

Two Sides of the Same Coin:  
Social Identity and Jewish Millennials' Expression of their Jewish Identity

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### Abstract

A prevalent problem in the Jewish community is the lack of engagement of Jewish millennials. I used social identity literature to understand this issue in a nuanced way. I conducted two studies to identify if Jewish millennials' cultural and religious identities impacts their willingness to participate in different types of events at the Jewish Community Center (JCC) in Manhattan. I used snowball sampling in one study and the Amazon MTurk service in the other study to gather responses for my survey. I found a correlation that the stronger one's cultural identity is the greater likelihood that he/she would attend religiously-inclined events at the JCC. I also found that the stronger one's religious identity, the greater the likelihood that he/she would attend social programming at the JCC. Typically, in today's modern Jewish era, Jewish millennials often identify as either a religious Jew or cultural Jew. However, this study indicates that Jewish millennials are open to attending events that are contrary to one's primary identity.

*Keywords:* Jewish millennials, social identity, multiple identities, cultural identity, religious identity

Two Sides of the Same Coin: Social Identity and Jewish Millennials'  
Expression of their Jewish Identity

“People need to stop throwing bagels at Jewish millennials all the time” remarked one Jewish millennial, Hannah Kober, when asked about strong ways to make Judaism relevant and exciting to people today. “It is condescending to millennials to think that Jewish programs will only engage and excite millennials if they are put in a room together with free food. Millennial retention will be dependent on how seriously they are taken by Jewish leaders in these spaces- you have to give them content to make them feel seen and in charge of their Judaism” (H. Kober, personal interview, December 21, 2017). It seems that the root of the Jewish millennial lack-of-engagement problem is that Jewish organizations are under-programming for this age group. Many Jewish organizations focus on increasing numbers at events instead of catering to what Jewish millennials want and are ready to handle (Ravid, 2016). In order for Jewish organizations to learn how to best reach what millennials want, they must understand the ways in which Jewish identity is unique. To grasp the Jewish dynamic, naturally we need to explore social identity literature in general. Specifically, there is useful research on multiple identity literature. I will use this to explore how Jewish identity can be multifaceted. People often categorize Jews as either secular/cultural Jews or religious Jews, but my research demonstrates that in fact, these are not two opposing identities. Rather, one’s Jewish identity can be primed by both cultural and religious offerings, and there are repercussions for thinking people are stuck to only one side of the coin.

In this thesis, I will first describe the background of the millennial Jewish experience. Then, I will explore the more relevant research on social identity literature. In the overview, I

will provide a broader context of the Jewish Community Center, which is the backdrop of my empirical questions, as well as posit my two hypotheses. Finally, I will conclude with my discussion and limitations.

### *Background of the Jewish Millennial Experience*

Jewish identity is a wide category that includes religious, atheist, cultural, ancestral and communal aspects of Judaism. According to Jewish law, regardless of personal beliefs and observance of Jewish law, you are Jewish if you are born of a Jewish mother. Contrary to Christian or Muslim identity, which are both “universal” religions, Judaism is non-proselytizing and is intertwined with history and ancestry. A significant problem facing the Jewish community is the distancing of Jewish millennials from Jewish life. Sean Rad, a Jewish millennial and co-founder of Tinder, the world’s most popular dating app, told Jewish leaders at the 86th Annual General Assembly Conference this year that “Judaism will fade away if it’s not re-purposed” for today’s generation (Rosenblatt, 2017).

With millennials now being the largest generation alive, there is a remarkable opportunity to engage this group. However, Jewish organizations are struggling to figure out how to engage this demographic properly. There is a deficiency in the Jewish system because at a young age, there are opportunities to attend Jewish pre-school and be involved in youth-groups and synagogues. Particularly if one attends college, there are myriads of opportunities for engagement, whether that be free Hillel dinners or Birthright trips to Israel. Once one has children, the cycle has an opportunity to reoccur. Yet, as post-college millennials, this is the first time where there are not many organizations reaching out to help create a fulfilled Jewish life. Research has found that Jewish organizations employ fewer rabbis and community leaders per

capita for young adults than it does for any other age range in the Jewish lifecycle (Chazan, 2000). This is a gap and can affect millennials' lack of engagement.

Recent Jewish research on millennial engagement in New York has been conducted through the Jewish Federation, called *Insights and Strategies for Engaging Jewish Millennials*. Often times, Jewish communities strive to learn from other Jewish communities' successful forms of engagement of Jewish millennials. The research suggests that people must mimic strategies, rather than programs and should focus on meeting the individual millennials where their current levels of engagement within the Jewish community lie (Insight Strategy Group, 2016). A recent article in the Jewish Week commenting on this report, provides Jewish millennial engagement trends and notes three pieces of advice to understand how to target millennials (Clark, 2017). The first suggestion is to let millennials lead the way and build unique communities for themselves. Many organizations have taken the lead on this such as Union for Reform Judaism's JewV'Nation fellowships, Moishe House, and Repair the World. Secondly, millennials need more control over their Jewish experiences. The current trend of "Shabbat dinner potlucks" involves hosts opening up their homes for a Sabbath meal and guests bringing various foods to connect in their own way. OneTable is an organization that sponsors these Shabbat potlucks. Jewish millennials seek micro-communities that are unaffiliated with organizations instead of large communal organizations of past generations. Lastly, the article shares that it is extremely important to address millennials with authentic and transparent communication styles. This includes using a casual tone, incorporating humor and self-awareness, and addressing young adults in a personalized way. The hope is that this advice will allow organizations to take steps toward creating events that will resonate strongly with

young adults by “stepping in” to the most important aspects of their lives (Clark, 2017). To explore the struggles of engaging millennials properly, my research aims to understand the types of opportunities and programming millennials desire to pursue a fulfilled Jewish life. Social psychology academia can further explain millennials' lack of engagement with their Jewish identity.

### *Social Identity Literature*

Social Identity Theory (SIT), according to Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner (1981), posits that part of the self-concept is defined by people's sense of belonging to social groups. The theory explores the circumstances in which people perceive themselves as individuals or as group members. Social identities shape people's experiences as they navigate their social world. Social identity literature focuses on sexual orientation, disabilities, race, religion, age, gender, and ethnicity. Additionally, the theory highlights what it is like to identify as a member of these groups.

As Margaret Shih et al. (2010) explain in Costs and Benefits of Switching Among Multiple Social Identities, social identity literature acknowledges that one can have multiple identities, for example an Asian American Democrat who is a professional writer. They draw on research by Roccas and Brewer (2002) and Crocker & Quinn (2000), to discuss the advantages of having multiple identities. Many researchers have documented that possessing multiple identities, whether they are valued or devalued social identities, protects psychological well-being (Linville, 1987; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Jackson (1997) found that both women and Mexican Americans, two stigmatized social identities, reap the benefits of self-esteem and health adjustment outcomes similar to non-Hispanic whites, because they belong to various

cultural and religious institutions. This study suggests that having multiple identities, regardless of stigmatization, still provides benefits to well-being (Shih et al., 2010). However, depending on social context, there can be benefits to identifying as one identity over another. This adaptability in identity is important to protect oneself from negative consequences of devalued social identities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Pittinsky et al., 1999). For cognitive and motivational reasons, people fluctuate between the presentation of their identities.

