

Brandeis University

Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies

JEWISH FUTURES PROJECT

The Impact of Taglit-Birthright Israel: Marriage and Family

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Maurice and Marilyn Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies

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Executive Summary

Created in part out of a concern for Jewish continuity, Taglit-Birthright Israel is one of the world's largest Jewish educational endeavors. Since 1999, more than 350,000 young adults from Diaspora communities have travelled to Israel on Taglit trips.

This report examines Taglit's long-term impact on participants with a special focus on their decisions about marriage and children. The findings are derived from data collected in 2013 for the fourth wave of the "Jewish Futures Project" (JFP), a panel study of individuals who applied to Taglit between 2001 and 2006. Interviews, both telephone and web, were conducted with over 2,000 respondents. The analysis compares Taglit participants to those who applied to the program but did not participate.

The report appears in the context of renewed concern about the future of the American Jewish community, prompted especially by last year's Pew Research Center study, "A Portrait of Jewish Americans" (2013). The Pew findings, as interpreted by some, suggest that high rates of assimilation and intermarriage have continued and will lead to the diminishment of the size and vibrancy of the American Jewish community.

The discussion of the Pew study has, however, largely ignored the contribution of improved and expanded Jewish education programs, in particular, Israel educational experiences such as Taglit-Birthright Israel. As we show, such changes in Jewish education may be altering the contours of American Jewry and its future trajectory.

The JFP panelists are now old enough (25-40 years old) to make it possible to focus on the ways in which Taglit impacts decisions around marriage and family. The report places the findings in the context of the broader issue of intermarriage. The findings examine differences between the children of inmarriage and the children of intermarriage and the ways in which inmarriage relates to engagement in Jewish life.

Consistent with the results of three previous JFP surveys, the present study found substantial, long-term differences between Taglit participants and nonparticipants.

- As of 2013, 45 percent of JFP panelists are married and another 15 percent are living with a significant other. Taglit participants and nonparticipants are equally likely to place high value on being married. Taglit participants, however, are less likely to be married than nonparticipants of the same age.
- Among those who are currently married, Taglit participants are much more likely than nonparticipants to be married to a Jew. Overall, the likelihood of inmarriage for participants is 72 percent, while for nonparticipants, the likelihood is 51 percent. This finding is consistent with previous waves of the study but it is now based on a larger number of married respondents.
- Particularly striking about the marriage findings is that among participants whose parents are intermarried, the probability of

inmarriage is 55 percent, compared to 22 percent for those nonparticipants who are children of intermarried parents. For participants whose parents are inmarried, the probability of inmarriage is 75 percent, compared to 60 percent for nonparticipants.

- Overall, just under 30 percent of JFP panelists have at least one child. Parents who are married to Jews are more likely to raise children Jewish. In addition, they are more likely to have a *brit milah* (Jewish ritual circumcision) or Jewish naming ceremony for their children, celebrate Shabbat and Jewish holidays, be members of a synagogue and attend religious services, send their children to Jewish day care or preschool, and participate in the PJ library. Because Taglit increases the likelihood of marrying a Jew, participation in the program leads to higher levels of engagement across all these dimensions.
- Taglit has a number of other effects, above and beyond its impact on marriage choices. Even among those who are unmarried, or who are married to a non-Jew, Taglit participants are more likely to celebrate Shabbat and Jewish holidays, have Jewish friends, belong to a synagogue, and attend religious services.

The results of the fourth wave of the JFP study provide a snapshot of the early generation of Taglit applicants as they begin to embark on a new life stage. The findings document the program's impact on decisions concerning marriage and childrearing and provide a window into the ways young adults embrace and engage in Jewish life. They suggest that Taglit has the potential to influence, not only the lives of its participants, but also the shape of the American Jewish community.

There is much left to learn about the life trajectories of the Birthright Israel generation of young adults. It is essential to understand their engagement with the community and the degree to which they find meaning through Jewish involvement. As we continue to follow the life course of panel members, our focus will not only be on the married population and those who have children, but also on those who do not partner. We also want to extend the generalizability of the study findings by beginning to interview later cohorts of Taglit participants. Understanding the factors influencing the life-choices of young adults touched by Taglit will tell us much about today's millennials as well as point us toward future possibilities for American Jewry.

תקציר מנהלים

חברי הפאנל של פרוייקט עתידים יהודיים מבוגרים מספיק (בני 25 עד 40) כך שניתן להתמקד באופן בו משפיעה ההשתתפות בתגלית על החלטות הקשורות לנישואין ולמשפחה. הדו"ח ממקם את הממצאים בהקשר הרחב של נישואין בין יהודים ללא-יהודים. הממצאים בוחנים את ההבדלים בין משיבים ששני הוריהם יהודים לבין משיבים שאחד מהוריהם אינו יהודי ואת האופן שבו נישואים בין שני יהודים משפיעים על מעורבות בחיי הקהילה היהודית.

בדומה לממצאים משלושת השלבים הקודמים של פרוייקט עתידים יהודיים, גם בשלב הנוכחי של המחקר נמצא שלתוכנית תגלית השפעה ארוכת טווח המתבטאת בהבדלים משמעותיים בין משתתפי תגלית לבין אלו שלא השתתפו.

- נכון לשנת 2013, 45% מחברי הפאנל נשואים, ו-15% נוספים חיים עם בן/בת זוג קבוע/ה. הן המשתתפים בתגלית והן הלא משתתפים מייחסים מידה דומה של חשיבות לנישואין, אולם ההסתברות של משתתפי תגלית להיות נשואים נמוכה מזו של הלא-משתתפים באותו הגיל.
- בקרב אלה שכבר נשואים, ההסתברות של משתתפי תגלית להיות נשואים לבני זוג יהודיים גבוהה מזו של הלא-משתתפים. באופן כללי, ההסתברות של נישואים עם יהודים בקרב משתתפי תגלית היא 72%, בעוד שבקרב הלא-משתתפים היא 51%. ממצא זה מאשש את אשר נצפה בשלושת שלבי המחקר הקודמים אך הוא מבוסס על מספר גדול יותר של משיבים נשואים.
- ממצא בולט מצביע על כך שבקרב משתתפי תגלית שאחד מהוריהם אינו יהודי, ההסתברות לנישואים עם יהודים היא 55%,

תוכנית תגלית, שנוצרה בין השאר, מתוך דאגה להמשכיות החיים היהודיים בצפון אמריקה, הינה המיזם החינוכי היהודי הגדול ביותר מחוץ לגבולות ארץ ישראל. משנת 1999 ביקרו יותר מ-350,000 צעירים מקהילות הגולה בישראל במסגרת תוכנית תגלית.

דו"ח זה, בוחן את השפעתה ארוכת הטווח של תגלית על המשתתפים בה ומתמקד בהחלטותיהם בנוגע לנישואין וגידול ילדים. הממצאים המוצגים להלן מבוססים על נתונים שנאספו ב-2013 עבור השלב הרביעי של פרוייקט עתידים יהודיים (Jewish Futures Project) — מחקר פאנל ארוך טווח של מדגם מקרי מרובד של צעירים שביקשו להשתתף בתוכנית תגלית בין השנים 2001 ו-2006. המחקר כלל ראיונות עם יותר מ-2,000 משיבים, אשר בוצעו באמצעות הטלפון ובאופן מקוון. ניתוח הנתונים משווה בין המשתתפים בתגלית לבין אלה שהגישו את מועמדותם לתוכנית אך לא השתתפו בה.

הדו"ח מתפרסם בהקשר של הדאגה המחודשת לגבי עתידה של יהדות ארה"ב, שהתעוררה בעקבות פרסומו בשנה השעברה של מחקר מרכז פיו (Pew Research Center), "דיוקן של אמריקאים יהודיים" (2013). ממצאי המחקר, כפי שפורשו ע"י אחדים מן המגיבים, מצביעים על כך ששיעורי התבוללות ונישואי התערובת הגבוהים נמשכים ויובילו לצמצום בגודלה ובחיוניותה של הקהילה היהודית בארה"ב.

אולם, הדיון בממצאי מחקר פיו התעלם ברובו מתרומתן של תוכניות חינוכיות יהודיות, משופרות ומורחבות ובייחוד מתרומתן של תוכניות חינוכיות חוויתיות בישראל, כגון תגלית. כפי שמראים ממצאי המחקר הנוכחי, תמורות אלה בחינוך היהודי עשויות לשנות את קווי המתאר של יהדות ארה"ב ואת התפתחותה בעתיד.

תוצאות השלב הרביעי של פרוייקט עתידים יהודיים מספקות תמונת מצב של חייהם הבוגרים של הדורות הראשונים של צעירים שהושפעו מקיומה של תגלית. הממצאים מצביעים על כך שלתגלית יש השפעה על החלטות בנושא נישואין וגידול ילדים והם מאפשרים הצצה אל הדרכים שבהן צעירים מתחברים לחיים יהודיים. הממצאים רומזים כי לתגלית יש פוטנציאל לשנות לא רק את חיי המשתתפים, אלא גם את צורת הקהילה היהודית בארה"ב.

נותר עוד הרבה ללמוד על מסלולי החיים של הצעירים בני "דור תגלית". יש צורך להבין את מידת מעורבותם בקהילה ואת המידה שבה הם מוצאים משמעות במעורבות זו. המשך המעקב אחר מסלולי החיים של חברי הפאנל, יכול להתמקדות לא רק באוכלוסיה הנשואה ובאלה המביאים ילדים לעולם, אלא גם באלה אשר אינם חיים במסגרת זוגית. בנוסף, הרחבת הפאנל כך שיכלול צעירים שהתעניינו בתגלית בשנים מאוחרות יותר, יאפשר להכליל את ממצאי המחקר לכלל בני הדור באוכלוסיה היהודית. הבנת הגורמים המשפיעים על ההחלטות של צעירים שהושפעו מתגלית ירחיב את הבנתנו לגבי צעירי דור המילניום ולגבי עתידה של יהדות ארה"ב.

לעומת 22% בקרב לא-משתתפים שאחד מהוריהם אינו יהודי. בקרב משתתפי תגלית ששני הוריהם יהודים, ההסתברות לנישואין עם יהודים היא 75%, לעומת 60% בקרב לא-משתתפים ששני הוריהם יהודים.

- 28% מחברי הפאנל הם הורים לילד אחד לפחות. ההסתברות של ההורים הנשואים ליהודים לגדל את ילדיהם כיהודים גבוהה מזו של ההורים הנשואים לבן/בת-זוג לא יהודי/ה. בנוסף, קיימת הסתברות גבוהה יותר שהם יערכו ברית מילה לבניהם או טקס הענקת שם לבנותיהם, יחגגו שבת וחג, יהיו חברים בקהילה של בית כנסת, ישתתפו בתפילות בבית הכנסת, ישלחו את ילדיהם לבית ספר יהודי או גן יהודי, ויהיו מנויים של ספריית פי-ג'יי (המספקת ספרים עם תוכן יהודי). מכיוון שהשתתפות בתוכנית תגלית מגדילה את ההסתברות להתחתן עם יהודי/ה, התוכנית גורמת לרמות גבוהות יותר של מעורבות בכל המימדים הללו.

- לתגלית יש השפעות נוספות, מעבר להשפעתה על בחירת בני זוג. אפילו בקרב הלא-נשואים ובקרב אלה הנשואים ללא-יהודים, למשתתפי תגלית הסתברות גבוהה יותר לחגוג שבת וחג, להתחבר עם יהודים, להשתייך לקהילה של בית כנסת ולהשתתף בתפילות בבית הכנסת, בהשוואה ללא-משתתפים.

Introduction

In the past 25 years, national surveys of the American Jewish population have fueled concern about assimilation and the vitality of Jewish communal life. The 1990 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) indicated that the majority of recent marriages of Jews were to non-Jews (Kosmin et al., 1991). That survey was followed by the 2000-01 NJPS (United Jewish Communities, 2003), which showed a decline in the size of the Jewish population. Although subsequent research suggested that the reported population decline was a function of the study's methodology (Kadushin, Phillips, & Saxe, 2005; Saxe, Tighe, & Boxer, 2014; Tighe et al., 2013), concern about Jewish continuity persisted. At the same time, anxiety about the relationship of American Jews to Israel intensified. The widely discussed "Distancing Hypothesis" (Cohen & Kelman, 2007; Sasson et al., 2012) posited that the connection between American Jews and Israel, particularly among young Jews, was loosening, and that this trend had serious consequences not only for the American Jewish community, but also for Israel.

Although Pew documented substantial growth of the Jewish population—from 5.5 million in 1990 to 6.9 million in 2013—it also showed a large increase (69 percent) in the number of adult Jews who do not consider Judaism their religion (Saxe, Sasson, & Aronson, In press). The "Jews of no religion" demonstrate far weaker connections to Jewish life than do Jews by religion (Pew Research Center's Religion and Public Life Project, 2013), fueling widespread concern over the future of American Jewry. What is less well understood is that the dynamic underlying the increased proportion of Jews of no religion in the population is the sharp increase in recent

years in the number of young adults who are children of intermarriage. In contrast to patterns in earlier generations, these individuals tend to identify as Jews even though they are more loosely connected to Jewish life and do not necessarily regard their religion as Judaism (Sasson, 2013, November 11; Sasson, 2014, Spring; Saxe, 2014; Saxe, Sasson, & Aronson, In press).

Many social scientists and communal leaders who have commented on the Pew study (e.g., Cohen, 2013; Goldstein, 2013, October 1; Heilman, 2013, October 1) claimed that high rates of intermarriage—58 percent overall and more than 70 percent among recently married non-Orthodox Jews—signal the imminent withering of non-Orthodox sectors of the community. The finding that just one fifth of intermarried parents of minor children are raising those children Jewish by religion has also sparked alarm.

These pessimistic conclusions, however, were rebutted by other commentators who noted that the intermarriage rate has stabilized, that three-fifths of intermarried couples imbue their children with some form of Jewish identity, and that a majority of young adult children of intermarriage identify as Jews (see, e.g., Sasson, 2014, Spring; Saxe, Sasson, & Aronson, In press). These findings suggest that the trend is toward increased Jewish involvement among the intermarried and their children, and therefore, that the demographic impact of intermarriage on the Jewish community may not be negative.

Discussion of the Pew findings has, for the most part, ignored the contribution of improved and expanded Jewish education programs—in particular, Israel educational

experiences such as Taglit-Birthright Israel—to both the current contours of American Jewry and to its future trajectory. Taglit was designed to address the perceived problem of assimilation and loosening ties between Diaspora Jews and Israel and aims to engage participants with Israel, their Jewish identities, and the Jewish community (Saxe & Chazan, 2008). Since its launch in 1999, the program has brought more than 250,000 Jewish young adults (18-26 years old) from North America to Israel for ten-day educational experiences (see Saxe & Chazan, 2008; Taglit-Birthright Israel, 2013) and is one of the largest educational interventions in the world. The effort is significant not only for the sheer size of the population it reaches, but also for the diversity of the group's composition. In light of the documented increase in the proportion of “Jews of no religion” by the Pew study and concerns that the present generation of young adults will not identify Jewishly as strongly as their parents' generation, it is noteworthy that Taglit attracts participants from a large and broad spectrum of the young adult Jewish population.

