

REPORT SERIES ON THE GEN08 SURVEY

JEWISH CONTINUITY

OVERVIEW

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REPORT

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Overview

THE KEY ISSUE

Today Australia's Jewish communities, like other Diaspora communities, face significant mid-term risks to continuity. Jewish Australians have a proud record of achievement, both in their contribution to Australian society and in their ability to nurture a thriving and diverse communal life. However, the current balance in resource allocation – the mix of institutions and programs – is unlikely to be the most effective in meeting emerging challenges.

The trend of structural change within the Jewish community is at best neutral and at worst negative with regard to the prospects of Jewish continuity. There are also concerns with regard to attitudinal change. In this report the community is considered in terms of three segments: core, middle and periphery. Jewish value transmission from one generation to the next is strongest within the core. The core is an effectively functioning segment of the community, sure of its values, constant in its beliefs, resilient in its capacity to withstand challenges of the external environment. Within the middle segment, Jewish identity is challenged, but strong traditional beliefs and linkages remain, while on the periphery, linkages are weaker and Jewish teachings play little or no role. One immediate need in community planning is to provide additional resources and programs to the middle, to foster and strengthen integrated forms of Jewish life. To realise their potential, new initiatives require funding at the level of excellence which is currently found within the day schools.

When drafts of this report were discussed during the consultative process prior to its finalisation, a common reaction was that it contains little that is new, that it deals with problems long recognised. Such a reaction prompts two responses. First, if there are problems long recognised, what attempts have been made to deal with them over the last decade – and with what success? Second, contrary to assertion, it is likely that the scale of challenges facing the community are inadequately realised. This report's claim to 'newness' is based on its systematic examination of inter-connected variables. This leads to consideration of what may result from the cumulative impact of accelerating change. It is with this in mind that the conclusion regarding the current mix of institutions and programs is made. Problems are best dealt with from the position of strength that characterises today's communities.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate evidence bearing on future Jewish life in Australia, with particular reference to the Melbourne and Sydney communities. It is based on a close examination of Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) census data, the findings of the Gen08 survey that was completed in Australia by over 5,840 respondents (**one of the largest surveys conducted in the Diaspora**), focus group discussions conducted over three years and consultation with communal organisational leaders. The reliability of the sample was established by matching the respondent profile against 2006 census data and by comparing the pattern of response in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. Reliability is indicated by the consistency of response.

The current balance in resource allocation – the mix of institutions and programs – is unlikely to be the most effective in meeting emerging challenges.

The project parallels studies undertaken in a number of countries, which aim to provide evidence-based and clearly thought-through analyses for planning at what is perceived by many to be a critical juncture in the history of the Jewish people. In the words of a recent American commentator, Manfred Gerstenfeld, ‘The battle for the future of a vibrant ... Jewry begins with understanding the present better and continues with assessing as best as possible what the future might bring.’

There is a range of possible definitions of Jewish continuity. Judaism today exists along a spectrum of beliefs and practices, so that understanding of issues related to continuity differs according to where one is located along the spectrum. This study explores the various meanings of Judaism along this spectrum and seeks to identify potential developments that will impact on Jewish continuity in Australia over the next ten to twenty years. Separate sections of the full report consider structural and attitudinal changes that are at the centre of these developments.

Today the Australian Jewish community is thriving, but like other Diaspora communities it faces significant risks to the continuity of Jewish life. This is against a background of changing economic and demographic trends and shifting attitudes. This report demonstrates that there are substantial challenges to the long-term transmission of strong Jewish values and identity for which there are no simple ‘quick fixes’.