People categorize themselves into social identities depending on whom they interact with in particular situations. Research on optimal distinctiveness theory asserts that individuals will strive for an optimal balance of association and distance from their different identities to balance the tension they desire between differentiation and assimilation (Brewer 1991). Similarly, self-categorization theory posits that in different situations, individuals see themselves at various perspectives, whether that be more with one's individual personal identity, or more on a group level with their social identities. In an effort to maintain a positive identity, individuals highlight self-relevant categories that maximize their positive self-concept (Turner, 1987). One important finding of self-categorization theory is that people are more likely to see themselves as individuals in settings where people from their own group are present than where members of other groups are present (Turner, 1994).

Fiona Lee and other University of Michigan psychologists provide a vivid example of the tensions of having bicultural identities. Mary Antin (1912), a Russian Jew who immigrated to the United States, describes her dual-identities present in biculturalism as follows, "Everything impressed itself on my memory, and with double associations; for I was constantly referring my new world to the old for comparison, and the old to the new for elucidation. . . . All the processes



of uprooting, transportation, replanting, acclimatization, and development took place in my soul. . . . It is painful to be conscious of two worlds” (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002).

This demonstrates that biculturalism at times can be oppositional and contradictory. Yet, Ying Yi Hong et al. (2000) explored the ability of bicultural individuals to switch between their different cultural identities based on priming conditions specific to one culture. For example, after presenting Hong Kong Chinese students with iconic images related to their Chinese cultural identity, the participants accorded greater weight to external social pressure; while those primed with the American icons placed greater weight on internal causes. The study demonstrated the ability of bicultural individuals to hold onto their distinct cultural identities without blending the two, or having one identity replace the other. This ability to shift between cultural frameworks has been referred to as *frame switching*, a term coined by LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993).

Margaret Shih et al. extended the concept of cultural frame switching based on one's cultural competence to include one's ability to switch identities based on one's own perception and advantage. The benefit of *identity switching*, a form of frame switching, is that it allows individuals to experience positive outcomes, such as greater self esteem, as situations arise. Identity switching can be done intentionally to avoid stereotype threat, or it may be passive and influenced by situational primes (Shih et al., 2010).

In contrast to the traditional multiple identity theory, I focus on one identity with two sub-parts, often perceived as two opposing sides. Social identity literature does not consider a single identity as having two sub-parts, that are not necessarily exclusive. Jews may identify with the cultural aspects of being Jewish, but may not identify with the religious aspects.

Perhaps there is this sub-division of identity within Judaism, because Judaism is a “peoplehood” in addition to a religion, which transcends borders. In fact, Judaism is a unique religion because it is one of the only identities that lends itself to this two-sided coin metaphor. My thesis explores two different hypotheses on the premise that there are two sides of one’s Jewish identity. I will explore the effects of multiple identities within one’s broader identity. My research is novel in that it shows how one identity with a strong interest on one side of the coin, can lead to an interest in the other side of the coin.

*Backdrop: JCC Manhattan*

My survey questions about participation in different social and religiously-inclined activities are based on the offerings at the Jewish Community Center (JCC) of Manhattan. The JCC Association is the parent organization for the JCC movement, which includes more than 350 JCCs, YM-YWHAs, and campsites in the U.S. and Canada. JCC’s are unique in part because they are like the ‘living room’ of the Jewish community, as they are open to all streams and sects of Judaism. They are more culture-related and community focused than a religious organization, but some of the programs include religious content, whether it be in the context of a lecture, film series or holiday celebration.

My two main reasons for specifically using the JCC Manhattan are its Jewish pluralism and its strong millennial programming. I wanted to explore a pluralistic Jewish organization that has diverse offerings, and by extension, has many ways of connecting to Judaism. The JCC offers some specific classes and programs with concrete Jewish content and practice, and many offerings that are not Jewish-specific, but rather focus on gathering to create community. There are not many Jewish pluralistic organizations, and JCC is one committed to building a Jewish

community beyond denominational borders. The JCC Manhattan's state-of-the-art building also offers a variety of events, from a library and swimming pool to a nursery school and full-size gym. It also has distinct programming for people in their 20s and 30s (See questions 47 and 48 in Appendix A). Since this JCC has special millennial programming, it creates an easy opportunity to explore the strengths and weaknesses in regards to engaging Jewish millennials. The JCC Manhattan is one of the most top-tier, thriving JCC's in North America and could be an exemplary model for other JCCs (D. Ackerman, personal communication, Feb. 25, 2018).

The UJA-Federation's Jewish Community study of New York in 2002 sheds light on the landscape of the Upper West Side of Manhattan, where the JCC Manhattan is located. It is home to an intellectual upper-class Jewish area where "two populations distinct in their levels of Jewish affiliation and practice" live together (Moore, 2017). One community is religious, attending synagogues, sending their children to Jewish day schools and visiting Israel. The other group rejects Jewish affiliation and often intermarries with non-Jews. Both types of Jews typically seek ethnic and religious diversity, hold liberal political ideals, and cherish education (Moore, 2017).

### **Overview of Studies**

In this study, I test two counter-intuitive hypotheses to examine Jewish identity. My first hypothesis is that Jewish millennials have a stronger willingness to participate in *religiously-inclined* activities at the JCC Manhattan, if they have a stronger Jewish *cultural* identity. My second hypothesis is that Jewish millennials have a greater willingness to participate in *social* activities with Jews at the JCC, given a stronger *religious* identity.

I conducted two studies to test these two hypotheses. In Study 1, I examined the inversely correlated relation between people's Jewish identity, whether cultural or religious, and millennials' willingness to participate in either religiously-inclined or social activities. Study 1 was conducted through Amazon MTurk's free crowdsourcing Internet marketplace enabling individuals to take surveys for monetary compensation.

In Study 2, I asked the same questions, but used snowball sampling to distribute my online survey to people within New York City Jewish millennial networks. Both surveys included questions on the likelihood that respondents would participate in certain JCC events, their Jewish identity, and reasons for seeking community. After completing the studies, I examined the correlations between identity and willingness to participate in the JCC events.

### **Study 1: MTurk**

Study 1 tests the prediction that the stronger one's cultural identity, the stronger the participants' willingness to attend religiously-inclined events at the JCC. Likewise, the stronger one's religious identity, the greater likelihood of the participants' willingness to attend social events at the JCC.

I analyzed my hypotheses by running regressions and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) to assess whether Jewish millennials' religious and cultural identities are correlated with their willingness to participate in the social or religiously-inclined JCC activities. My response variables are "willingness to participate in social events" and "willingness to participate in religiously-inclined events." My predictor variable is cultural and religious identity.

I chose Jewish millennials in New York City as my subjects in order to narrow the scope of the study and also because there is a vibrant diverse patchwork of subgroups within the NYC Jewish community.