Evaluation studies of the program's impact on North American participants have been conducted since its inception (see, e.g., Saxe et al., 2004; Saxe et al., 2001; Saxe et al., 2008). In 2009, a longitudinal panel study, the Jewish Futures Project (JFP), was launched to assess the program's long-term impact and examine the trajectory of individuals' development (Saxe et al., 2009). Following the lives of a large group of individuals touched by the program, and assessing their decisions about marriage and family, provides a unique way to understand Jewish identity and its implications for Jewish communal life.

The JFP panel includes a sample of nearly 3,000 young adults who applied to Taglit during 2001-06. Some participated in Taglit and some did not, although the two groups are similar with respect to demographic

characteristics and Jewish background (Saxe et al., 2009; Saxe, Sasson et al., 2011; Saxe et al., 2012). In 2013, when data for the fourth wave of the study were collected, members of the panel were 25-40 years old (the average age of participants was 30 and that of nonparticipants was 31).

Comparison of participants and nonparticipants in the three prior waves of the JFP identified substantial long-term effects of program participation (see, e.g., Saxe et al., 2012). Along with finding a positive impact on attitudes about Israel and on Jewish identity, the JFP studies also make clear that Taglit has had a profound influence on marriage and family patterns (Saxe, Phillips et al., 2011; Saxe et al., 2012). Taglit participants, including those who were raised in intermarried households, were 40 to 50 percent more likely than the comparison group of applicants of similar backgrounds to marry Jews (c. 70 percent vs. 50 percent, respectively). In addition, Taglit participants were also more likely to raise Jewish children.

To the extent that the program continues to engage larger numbers of participants, Taglit has the potential to alter broad demographic patterns of the American Jewish community. Taglit cohorts of 35,000 U.S. Jews (approximately the present annual number of participants) represent more than one-third of each U.S. Jewish age cohort (see Saxe, Sasson, & Aronson, In press). Thus, when also considering participants of other Israel educational programs, the majority of young adult Jews will have an educational experience in Israel by the time they reach 27 years of age. Since the majority of this population will make their decisions about marriage after this age (the average age at marriage for the 45 percent of JFP panel members who are currently married is 28), the majority of each age cohort would have had the opportunity to be impacted by an Israel experience prior to forming a family. If participation in Israel

experience programs continues to have a large and significant effect on marital decision-making and child-rearing, it may change trends of inmarriage, intermarriage, and raising Jewish children.

Any study of contemporary young adults is constrained by the unique characteristics of their generation. Like other millennial young adults, JFP panel members marry and form families later than those of previous generations (Pew, 2010), and only a minority of the panel members had reached this stage in their lives when the study was initiated in

2009. Thus, it is possible that early findings regarding family formation patterns were anomalous. Four years later, the panel has matured, and the 2013 survey data reported on here include information about a substantially larger number of marriages and children. The expanded number of panelists with families now allows for new analyses of marriage patterns and child rearing that were not possible in previous waves of the study, including the study of applicant subgroups (e.g., children of intermarried parents). These analyses are the focus of present report.

Methods

The sample for this study was drawn from the population of all eligible applicants—both participants and nonparticipants—to Taglit in the winter trips of 2001-06. The first wave of the study only surveyed individuals in the 2001-04 cohorts. The second wave of the study added the 2005 cohort, and the third wave added the 2006 cohort. Thus, the original sample of 2001-04 applicants has been interviewed in four consecutive years; the 2005 cohort sample has been interviewed three times; the 2006 cohort sample has been interviewed twice—including the present study.

Sample

The sample for Wave 4 was identical to the one deployed in Wave 3, and included eligible applicants to the program from the 2001-06 cohorts (see Technical Appendix A; Jewish Futures Study: 2012 Update, Appendix A). During the course of the four waves of the study, 293 individuals who were originally sampled have been discovered to be ineligible for the study, generally because they were not eligible for Taglit or participated in a Taglit trip outside the time range specified for the study. These individuals were excluded from the sample. Two other groups were excluded from the Wave 4 survey: One hundred previous nonrespondents had no potential for contact in Wave 4 and 538 individuals who had explicitly refused to take the survey at some point in the previous three waves of the study. Those who were surveyed in Wave 4 included 2,206 individuals who responded to one of the three previous waves of the study and 650 nonrespondents who had at least some potential for contact.¹

The JFP panelists who participated in the present study consist of 2,097 Jewish young adults between the ages of 25 and 40. All panelists applied to go on a Taglit-Birthright Israel winter trip between 2001 and 2006. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents went on a trip (“participants”), while 32 percent did not go (“nonparticipants”). The nonparticipants serve as a natural comparison group against which to measure Taglit’s impact.

Survey Instrument

As in previous waves, the 2013 survey instrument included questions about Jewish educational and family background; attitudes toward Israel, Judaism, and the Jewish community; Jewish practice; involvement with Jewish organizations; and dating, marriage, and children. In this wave, however, the sections on relationships and family were further expanded to include more detailed questions on child rearing and home ritual practice. Questions about Jewish and family background were only asked of respondents who had not answered such questions in previous waves. Prior to the launch of the study, extensive cognitive testing was conducted, especially with respect to newly developed questions. Most interview questions were close-ended, with an open-ended question asked at the end of the survey (see Technical Appendix C).

Protocol

The survey was a dual-mode telephone and Web survey. Most respondents who participated in surveys in previous waves

completed the survey online. Individuals who had not responded to a previous wave were more likely to be interviewed by telephone, but the majority of these respondents still completed the survey online. Full telephone interviews, when conducted, averaged around 15 minutes in length. Telephone interviews were conducted by Cohen Center staff, most of whom were Brandeis University students, specially trained for this study. Email messages, phone calls, data services, and extensive Internet searching were used to obtain contact information for potential respondents. Field operations began on March 4, 2013 and ceased on September 3, 2013.

Response Rates

Over the course of data collection, attempts were made to contact 2,856 individuals and responses were obtained from 2,097 eligible panel members. One hundred eleven individuals who were contacted in Wave 4 explicitly refused to take the survey. The overall response rate calculation (AAPOR RR4) considers all eligible sample members and was 65.6 percent (53.9 percent for nonparticipants and 71.5 percent for participants).² Response rate calculations treat eligible individuals who were not surveyed in Wave 4 (because they had previously refused or had no potential for contact) as nonrespondents. Tables of final dispositions and response rates are shown in Table 6 in Technical Appendix A.

Weighting

In addition to design weights developed to account for the differential probabilities of selection due to sample stratification, poststratification weights were created using registration system information on age, participant status, Jewish denomination, year of application, and gender. These weights correct for the differences between the

distribution of known characteristics of the respondents and known characteristics of the sampling frame (see Technical Appendix A).

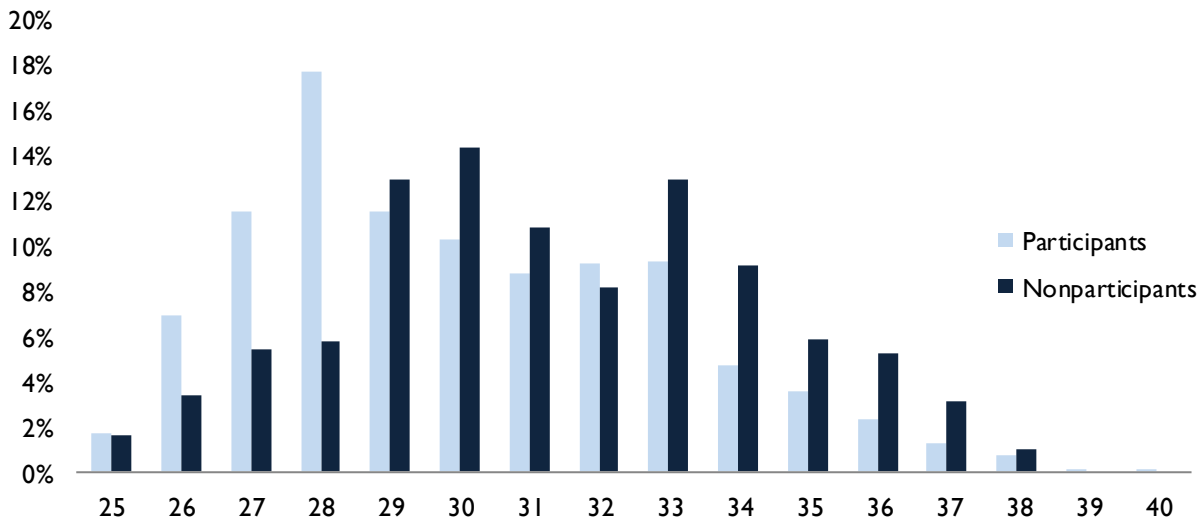
Analysis

In tests of drugs and other health care interventions, subjects are typically randomly assigned to test groups and control groups (referred to as a “Randomized Clinical Trial” (RCT)). RCTs are conducted to ensure that any observed differences between the test group and comparison group can be attributed to the intervention and not to other preexisting group characteristics. In the present study, while Taglit participation was not strictly random, on the majority of measures—including gender, formal Jewish education, Jewish ritual practice during high school and proportion of Jewish friends during high school—Taglit participants are not different from nonparticipants. As discussed in prior reports (e.g., Saxe et al., 2011), the similar profile exists because logistical factors—including, for example, the dates trips were offered—played a large role in determining which applicants ultimately went on to participate.

There are, however, a few systematic differences between Taglit participants and nonparticipants in the present study. First, Taglit participants are slightly younger than nonparticipants, with a mean age of 30.0 years, compared to 31.3 years for nonparticipants. Figure 1 shows the age spread of the two groups. Second, Taglit participants are less likely than nonparticipants to have intermarried parents. Only 17 percent of Taglit participants were raised by a Jew and a non-Jew, compared to 26 percent of nonparticipants (overall, 20 percent of the panelists have intermarried parents).

To account for these differences, findings presented below in the “Marriage” section are

Figure 1. Age by Taglit participation.



based on regression models that control for age and, when it is related to the outcome measure, parental intermarriage. To illustrate the impact of Taglit, estimated margins for Taglit participants and nonparticipants are calculated from the regression models, holding age at a constant value for both groups—30, the mean age of the participants. In cases where parental intermarriage is related to the outcome measure, separate estimates are presented for those with unmarried parents and for those with intermarried parents.³

Findings presented below in the “Children,” “Jewish Practice in the Home,” and “Jewish Communal Engagement” sections are also based on regression models that control for age and, when it is related to the outcome measure, parental intermarriage. However, in many cases, Taglit’s effect on these outcomes is mediated through its effect on marriage patterns. To account for this, regression models in these sections also control for (in) marriage (i.e., being unmarried vs. intermarried vs. unmarried). Separate estimates for Taglit

participants and nonparticipants are shown only in cases where Taglit has an independent effect on the outcome, in addition to its effect on marriage patterns.

Panelists Raised Orthodox

Thirteen percent of panelists were raised Orthodox. For this group of panelists, many of the outcome measures examined in the JFP are subject to “ceiling effects,” meaning that a high proportion of panelists who were raised Orthodox indicate the highest value. For example, 95 percent of those raised Orthodox who are currently married are married to a Jew, and 97 percent of those raised Orthodox who have children are raising their oldest child Jewish. While the overall point estimates for various measures would be higher if those raised Orthodox were included, excluding them provides a more accurate examination of Taglit’s impact. For this reason, panelists raised Orthodox are excluded from the analyses in this report. In addition, because Orthodox-raised participants are currently (and have been since 2005) a small proportion of the total Taglit participant population, the impact on these individuals is less relevant to the impact on the pool of participants overall.

For each outcome measure discussed in the report, Technical Appendix B includes the regression model and estimated margins with 95 percent confidence intervals. The figures below also include error bars with 95 percent confidence intervals around the reported

estimates.⁴ To simplify presentation, error bars are not shown in figures showing “stacked bars.” For the analyses described in this report only respondents not raised Orthodox are included (see page 11 above).

Most Memorable Jewish Experience

At the end of the survey, panelists were asked an open-ended question: “Thinking about the past year, what was your most memorable Jewish experience?” Ninety percent of panelists answered this question. Responses were coded into categories for “what” was mentioned in the response and “who” was mentioned in the response.⁵ A large portion of the responses involved Jewish holidays or lifecycle events (Figure 2), as well as family and friends (Figure 3). Further analysis of and examples from these open-ended responses are included throughout this report.

Figure 2. Most memorable Jewish experience.⁶

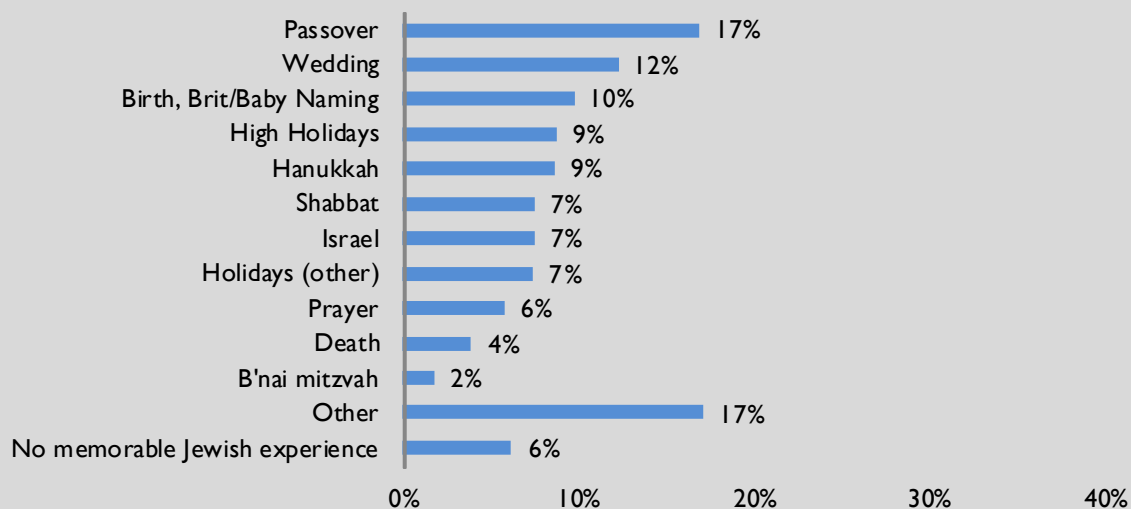
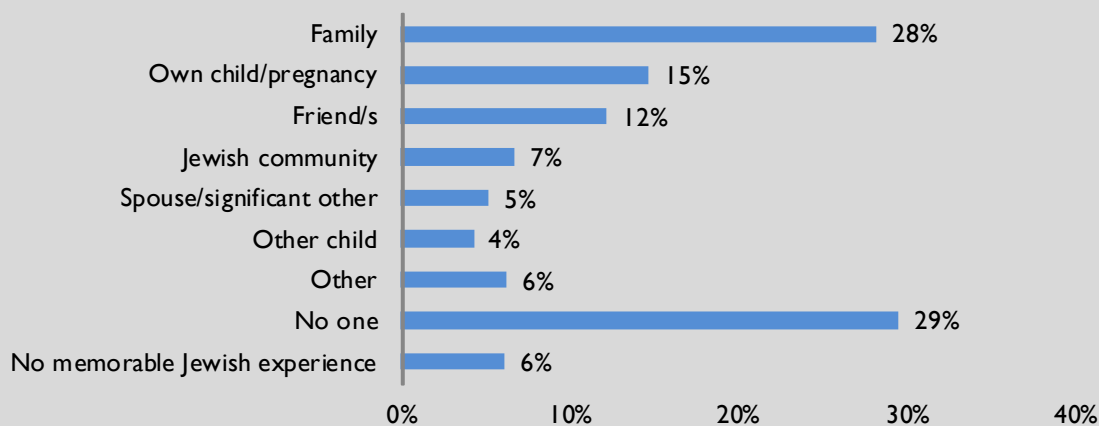


Figure 3. Person(s) involved in most memorable Jewish experience.⁷



Marriage

A central aim of the Jewish Futures Project has been to develop a better understanding of the choices Jewish young adults make about dating, marriage, and family formation. Each subsequent wave of data collection has included more married panelists, allowing for increasingly nuanced analyses of marital choices and Taglit’s role in shaping them.