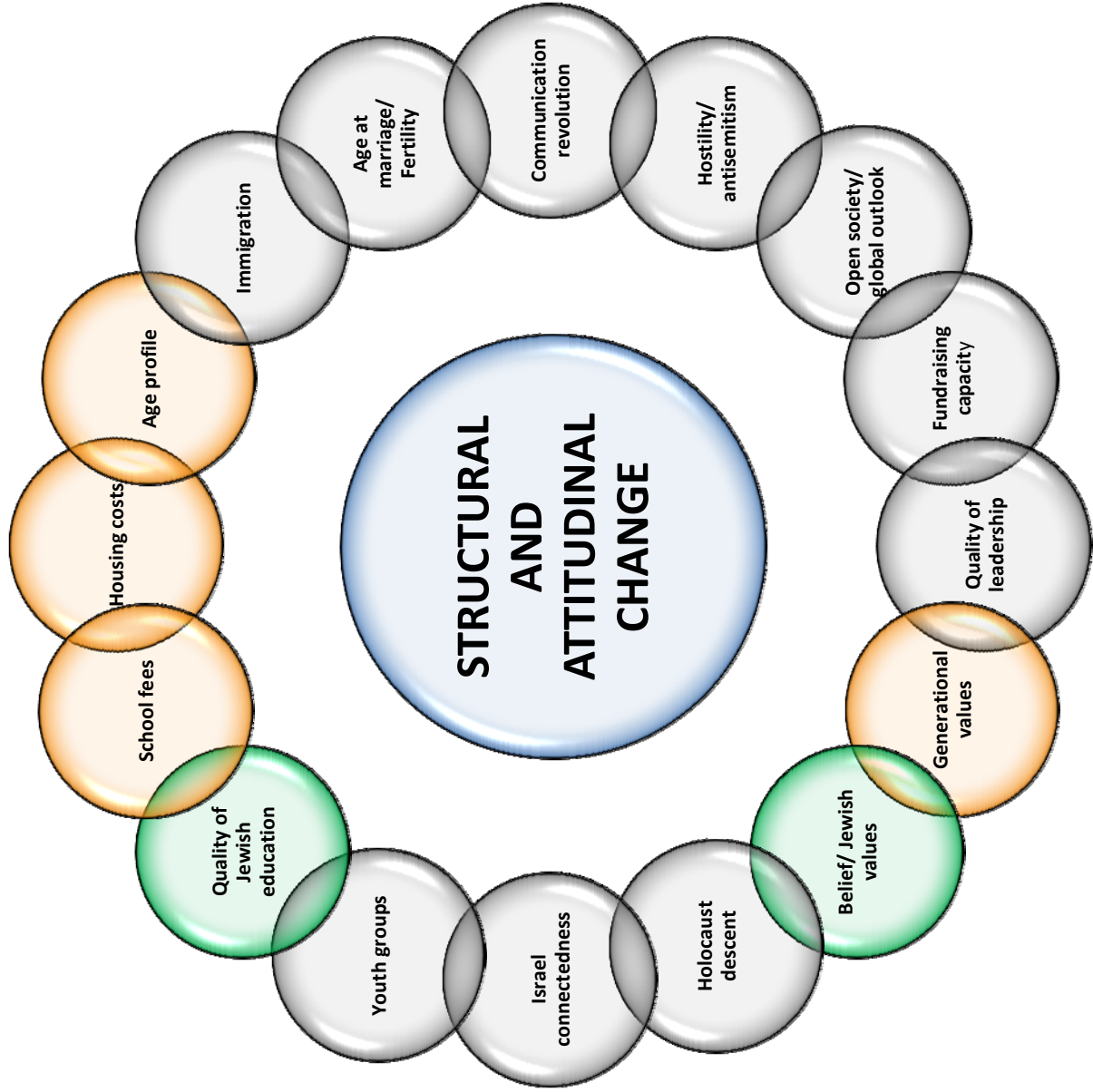
The findings show that when considered at a broad level, structural trends are at best neutral and at worst have a negative impact on Jewish continuity. When consideration of values is added, summarised in the following diagram (Figure 1), there is indication that:

- In at least four areas, the direction of change is negative (most clearly evident in housing costs, schools fees, an ageing population, and generational change);
- In others, it is neutral but tending to the negative (for example, effectiveness of secular youth groups, Israel connectedness);
- Positive change is significant but limited to two variables (adherence to Jewish beliefs and values, quality of Jewish (informal) education in some Melbourne day schools).

The consideration of values and identity in the attitudinal section of the report provides insight into the transmission of Jewish values across the generations, with particular reference to Jewish Australians aged 18–34. It seeks to provide understanding of the factors that most impact on Jewish identity.

Examination of survey data utilising a range of different methodologies establishes that **identity formation is best understood in terms of a number of inter-related factors.** The five key factors are: a young person’s home environment; school attended; form of Judaism/ synagogue affiliation; youth group involvement; and experience of Israel. The findings show that **the more consistent and integrated these factors, the stronger one’s Jewish identity.** In isolation, individual factors such as schooling or a visit to Israel will generally have limited impact. It is the extent of coherence or synergy between the five key factors that provides the strongest basis for Jewish continuity.

Figure 1: Structural and attitudinal change impacting on the Jewish community: Direction of change positive (green), neutral (grey), and negative (orange)



It follows that when a person is socialised with coherent Jewish values, within a community of supportive and like-minded people, the outcome is likely to be a strong Jewish identity. Attending a Jewish day school and linked youth movement and synagogue, visiting Israel and being involved in Jewish causes and activities are all part and parcel of developing a strong Jewish identity. **The glue that appears to bind such experiences is the home.** This integration of Jewish life can take place in a religious or secular context, but currently is most evident in an Orthodox environment.

Multiple findings support this conclusion. While the following discussion uses two key survey questions for the purpose of illustration, this conclusion rests on data analysis undertaken over many months, which included the development of identity scales using the statistical procedure of factor analysis.