### **Methods for Study 1**

#### **Sample**

A total of 213 participants (147 males, 66 females,  $M_{\text{age}} = 27.5$  years) were recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). The participants who took the survey were New York residents and Jewish Millennials given that description of the survey stated, “take the survey if you identify as a Jewish Millennial” and the location designated for the survey indicated US-NY. Also, only MTurk users that had a HIT Approval Rate for all Requesters' HITs greater than 95%, Number of HITs Approved greater than 1000 and Number of Assignments per HIT:30 were approved. The respondents did not need to have any affiliation with the JCC. Table 1 includes descriptive statistics for our key independent and dependent variables.

Table 1

**Descriptive Statistics**

<b>MTurk</b>			
<b>Continuous Variables</b>	<b>Observations</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>
Average Willingness to participate in religious activities	183	3.36	1.022
Average Willingness to participate in social activities	183	3.31	0.81
<b>Categorical Variables</b>			
<b>Gender</b>			
Male		0.6359	
Female		0.3641	
<b>Marital Status</b>			
Single		0.7166	
Married*		0.2834	
<b>Sexual Orientation</b>			
Heterosexual		0.8894	
Non-heterosexual**		0.1106	
<b>Salary</b>			
100,000+		0.0553	
75K-100K		0.2673	
40K-75K		0.4009	
Under 40K		0.2765	
<b>Denominations</b>			
Orthodox		0.1757	
Conservative/Traditional		0.2477	
Reform/Reconstructionist		0.1396	
Agnostic/Just Jewish/Other		0.4189	
NA		0.018	

\* 3 cases in married status indicated other

\*\*Includes homosexual, bisexual and other

**Measures**

I operationally defined JCC social events as planned events which involve groups of Jews doing secular activities together, such as cooking classes or sports leagues. Religiously-inclined events at the JCC are those that involve religious content, such as holiday celebration or biblical text study. To be considered a “millennial” in my study, one needed to be Jewish, from New York City, and in the age range of 18-39 years old. I divided the denominations into four categories for analysis: Orthodox, Conservative or Traditional, Reform or Reconstructionist, and Just Jewish or Atheist.

### **Procedure**

Participants read a brief description of the survey (See Appendix 1). I included eleven questions regarding participants' willingness to attend local JCC functions for social events, and six religiously-inclined events offered by the JCC. The next section of questions assessed respondents' current Jewish identity. I framed the questions about current Jewish identity on a 5-point agree/disagree Likert scale. Participants were asked how dominant their Jewish identity was in the presence of their other identities (i.e. New Yorker, American, race, gender, etc.). They were then asked to consider how their peers viewed their Jewish identity in the presence of their other identities. Lastly, participants were asked to identify their religious and cultural identity through a Likert scale. The survey also included an attention filter question, meant for participants to skip, to assess if they were paying attention.

Each participant was awarded \$1 per proper survey response. The ordering of sub-questions within each section of the survey was randomized to account for ordering effect. I did not randomize the section about the dominance of Jewish identity from the perspective of others and from oneself because I intended to prime respondents to first think about their social

self before their own self evaluation. Priming the participants with how others view them first, likely changes the response on how they view themselves. Psychologically, it is much harder to think about it in the reverse order (Pew Research Center, "Questionnaire Design," 2018).

Participants also indicated their age, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, annual salary and Jewish denomination.

## **Results**

I discounted 60 survey responses from the MTurk study because participants either failed the attention filter question or because participants were out of the age range of being considered a "millennial" (ages 18-39). Thirty-nine respondents failed the attention filter in the MTurk data. Twenty-one respondents in the MTurk data were out of the age range required. Below I present results from the correlations, AIC and paired t-tests.

*Hypothesis 1-* As predicted, when testing for equal means in religiously-inclined activities against cultural identities (see Figure 1), there was a statistically significant increase in the average willingness to participate in religiously-inclined activities as people's cultural identity strengthens ( $p$ -value =  $3.366e-06$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.1414, AIC full smaller 497.8621 < AIC intercept only 528.7889). Even when controlling for denomination, age, sexual orientation, marital status and annual salary, the relation between "willingness to participate in social events" and cultural identities was positively correlated ( $p = 5.051e-06$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.2725). Although not central to my hypothesis, there was statistically significant data to suggest that attendance of cultural identity predicts social activities attendance ( $p = 3.343e-05$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.117).