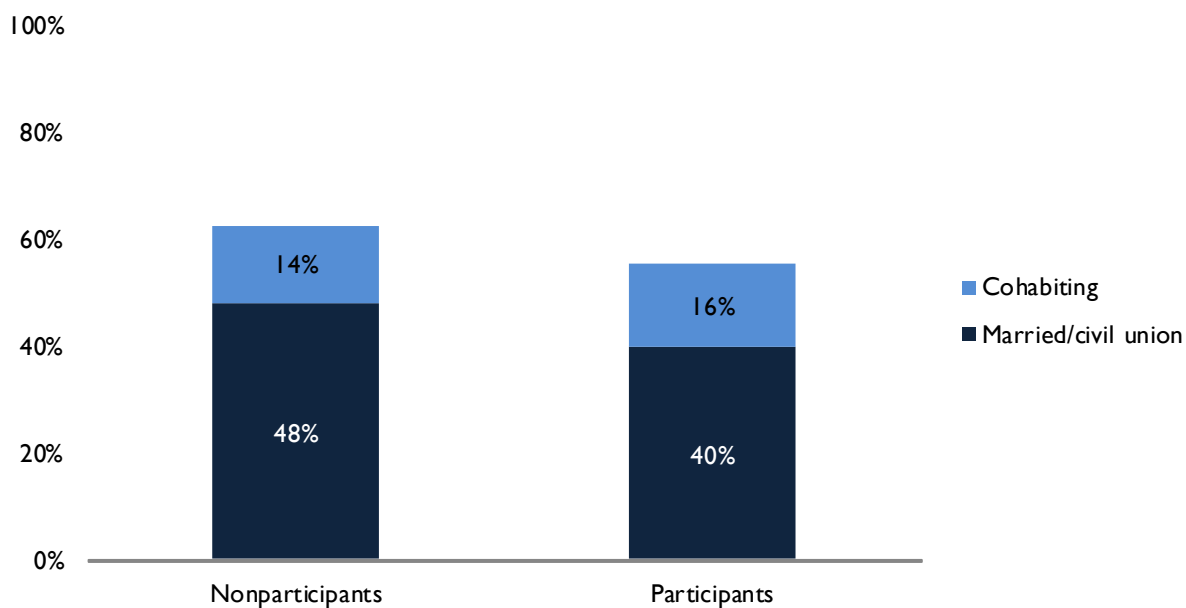
Marital Status & Cohabitation

Overall, 45 percent of JFP panelists are now married and another 15 percent are living with a significant other. Among those who are currently cohabiting, 35 percent are engaged to their partners. Taglit participation is associated with a lower likelihood of being married, but parental intermarriage is not related to likelihood of marriage. At age 30

(the mean age for participants),⁸ Taglit participants have a 40 percent probability of being married, compared to a 48 percent probability for nonparticipants (Figure 4).

Although Taglit participants have a lower rate of marriage, unmarried participants and nonparticipants place a similarly high value on marriage. When JFP panelists were asked to rate the importance of a series of ten life goals, panelists identified being married as one of the most important goals in their lives.⁹ Among those who were unmarried, Taglit participation was not a significant predictor of whether “being married” was an important life goal. However, being married was less important to those raised by intermarried parents (see Table 4 in Technical Appendix B).

Figure 4. Marital and cohabitation status by Taglit participation.



Note: Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of marital and cohabitation status on age and Taglit participation. Age held at 30. See Tables 2 & 3 in Technical Appendix B.

Inmarriage

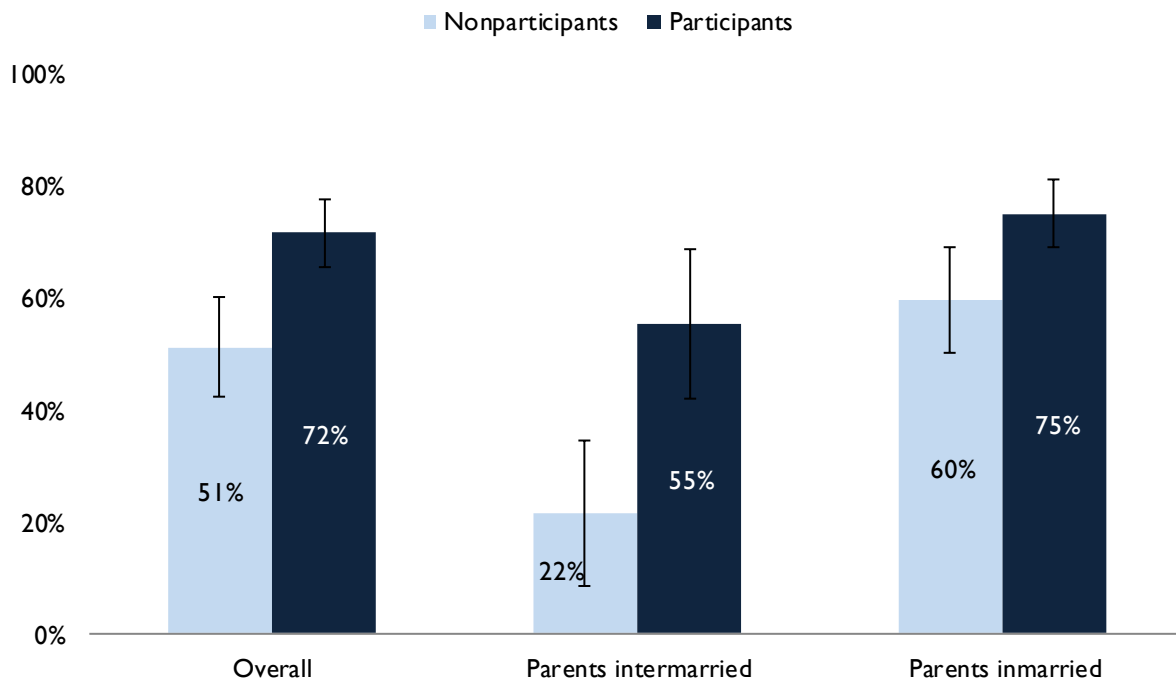
Among those who are currently married, Taglit participants, overall, are 41 percent more likely than nonparticipants to be married to a Jew (72 percent vs. 51 percent, respectively).¹⁰ Taglit's positive impact on inmarriage is clearly evident for both those who have intermarried and inmarried parents (Figure 5). The impact of Taglit on those with intermarried parents is particularly noticeable: they are more than twice as likely to be married to a Jew as comparable nonparticipants (55 percent vs. 22 percent). Because of the relatively small number of cases in the sub-population, the magnitude of these effects will need to be monitored carefully as the sample matures.

Rabbinic Officiation at Inter marriages

A rabbi or cantor was the sole Jewish officiant at about one-third (35 percent) of weddings between a JFP panelist and a non-Jew. Taglit participation had no effect on the type of wedding officiant. Among participants, 81 percent of marriages were either between Jews or were officiated by Jewish clergy.

The findings about Taglit's effect on inmarriage are consistent with results discussed in the past three waves of the study, which were based on lower numbers of married respondents (see Saxe et al., 2009; Saxe et al., 2012; Saxe et al., 2013). The overall probabilities for inmarriage are very close to

Figure 5. Inmarriage by Taglit participation and parental intermarriage (married panelists).^{11,12}



Note: Married panelists only. Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of inmarriage on age, parental intermarriage, Taglit participation, and an interaction between parental intermarriage and Taglit participation. Interaction term is not significant. Age held at 30. For "Overall" bar, parental intermarriage held at its mean (80 percent). See Tables 8 & 9 in Technical Appendix B. For two-way tables of frequencies examining inmarriage by Taglit participation see Tables 5-7 in Technical Appendix B.

those found in earlier analyses (which ranged from 70 to 77 percent for participants and 46 to 51 percent for nonparticipants). This is not surprising, since many of the panelists included in this year's analysis were also included in the analysis reported on in previous waves. The present analysis, however, includes 107 more cases of married panelists compared to the analysis reported on in Wave 3.

Taglit's impact on inmarriage is further reinforced by findings regarding cohabitation (which, presumably, are suggestive of future trends). Overall, the likelihood of a cohabiting partner being Jewish is lower than the likelihood of a spouse being Jewish. Taglit participation, however, has a marginally significant positive effect on the likelihood of a cohabiting partner being Jewish (see Tables 17 & 18 in Technical Appendix B). At the same time, there is evidence that, for Taglit participants, the likelihood of inmarriage

Marriages Between Taglit Alumni

More than 25 percent of all married participants are married to another Taglit alum. Nine percent of married nonparticipants are also married to an alum.¹³

decreases as their age at marriage increases.¹⁴ That is not the case for nonparticipants (see Table 19 in Technical Appendix B). A more robust analysis will be conducted as the panel matures further and more marriages occur.

Among those who are not currently married, Taglit participants are more likely to say that it is important to them to marry someone Jewish (Figure 6). Overall, those with inmarried parents are more likely to say that it is "very" or "somewhat" important to them to marry someone Jewish, compared to those with intermarried parents. There is, however, a marginally significant Taglit effect evident with both groups.

GLBTQ Panelists

Overall, five percent of panelists—92 individuals—identified themselves as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer, or questioning (GLBTQ). GLBTQ panelists have a 28 percent likelihood of being married/in a civil union and a 22 percent likelihood of cohabiting. In addition, nine percent of GLBTQ panelists have at least one child.

Unfortunately, the small number of GLBTQ panelists precludes further analysis of this subgroup (e.g., how they are raising their children). GLBTQ panelists are considered together with all other panelists in this report.¹⁵

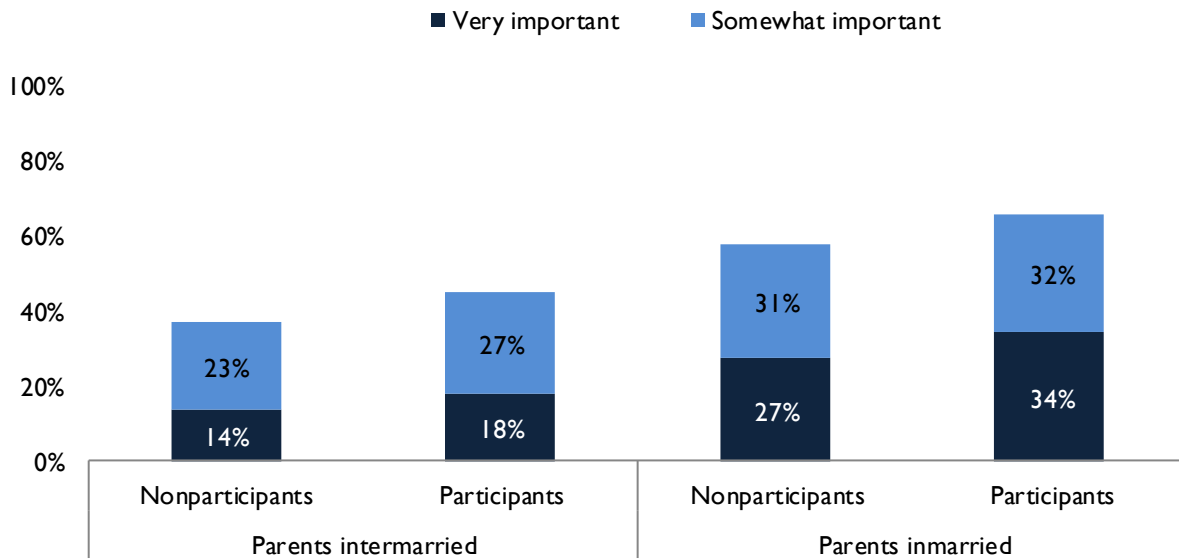
A few GLBTQ panelists referenced sexual orientation or same-sex partners when asked about their most memorable Jewish experience in the past year:

"Last night, I participated in the first-ever Passover seder led by the gay Jewish organization that I co-chair with nearly 50 young Jewish members and a customized haggadah celebrating gay activism in the context of the Passover story." (male, age 28)

"Having a great Shabbat dinner with my ex-Orthodox friend and her wife of just a few months. It was great to see that my friend who left the Orthodox world still embraces her Jewishness and observes and enjoys the Sabbath, and her wife, who was raised fundamentalist Christian, also appreciates and embraces the Jewish traditions." (female, age 31)

"My rabbi offering us a blessing on our upcoming marriage when the marriage equality act was passed in Maryland." (female, age 38)

Figure 6. Importance of marrying someone Jewish by Taglit participation and parental intermarriage (unmarried panelists).¹⁶



Note: Unmarried panelists only. Bars show estimated margins based on an ordinal logistic regression of importance of marrying someone Jewish on age, parental intermarriage, and Taglit participation. Age held at 30. Taglit's impact significant at $p < .1$. See Tables 20 & 21 in Technical Appendix B.