Questions in the Gen08 survey asked respondents about their sense of being a Jewish person. The first question asked: *‘How important is being Jewish in your life today’* (question 25); of the response options, the strongest was *‘very important’*. The second question asked: *‘Which of the following best expresses your sense of being Jewish’* (question 83), with the strongest response *‘it is a central element of my life’*. The second question proved to be more discriminating, in that a smaller proportion indicated the strongest level of agreement: 65% indicated that being Jewish was *‘very important’* in their lives, but only 34% that it was *‘a central element of my life’*.

I As a first step, answers to the two questions were correlated with the ‘religious attitudes in the home’ in which the respondent was raised. In the attempt to understand current trends in the main centres of Jewish life, analysis was limited to respondents aged 18-34 and resident in Melbourne or Sydney.

Among those whose upbringing was Orthodox, more than 50% indicated that being Jewish was ‘a central element’ in their lives, compared to 33% or less for the other forms of Jewish identification. The response to the question *‘How important is being Jewish in your life today’* found division was between the Orthodox and Traditional on the one hand and Conservative, Progressive and secular on the other. (Table 1)

Table 1: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with Jewish identity. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?					
	Ultra/Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious	Total
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? ‘It is a central element of my life’	73%	53%	33%	19%	11%	34%
How important is being Jewish in your life today? ‘Very important’	85%	80%	70%	45%	42%	65%
N (unweighted)	81	283	524	170	261	1319

II The values of the home predict Jewish identity. They do so because they are the key to the presence or absence of a range of reinforcing values and associations which impact on identity: form of Judaism, schooling and youth group involvement, and Israel experience. Coherence of Jewish values and associations is strongest among the Orthodox. Thus the highest proportion attending Jewish day schools are from Ultra-Orthodox or Strictly Orthodox homes, followed by Modern Orthodox and Traditional. Frequency of Israel visits follows a similar pattern. (Table 2)

Table 2: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with day school attendance, youth group participation and Israel experience. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Question and response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?				
	Ultra/Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ Not religious
Number of years at Jewish day school: all/ most	80%	69%	54%	27%	32%
Jewish school attended – most common responses	Yeshivah Adass Israel Beth Rivkah	Liebler Yavneh Mount Scopus Beth Rivkah	Mount Scopus Bialik	Mount Scopus Bialik King David	Bialik King David Mount Scopus
	(Insufficient respondents)	Moriah Masada	Moriah Masada	(Insufficient respondents)	Moriah Masada
Youth group participation for three or more years	46%	59%	42%	44%	26%
Youth group attended – most common response	Chabad Youth	B'nei Akiva	Habonim	Netzer	Other
Visited Israel twice or more	77%	79%	69%	46%	35%
Participated in Israel program as part of an Israel trip – most common response	Religious study	Shnat	Did not attend; Shnat	Did not attend	Did not attend

III The impact of Jewish day school education is often discussed as a key influence on identity, differentiating those without Jewish day school experience. To explore this issue, the outlook and learning of graduates of two streams of Jewish education – Orthodox and mainstream Jewish – were compared with those who did not attend a Jewish school.

This comparison indicates that **the impact of Jewish schools is most evident in areas of the curriculum where they offer specific teaching and the non-Jewish schools do not, or do not to the same extent.** Thus those attending Jewish day schools indicate better knowledge of Hebrew and feel more connected to Israel. **School is also significant in shaping social networks:** those who attend Jewish schools are **much more likely to have Jewish friends.**

The values of the home predict Jewish identity. They do so because they are the key to the presence or absence of a range of reinforcing associations which impact on identity.

Those attending Jewish day schools are more likely to indicate that being Jewish is *‘very important’* in their lives. **But the more discriminating question (*‘being Jewish is a central element of my life’*) indicates that there is greater difference between the two streams of Jewish education than between those who attended a mainstream Jewish school and those who did not** (compare [A]-[B] and [B]-[C] in Table 3). Those attending a mainstream Jewish school are also much less concerned about intermarriage than those who receive an Orthodox education.