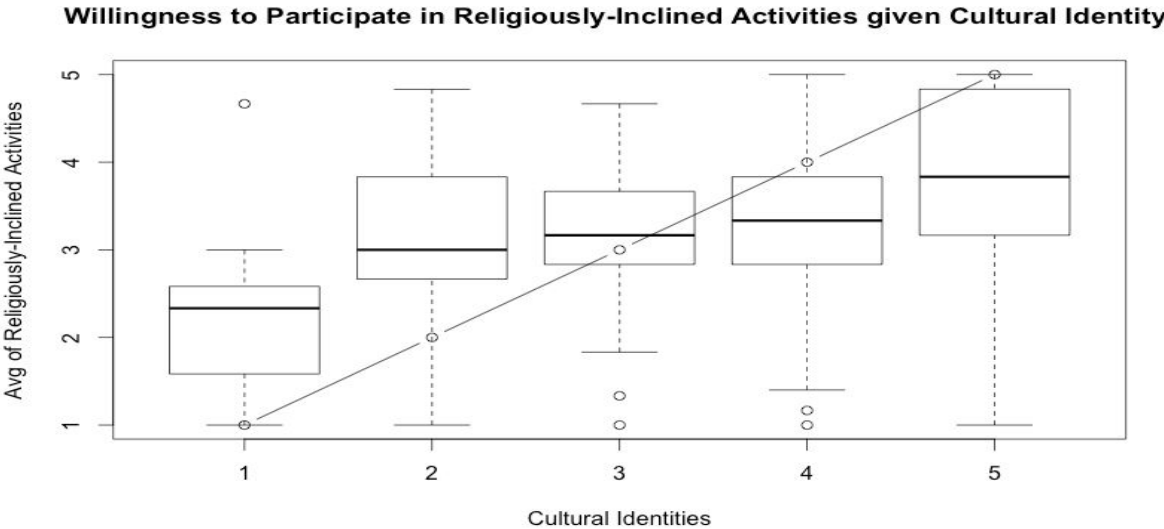


Figure 1

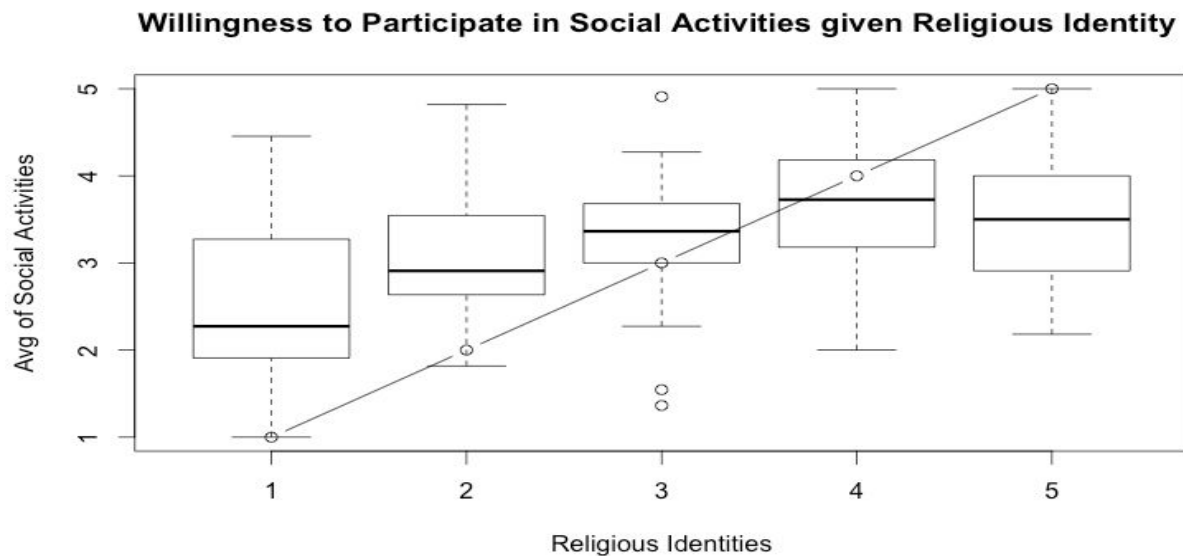
Table 2

## Regression Models for Willingness to Participate in Religiously-inclined Activities and Cultural Identity

	Simple Model (I)	Full Model (II)
<b>Cultural Identity</b>		
Strongly Disagree	2.3111*** (0.2477)	
Somewhat Disagree	0.8359* (0.0147)	0.2756 (0.3400)
Neither Agree/Disagree	0.8476** (0.0037)	0.1011 (0.3282)
Somewhat Agree	1.0454*** (0.0001)	0.1991 (0.3059)
Strongly Agree	1.5505*** (0.2806)	0.5275 (0.3197)
<b>Religious Identity</b>		
Somewhat Disagree		0.6975* (0.2682)
Neither Agree/Disagree		1.0513*** (0.2672)
Somewhat Agree		1.3839*** (0.2616)
Strongly Agree		1.7255*** (0.3062)
<b>Jewish Denomination</b>		
Conservative (Traditional)		0.1979 (0.1975)
Reform (Reconstructionist)		-0.4308 (0.2269)
Just Jewish (Agnostic + Other)		-0.2061 (0.1855)
<b>Age</b>		0.0209 (0.0146)
<b>Sexuality</b>		
heterosexual		-0.2509 (0.2214)
<b>Marital Status</b>		
single		-0.1137 (0.1513)
<b>Annual Salary</b>		
75K-100K		0.1911 (0.2685)
40K-75K		0.4459 (0.2655)
Under 40K		0.1774 (0.2737)
<b>Gender</b>		
male		-0.0015 (0.1344)

NOTES: Numbers in parentheses are SEs. \*p < 0.05 (two-tailed). \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001.

*Hypothesis 2* - Similarly, when testing for equal means in social activities against religious identities (see Figure 2) there was a statistically significant increase in the average willingness to participate in cultural activities as people's religious identity strengthened ( $p = 2.571 \times 10^{-9}$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.212, AIC full smaller 392.9705 < AIC int. only 528.7889). There was a slight drop-off of the increasing trend between the "somewhat agree" to "strongly agree" categories in regard to their religious identity, but it was negligible. When controlling for denomination, age, sexual orientation, marital status and annual salary, the model predicting religiously-inclined event participation was also statistically significant ( $p = 0.000326$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.1955). After fitting the model, diagnostic plots were examined and the model adhered to assumptions of linear regression. Incidentally, when testing for equal means in religious activities against religious identities, there was also a strong correlation ( $p = 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.4016, AIC full smaller 432.8704 < AIC int. only 528.7889).



*Figure 2*

Table 3

## Regression Models for Willingness to Participate in Social Activities and Religious Identity

	Simple Model (I)	Full Model (II)
<b>Religious Identity</b>		
Strongly Disagree	2.5304*** (0.1545)	
Somewhat Disagree	0.4629* (0.1967)	0.1892 (0.2397)
Neither Agree/Disagree	0.7641*** (0.1866)	0.4996* (0.2388)
Somewhat Agree	1.0649*** (0.1780)	0.6769** (0.2338)
Strongly Agree	1.0327*** (0.1978)	0.7778** (0.2737)
<b>Cultural Identity</b>		
Somewhat Disagree		0.5174. (0.3039)
Neither Agree/Disagree		0.5704. (0.2934)
Somewhat Agree		0.6233* (0.2734)
Strongly Agree		0.5360. (0.2858)
<b>Jewish Denomination</b>		
Conservative (Traditional)		0.3365 . (0.1766)
Reform (Reconstructionist)		0.0386 (0.2028)
Just Jewish (Agnostic + Other)		0.0383 (0.1658)
<b>Age</b>		
		0.0038 (0.0131)
<b>Sexuality</b>		
heterosexual		-0.0293 (0.1979)
<b>Marital Status</b>		
single		-0.1711 (0.1352)
<b>Annual Salary</b>		
75K-100K		-0.2037 (0.2400)
40K-75K		-0.0592 (0.2373)
Under 40K		-0.3049 (0.2446)
<b>Gender</b>		
male		-0.1629 (0.1201)

NOTES: \*p < 0.05 (two-tailed). \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001.

*Other Analyses*

Exploratory analysis using paired t-tests was implemented to assess a statistically significant difference between how people see their own Jewish identity (self-perceived) compared to how others perceived their identity. Although it was not statistically significant, most people responded that *others* viewed their Jewish identity as more salient than they viewed their *own* (mean others: 3.0604, mean own: 3.0275,  $p = 0.6407$ ). Nonetheless, I probed for this in Study 2.

By way of reference, I also wanted to explore if people's denominational affiliations (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Just Jewish) had any effect on whether they were more willing to attend their local JCC for social activities or for religiously-inclined activities. I hypothesized that people who identified with Orthodox, Conservative and Traditional denominations were more likely to choose events in the social category and those Reform were more likely to choose to participate in religiously-inclined events.

My hypothesis was not supported. I concluded that those who identified as Orthodox (mean social: 3.3099, mean religious: 3.7618,  $p = 0.0097$ ) and Conservative (or Traditional) (mean social: 3.4669, mean religious: 3.5426,  $p = 0.4392$ ) had a higher average willingness to attend *religiously-inclined* activities over *social* activities. Alternatively, those who identified as Reform or Reconstructionist, had nearly a statistically significant difference in which they were more willing to attend *social* activities compared to *religiously-inclined* activities (mean social: 3.3381, mean religious: 3.0677,  $p = 0.0687$ ). Individuals who identified as Just Jewish or Agnostic showed no observable difference between one's willingness to participate more in social events over religiously-inclined events (mean social: 3.0943, mean religious: 3.0659,  $p =$

0.7365). Rather than what I theorized, in this study, the traditional relationship applies. The strength of religiosity determines the likelihood of attending *religious* events. Less observant Jewish denominations are more interested in social activities, whereas denominations with religious Jews are more interested in religious activities. I explore this concept in Study 2 as well.