What Panelists Say About Marriage

Among panelists who got married within the past year, 73 percent mentioned their spouse or wedding in describing their most memorable Jewish experience:

"Getting married under the *chuppah* crocheted and knit by my mom and grandma." (female, age 33)

"Getting married—we had a Jewish wedding and we did have some pre-marital sessions with our rabbi, which were thought-provoking and emphasized the importance and value of living a Jewish life together." (female, age 31)

"Getting married—we had an Orthodox wedding, officiated by my newly ordained Orthodox Rabbi brother, under the *fallis* my father wore at his bar mitzvah and at my brother's wedding. The three rabbis from my youth gave blessings over our marriage. My other little brother (fresh from his own trip on Birthright) was my best man." (male, age 31)

The Jewish wedding experience continues to resonate for panelists throughout their lives. One respondent who has been married for seven years and now has a preschool-aged son said the following:

"We built a sukkah for the first time using our *chuppah* frame and enjoyed many meals in it." (female, age 34)

Children

Overall, JFP panelists rated “being a parent” as one of their most important life goals.¹⁷ Among panelists who had no children, neither Taglit participation nor parental intermarriage was a significant predictor of rating being a parent as an important life goal. Panelists with a Jewish spouse, however, placed more value on being a parent than other panelists (see Table 22 in Technical Appendix B).

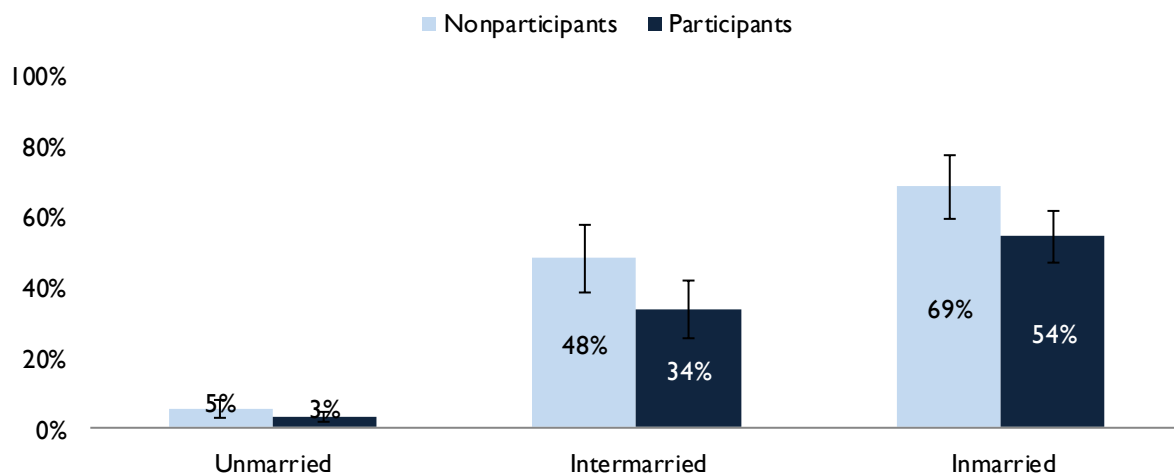
While parenthood is important to most panelists, less than a third (28 percent) are parents. The probability of having a child varies by marital status: panelists with a Jewish spouse were more likely to have a child than those with a non-Jewish spouse, regardless of how long they have been married. The probability of being a parent was greater for nonparticipants compared to participants (Figure 7). This result stems from the fact that Taglit participants were less likely to be married than nonparticipants and, among those who are married, participants had not

been married as long as nonparticipants. When these differences are controlled for, Taglit participation was not related to likelihood of having a child. Because very few unmarried panelists have children, the discussion below of how children are being raised refers only to married panelists.

Raising Children Jewish

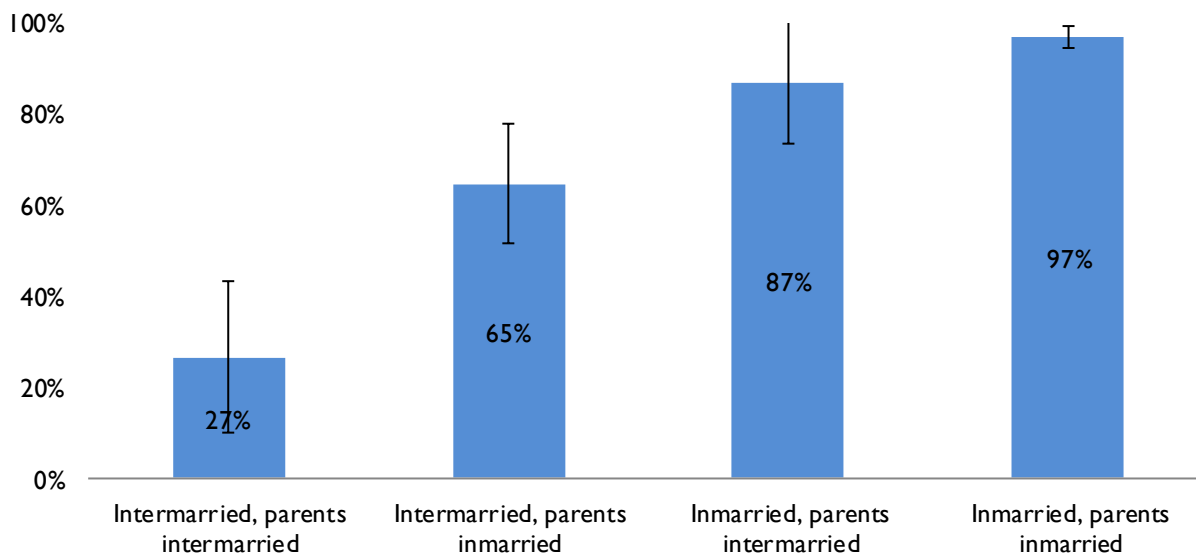
Parents were asked whether their oldest child was being raised Jewish, Christian, no religion or something else, or whether they were currently undecided. Panelists with a Jewish spouse were far more likely than panelists with a non-Jewish spouse to be raising their children Jewish (Figure 8). Panelists with inmarried parents were also far more likely than panelists with intermarried parents to be raising their children Jewish. Taglit participation has a positive impact on the likelihood that panelists will raise their children Jewish, but this impact is a function

Figure 7. Having a child by Taglit participation and (in)marriage.



Note: Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of having a child on age, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Table 23 & 24 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 8. Raising oldest child Jewish by parental intermarriage and inmarriage.



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of raising oldest child Jewish on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 25 & 26 in Technical Appendix B.

of Taglit's impact on inmarriage. Because inmarried panelists were more likely to be raising Jewish children and Taglit participants were more likely to be inmarried, Taglit participants were more likely to be raising Jewish children. Among intermarried panelists, Taglit had no impact on whether children were being raised Jewish.

Jewish Names, Naming Ceremonies, & *Brit Milah*

The Jewish identity of a child is often declared when they are born, through Jewish ritual circumcision (*brit milah*) for males and through the giving of a Jewish or Hebrew name and Jewish naming ceremonies. Those with a Jewish spouse and those with inmarried parents were more likely to give their oldest child a Jewish or Hebrew name (Figure 9). For inmarried panelists with inmarried parents, the probability of giving their oldest child a Jewish or Hebrew name was near universal (94 percent), while the probability of intermarried panelists with intermarried parents doing so was only 32 percent.

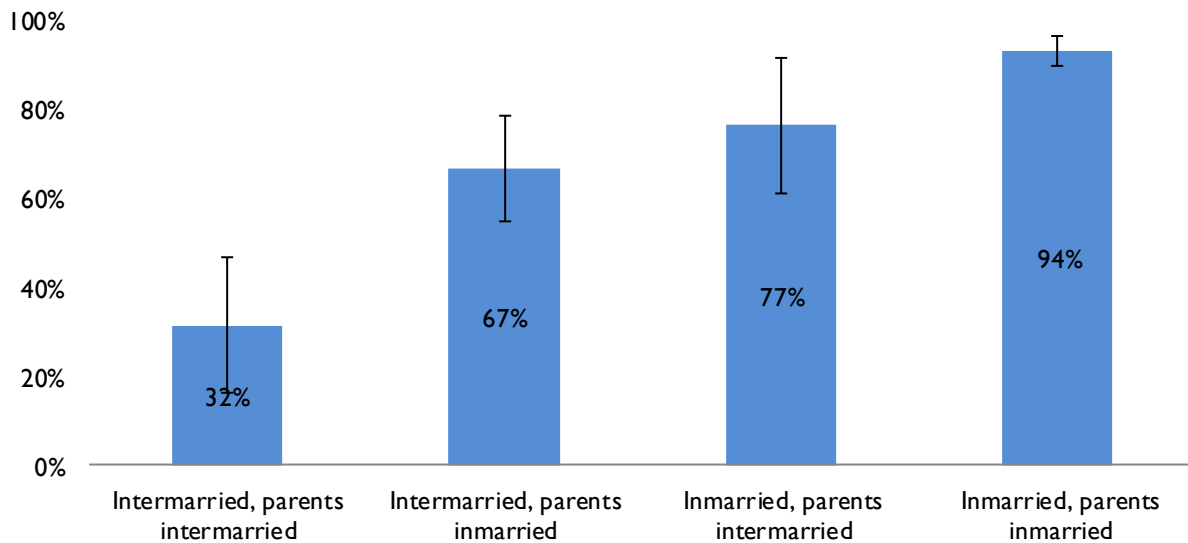
Correlations with Rabbinic Officiation

Intermarried panelists who had a sole Jewish officiant at their wedding were far more likely to be raising their children Jewish than intermarried panelists who had another type of officiation at their weddings. Regardless of officiation, intermarried panelists were less likely than inmarried panelists to be raising their children Jewish.

Panelists were also asked whether they had a Jewish naming ceremony for an oldest daughter or a *brit milah* for an oldest son. Inmarriage and parental inmarriage were both significant, positive predictors of Jewish naming ceremonies for girls (Figure 10) and *brit milah* for boys (Figure 11).

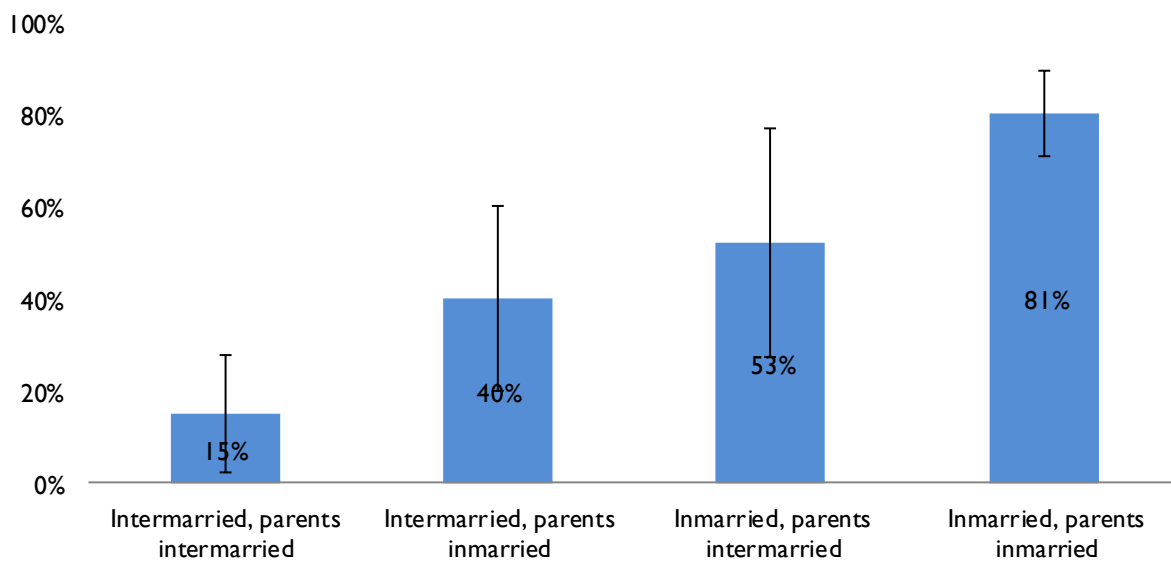
For these three outcomes—giving a child a Jewish or Hebrew name, having a Jewish naming ceremony for a daughter, and having a *brit milah* for a son—Taglit's impact was mediated by inmarriage. That is, Taglit has an impact on these behaviors because Taglit increases inmarriage, and inmarried parents are more likely to perform these behaviors.

Figure 9. Giving oldest child a Hebrew or Jewish name by parental intermarriage and inmarriage.



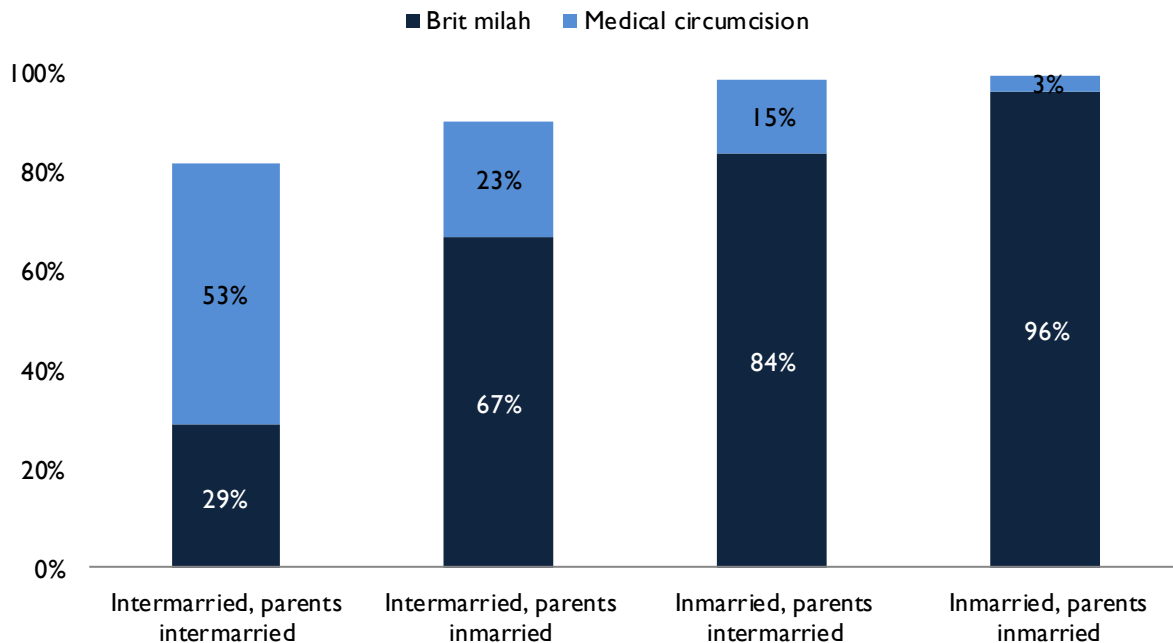
Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of giving oldest child a Hebrew or Jewish name on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 27 & 28 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 10. Jewish naming ceremony for oldest child by parental intermarriage and inmarriage (female children).



Note: Panelists with children whose oldest child was female only. Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of having a Jewish naming ceremony for the oldest child on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 29 & 30 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 11. *Brit milah* or medical circumcision for oldest child by parental intermarriage and inmarriage (male children).¹⁸



Note: Panelists with children whose oldest child was male only. Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of having a *brit milah* or medical circumcision for the oldest child on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 31 & 32 in Technical Appendix B.