Table 3: School grouping cross-tabulated with religious identity. Respondents born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18–34, Melbourne and Sydney (Sydney results indicated in brackets)¹

Question and response	Secondary school attended			Difference (% points)	
	[A] Attended Orthodox Jewish secondary school (3/+ years)	[B] Attended mainstream Jewish secondary school (3/+ years)	[C] Did not attend a Jewish secondary school	[A]–[B]	[B]–[C]
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? <i>‘It is a central element of my life’</i>	74%	31% (34%)	16% (23%)	43% (40%)	15% (11%)
How important is being Jewish in your life today? <i>‘Very important’</i>	87%	60% (71%)	50% (54%)	27% (16%)	10% (17%)
When you hear of intermarriage in the community how do you feel? <i>‘Feel some regret’, ‘very considerable regret’.</i>	85%	48% (63%)	28% (43%)	37% (22%)	20% (20%)
N (unweighted)	153	280 (226)	171 (164)		

This is no more than a broad indication of the association of attitudes and schooling. But this cross-tabulation reinforces the fundamental finding related to the functioning of a range of linked variables, starting with religion of the home, which influences choice of school (rarely the result of an arbitrary decision). **Identity is thus not to be understood simply in terms of whether one attends or does not attend a Jewish school.**

IV As a final illustration, the outlook of graduates of one stream of Jewish education – mainstream Jewish in Melbourne – was cross-tabulated with religion of the home. Two large groups of survey respondents, those who define themselves as Traditional and as secular, were considered. This comparison again yields a sharp differentiation. Although respondents had a similar Jewish education, 67% from a Traditional home indicated that being Jewish is *‘very important’* in their lives, compared with 32% of those from secular homes. (Table 4)

¹ The Orthodox schools are Adass Israel, Yeshivah, Beth Rivkah and Yavneh; the Melbourne mainstream Jewish schools are Mt. Scopus, King David and Bialik. There is a clear demarcation in the data for the Melbourne Jewish school groupings: thus those indicating that being Jewish *‘is a central element of my life’* for the four Orthodox schools were (in random order), 76%, 72%, 75%, 78%; for the three mainstream Jewish schools (in random order) 24%, 40%, 12%; those indicating *‘regret’* at intermarriage were, Orthodox schools, 77%, 87%, 81%, 84%; for the three mainstream Jewish schools, 42%, 15%, 55%. The Sydney data is presented for two mainstream Orthodox schools, Moriah and Masada. There were insufficient respondents from the Orthodox Sydney schools to report findings. Please refer to section 4.3 of the Jewish Continuity Report for a full explanation. The Melbourne mainstream is a more diverse grouping than the Sydney Orthodox mainstream.

Table 4: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with selected questions on current Jewish identity. Respondents attended a mainstream Jewish secondary school for 3 or more years, born in Australia or aged ten or under on arrival, aged 18-34, Melbourne

Response	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?	
	Traditional	Secular
What best expresses your sense of being Jewish? 'It is a central element of my life'	35%	10%
How important is being Jewish in your life today? 'Very important'	67%	32%
Average score for nine questions relating to Jewish identity, Shabbat observance, knowledge of Hebrew, Zionism and Israel, and attitude to Zionism	65%	37%
N (unweighted)	154	46

The transmission of values across generations is thus understood in terms of a combination of factors, with form of religious identification of the home being the variable shaping a range of experiences and choices. **Two differing conclusions (each with validity) may be drawn from these findings.**

(A) First, it may be concluded that the key to Jewish continuity rests on degree of Orthodoxy, so solutions are to be found through wider adoption of an Orthodox life. If it could be made to work, this approach would certainly provide one solution. There is, however, little evidence in the Gen08 survey of sustained movement to Orthodox Judaism. Further, focus group discussions indicate that Orthodox schooling for those from non-Orthodox homes can serve to alienate rather than attract. As Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz has observed, 'It is impossible to motivate a child to do things or study when the parents themselves do not do the same'.

Among Traditional Jews, many of whom are located in the middle segment, 22% of those aged 18-34 indicated that they were more religious than they had been 'a few years ago', but almost the same proportion, 21%, indicated that they were less religious. Among those who identified as Orthodox, there was indication of stronger religious identity, while among the secular there was a large proportion (35%) who had become less religious.

Table 5: Religious identity today cross-tabulated with change in religious outlook. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Are you more religious or less religious today than you were a few years ago ...?	Religious identification today				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
More religious	50%	34%	22%	26%	4%
About the same	45%	45%	57%	49%	52%
Less religious	6%	20%	21%	25%	35%
Don't know/ Decline	0%	1%	0%	1%	9%
N (unweighted)	94	304	390	171	344

A closely related approach considers religion of the home. Is there evidence that a significant number of those in the middle, who had been raised in Traditional homes, are now Orthodox? The findings point to a pattern whereby (with the exception of the Ultra and Strictly Orthodox) close to 60% of those aged 18-34 maintain the religious identification of the home, with movement among the remainder both towards and away from Orthodoxy. This movement is in almost equal proportions among the Traditional: 20% now identify as Orthodox, but the same proportion, 20%, now identify as secular.

