11

Table 23

Statements About Jewish and and Nonsectarian Organization Respondents Cited as Their Strongest Affiliation (in percents of respondents affiliated with organizations other than synagogues or temples)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
The organization is doing important work.	85	84
The organization has an impact on the world.	43	27
The organization has an impact on the U.S.	42	42
The organization has an impact on the Jewish community.	81	11
The organization has an impact on Israel.	54	4
The people I meet there are a lot like me.	32	35
Most of the people in my community participate in this organization.	14	9
I feel proud to be a member of this organization.	52	55
I really admire the people I meet there.	25	28
I enjoy the events and activities.	45	49
I enjoy the meetings.	30	34

Table 24

Total Household Contributions (Exclusive of Dues and Membership Fees) to Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizations, 1990 (in percent)

Value of contributions	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
\$0	27	14
\$1-99	28	34
\$100-199	13	19
\$200-299	6	9
\$300-499	7	10
\$500-999	8	7
\$1,000-2,499	7	5
\$2,500-4,999	2	2
\$5,000-9,999	1	1
\$10,000+	1	0

Table 25

Reported Parental Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizational Affiliation (in percents)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
<i>Parents belonged to organization when respondent was growing up</i>		
Yes	58	49
No	42	51

Table 26

Satisfaction with Jewish and Nonsectarian Organizational Affiliation, 1990 (in percents)

	Jewish organizations	Nonsectarian organizations
Just as much involvement as wanted	65	75
More involvement than wanted	4	6
Less involvement than wanted	31	19

Table 27**Activities Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples (in percents)**

Raise money for Jewish causes	51
Deal with issues related to anti-Semitism	66
Deal with issues related to Israel	39
Conduct research	7
Promote civil rights and liberties for all	36
Provide service to the community, nation, or society	35
Promote Jewish identity and education	55
Provide social/recreational activities in a Jewish setting	32
Safeguard the rights of Jews worldwide	46
Promote a specific political agenda	3
Raise money for civic or national causes	10
Deal with issues related to prejudice	32
Deal with world affairs	10
Promote intergroup relations	25

Table 28**Goals Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples (in percents)**

Helping humanity	53
Creating a unified Jewish community	37
Preserving democratic processes in the U.S.	23
Helping the State of Israel	47
Helping other Jews	59
Preserving democratic processes in Israel	8
Transmitting Jewish tradition and values	67
Transmitting basic Western values	10

Table 29**Guidelines Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples (in percents)**

Incorporates Jewish customs and traditions	53
Only Jews are included in the membership	7
Jews and non-Jews are welcome to join	64
Only Jews are permitted to hold office	4
Jewish education is part of every function	24
The organization offers cultural experiences that appeal to everyone, Jews and non-Jews	65
Men and women belong to separate branches or divisions	3
Both men and women are encouraged to join	77
The organization emphasizes Jewish issues	38
The organization does not focus exclusively on Jewish issues	53

Table 30**Perceived Attributes of People Affiliated with Jewish Organizations (in percents)**

Wealthy	33
Jewishly observant	64
Cliquish	30
Active in the community	67
Politically liberal	27
Men	11
Pretty much like me	17
Well-educated	52
Lonely	7
Jewishly knowledgeable	63
Interested in community or world affairs	64
Politically conservative	7
Women	15
Don't give enough to their families	2

Table 31
Relative Importance of Affiliation with Various Types of Organizations
(in percents)

*Synagogue/temple vs. other type
of Jewish organizations*

Synagogue/temple more important	30
Other Jewish organizations more important	5
Equal importance	65

*Jewish organizations vs.
nonsectarian organizations*

Jewish organizations more important	28
Nonsectarian organizations more important	5
Equal importance	67

Table 32

Type of Affiliation in Jewish Organizations, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Affiliated with Jewish organizations other than synagogue or temple							Not affiliated
	Belonged synagogue/temple	Belonged	Volunteered	Meetings/functions	Paid dues	Held office	Gave money/gifts	
Total	48	33	21	32	33	9	50	30
Denomination								
Orthodox	85	57	40	49	57	16	72	5
Conservative	59	40	29	40	42	12	63	19
Reform	51	33	18	32	33	8	48	28
Just Jewish	11	12	6	15	10	3	22	62
Age								
18-34	39	22	13	27	20	4	37	39
35-54	49	32	20	30	31	8	48	33
55+	57	46	30	40	50	16	65	19
Education								
Some college or less	48	34	22	32	33	10	45	33
College graduate or more	49	32	20	33	34	8	53	29
Income								
<\$25,000	47	31	21	34	29	6	40	34
\$25,000-49,999	45	32	22	32	30	9	46	34
\$50,000+	51	34	21	32	37	10	56	27
Gender								
Male	50	32	19	31	35	8	51	29
Female	46	35	23	33	32	10	49	32
Region								
Northeast	49	32	20	29	32	8	52	28
West	40	31	19	30	28	6	39	41
South	51	36	24	40	37	12	52	29
North Central	57	37	27	33	40	12	50	30