Importance of Raising Children Jewish

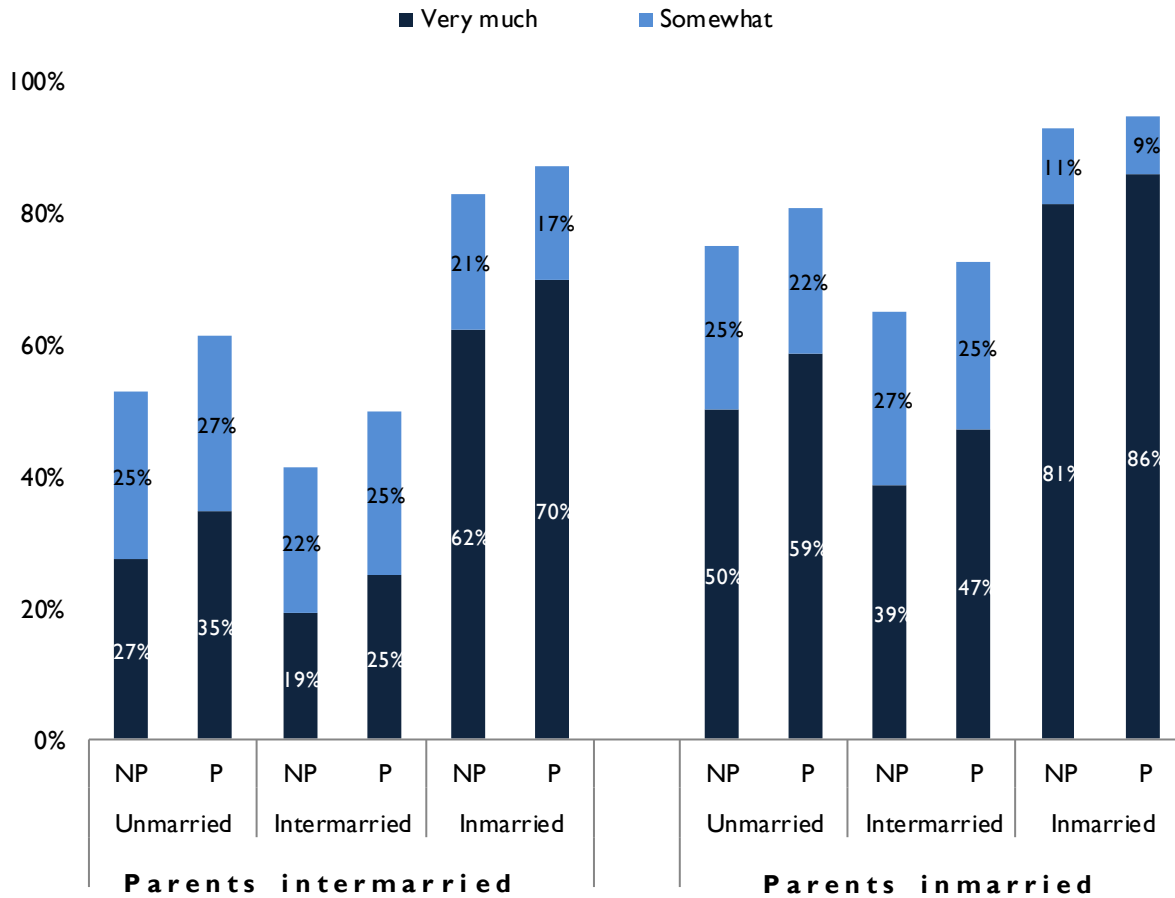
Among those who do not have children, both inmarried and unmarried panelists were more likely to rate raising their children Jewish important than those who were intermarried (Figure 12). In addition, those with inmarried parents were more likely than those with intermarried parents to say that it is important to raise their children Jewish. Finally, Taglit participants were more likely to say that raising their kids Jewish is important, irrespective of other factors. In other words, Taglit's effect on this measure is not only due to its effect on inmarriage—Taglit has a positive effect even for those who intermarry,

Circumcision Rates

The national rate of newborn circumcision was 58 percent in 2010, reflecting a general downward trend from 1979 through 2010.¹⁹ Among JFP panelists whose oldest child was a boy, the overall circumcision rate was 96 percent. Furthermore, although national circumcision rates vary by region, there were no significant regional differences in circumcision rates among JFP panelists.

as well as those who are not married. It is possible that, as more panelists have children, this attitudinal effect will translate into a behavioral effect.

Figure 12. Importance of raising children Jewish by Taglit participation, (in)marriage, and parental intermarriage (panelists without children).²⁰



Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on an ordinal logistic regression of importance of raising children Jewish on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 33 & 34 in Technical Appendix B.

What Panelists Say About Children

Half (51 percent) of panelists who have children or are expecting their first child mentioned a child, a birth, a baby naming, or a *brit milah* when describing their most memorable Jewish experience in the past year:

"When my wife was pregnant, I was worried about making ends meet, and if we were ready for a child. And she grew worried because I grew worried. I reassured her that it was okay, but I could tell she was nervous. Finally, I put a hand on her tummy and recited the *shehecheyanu* prayer. She had to go to work directly afterwards, but told me later she cried with happiness after I blessed the pregnancy." (male, age 38)

"Attending High Holiday services while pregnant with our first baby. It was a very special time—looking back and looking forward to how I want my child to own her Jewishness." (male, age 34)

"Giving birth to a son, giving him a formal *brit* (the first in this generation), and marveling daily at the reality of being a parent to two beautiful children." (female, age 32)

Children also create Jewish experiences for those without children. Five percent of childless panelists mentioned children when describing their most memorable Jewish experience:

"My best friend's daughter's baby naming. It was a very moving ceremony that involved many traditions, both Jewish and family. It was very special because my fiancé, who is not Jewish, was able to experience something so special in a uniquely Jewish way. He was also able to experience sitting in a synagogue. Even though I am not a practicing Jew, and truthfully have not been since my bat mitzvah, I feel very strongly about raising my children Jewish, if we choose to have them. The ceremony gave him a glimpse into who we are, HOW we are, our customs, etc. I have been upfront with him since early on, about bringing up children Jewish. It was very special to share that joyous occasion, because it solidified that future for us." (female, age 34)

"My six-year-old niece lives in a town where she is the only Jewish child in school, so she knows a bit about Judaism, but not much. I had her with me this summer, and I used to tell her stories about Judaism every morning (starting with the story of Hanukkah). After the first story, she woke me every day at 6:00am saying, 'Please tell me a Hanukkah story.' This was beautiful to me." (female, age 33)

Jewish Practice in the Home

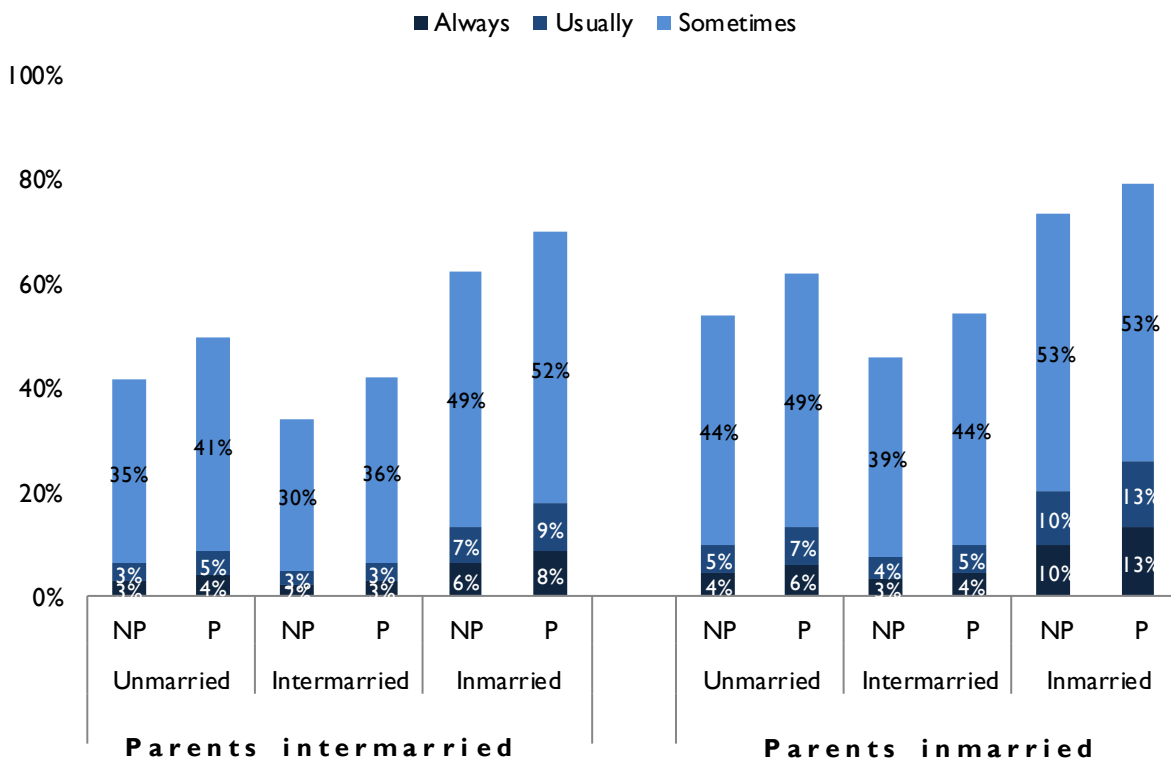
The Jewish practices of Taglit participants have been part of short and long-term assessments of the program. Past research, including studies of recent Taglit alumni (Saxe et al., 2013) has found that, in a number of areas, participants have higher rates of engagement with Jewish practice in their homes and personal lives.

Among panelists in the present study, because those with children are generally more likely to be engaged in Jewish practices in their homes, the analyses below assess respondents with and without children separately.

Shabbat

JFP panelists were asked how often in the past year they lit (or participated in lighting) Shabbat candles and attended a special meal on Shabbat. For panelists without children, being unmarried, having unmarried parents, and having participated in Taglit all had an independent, positive impact on the likelihood of participating in these two practices. Figure 13 shows the impact of each of these three factors on Shabbat meals; a similar pattern is evident for Shabbat candles (see Table 37 in Technical Appendix B).

Figure 13. Frequency of having a special meal on Shabbat by Taglit participation, (in)marriage, and parental intermarriage (panelists without children).

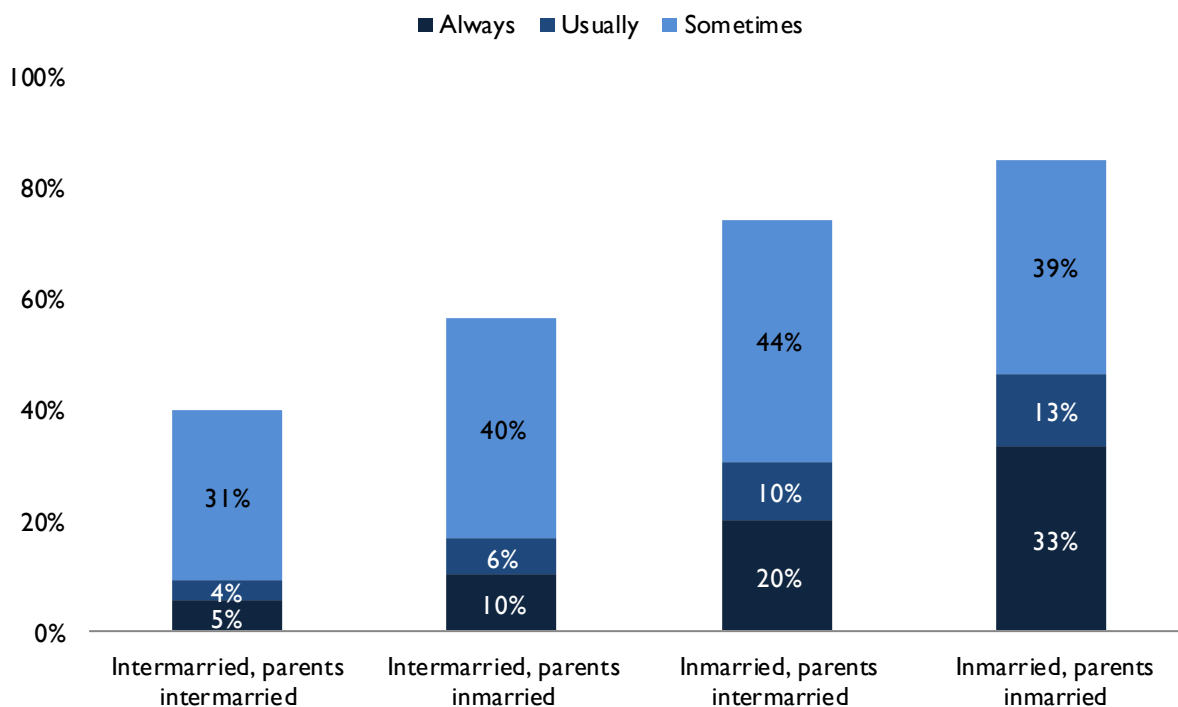


Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on an ordinal logistic regression of frequency of having or attending a Shabbat meal on age, parental intermarriage, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 35 & 36 in Technical Appendix B.

For those with children, being inmarried and having inmarried parents had a positive impact on the likelihood of lighting Shabbat candles (see Table 40 in Technical Appendix B) and attending a special meal on Shabbat (Figure 14). However, Taglit participation did not have an independent effect on either measure of Shabbat observance for those with

children. Again, the impact of Taglit is mediated through its impact on inmarriage. Intermarried panelists were less likely than inmarried or single panelists to light Shabbat candles or attend a special Shabbat meal; because Taglit participants were more likely to be inmarried, they were also more likely to engage in these activities.

Figure 14. Frequency of having a special meal on Shabbat by inmarriage and parental intermarriage (panelists with children).



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on an ordinal logistic regression of frequency of having or attending a Shabbat meal on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimates for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 38 & 39 in Technical Appendix B.