For some, the path to an Orthodox life will be the answer to Jewish continuity, but not for others. **It is the need to enhance Jewish life within this latter group, who are not attracted to Orthodoxy and who are the majority, which poses particular challenges.**

Table 6: Religious upbringing cross-tabulated with religious identity today. Respondents aged 18-34, Melbourne and Sydney

Religious identification today	How would you describe religious attitudes in the home in which you grew up?				
	Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	Modern Orthodox	Traditional	Conservative/ Progressive	Secular/ not religious
Ultra/ Strictly Orthodox	74%	6%	3%	0%	3%
Modern Orthodox	11%	61%	17%	8%	5%
Traditional	7%	19%	56%	11%	15%
Conservative/ Progressive	3%	4%	5%	55%	10%
Secular/ Not religious	6%	11%	20%	26%	67%
N (unweighted)	76	280	512	167	252

B The second conclusion is based on the understanding that **a solution for the problem of Jewish continuity that prioritises adoption of Orthodoxy fails to deal realistically with the factors that influence a significant segment of Jewish youth. It also fails to recognise that there are multiple pathways to a strong Jewish identity.**

The difficulty of influencing the non-Orthodox among the younger generation (Gen Y) is substantial – it should not be minimised. There is a marked contrast in the outlook of the generations: for the grandparents and parents, the Holocaust, the establishment of Israel, and its wars of survival, were the formative experiences of their lives. For the great majority, the relationship with Israel has been one of total and unquestioning commitment. For many among Gen Y, lives have been defined by the open society of Australia, by its opportunities and material prosperity. They belong to a generation characterised by individualism (not community orientation). Gen Y is sceptical of authority and institutions, culturally creative, supportive of diversity, embarked on personal journeys of self-discovery. Some lack a strong understanding of Jewish history and do not value connection to Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people.

The difficulty of influencing the non-Orthodox among the younger generation is substantial.

For example, when asked for their reaction to international events which place Israel in danger, 77% of those aged 18-34 who define themselves as Traditional indicate a high level of concern, compared to 85% of those aged 55 and above. But of those who define themselves as secular, only 56% aged 18-34 indicate a high level of concern, compared to 69% aged 55 and above.

To varying degrees, depending on form of identification, the non-Orthodox lack the certainty of Jewish faith and deep knowledge of Jewish heritage, the values and knowledge which provide answers for the ever present question, 'why is it important to maintain a Jewish life?' The non-Orthodox world lacks the consistency provided (and enforced) by life in a community of like-minded individuals, with its networks and institutions. But there are initiatives which have potential to engage and sustain. **The challenge is to foster and strengthen patterns of consistency within non-Orthodox Judaism.**

In this report the Australian Jewish community is considered in terms of three segments: **core, middle and periphery.**

Within the core there is a strong sense of Jewish identity and effective transmission of Jewish values across generations; decisions are informed by Jewish concepts and meanings and individuals experience life as part of a community. The core is an effectively functioning segment of the community sure of its values, constant in its beliefs, resilient in its capacity to withstand challenges of the external environment. It is highly motivated and successful in transmitting Jewish values to the next generation.

The greatest threat to Jewish continuity is within the middle and periphery. Within the middle the key variables that shape identity are not as consistently integrated and hence decision-making may occur in the context of conflicting values: for example, teenagers facing disharmony between home environment and school or between the values of school and post-school friendship circles. On the periphery, outlook may be shaped by a value system in which Jewish teachings play little or no role.

Within the middle, while Jewish identity is challenged, strong traditional beliefs and linkages still remain, in part a legacy of the post-war immigrants and their fierce determination to sustain Jewish life. In the major Australian communities (unlike many communities in the United States) young adults within the middle have had a range of sustained Jewish involvements: many have spent years in a Jewish day school, have direct knowledge of the Holocaust through their families, have attended a Jewish youth group and have visited Israel. But **for a substantial number their experiences have not been such as to lead to a high level of Jewish identification.** To succeed, programs directed at this young cohort face both conceptual and funding challenges.

There is no one-off, simple answer. Rather, impact requires many points of contact, a range of options and innovative approaches, to attract and foster coherence across diverse life experiences and at key stages of a person's life.

Additional funding provided within the core can serve to lessen the financial pressures faced by those encountering difficulty in sustaining a Jewish life – but will do little to strengthen Jewish identity, which is already strong. In contrast, additional funding provided within the middle is likely to have greatest impact on Jewish identity, serving to build Jewish pathways for those who may otherwise journey away from Judaism. It will be asked: how do we measure the success of programs designed to strengthen continuity? In terms of the approach adopted in this analysis, the key indicator is the proportion (hence increase) of participants indicating that being Jewish is ‘very important’ and of ‘central importance’ in their lives. A number of initiatives focused in the middle, starting with fostering understanding of the vital significance of the home, present the best prospect for success. This will require an approach informed by realistic expectations: success will necessarily be measured in small increments over a sustained period of time.