### **Study 2: NYC**

I conducted an additional study to replicate the results of the MTurk study. One limitation of Study 1 was that I could not verify that my participants were Millennial Jews, since MTurk is not affiliated with a Jewish network. Therefore, in this second study, I targeted a network of Jewish millennials in New York City by using a snowball sampling technique. I ran the same statistical analysis, with the same response and predictor variables.

### **Methods for Study 2**

#### **Sample**

I recruited 163 participants (46 males, 117 females,  $M_{age} = 25$  years) using a snowball sampling technique. The survey was shared with my personal contacts and I requested they share it with their Jewish millennial peers. I posted on Facebook alumni pages from my own Jewish elementary school, high school, camps and sorority groups. Then I personally reached out to individuals from these networks and asked them to text peers, post on their Facebook pages and tag people they knew to encourage their friends to complete my survey. Table 4 includes descriptive statistics for our key independent and dependent variables.

Table 4

**Descriptive Statistics**

<b>NYC Snowball</b>			
Continuous Variables	Observations	Mean	Std Dev
Average Willingness to participate in religious activities	164	3.03	0.85
Average Willingness to participate in social activities	164	3.23	0.78
		Proportion	
Categorical Variables			
Gender			
Male		0.2840	
Female		0.7160	
Marital Status			
Single		0.8221	
Married*		0.1779	
Sexual Orientation			
Heterosexual		0.8834	
Non-heterosexual**		0.1166	
Salary			
100,000+		0.1146	
75K-100K		0.1019	
40K-75K		0.3822	
Under 40K		0.4013	
Denominations			
Orthodox		0.1591	
Conservative/Traditional		0.5398	
Reform/Reconstructionist		0.0739	
Agnostic/Just Jewish/Other		0.2273	
NA			

\* 3 cases in married status indicated other

\*\*Includes homosexual, bisexual and other

**Measures**

In order to remain consistent, I used the same measures as listed in Study 1.

**Procedure**

My procedure was nearly identical to Study 1; however, because this was a volunteer survey, a few questions were removed to limit the survey's length (See Appendix B).

## Results

I discounted 21 survey responses from the NYC study because participants failed the attention filter question. None of the respondents were out of the age range. Below, I provide the results from the correlations, AIC and paired t-tests.

*Hypothesis 1* - I tested equal means in religiously-inclined activities against cultural identities and found it consistent with my hypothesis (see Figure 3). I observed a very small increase, although not statistically significant, in the average willingness to participate in

*religiously-inclined* activities as people's *cultural identity* strengthened ( $p = 0.1626$ , Adj.

R-squared = 0.0133, AIC full slightly larger 417.4436 > AIC int. only 416.6842). Although not

central to my hypothesis, it is clear, based on comparing R-squares, that cultural identity can

predict people's willingness to attend religiously-inclined events by about 40% more than

cultural events can ( $p = 0.05759$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.02457 AIC full 428.4519 < AIC int. only

427.3388).



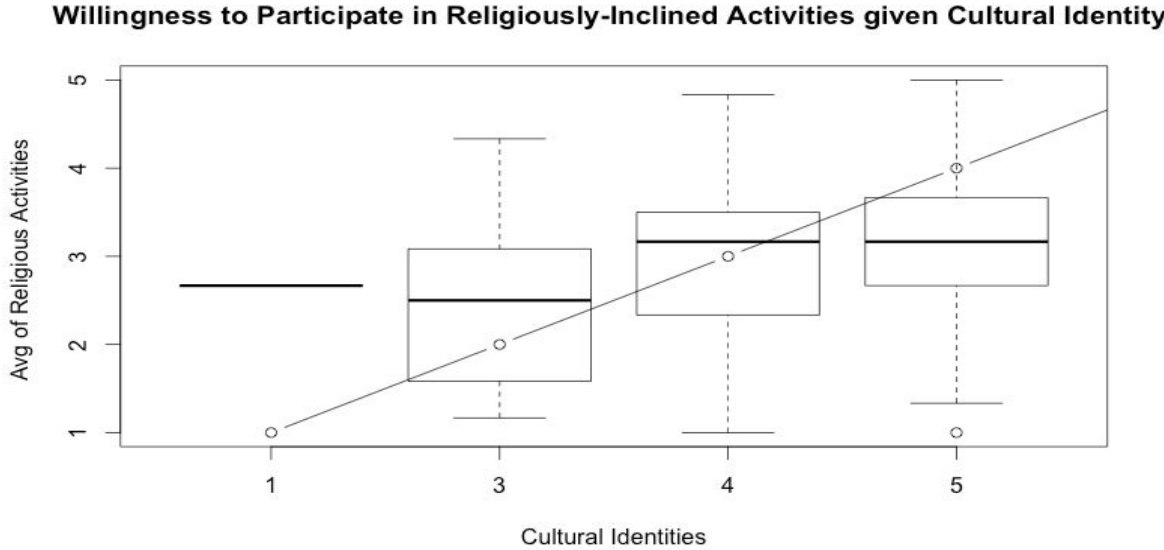


Figure 3

Table 5

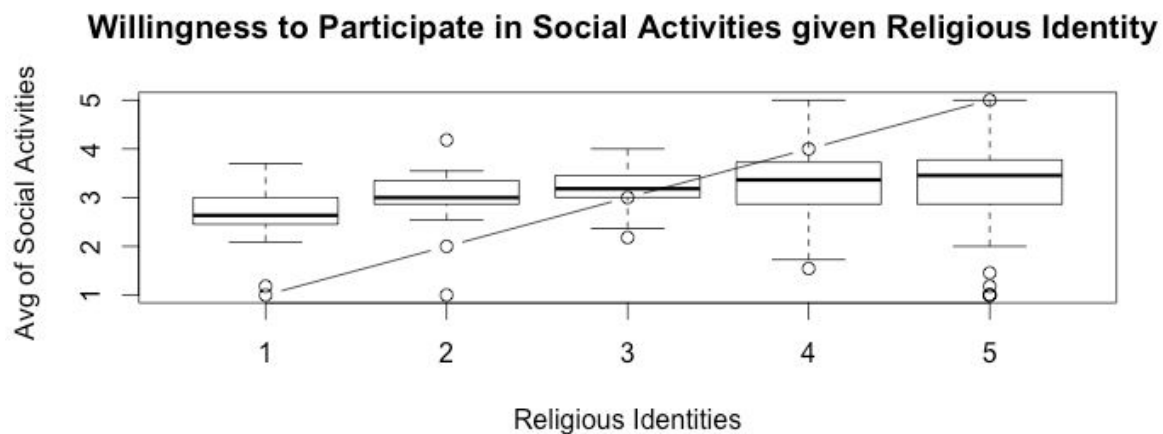
## Regression Models for Willingness to Participate in Religiously-inclined Activities and Cultural Identity