What Panelists Say About Shabbat

Ten percent of panelists with children and six percent of panelists without children mentioned a Shabbat experience as their most memorable Jewish experience of the past year:

"After the birth of my daughter, my wife and I celebrated our first Sabbath with her in the NICU using electric tea lights." (male, age 30)

"Every Friday night, after I light Shabbat candles, my children and I hug and sit together and play and talk about what we're grateful to God for." (female, age 35)

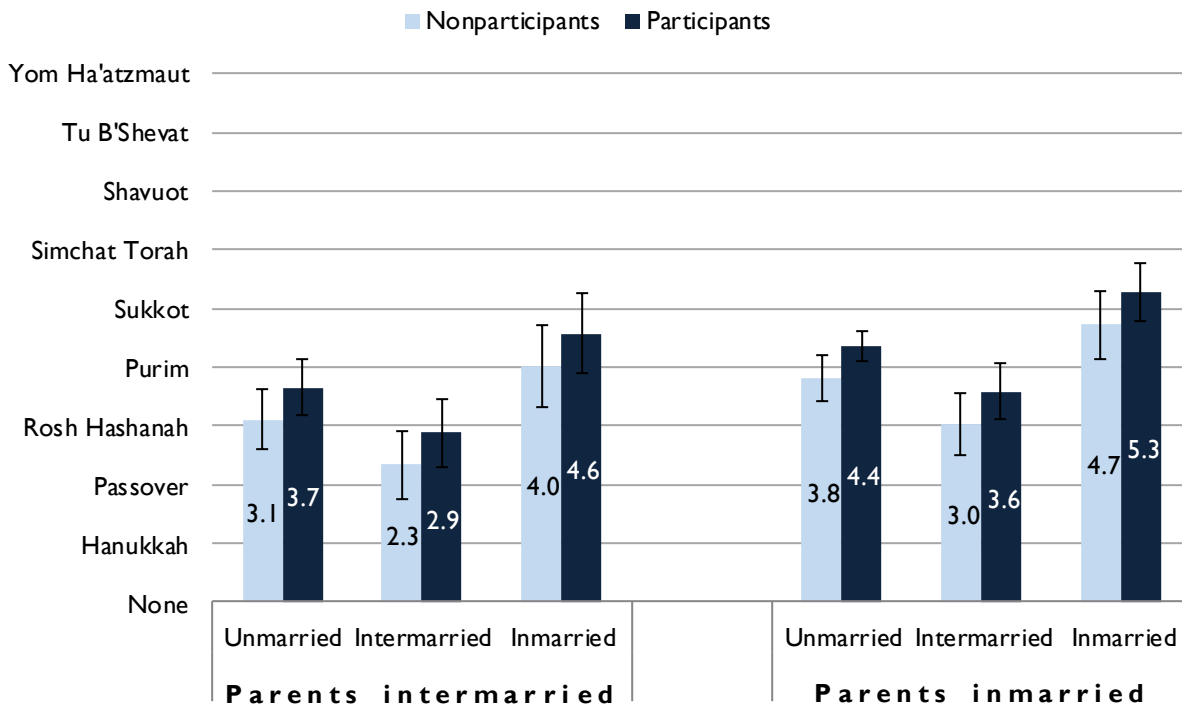
Holidays

Panelists were asked whether they had done anything to celebrate each of nine Jewish holidays in the past year. Based on the distribution of responses, holidays were ordered in terms of prevalence of observance. A scale of Jewish holiday celebration was created in which panelists were given the score of the least prevalent holiday they celebrated. For example, those who celebrated only Hanukkah scored a one, whereas those who celebrated Shavuot scored a seven. Among panelists without children, the inmarried were more likely to celebrate Jewish holidays than the unmarried, who in turn were more likely to celebrate Jewish holidays than the intermarried. Taglit participation was positively associated with Jewish holiday

celebration for all three of these groups (Figure 15). Those with inmarried parents were also more likely than those with intermarried parents to celebrate Jewish holidays.

Among panelists with children, the impact of Taglit on Jewish holiday celebration is mediated by its effect on inmarriage. Inmarried panelists were more likely to celebrate Jewish holidays than intermarried panelists (Figure 16); thus, Taglit participants were more likely to celebrate Jewish holidays than nonparticipants. However, Taglit had no independent effect on holiday celebration for intermarried panelists with children. Panelists with inmarried parents were also more likely to celebrate Jewish holidays.

Figure 15. Mean Jewish holiday scale score by Taglit participation, (in)marriage, and parental intermarriage (panelists without children).



Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a linear regression of Jewish holiday scale score on age, Taglit participation, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 41 & 42 in Technical Appendix B.

What Panelists Say About Jewish Holidays

Jewish holidays were by far the biggest source of memorable Jewish experiences: 40 percent of panelists mentioned a Jewish holiday experience as their most memorable Jewish experience in the past year:

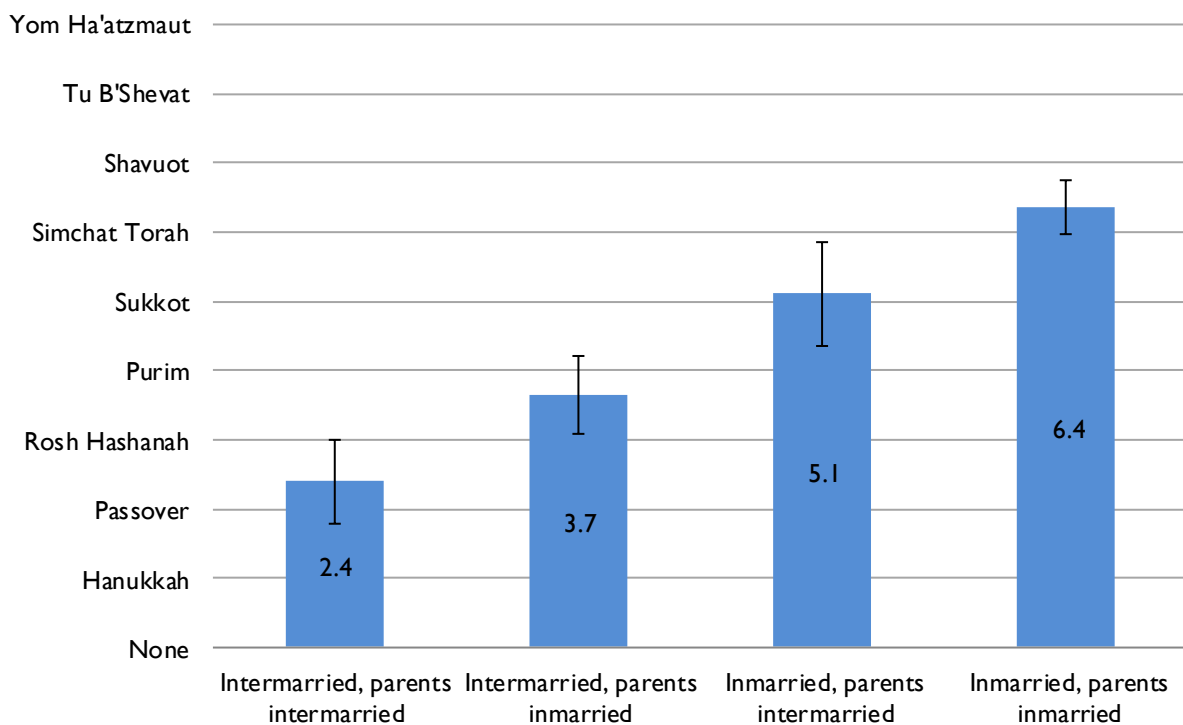
"I planned a 'Freedom Seder,' co-sponsored by my school's Black Students Association and Jewish Students Association, in which we invited all the various student affinity groups to participate and which was attended by over 150 people." (male, age 26)

"My most memorable Jewish experience was being at my girlfriend's family's seder for Passover. She comes from a Kurdish background. It was very unique and special to me coming from an American Jewish/Ashkenazi background." (male, age 33)

"I hosted the (Yom Kippur) break fast, and after hosting Rosh Hashanah dinner night the year prior, I am officially in the rotation between my mother, aunts, and in-laws." (female, age 34)

"Purim with my daughter. This was the first year she understood some of the story and she loved talking about how Esther was brave and saved the Jewish people. Celebrating all of the holidays was more fun this year because she was starting to understand and participate." (female, age 36)

Figure 16. Mean Jewish holiday scale score by parental intermarriage and inmarriage (panelists with children).



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a linear regression of Jewish holiday scale score on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimates for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 43 & 44 in Technical Appendix B.

More than half (57 percent) of panelists with a non-Jewish spouse had a Christmas tree in their home in December 2012. Among panelists with a non-Jewish spouse, parental intermarriage was a significant predictor of having a Christmas tree, and Taglit participation was not related to having a Christmas tree (see Table 45 in Technical Appendix B).

Keeping Kosher

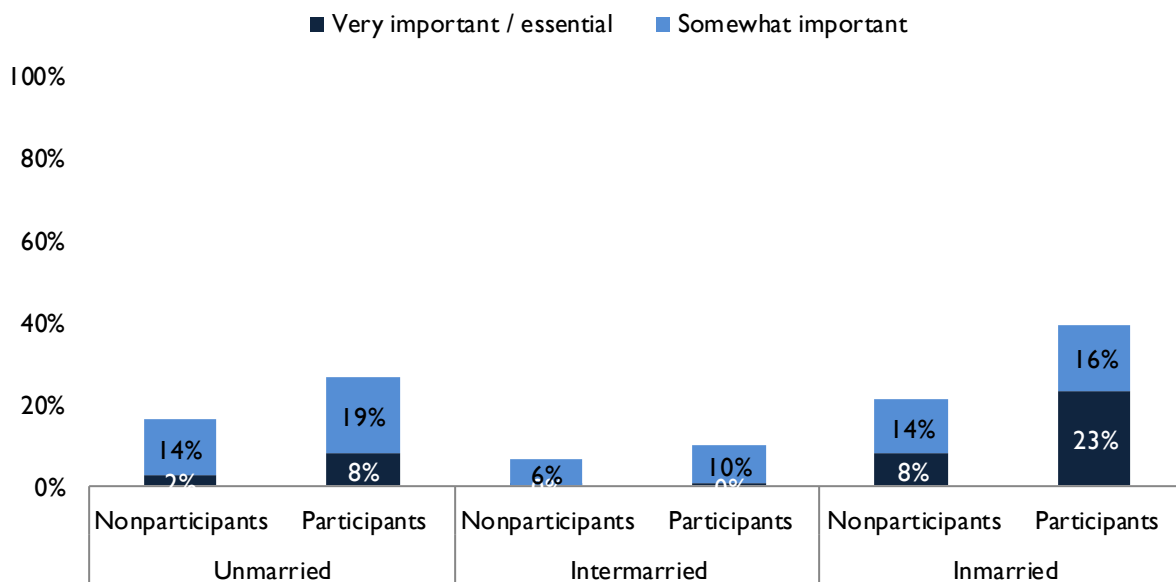
Panelists were asked how important it is to them to keep kosher. Among panelists without children, the inmarried were more likely to say that keeping kosher was important than the unmarried, who in turn were more likely to say that keeping kosher was important than the intermarried. Taglit participation was also positively associated with importance of keeping kosher for all three of these groups (Figure 17).

Among panelists with children, the impact of Taglit on the importance of keeping kosher is mediated by its effect on inmarriage. Inmarried panelists were more likely to say that keeping kosher was important than intermarried panelists; thus, Taglit participants were more likely than nonparticipants to say that keeping kosher was important (Figure 18). However, Taglit had no independent effect on importance of keeping kosher for panelists with children.

PJ Library

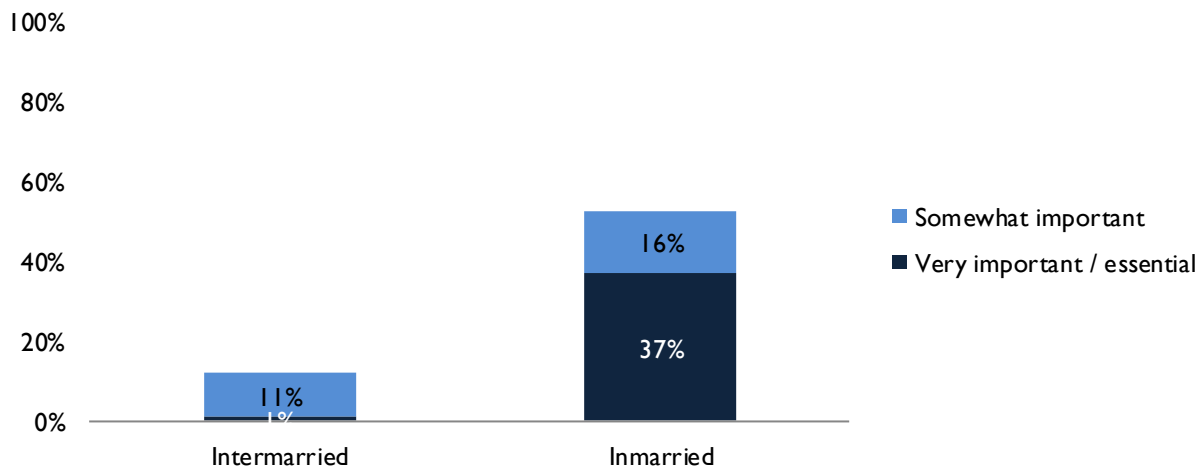
PJ Library is a program that mails free Jewish children’s literature and music to families with young children every month.²¹ It aims to encourage parents to share Jewish stories with their children and to enhance families’ Jewish identity. Among panelists with children, the inmarried had a 39 percent probability of signing up for PJ Library, compared to a 17

Figure 17. Importance of keeping kosher by Taglit participation and (in)marriage (panelists without children).



Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of importance of keeping kosher on age, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 46 & 47 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 18. Importance of keeping kosher by inmarriage (panelists with children).



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of importance of keeping kosher on age and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimate for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 48 & 49 in Technical Appendix B.

percent probability for the intermarried. Taglit has a positive impact on signing up for PJ Library, again mediated by Taglit's impact on inmarriage (see Table 50 & 51 in Technical Appendix B). Parental intermarriage is not a significant predictor of signing up for PJ Library. Notably, several panelists listed reading PJ Library books with their children as their most memorable Jewish experience in the past year.

Jewish Friendships

Panelists were asked what proportion of their close friends are Jewish. Panelists with intermarried parents and non-Jewish spouses were both less likely to have close friends who are Jewish (Figure 19). Taglit participants were more likely to have close friends who are Jewish, regardless of parental intermarriage or (in)marriage.