There is no one-off, simple answer. Rather, impact requires many points of contact, a range of options and innovative approaches, to attract and foster coherence across diverse life experiences.

A leading Israeli think-tank, the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute (JPPPI), has developed a model that posits four possible scenarios for Jewish communities: **Thriving**, **Drifting**, **Defensive** and **Nightmare**. These scenarios are based on the impact of two variables: conditions that are internal to Jewish communities and the external environment. As applied to the communities of Melbourne and Sydney, **the current situation is most accurately described as ‘thriving’**, in that the momentum of the Jewish communities is high and external conditions are positive. But **there is substantial risk that in the mid-term (the next ten to twenty years) the core, while maintaining high Jewish momentum, will become increasingly defensive and isolated in response to a negative external environment while other segments of the community suffer a loss of momentum and drift**. Such a development would be the likely result of four factors:

- The increasing isolation of Israel and those associated with Israel in the Diaspora;
- Disengagement from Jewish life by an increasing proportion of the younger generation;
- An ageing population and decrease in population growth;
- Diminished ability to raise funds to meet a range of community needs.

There is substantial risk that ... the core, while maintaining high Jewish momentum, will become increasingly defensive and isolated in response to a negative external environment, while other segments of the community suffer a loss of momentum and drift.

The Jewish people have faced challenges throughout their history, threatening their very physical existence and religious freedom. Today the Australian Jewish community, like other communities of the Diaspora, face different but no less real challenges to the continuity of Jewish life. Australian Jewry is possibly in an advantageous position relative to other Jewish communities, in that the challenges are yet to make substantial impact, but the issues for the future are clearly defined.

If the analysis presented in this report is accepted then the time to act is now. Of central importance are the issues of informed planning and balance in the allocation of resources.

The first step is necessarily one of process. Who will provide planning leadership? Within the Jewish Communal Appeal structure, Sydney is well served by a community planning group with a brief to consider both short and long-term communal needs. The Sydney planning group has been a key partner in this project and has displayed ongoing and active interest in its findings. There is no equivalent body in Melbourne.

The conclusion may be drawn that as we face substantial and different challenges there is now the need for a different approach. Planning needs to be comprehensive and evidence-based, with resources to make a difference, and a brief to look beyond issues of immediate need to new initiatives which will focus on the future of the community over the next ten to twenty years.

Planning needs to ... look beyond issues of immediate need to new initiatives which will focus on the future of the community over the next ten to twenty years.

Key points

STRUCTURAL CHANGES – TRENDS AND FORECASTS

Rises in the cost of living will increase geographic dispersal

- The high financial cost of Jewish affiliation (child care, school and synagogue fees, kosher food, etc.) must compete with the increasing cost of housing as a proportion of disposable household income.
- The high cost of living in 'Jewish areas' is likely to lead to communal dispersal as the younger (and less wealthy) find themselves less able to afford to live in 'Jewish areas'.

Jewish education is becoming less affordable for families

- 30% of parents with children under the age of 21 responding to the Gen08 survey in Melbourne and Sydney indicated that the cost of school fees has prevented them from sending one or more children to a Jewish day school.
- Over the past decade, the cost of education at the leading non-government schools has been increasing at twice the rate of increase in the cost of living (CPI). In 2011, the increase in fees at Jewish day schools averaged 5.5% in Sydney and 5% in Melbourne, compared to the latest CPI increase of 2.8%.
- There is a major challenge in Melbourne to fund and further develop quality supplementary education for those not able to attend a Jewish day school.

An ageing community will increase demand for care services

- In the next 10 years the proportion of the Jewish community aged 65 and above is predicted to increase by 28% or 5,300 individuals in Melbourne and Sydney combined. This is likely, by the decade of the 2020s, to considerably increase demand for aged care-related services, in competition for funding with a range of other community services.

Immigration can no longer be relied upon to bolster demographic growth

- 8,700 enumerated Jewish immigrants arrived in Victoria and New South Wales between 1996 and 2006, a 24% decrease on the previous decade for Victoria, a 2% increase for New South Wales. South Africa was the major source country.
- Immigration is unlikely to increase substantially in the future as key immigration areas are depleted of Jewish populations with a capacity and willingness to emigrate. Immigration from Israel is the unknown factor. There has been an upward trend of immigration from Israel in recent years.
- Slower population growth coupled with an ageing community poses issues for future institutional growth and a vibrant community.