Table 33
Satisfaction with Jewish Organizational Affiliation, by Subgroups, 1990
(in percents)

Subgroup	As much involvement as wanted	More involvement than wanted	Less involvement than wanted
Total	65	4	31
Denomination			
Orthodox	68	3	28
Conservative	61	6	34
Reform	69	3	28
Just Jewish	64	3	33
Age			
18-34	51	3	46
35-54	66	5	30
55+	78	5	17
Education			
Some college or less	66	4	29
College graduate or more	63	4	33
Income			
<\$25,000	61	2	37
\$25,000-49,999	61	3	36
\$50,000+	68	5	27
Gender			
Male	67	4	29
Female	63	4	33
Region			
Northeast	66	3	31
West	63	4	33
South	62	6	33
North Central ¹	69	3	28

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 34

Type of Affiliation in Nonsectarian Organizations, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Belonged	Volun- teered	Meetings/ functions	Paid dues	Held office	Gave money/gifts	None of above
Total	28	32	35	38	15	49	33
Denomination							
Orthodox	27	28	22	31	8	43	35
Conservative	31	33	37	40	15	52	31
Reform	31	36	38	41	18	51	31
Just Jewish	21	27	32	34	12	38	42
Age							
18-34	26	30	28	32	11	43	38
35-54	27	30	34	40	15	49	34
55+	31	37	42	43	18	54	27
Education							
Some college or less	21	30	30	29	11	43	40
College graduate or more	33	34	38	45	18	53	29
Income							
<\$25,000	24	31	32	30	10	37	41
\$25,000-49,999	28	33	37	39	15	49	34
\$50,000+	31	32	34	42	16	54	29
Gender							
Male	28	28	33	38	14	49	32
Female	28	36	36	39	15	48	34
Region							
Northeast	24	25	29	35	11	43	39
West	32	33	36	37	12	54	29
South	31	42	43	43	22	53	27
North Central ¹	36	38	40	43	13	50	27

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 35
Activities Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Raise money for Jewish causes	Deal with anti-Sem. issues	Deal with Israel issues	Conduct research	Promote rights/lib. for all	Serve society	Promote Jewish idem./educ.
Total	51	66	39	7	36	35	55
Denomination							
Orthodox	62	72	64	5	22	21	63
Conservative	60	72	47	7	32	31	58
Reform	45	63	32	6	41	41	54
Just Jewish	39	61	28	9	42	38	48
Age							
18-34	48	53	36	5	31	37	58
35-54	50	65	37	6	33	35	64
55+	54	80	45	11	46	32	41
Education							
Some college or less	47	66	39	9	41	33	50
College graduate or more	53	66	39	6	33	36	58
Income							
<\$25,000	55	63	43	13	38	30	41
\$25,000-49,999	46	61	40	7	38	37	54
\$50,000+	52	70	37	6	35	35	60
Gender							
Male	54	68	40	7	35	32	53
Female	47	65	38	7	38	37	57
Region							
Northeast	56	70	44	5	30	31	56
West	48	58	26	9	48	43	53
South	42	64	38	9	40	36	53
North Central ¹	56	66	41	9	33	35	59

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

**Table 35 (cont'd.)
Activities Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)**

Subgroup	Soc./rec. in Jewish setting	Safeguard Jewish rights worldwide	Promote political agenda	Raise money for civ./natl. causes	Deal with prejudice issues	Deal with world affairs	Promote intergroup relations
Total	32	46	3	10	32	10	25
Denomination							
Orthodox	25	57	5	11	24	15	17
Conservative	34	50	2	9	29	9	20
Reform	35	41	4	9	34	9	28
Just Jewish	28	43	2	13	37	10	32
Age							
18-34	38	44	1	9	24	7	23
35-54	33	44	5	8	29	8	21
55+	24	52	3	15	44	14	33
Education							
Some college or less	29	49	3	14	36	13	29
College graduate or more	34	45	3	8	29	8	23
Income							
<\$25,000	36	50	2	13	37	11	30
\$25,000-49,999	32	47	2	9	34	11	28
\$50,000+	30	45	4	10	29	8	22
Gender							
Male	30	45	4	12	31	10	26
Female	34	48	2	9	32	10	25
Region							
Northeast	30	49	3	11	30	9	24
West	36	43	4	9	34	12	27
South	33	45	3	11	34	8	27
North Central ¹	33	40	3	10	34	14	22

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 36
Goals Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Help human- ity	Unify Jewish commu- nity	Preserve democracy in U.S.	Help Israel
Total	53	37	23	47
Denomination				
Orthodox	35	57	12	72
Conservative	45	38	19	54
Reform	60	38	27	38
Just Jewish	61	27	29	37
Age				
18-34	54	42	14	44
35-54	47	41	19	44
55+	59	27	38	52
Education				
Some college or less	63	34	29	47
College graduate or more	46	39	19	46
Income				
<\$25,000	62	33	28	51
\$25,000-49,999	55	39	24	45
\$50,000+	47	38	21	46
Gender				
Male	49	34	23	50
Female	56	40	23	44
Region				
Northeast	49	35	18	55
West	59	38	29	35
South	56	40	28	41
North Central ¹	52	40	24	48