	Simple Model	Full Model
	(I)	(II)
<b>Cultural Identity</b>		
Strongly Disagree	2.3111*** (0.2477)	
Somewhat Disagree	0.8359* (0.0147)	0.2756 (0.3400)
Neither Agree/Disagree	0.8476** (0.0037)	0.1011 (0.3282)
Somewhat Agree	1.0454*** (0.0001)	0.1991 (0.3059)
Strongly Agree	1.5505*** (0.2806)	0.5275 (0.3197)
<b>Religious Identity</b>		
Somewhat Disagree		0.6975* (0.2682)
Neither Agree/Disagree		1.0513*** (0.2672)
Somewhat Agree		1.3839*** (0.2616)
Strongly Agree		1.7255*** (0.3062)
<b>Jewish Denomination</b>		
Conservative (Traditional)		0.1979 (0.1975)
Reform (Reconstructionist)		-0.4308 (0.2269)
Just Jewish (Agnostic + Other)		-0.2061 (0.1855)
<b>Age</b>		0.0209 (0.0146)
<b>Sexuality</b>		
heterosexual		-0.2509 (0.2214)
<b>Marital Status</b>		
single		-0.1137 (0.1513)
<b>Annual Salary</b>		
75K-100K		0.1911 (0.2685)
40K-75K		0.4459 (0.2655)
Under 40K		0.1774 (0.2737)
<b>Gender</b>		
male		-0.0015 (0.1344)

NOTES: Numbers in parentheses are SEs. \*p < 0.05 (two-tailed). \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001.

*Hypothesis 2* - Similarly, when testing for equal means in social activities against religious identities (see Figure 4), there is a small increase in the average willingness to participate in

*cultural* activities as people's *religious identity* becomes stronger to them ( $p = 0.0875$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.0255, AIC full smaller 386.6305 < AIC int. only 386.948). Although not statistically significant, when controlling for denomination, age, sexual orientation, marital status and annual salary, the relation between "willingness to participate in social events" is positively associated with one's religious identity ( $p = 0.2147$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.031). Incidentally, the strongest correlation exists between "willingness to participate in religiously-inclined activities" and people with the strongest religious identities ( $p = 2.486 \text{ e-}10$ , Adj. R-squared = 0.2279, AIC full smaller 419.5207 < AIC int. only 463.4268).



*Figure 4*

Table 6

**Regression Models for Willingness to participate in social activities and Religious Identity**

	<u>Simple Model</u>	<u>Full Model</u>
	(I)	(II)
<b>Religious Identity</b>		
Strongly Disagree	2.6518*** (0.2435)	
Somewhat Disagree	0.3522 (0.3144)	0.0991 (0.3521)
Neither Agree/Disagree	0.5230 (0.3239)	0.2627 (0.3634)
Somewhat Agree	0.6755* (0.2647)	0.4909 (0.2991)
Strongly Agree	0.636* (0.2601)	0.4186 (0.3058)
<b>Cultural Identity</b>		
Somewhat Disagree	-	-
Neither Agree/Disagree		0.1698 (0.8825)
Somewhat Agree		0.3332 (0.8598)
Strongly Agree		0.5637 (0.8528)
<b>Jewish Denomination</b>		
Conservative (Traditional)		0.0618 0.1805
Reform (Reconstructionist)		0.2389 0.2811
Just Jewish (Agnostic + Other)		0.1177 0.2450
<b>Age</b>		-0.0038 (0.0244)
<b>Sexuality</b>		
heterosexual		0.0098 (0.2484)
<b>Marital Status</b>		
single		0.1627 (0.2041)
<b>Annual Salary</b>		
75K-100K		-0.2428 (0.3091)
40K-75K		0.2818 (0.2773)
Under 40K		0.2157 (0.3008)
<b>Gender</b>		
male		0.0867 (0.1530)

NOTES: \*p < 0.05 (two-tailed). \*\* p < 0.01. \*\*\* p < 0.001.

*Other Analyses* - I conducted an additional paired t-test to assess the difference in dominance of one's Jewish identity from one's own perspective versus from others' perspectives. In contrast to Study 1, I found a statistically significant difference in how people rated their Jewish identity as their most dominant identity from their *own* perspective in comparison to how they rated their Jewish identity as the most dominant from the perspective of *others* (mean others: 3.843, mean own: 4.022,  $p = 0.0085$ ).

The data suggests that the subjects in this survey primarily identify as Jewish over other identities and believe that others do not view their Jewish identity as prominently as they self-perceive. For future research, I would hypothesize that Jewish millennials hide aspects of their Jewish identity when they are with others. Because Study 1:MTurk yields different findings than Study 2:NYC, further research is needed to explore this result.

I investigated whether the inverse hypothesis, outlined in Study 1, was altered when I subdivided my data into four denominations. I assessed if people who identified with Orthodox and Conservative (or Traditional) denominations were more likely to attend social events and if those with Reform or Reconstructionist denominations were more likely to attend religious events. The first part of my hypothesis was validated. Individuals who identified as Orthodox and Conservative (or Traditional) had a higher average willingness to attend *social* activities over religious activities. However, since the sample size is small in Orthodoxy (mean social: 3.218, mean religious: 3.079,  $p = 0.3517$ ) there was not a statistically significant difference, in comparison to Conservative or Traditional (mean social: 3.2555, mean religious: 3.0551,  $p = 0.0144$ ). Contrary to my prediction, those who identified themselves as Reform or

Reconstructionist, also had a statistically significant higher average willingness to attend social activities over religiously-inclined activities (mean social: 3.264, mean religious: 3.0111,  $p=0.0491$ ). Furthermore, those who identified as Just Jewish or Agnostic, although not statistically significant, had a higher average willingness to participate in social events over the religiously-inclined events (mean social: 3.0227, mean religious: 2.653,  $p = 0.1558$ ). Based on this study, all denominations, on average, had a higher likelihood in participating in social events at the JCC than religiously-inclined events. This finding was inconsistent with Study 1's finding, which I address below as a limitation.

### **Discussion**

This research's intention was to study Jewish millennials' interest in, and outlets for, having Jewish community involvement at a time when there is not as much focus on engaging millennials. There is a stronger focus on engagement with the child and parent demographic cohort. My research focused on the impact of one's Jewish identity on willingness to participate in different types of Jewish programs. Results from both studies support Hypotheses 1 and 2. There is an inverse relationship between religious/social identity and the social/religiously-inclined activities. The self-categorization theory supports that Jews are more likely to identify as being a cultural Jew compared to an observant Jew depending on the setting. Recent research by Reynolds et al. (2016) argues that each person can have different perception experiences to the same stimuli, depending on one's current self-definition. This suggests that the different sides of one's identity may be more salient, depending on how the millennial interprets and perceives their current experience. Future research could analyze if this concept is consistent with identity switching outlined by Shih et al. (2010). The implication of identity

theory suggests that when one's social identity has multiple sub-parts, such as the religious and cultural dichotomy in Judaism, there is more room for exploration of either sub-identity.