Intermarriage is rising among specific cohorts

- Intermarriage has been steadily increasing in Australia since the early 1960s. For example, in 1961 there was only a 12% intermarriage rate (including de facto relationships) in Victoria, compared to 2006 where the proportion was 2½ times higher at 30%.
- Younger Jewish people are more likely to have non-Jewish partners. In 2006, in 45% of NSW marriages of those aged 25-29 and involving a Jewish person, the partner was not Jewish; this compared with 25% of those aged 40 and above.
- The less religious are more likely to have non-Jewish partners. It has been estimated that in marriages involving non-Orthodox persons aged 25-34, more than 50% of partners are not Jewish. This compares to less than 10% of non-Jewish partners in marriages involving an Orthodox person.

JEWISH IDENTITY AND CONTINUITY

Religious identification strongly predicts Jewish belonging

- The transmission of Jewish values from one generation to the next is strongest within the Orthodox segment of the community.
- The more Orthodox a person, the more likely he or she is to consider being Jewish to be ‘*very important*’, to have mostly Jewish friends and to view intermarriage ‘*with regret*’.
- Respondents reporting a more religious Jewish outlook score higher on an identity scale measuring ‘*Jewish continuity and group connectedness*’ than those reporting a more secular outlook. This suggests religious identification strongly predicts attachment and feelings of belonging to the Jewish community.

Attending a Jewish day school is only part of the solution for transmitting strong Jewish identity

- Those who attended a Jewish day school (JDS) have stronger Jewish identities than those who did not: close to 70% of the alumni of Jewish schools reported that being Jewish was ‘*very important*’ in their lives today. This compares with around 50% for those who did not attend a Jewish school. However, it is highly unlikely that Jewish schooling on its own is the key factor.
- Survey data indicates that the impact of Jewish education is greater for those from a religious home. For example, those from a Traditional background who attended a mainstream JDS in Melbourne scored an average of 65% on a series of questions relating to Jewish knowledge and outlook, compared with a score of 37% for a person from a secular home who also attended a mainstream JDS. .

While visiting Israel and other Jewish experiences are associated with heightened Jewish identity, their impact cannot be assessed in isolation

- Visiting Israel is associated with heightened levels of Jewish identity and connectivity. However, visiting Israel is only part of the explanation. For example, going on Taglit-Birthright Israel is more likely to occur among those who are already more communally involved and more Orthodox than those who do not visit Israel. The effect of a visit to Israel must be assessed in the context of an individual’s background to more accurately measure impact on identity.

Home environment is key to the successful transmission of a strong Jewish identity

- Among young adults (aged 18–34), Jewish upbringing (home environment) strongly predicts levels of Jewish engagement and attitudes towards ‘*Jewish issues*’. For example, an average of 70% of those brought up in Orthodox homes are likely to have mostly Jewish friends, to have been to Israel on two or more occasions, and to view intermarriage ‘*with regret*’. By contrast, the average is 57% for those brought up in Traditional homes and 33% for those from secular homes.
- This is not, however, to suggest that religion is the only path to strong Jewish identification. The key issue is socialisation with coherent Jewish values and life experience within a community of supportive and like-minded people. Such socialisation may take place within a religious or secular environment – as, for example, in the Yiddish-speaking community of Melbourne in the 1950s – but in today’s world is most likely to occur within a religious context.

Implications for action

Three basic findings provide the context and guiding principles for action:

1. **Change is occurring.** Attention only to maintenance of existing institutions and programs is unlikely to be effective in meeting emerging challenges.
2. There is no **one-off, single approach that is likely to be effective.** Identity is determined by a combination of factors, hence initiatives are required in more than one area.
3. Identity is most challenged not within the core, but within the middle and periphery. **The prospect for maximum impact of new initiatives is within the middle.**

Discussion of practical steps to enhance Jewish continuity is most often considered in terms of Jewish day school education. Relative to other options for enhancing continuity, Jewish day school education may well be the most effective, but it is also the most expensive. Its cost has negative ramifications that are often inadequately acknowledged: it leads some to limit the size of their families and the pressure of finding the means to pay fees, which in 2011 for two children typically amounts to more than \$60,000 in pre-tax earnings, can have a markedly negative impact on family life. Further, as this report demonstrates, Jewish identity is not to be understood simply in terms of whether one attends or does not attend a Jewish school. Education is most effective when there is a partnership between school and home, evident when the pattern of Orthodox life is considered; Jewish upbringing cannot be simply outsourced to teachers and rabbis.

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emerging challenges.

For a balanced understanding of the value of competing needs, consideration of 'opportunity cost' is required. 'Opportunity cost' is the cost of opportunity foregone; it refers to the loss of benefits that could have been gained from the next best option or set of options that are passed up. All choice necessarily involves an 'opportunity cost'. The point has been made more than once in the course of this research project that in terms of continuity a critical segment comprises those aged 18-40, young adults and young parents, but they receive disproportionately little in the allocation of community resources, even in Sydney where there has been a substantial increase in allocations to this sector as a result of planning research.