What Panelists Say About Friendships

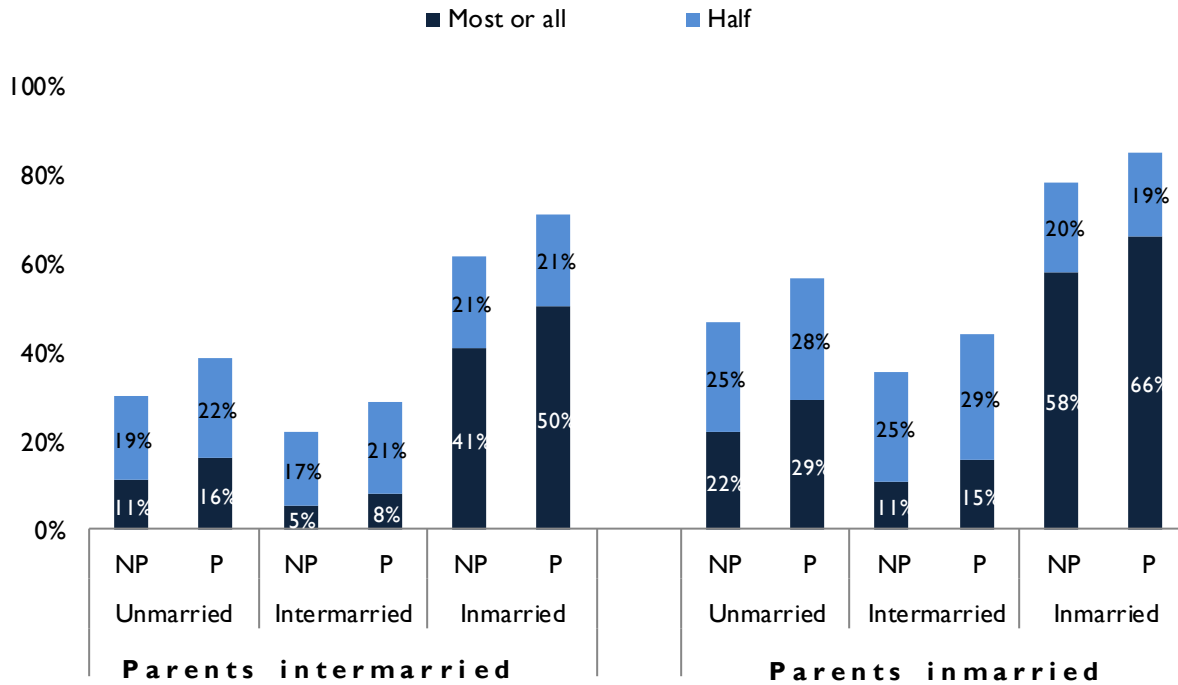
Jewish friends can be catalysts for Jewish experiences. Overall, 12 percent of panelists mentioned a friend when describing their most memorable Jewish experience. Taglit participants were more likely than nonparticipants to mention a friend (controlling for age and parental intermarriage). Some experiences with Jewish friends were:

"Hosting a Passover seder for ten of our friends. It was a wonderful time and we were able to teach a few people the story of Exodus." (female, age 27)

"I had a long talk with my best friend (also Jewish) on Yom Kippur and we decided that spending the holiday reflecting with family and friends was more important than anything we could learn in services. Both of us decided to try to find a congregation this year that felt more like home and less like an obligation." (female, age 31)

"Sitting in the empty sanctuary of my synagogue, watching sun shining through the stained glass, as I waited for my friend's conversion ceremony to begin." (female, age 31)

Figure 19. Proportion of close friends who are Jewish by Taglit participation, (in)marriage, and parental intermarriage.



Note: Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of proportion of close friends who are Jewish on age, parental intermarriage, (in)marriage, and Taglit participation. Age held at 30. See Tables 52 & 53 in Technical Appendix B.

Jewish Communal Engagement

Engagement in Jewish communal life is a critical component of Jewish identity for many individuals. Analyses of Jewish communal engagement are also shown separately for panelists with and without children, due to the strong connection between having a child and involvement with Jewish communal life (Sheskin & Kotler-Berkowitz, 2007).

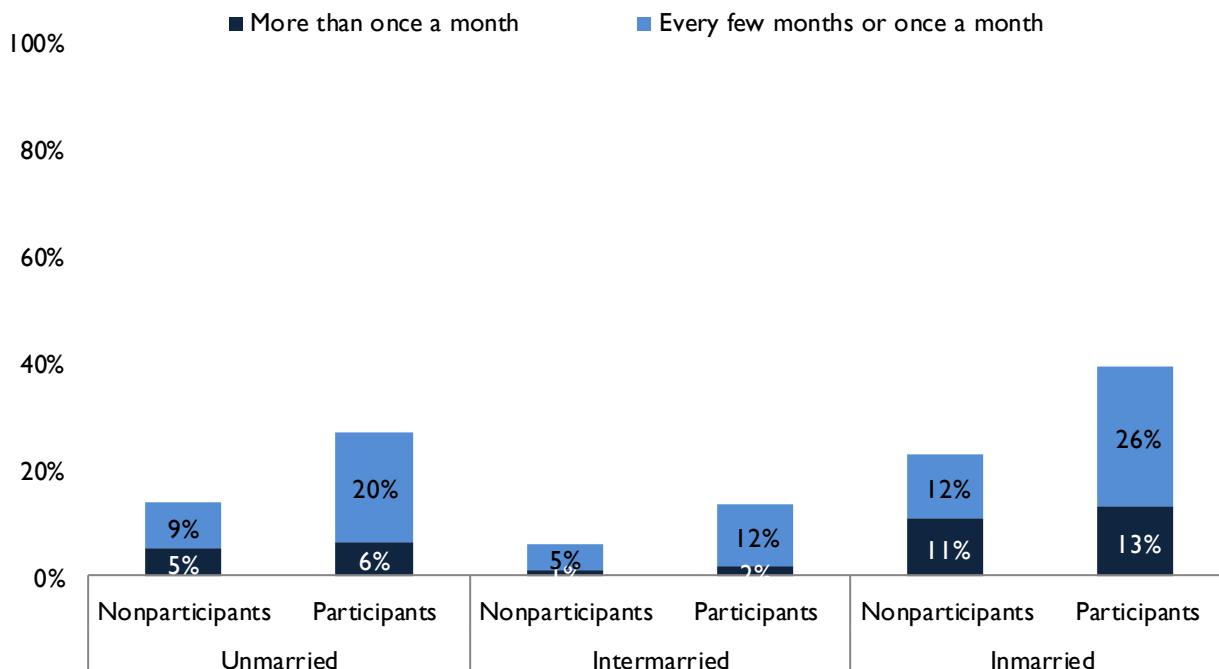
Religious Service Attendance & Synagogue Membership

Among panelists without children, Taglit participants were more likely to attend Jewish religious services (Figure 20) and were marginally more likely to belong to a synagogue, temple, minyan, havurah, or other Jewish congregation (see Table 56 in

Technical Appendix B). The intermarried were less likely to belong to a synagogue and to attend Jewish religious services, but the impact of Taglit was evident among the intermarried, as well. Parental intermarriage did not have an independent effect on synagogue membership or religious service attendance for those without children.

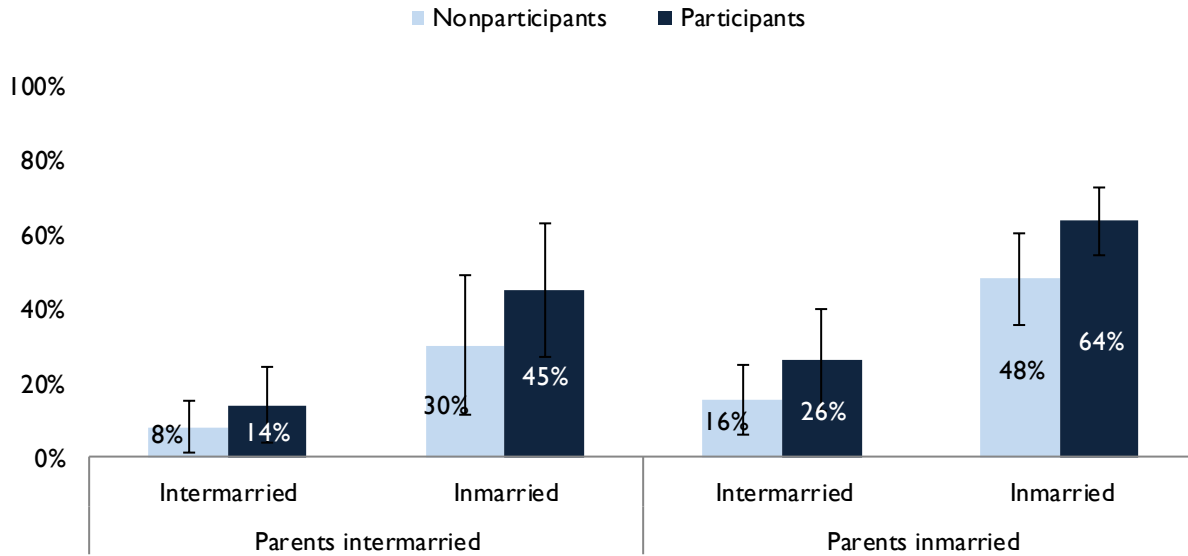
The results are somewhat more complicated for those with children. Having a Jewish spouse, having inmarried parents, and participating in Taglit were all positive independent predictors of belonging to a synagogue (Figure 21). For religious service attendance, parental inmarriage had no independent effect, and the effect of Taglit was mediated by inmarriage (Figure 22).

Figure 20. Religious service attendance by Taglit participation and (in)marriage (panelists without children).



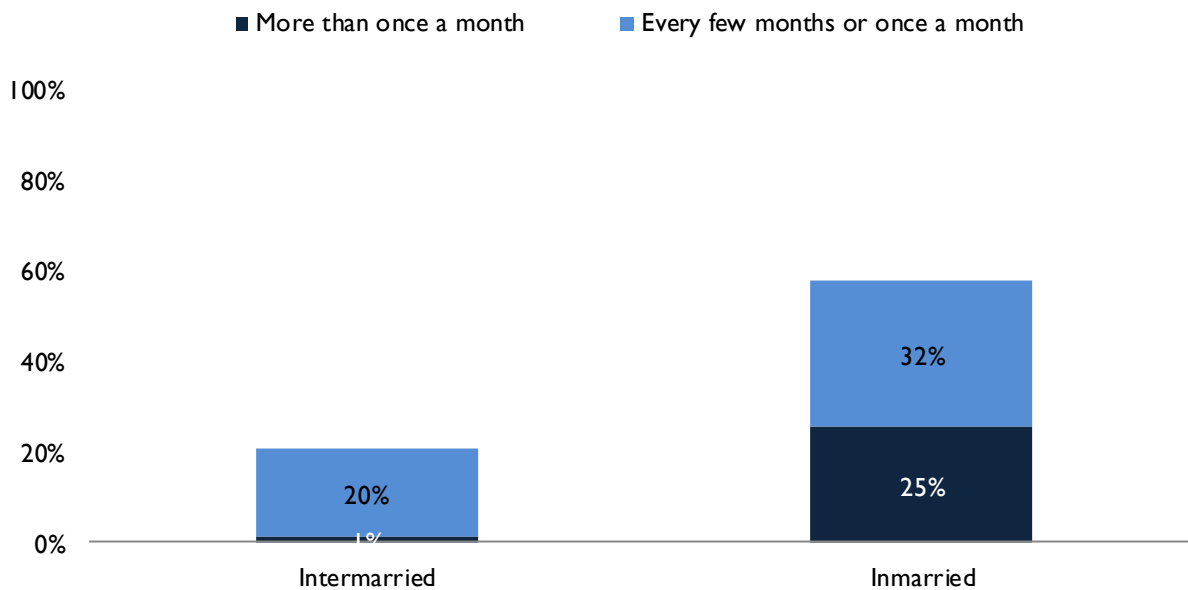
Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of religious service attendance on age, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. See Tables 54 & 55 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 21. Synagogue membership by Taglit participation, inmarriage, and parental intermarriage (panelists with children).



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a logistic regression of synagogue membership on age, parental intermarriage, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimates for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 57 & 58 in Technical Appendix B.

Figure 22. Religious service attendance by inmarriage (panelists with children).



Note: Panelists with children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a multinomial logistic regression of religious service attendance on age and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimate for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 59 & 60 in Technical Appendix B.

Volunteering

The majority of panelists (60 percent) did some volunteer activities in the past year. Only a minority (22 percent) did any volunteer activities under Jewish sponsorship.

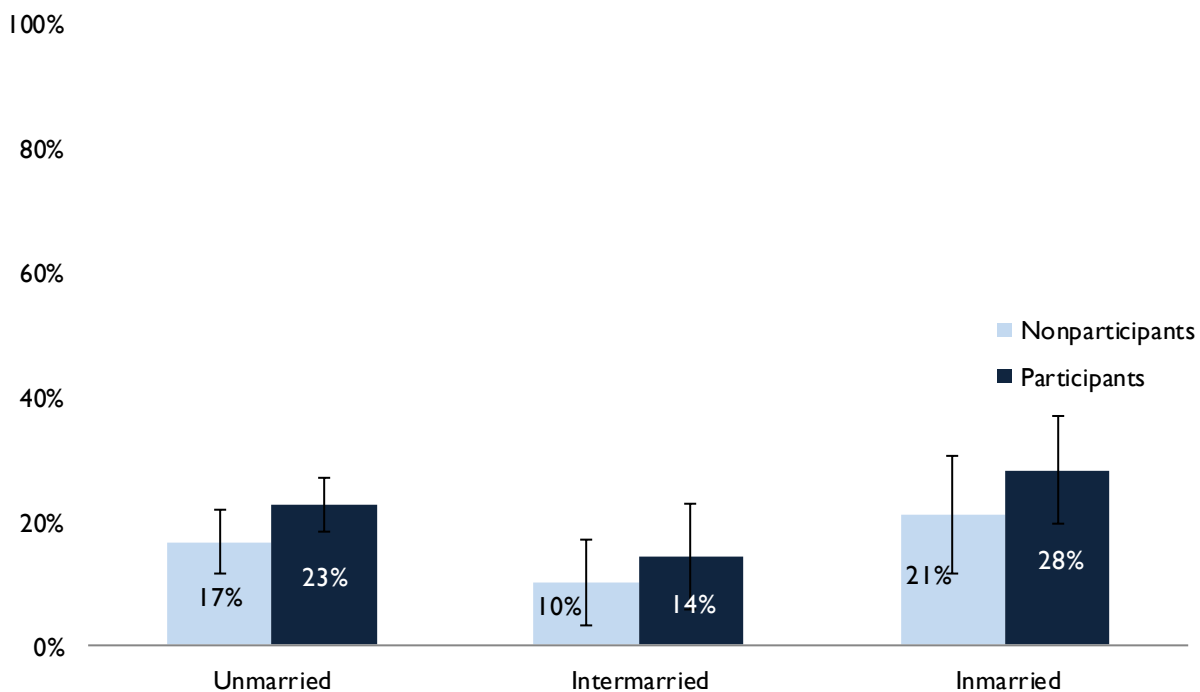
Among those panelists without children, having a Jewish spouse had a significant, positive impact on likelihood of volunteering under Jewish sponsorship, and Taglit participation had an additional, marginally significant, positive impact on likelihood of volunteering under Jewish sponsorship (Figure 23). Parental intermarriage was not a significant predictor of volunteering under Jewish sponsorship for those without children. For panelists with children, Taglit participation had no impact on likelihood of volunteering under Jewish sponsorship.

Jewish Education of Children

JFP panelists' children are still very young. Among panelists who have children, the vast majority (82 percent) have not yet reached school age. It is therefore not yet possible to investigate whether panelists' children will attend Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, or overnight camps.