### **Theoretical Implications**

My research contributes to the social identity literature by proposing the concept of multiple social identities within one identity. Based on my research, Jewish millennials are more inclined to seek out religiously-inclined programming, even if they do not have exposure to religious rituals. My research should inform how Jewish organizations target cultural Jews for religious programming, and target religious Jews for social programming. The result of my hypotheses suggest that the previous social identity literature is missing the nuance of having multiple identities within a single social identity. Specifically, social identity currently explains how Jewish millennials behave in groups, but the further subdivide of religious and cultural identities is lacking.

My research also provides tactics for Jewish organizational marketing. My research suggests that millennials that identify as cultural are inclined to participate in religious offerings and the religious are inclined to participate in cultural offerings. Therefore, these organizations need to find multiple access points for all types of Jewish millennials. One successful organization that is leading the way is Repair the World (Chertok et al., 2011). The organization successfully acknowledges that Jewish people (who may not be focused on their religious identity), are attracted to work in social justice, and believe that such work should be expanded to a Jewish framework in a way that reaffirms millennials' Jewish identity. This is an important organizational model to follow. It builds upon some millennials' identities of social justice and cultural Judaism and helps expand that into another aspect of identity, one more focused on

religious Judaism, by infusing Jewish texts into their program. Many more organizations should re-envision their branding to attract more Jewish millennials to various aspects of Judaism. Focusing on engaging Jewish millennials ensures that the retention rate within the Jewish community does not decrease and that Judaism is sustainable for future generations.

### **Limitations**

There are a few limitations to my survey design and distribution methods. Since not everyone who took the survey lived near a JCC, they might have rated their responses to “willingness to participate” questions as less likely than they would have if they lived close to one, which might have skewed their responses. Breaking down the survey by boroughs would have allowed for more localized answers. A question about how many miles away individuals live from their local JCC would be advantageous.

Because I used quantitative data on a 5-point Likert scale, individuals could not explain why they selected their responses. Future research could focus on qualitative data through interview responses to understand their motivations behind their responses. In regards to the MTurk data, I speculate whether the respondents were from the Jewish millennial demographic because there was no way to affirm their identity.

In terms of distribution, I used snowball sampling for my NYC survey. Although I intended for this survey to reach a wide array of people from different Jewish backgrounds and communities, the responses tended to yield responses from people who have already been engaged in Jewish education through school or camp. Distributing this survey on Jewish alumni groups does not reach those individuals who were not actively involved in Jewish communities. For the NYC study, I struggled to engage individuals who were less affiliated with Judaism.



About half of my sample (53.9%) identified as Conservative Jews. Future survey collection on this demographic must capture a broader spectrum of Jewish millennials.

An additional limitation in my analysis is the way I categorized the denominations. Since there was not an even distribution of samples across all denominations, I grouped together Conservative & Traditional denominations, Reform & Reconstructionist denominations, and Just Jewish with Atheist. As a result, the nuances of the denominations are missed. Perhaps the analysis based on individual denominations is not as relevant to explore further since Jewish millennials today are moving away from denominations and emphasizing non-denominational Judaism. Jewish millennials are not as interested in the institutions that house and divide denominations, as existed in prior generations (Miller, 2011).

### **Future Replications**

While there has been research on biculturalism (Lee, 2002) and multiple identities (Shih et al., 2010), future research should explore if there are other identities, in addition to Judaism, that are privy to this sub-identity dynamic. Our understanding of Jewish identity switching could perhaps be informed by other identities that may have a similar dichotomy. Further research should explore how, when, and why the switching between religious and cultural identities occurs in Judaism. My research suggests that Jews who emphasize one side of their identity often have an interest in the other side of their identity, but to what extent? What triggers the openness and interest to lean more heavily on religious identity over cultural, and vice versa?

Some psychological concepts, such as complementarity and cognitive load, may help further explain the reasoning behind Jewish millennials switching between their Jewish identities. Perhaps research on complementarity, the theory that posits we seek traits and

qualities in social relationships that fill gaps in ourselves, could inform when people switch between their identities. Most research on complementarity refers to social and professional relationships with a spectrum of dominance/submission and friendliness/aggression (Reik, 1949). In social situations, complementarity is present when people feel a closeness to others who complement them. In my survey, people chose which activities they would be more willing to attend. Perhaps complementarity is an underlying factor. Perhaps the complementarity effect is the gateway to understanding the identity switching that we see in Jewish social networks, as Jewish millennials supplement the less dominant elements of either their cultural or religious Jewish identity. Additionally, future research could explore the impact of cognitive load, which occurs when resources are depleted and people tend to use more heuristic behavior on switching between sub-identities (Sweller, 1988). When making choices, perhaps cognitive load pushes people to different sides of their sub-identity, since cognitive load activates stereotypes. Is there a point where cognitive load would trigger identity switching? These prospective studies could provide further insight into identity switching, and therefore on how to engage Jewish millennials.

To facilitate further research on identity switching, the demographic to capture more unaffiliated Jewish millennials should be expanded. I would also open this survey to include a more extensive variety of activities from different Jewish non-denominational organizations to capture greater access points to measure identity switching. Furthermore, synagogues may benefit from the outcome and knowledge that cultural Jews have an interest in religious practices.

### **Conclusion**

In sum, I have explored and examined Jewish identities through my hypotheses. I found that New York City Jewish millennials are interested in religious and social types of events, even if they identify stronger with one Jewish sub-identity, religious or cultural. The importance of this research is that it adds to the multiple identity domain and frame switching literature in that millennial Jews hold multiple sub-identities and can be influenced to switch between them. There is more uncovered research to be done to determine the reasoning behind sub-identity switching. My research also provides practical insight for Jewish organizations. These organizations should not limit their marketing to just religious or just cultural identities. They should be mindful of the broader audience who they can reach.

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Appendices

Appendix A Survey

**FOR MTURK SAMPLE: Honors Thesis Jewish Millennials**

Start of Block: Willingness to Participate

Q1 Hi! Thank you for participating in my survey regarding members of the Jewish Community. I will be gaining your thoughts and opinions to better serve you in the future. The brief survey should take between 5-10 minutes to complete. Be assured that all answers provided will be kept in the strictest confidentiality.

Please click '>>' to begin!



Q47 To what extent would you be willing to attend your local Jewish Community Center (JCC) functions for the following:

	Not at all (1)	Probably Not Willing (2)	Might or Might not (3)	Probably Willing (4)	Definitely Willing (5)
Music and art shows? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sports leagues? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Volunteering opportunities? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Professional development courses? (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Free Israel trips? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happy hours & bar nights? (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Workout classes? (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Traveling opportunities? (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Beer pong Tournament? (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Yoga & Wine on the Roof? (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cooking classes? (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q48 To what extent would you be willing to attend the following JCC events?