How is it possible to enhance the yield of Jewish schooling – beyond a one-off approach, such as fee subsidies? And what are the options, other than Jewish schooling, that have most promise for enhancing Jewish identity? Table 7 is presented as a first step to answering such questions. It considers allocation of a notional \$2 million of additional discretionary funding over two years by a planning body charged with fostering Jewish identity among children from non-Orthodox homes.

How is it possible to enhance the yield of Jewish schooling? ... And what are the options, other than Jewish schooling, that have most promise for enhancing Jewish identity?

It is emphasised that these examples are chosen merely to explore possible options consistent with the logic of project findings – they are not designed to be definitive and a number of other examples could have been chosen for this purpose. They have not been costed or interrogated for viability or practical application. **Their purpose is to stimulate discussion of resource allocation**, not to prescribe specific programs for implementation.

The examples are informed by **two guiding principles: coherent linked activities and selectivity. These inform the development of programs and the selection of the most engaged and committed from the first phase for involvement in the second.** A number of the programs considered will be recognised as already existing in one form or another, although without the linkages suggested. But they are typically inadequately funded. If a program requires \$100,000 to reach its objectives and currently receives \$10,000, there is little point in doubling its funding to \$20,000.

To realise their potential, new initiatives require funding at a level of excellence which is currently found within the day schools, but not necessarily in a broad range of supplementary activities which may also be considered educational. The hypothetical exercise is premised on the assumption that the programs are professionally planned and executed in line with international best practice – and are provided with the funding necessary to achieve specified objectives.

These examples are chosen merely to explore possible options ... Their purpose is to stimulate discussion.

Table 7: Options that utilise additional funding of \$2 million over two years to foster Jewish identity among non-Orthodox children, teenagers, young adults and parents. Hypothetical representation based on the logic of Gen08 survey findings

Option	Objective	Details	Program	Individuals directly impacted
1	Provide subsidised pre-school and after-school places and an environment in which parents are assisted to develop their understanding of the challenges facing Jewish parents.	Pre-school and after-school program for children aged 3-7, with places conditional on parental involvement in discussion groups and other activities. Weekend excursions in first year, two five day camps in second year.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Subsidised pre-school and after-school places. 2. Linked learning program for parents. 	500 (children and parents).
2	Provide a range of subsidised educational opportunities for children in the first years of secondary schooling , linked to a program for parents to develop understanding of the partnership between school and home.	A Jewish day school subsidy of \$6,000 per student, conditional on parental involvement in discussion groups and other activities. Salary for position of Parental Engagement Coordinator at participating schools. Required participation of students in fully subsidised youth group program. Selection of the most engaged to participate in Israel program.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Day school fee subsidies. 2. Linked youth group. 3. Linked Israel program. 4. Linked adult learning. 	120 students, 60 in Israel program. Involvement of 200+ parents, larger group in the school engagement.
3	Nurture young Jewish leaders and foster the development of a peer-group Jewish learning environment for teenagers.	One year youth group program; highly motivated participants selected for two Israel trips; participants develop a range of outreach programs directed at their peer group. Parallel and linked programs in Melbourne and Sydney, fostering of contacts between participants.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Youth group and leadership program (years 9 and 10). 2. Two linked Israel trips. 3. Grants for participants to develop peer group learning. 	400 in youth group; 200 selected for Israel trips and to develop outreach programs; 400 additional in peer-group learning.
4	Create a structure for the community to engage with the ideas of the most creative and able young adults .	Every seven years, up to five Community Fellowships, funded at \$200k each, duration for one or two years. Open to applicants aged 21-27, with a two-stage selection process beginning with an expression of interest. Community Fellows design and implement pilot programs to enhance continuity and sustain Jewish life. Fellows work individually and/or collectively, may be attached to community organisations.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Five Community Fellowships. 2. Design and implementation of pilot programs. 	Five Fellows, senior staff of community organisations, sectors of the community for which pilot programs are implemented.
5	Create multiple opportunities for enriching Jewish life and learning in the non-Orthodox community. (Context: many young adults do not relate well to formal structures and expectation of regular participation.)	Series of related programs which will employ professionally trained relationship managers and sustain a range of activities: for example, individual non-event based engagement, irregular small-group meetings, and large scale Jewish festivals. Short-term fellowships of up to \$20k provided to young people in creative arts, support for staging of Jewish themed exhibitions and performances or support for web-based engagement initiatives. Funding for participation in Israel programs.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Programs primarily directed at young adults, with wider community engagement in some activities. 2. Fellowships. 3. Exhibitions/ performances. 4. Israel programs. 	Significant number of young adults, broad involvement in exhibitions, performances, festivals.



REPORT **2**

OVERVIEW