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 36 (cont'd.)
Goals Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than
Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Help other Jews	Preserve democracy in Israel	Transmit Jewish trads./ values	Transmit basic Western values
Total	59	8	67	10
Denomination				
Orthodox	61	8	65	6
Conservative	65	8	72	5
Reform	56	8	65	11
Just Jewish	53	10	63	20
Age				
18-34	61	7	71	8
35-54	64	5	73	9
55+	51	13	55	13
Education				
Some college or less	53	10	58	10
College graduate or more	63	7	73	10
Income				
<\$25,000	52	12	55	11
\$25,000-49,999	55	8	67	12
\$50,000+	63	6	72	9
Gender				
Male	58	7	69	11
Female	60	9	65	9
Region				
Northeast	63	8	69	7
West	54	7	64	14
South	54	9	66	11
North Central ¹	68	9	66	16

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 37
Guidelines Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Incorporates Jewish customs/traditions	Only Jews members	Jews, non-Jews may join	Only Jews hold office	Jewish educ. at functions
Total	53	7	64	4	24
Denomination					
Orthodox	74	6	42	6	48
Conservative	63	8	58	6	28
Reform	46	7	67	3	19
Just Jewish	39	3	77	1	14
Age					
18-34	51	7	64	3	26
35-54	59	7	57	6	22
55+	47	6	72	4	25
Education					
Some college or less	50	7	70	5	25
College graduate or more	55	6	60	4	23
Income					
<\$25,000	57	8	72	4	32
\$25,000-49,999	51	7	66	5	24
\$50,000+	53	6	60	3	21
Gender					
Male	53	8	62	5	23
Female	53	5	66	4	25
Region					
Northeast	53	8	60	6	22
West	56	7	67	4	28
South	51	5	66	3	24
North Central ¹	50	4	72	2	29

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 37 (cont'd.)

Guidelines Rated Most Important for Jewish Organizations Other than Synagogues or Temples, by Subgroups, 1990 (in percents)

Subgroup	Cultural expts. for Jews, non-Jews	Men/women separate branches	Men/women encred. to join	Focus on Jewish issues	Focus not only on Jewish issues
Total	65	3	77	38	53
Denomination					
Orthodox	49	17	56	74	28
Conservative	61	2	77	45	47
Reform	69	2	82	32	56
Just Jewish	71	0	82	20	67
Age					
18-34	60	2	82	36	57
35-54	62	3	75	43	47
55+	73	3	75	34	56
Education					
Some college or less	69	4	76	32	56
College graduate or more	62	2	78	43	51
Income					
<\$25,000	73	6	79	34	53
\$25,000-49,999	66	3	80	34	57
\$50,000+	61	1	76	42	50
Gender					
Male	62	3	80	40	55
Female	67	3	75	36	50
Region					
Northeast	61	4	78	41	49
West	65	3	84	33	57
South	68	1	72	38	54
North Central ¹	74	6	77	33	62

¹North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Table 38
Numbers of Respondents in Each Subgroup
(weighted)

Subgroup	<i>N</i>
Total	1113 ¹
Denomination	
Orthodox	111
Conservative	376
Reform	360
Just Jewish	228
Age	
18-34	346
35-54	420
55+	345
Education	
Some college or less	455
College graduate or more	657
Income	
<\$25,000	203
\$25,000-49,999	352
\$50,000+	536
Gender	
Male	543
Female	570
Region	
Northeast	523
West	203
South	323
North Central ²	64

¹Subgroups may not equal total due to "no answers." The total of 1,113 reported here is one less than the 1,114 returned questionnaires due to weighting and rounding.

²North Central respondents were underrepresented in the sample.

Addendum

Comparison of 1990 NJPS (Core Jews Only) and Market Facts Samples on Affiliative and Ritual Behaviors (in percents)

Affiliative and Ritual Behaviors	Samples	
	NJPS	Market Facts
Attend services weekly	9	7
Close friends are Jewish (most or all)	38	41
Subscribe to Jewish periodicals	23	33
Contributed to Jewish causes (households)	54 (1989)	73 (1990)
Contributed to secular causes (households)	67 (1989)	86 (1990)
Belonged to one or more Jewish organizations (other than synagogue or temple)	28	33
Belong to synagogue or temple*	39	48
Volunteered for Jewish organization (individuals)	18	21
Volunteered for secular organization (individuals)	40	32
Light Hanukkah candles (always, usually)	60	78
Attend Passover seder (always, usually)	62	76
Keep separate dishes (always, usually)	13	17
Have Christmas tree (always, usually)	28	19
Fast on Yom Kippur	49	55
Ever been to Israel	26	31

*NJPS figure refers to membership of any adult in the household; Market Facts figure refers to individual respondents.