	Not at all (1)	Probably Not Willing (2)	Might or Might not (3)	Probably Willing (4)	Definitely Willing (5)
Shabbat dinners? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Holiday celebrations? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jewish course on Jewish text, history or philosophy? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Jewish Meditation practice? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Visiting scholar? (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jewish interfaith programs/courses? (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Willingness to Participate

Start of Block: Identification



Q49 Religious Identity

	Rarely or Never (2)	Just on High Holidays (8)	A few times a month (4)	Once Daily (6)	More than once a day (7)
How often do you attend a synagogue? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation, or a faith sharing group? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q55 Religious Involvement

	Never (2)	Rarely (8)	Sometimes (4)	Most of the time (11)	Always (7)
I was involved in Jewish activities growing up. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My family was active with a synagogue. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How often do you have Shabbat dinners? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How often do you observe the Jewish holidays? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q20 Jewish Holiday Involvement

	Never (40)	Rarely (41)	Sometimes (42)	Most of the time (43)	Always (44)
I light candles on Hanukah. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



I exchange gifts on Hanukah. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On Passover, I have one seder. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On Passover, I have two seders. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On Passover, I observe the first two and last two days. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On Sukkot, I sit in the Sukkah and Shake lulav. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q53 Religious Involvement

	To what extent do you keep Kosher? (1)
Never (1)	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes (2)	<input type="radio"/>
Only in the house (3)	<input type="radio"/>
Kosher meat/Dairy restaurants (4)	<input type="radio"/>
Strictly (5)	<input type="radio"/>



Q27 To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree (50)	Somewhat disagree (51)	Neither agree nor disagree (52)	Somewhat agree (53)	Strongly agree (54)
Among my various identities (ie. New Yorker, American, race, gender etc), from the perspective of OTHERS, my Jewish identity is the most dominant. (38)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Among my various identities, from my OWN perspective, my Jewish identity is the most dominant. (37)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I identify with the religious aspect of my Jewish identity. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I identify with the cultural aspect of my Jewish identity. (39)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q21 Were the following formative Jewish experiences for you?

	Definitely not (26)	Probably not (27)	Might or might not (28)	Probably yes (29)	Definitely yes (30)
Jewish Day Camp (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish Sleep away Camp (6)	0	0	0	0	0
Bar/Bat Mitzvah (2)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish Youth Group (5)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish Day School (8)	0	0	0	0	0
Israel Trip (7)	0	0	0	0	0
College Hillel (3)	0	0	0	0	0
College Chabad (4)	0	0	0	0	0

Q58 In the past year, approximately which best characterizes your participation with your local JCC?

- Never Been (26)
- Once (25)
- 2-5 times (30)
- Monthly (22)
- Weekly or more (23)

Q59 Below describes many activities you may be involved with. However, do not check off any of these identities. We are only asking this to see if you are paying attention. Skip this question.

- Casual Dining (7)
- Athletics (1)
- Music (3)
- Philanthropies (9)
- Political Involvement (6)
- Reading (5)
- Travel (8)

Q31 Gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)
- Transgender (3)
- Other (4) \_\_\_\_\_
- Prefer not to answer (5)

-----

Q36 Marital Status

- Single (1)
- Married (2)
- Other (3) \_\_\_\_\_

-----

Q19 Sexual Orientation

- Heterosexual (16)
- Homosexual (17)
- Bisexual (18)
- Other (19)
- Prefer not to say (20)

-----

Q32 Age (years)

\_\_\_\_\_

-----

Q18 Annual Salary

- \$100,000+ (4)
- \$75,000-\$100,000 (1)
- \$40,000 - \$75,000 (2)
- Under \$40,000 (3)

-----

Q34 Jewish Denomination

- Orthodox (1)
- Traditional (2)
- Conservative (3)
- Reform (4)
- Reconstructionist (8)
- Just Jewish (5)
- Agnostic (7)
- Other (please specify) (6) \_\_\_\_\_

Q35 To you personally, what is your most salient identity?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

End of Block: Identification

Appendix B Survey:

## FOR NYC SAMPLE: Honors Thesis Jewish Millennials

Start of Block: Willingness to Participate

Q1 Hi! Thank you for participating in my survey regarding members of the Jewish Community. I will be gaining your thoughts and opinions to better serve you in the future. The brief survey should take between 3-6 minutes to complete. Be assured that all answers provided will be kept in the strictest confidentiality.

Please click '>>' to begin!



Q47 To what extent would you be willing to attend your local Jewish Community Center (JCC) functions for the following:

	Not at all (1)	Probably Not Willing (2)	Might or Might not (3)	Probably Willing (4)	Definitely Willing (5)
Music and art shows? (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Sports leagues? (2)	0	0	0	0	0
Volunteering opportunities? (3)	0	0	0	0	0
Professional development courses? (10)	0	0	0	0	0
Free Israel trips? (4)	0	0	0	0	0

Happy hours & bar nights? (5)	0	0	0	0	0
Workout classes? (6)	0	0	0	0	0
Traveling opportunities? (7)	0	0	0	0	0
Beer pong Tournament? (9)	0	0	0	0	0
Yoga & Wine on the Roof? (16)	0	0	0	0	0
Cooking classes? (17)	0	0	0	0	0



Q48 To what extent would you be willing to attend the following JCC events?

	Not at all (1)	Probably Not Willing (2)	Might or Might not (3)	Probably Willing (4)	Definitely Willing (5)
Shabbat dinners? (1)	0	0	0	0	0
Holiday celebrations? (2)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish course on Jewish text, history or philosophy? (3)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish Meditation practice? (4)	0	0	0	0	0
Visiting scholar? (10)	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish interfaith programs/courses? (16)	0	0	0	0	0

Page Break

End of Block: Willingness to Participate

Start of Block: Identification



Q27 To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree (50)	Somewhat disagree (51)	Neither agree nor disagree (52)	Somewhat agree (53)	Strongly agree (54)
Among my various identities (ie.New Yorker, American, race, gender etc), from the perspective of OTHERS, my Jewish identity is the most dominant. (38)	0	0	0	0	0
Among my various identities, from my OWN perspective, my Jewish identity	0	0	0	0	0

is the most dominant. (37) I identify with the religious aspect of my Jewish identity. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I identify with the cultural aspect of my Jewish identity. (39)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Q24 How likely are you to seek out a JCC after the following events?

	Extremely unlikely (30)	Somewhat unlikely (31)	Neither likely nor unlikely (32)	Somewhat likely (33)	Extremely likely (34)
Death in Family (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal Crisis (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Natural Disaster (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Moving to a New Area (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Terrorist Attack (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Break-Up (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

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- 2-5 times (30)
- Monthly (22)
- Weekly or more (23)

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Skip this question.

- Casual Dining (7)
- Athletics (1)
- Music (3)
- Philanthropies (9)
- Political Involvement (6)
- Reading (5)
- Travel (8)

-----

Q31 Gender

- Male (1)
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Q32 Age (years)

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Q18 Annual Salary

- \$100,000+ (4)
  - \$75,000-\$100,000 (1)
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- 

Q34 Jewish Denomination

- Orthodox (1)
  - Traditional (2)
  - Conservative (3)
  - Reform (4)
  - Reconstructionist (8)
  - Just Jewish (5)
  - Agnostic (7)
  - Other (please specify) (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- 

Q35 To you personally, what is your most salient identity?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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Q25 If you are willing to participate in a brief interview with the researcher, please include your contact information [name, email, number].

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

End of Block: Identification

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