It is possible, however, to investigate early childhood education and childcare choices. Panelists whose oldest child had not yet reached school age were asked whether that child attended a daycare, nursery school, or preschool. Overall, 36 percent of infants and toddlers and 83 percent of preschool-age children attended some sort of daycare or school; other children were cared for at home, by a parent, nanny, or other caregiver.

Figure 23. Volunteering under Jewish sponsorship by Taglit participation and (in)marriage (panelists without children).

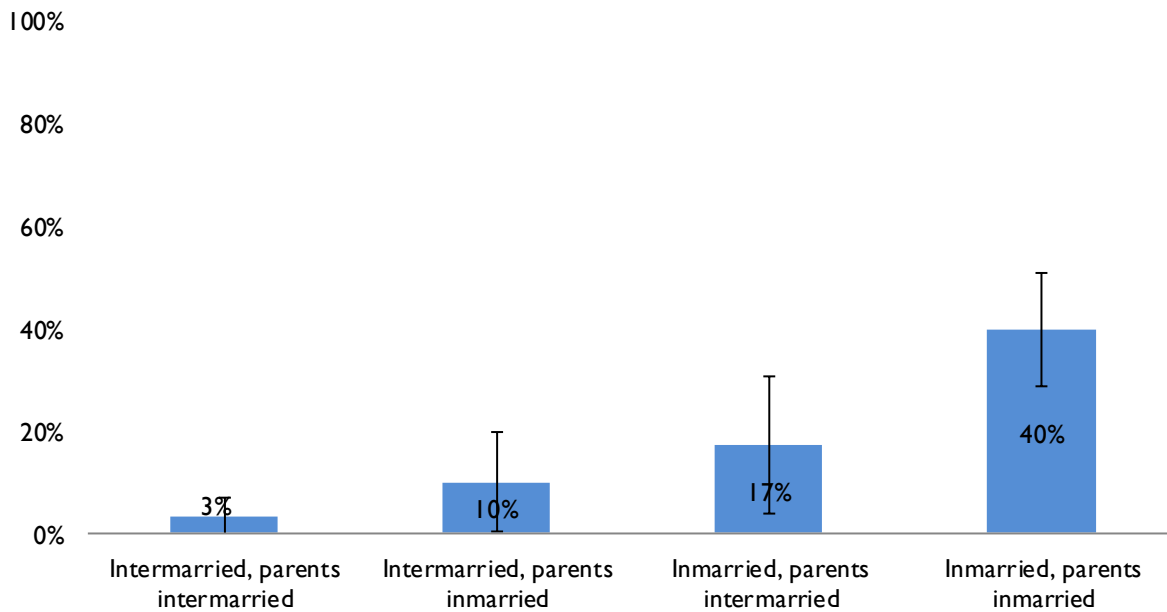


Note: Panelists without children only. Bars show estimated margins based on a binary logistic regression of volunteering under Jewish sponsorship on age, Taglit participation, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Taglit's impact significant at $p < .1$. See Tables 61 & 62 in Technical Appendix B.

Panelists whose children attended some sort of daycare or school were asked whether the daycare or school was Jewish. Inmarried panelists were more likely than intermarried panelists to choose a Jewish daycare or school for their young children; panelists with

inmarried parents were also more likely to choose a Jewish daycare or school for their young children (Figure 24). Taglit participants were more likely to choose a Jewish daycare or school, but this was again purely a result of Taglit's impact on inmarriage.

Figure 24. Oldest child's daycare or school is Jewish by inmarriage and parental intermarriage.



Note: Panelists with children whose oldest child attends a daycare, nursery school, or preschool only. Bars show estimated margins based on a binary logistic regression of Jewish daycare or school on age, parental intermarriage, and (in)marriage. Age held at 30. Estimates for unmarried respondents with children not shown. See Tables 63 & 64 in Technical Appendix B.

What Panelists Say About Jewish Community

Seven percent of respondents mentioned Jewish communal practice when describing their most memorable Jewish experience in the past year.

"All of Brooklyn gathered for Simchat Torah in the streets. It felt like we revitalized the hub of Jewish life from back in the day. Only this time it's pluralistic, folks from all backgrounds—men and women holding and dancing with the Torah. So powerful." (female, age 32)

"Going to shul with my terminally ill father. Reconnecting with the community through him. Remembering its importance." (female, age 34)

"On-and-off for the past few years, I have run potluck "3rd" seders for Jewish 20-somethings wherever I have lived. This year, having moved to Boston for the first time. I was very happy to see not only a few of my friends there, but they were inviting others and trying to grow a program that most of them had even never seen before. It was truly meaningful." (male, age 28)

Discussion

The present study was conducted at the same time that the Pew Research Center was collecting data for its 2013 study of American Jews. Among Pew respondents, half of the 18 to 29-year-olds who had been to Israel had gone on a Taglit trip. Pew found that Taglit participants were more emotionally attached to Israel than their counterparts, echoing the results of earlier Taglit evaluation studies (Saxe et al., 2008). The number of married Taglit alumni in the Pew study, however, is too small to assess the impact of Taglit on family outcomes. Although the Pew study provides a detailed snapshot of the current contours of the American Jewish community, it does not provide much information on how the character of the community and its members might change over time. The present study fills this vital gap. Some changes are particularly likely given the hundreds of thousands of American Jewish young adults who will have had a Taglit experience by the end of the decade.

The central findings of the fourth wave of data collection from the Jewish Futures Project validate and extend the results from earlier waves of the study (Saxe et al., 2009, 2011, 2012), particularly in relation to marriage and family formation. Panel members who applied to Taglit in 2001-06 are now, on average, 30 to 31 years old, and more than 40 percent of them are married. Among those who are married, Taglit participants are significantly more likely to be married to Jews as compared to those who did not participate. A similar pattern is emerging among those who are unmarried but who are cohabiting with a significant other.

What is, perhaps, most striking about the Wave 4 findings is that the distinct impact of Taglit on the marriage patterns of adult children of intermarried parents is now evident. Given the Pew Research Center's findings about the increasing prevalence of children of intermarriage, the fact that Taglit is associated with a substantial increase in the probability of marrying a Jew even among this group is of particular relevance. That an intervention, which "works" for children of inmarriage, also has a similar or greater impact on the children of intermarriage is remarkable.

Taglit's impact on inmarriage also has a number of ripple effects, which contribute to higher levels of Jewish engagement in diverse areas. Those who are married to Jews are more likely to raise their children Jewish, have a *brit milah* or Jewish naming ceremony for their children, celebrate Shabbat and Jewish holidays, be members of a synagogue and attend religious services, send their children to Jewish day care, and participate in the PJ library initiative. Because Taglit increases the likelihood of marrying a Jew, it leads to higher levels of engagement across all these dimensions.

Yet, Taglit has a number of other direct effects, above and beyond its impact on marriage choices. Judaism is rich and multifaceted and it should not be surprising that young adults engage with it in diverse ways. Even for those who are unmarried or who are married to a non-Jew, Taglit is associated with celebrating Shabbat and Jewish holidays, having more Jewish friends, and marginally higher rates of synagogue

membership and religious service attendance. Among participants who are intermarried (as well as nonparticipants), a substantial proportion (more than one third) were married under Jewish auspices, by a sole Jewish officiant. The group of intermarried panelists with children is too small to be able to assess the impact on raising children Jewish, although there is some evidence that intermarried couples tend to make decisions about the religious upbringing of their children later in life (Sasson, Saxe, & Kadushin, under review). It is therefore possible that a Taglit impact will surface in future waves of the JFP.

The present findings indicate that Taglit has substantial long-term impact, notably on inmarriage rates. Although the level of impact has been consistent over four waves of data collection, there are no guarantees that the magnitude of the effects will be sustained, and some evidence suggests that the dramatic effects may moderate over time. In the cohort of 2001-06 Taglit participants who are part of our panel, impact is most pronounced among those who married at a younger age, and, as a group, Taglit participants remain less likely to marry. It is therefore possible that Taglit's impact on inmarriage for this cohort may diminish over time.

Other factors, however, may counter that trend. Taglit is already the largest educational intervention in the Jewish world, currently sending under its auspices more than 35,000 North American participants to Israel per year. It continues to have a long waitlist of applicants (Saxe et al., 2014). If Taglit continues to operate at or near this scale, then, along with participation in other Israel educational programs, a majority of all Jewish young adults will have had an educational experience in Israel. Taglit's impact will be

evident then, not only among members of the JFP panel, but also among more recent cohorts of Taglit participants. Perhaps most importantly, recent Taglit cohorts include a larger proportion of individuals whose parents are intermarried (Saxe et al., 2014). If the magnitude of Taglit's impact on this group is larger, then the overall effect of Taglit on the contours of American Jewish life will be even greater.

In addition, more recent alumni are returning to communities that include more Taglit alumni and have larger social networks of young adults interested in sustaining their Jewish identities. At the same time, the environment for sustaining Taglit's effects has been enhanced since the time when our panelists participated: in particular, the follow-up initiatives that seek out Taglit alumni including Birthright Next (Chertok, Sasson, & Saxe, 2009) and IACT (Koren & Einhorn, 2010). In this context, it is possible that large-scale participation in Taglit may lead to a "tipping point" (Gladwell, 2000) that produces a major, community-wide shift in American Jewry.

The current iteration of the Jewish Futures Project captures a snapshot of the early generation of Taglit applicants, now seven to 12 years after they applied to/participated in Taglit. Many have married and begun to form families, others are forming life partnerships, and all are involved in a process of making key decisions about the path that their lives will take. The findings of the present wave of the study are consistent with earlier reports and provide additional confirmation of Taglit's transformative impact. The results also suggest that Taglit has the potential, not only to impact the lives of its participants, but also to shape the contours of the American Jewish community.

We began studying our panel when they were emerging adults (Arnett, 2000) and, as with any dynamic group, we expected them to change over time. They are, even at age 30 and beyond, still changing and there is much left to understand about their life trajectories. While the Pew report on American Jewry gave a glimpse into contemporary Jewish life and the wide range of ways in which American Jews identify, the Jewish Futures Project opens a window into the lives of the next generation of Jews. The study underscores the potential young Jews have to embrace and be engaged in Jewish life. We want to be able to

understand these patterns as they emerge. We will do so by continuing to follow our panel members as they raise children, pursue careers, and contribute to society. We also hope to learn more about those who marry later, as well as those who do not partner. To extend the generalizability of our findings, we will also begin to interview later cohorts of Taglit participants. Understanding the factors that influence the life choices of young adults touched by Taglit will tell us much about today's millennials as well as point us toward future possibilities for American Jewry.

Notes

¹ For a detailed description of evaluation of contact potential see Technical Appendix A.

² Response rates for this study were calculated using the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) standard definitions. The response rate is defined as the number of complete interviews with reporting units divided by the number of eligible reporting units in the sample. Response Rate 3 (RR3) estimates what proportion of cases of unknown eligibility are actually eligible and includes them in the denominator. Response Rate 4 (RR4), reported here, allocates cases of unknown eligibility as in RR3 but also includes partial interviews (AAPOR, 2009).

³ Panelists were asked “Were you raised by...” with options of (1) Two Jews, (2) A Jew and a non-Jew, (3) Two non-Jews, (4) A Jew, and (5) A non-Jew. Panelists who said they were raised by “Two Jews” or “A Jew” were classified as children of inmarriage, and panelists who said they were raised by “A Jew and a non-Jew” were classified as children of intermarriage. Panelists who said they were raised by “Two non-Jews” or “A non-Jew” (N=41) were assumed to be adult converts to Judaism and were excluded from the analysis.

⁴ In some cases, reported results are significant at the 90 percent confidence level. These results are noted as marginally significant.

⁵ Two hundred responses were coded by two unique raters, and the Cohen’s κ coefficient measure of inter-rater agreement was calculated. All codes had near-perfect inter-rater agreement ($\kappa > 0.80$). The remaining responses were coded by a single rater.

⁶ Response categories are not exclusive.

⁷ Response categories are not exclusive.

⁸ See pages 8-9 for a discussion of age in the calculations of estimated margins.

⁹ JFP panelists were asked to indicate the importance of different life goals. The proportion of panelists who rated the ten life goals as one of the most important things is as follows: being a parent - 55%, being married - 44%, being successful in a career or profession - 37%, making the world a better place - 31%, having lots of free time to relax and do things you want to do - 26%, helping other people who are in need - 26%, owning your own home - 20%, being very well off financially - 17%, being part of a Jewish community - 14%, and living a religious life - 8%.

¹⁰ Married panelists were asked three questions about their spouses’ parents and religious identification: “Was your spouse raised by...” with options of (1) Two Jews, (2) A Jew and a non-Jew, (3) Two non-Jews, (4) A Jew, and (5) A non-Jew; and “Was your spouse raised...” and “Is your spouse currently...” with options of (1) Jewish, (2) Christian, (3) No religion, and (4) Other. The “Other” option included a text box. Spouses who were currently “Jewish” were considered Jews; spouses who were currently “Christian” or another religion were considered non-Jews. Spouses who were currently “No religion” and were raised by “Two Jews” or “A Jew” were considered Jews. Spouses who were currently “No religion” and were raised by “Two non-Jews” or “A non-

Jew” were considered non-Jews. Spouses who were currently “No religion” and were raised by “A Jew and a non-Jew” were considered Jews if they were raised “Jewish” or “No religion” and non-Jews otherwise.

¹¹ Excludes 41 panelists who were already married when they applied to Taglit.

¹² As is often the case in statistical analysis, the model described in Figure 5 could have been specified in a number of different ways. Regardless of the method chosen, the substantive findings discussed in the report remain the same. Tables 10-15 in Technical Appendix B present these alternative models (and comparable estimates derived from them) alongside the model used to generate the results in Figure 5, which is described in Tables 8 & 9 in Technical Appendix B.

¹³ Thirty-two non-orthodox married respondents were incorrectly not asked whether or not their spouse went on Taglit. To allow for a conservative estimate, all of these cases were considered to have been married to non-alumni in the reported analysis. See Table 16 in Technical Appendix B.

¹⁴ A previous report indicated that Taglit had a greater impact on inmarriage for those who went on the trip at an earlier age (Saxe, Sasson et al., 2011). In the current data, age at trip is not significantly related to the strength of Taglit’s impact in inmarriage. It is possible that, in the previous analysis, age at trip was simply a proxy for age at marriage.

¹⁵ Individuals who are in civil unions (n=5) are included in the overall analyses of marriage.

¹⁶ Excludes two percent of unmarried respondents (n=16) who do not plan to marry.

¹⁷ See note 9.

¹⁸ One panelist had a Jewish naming ceremony for a boy that did not include circumcision. That case is excluded from this analysis.

¹⁹ http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hestat/circumcision_2013/Circumcision_2013.htm

²⁰ Excludes four percent of childless respondents (n=57) who do not plan to have children.

²¹ See www.pjlibrary.org.

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