Location, Location, Location: A Contextual Analysis of American Jewish Identity Through the Lens of Residential Density

by

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Abstract

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Collective identification is a psychological construct that connects individuals to a group of other people. Although the focus of this construct is on the individual, theories of collective identity posit that the ways in which an individual expresses his or her collective identity depend upon the context surrounding the person in a given situation. This research examined the effects of one contextual variable, Jewish residential density, on one type of collective identity, Jewish identity. This study examined the extent to which residential density predicted expressions of four elements of Jewish identification: social networks, subjective attitudes, ritual behaviors, and synagogue affiliation.

An analysis of the National Jewish Population Study 2000-01 showed that residential density was a powerful predictor of Jewish social networks. Even after controlling for respondents' Jewish backgrounds and communities' institutional maturity, Jews living in Jewishly dense residential communities were more likely to have Jewish friends and spouses than those living in Jewishly sparse areas. The same pattern was found between residential density and habitual rituals, or rituals that are performed with regularity throughout the year: Jews living among other Jews were more likely to perform habitual rituals than those living in Jewishly sparse communities.

Density's relationship to subjective identity was mediated by Jewish friendship. Those who had greater numbers of Jewish friends were living in Jewishly dense neighborhoods which resulted in an intensified feeling of connectedness to Judaism and Jewish life. The same mediating relationship was found for density and episodic ritual practice. Episodic ritual practice refers to rituals that are performed annually or once in a while. Those living in Jewishly dense communities had greater numbers of Jewish friends and as a result, performed more episodic rituals than those living in sparsely populated communities.

In contrast, density was inversely related to synagogue affiliation. In this case, Jews living in sparsely populated communities were more likely to be synagogue members than those living in densely populated ones. It is likely that in Jewishly sparse communities synagogue affiliation serves as substitute for the lack of informal networks of Jewish friendships that are found in Jewishly dense communities.

This study elucidates how aspects of the external environment can influence expressions of identification. The findings are discussed in terms of how the landscape of American community and context affect Jewish identification.

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Introduction

> *... There were, for example, Betsy and Marc Rosen, who moved to Benton County from Chicago in 2000 after Mr. Rosen was offered a job in Wal-Mart's technology department. The family did not attend a synagogue in Chicago because, Mrs. Rosen said, "you didn't need a synagogue to have a Jewish identity." There were Jewish neighbors, Jewish friends, Jewish family.*
>
> *But not in Bentonville, where her daughter brought home from day care a picture of Jesus to color in. Suddenly, a synagogue did not seem like a luxury anymore, but a necessity to preserve her family's Jewish heritage...*
>
> Michael Barbaro, "In the Hometown of Wal-Mart Synagogue Is a Sign of Growth," *New York Times*, June 20, 2006

Does *where* one is Jewish affect *how* one is Jewish? The quote above, from a newspaper account of Jews moving from Jewishly dense communities to sparsely Jewish rural areas of the country, suggests that Jews living near Jewish neighbors, friends, and family express their Jewish identity differently from those who live in Jewishly sparse areas. The excerpt raises the question, does the Jewish density of one's residential community affect expressions of Jewish identification? Specifically, does living in close proximity to other Jews affect the number of Jewish friends that Jewish people have, how they think and feel about being Jewish, their ritual practices, and their synagogue affiliation? This study was designed to deepen our understanding of these questions.

It is not known to what extent the Jewish density of a residential community affects expressions of Jewish identity. In order to fully assess its impact on measures of identification, other structural characteristics of a residential community as well as the characteristics of individual Jews must also be considered. At the community level, for example, established Jewish communities have more resources, institutions, and variety than newly established communities. The maturity of a Jewish community in a given area

may affect the ways Jews express themselves. Furthermore, the Jewish background of an individual most certainly affects expressions of identification. This study explores the impact of the density of one's residential community above and beyond these communal and individual-level variables.

American Jewish identity includes religious and ethnic components. I will consider how identification is expressed through four prisms: 1) Jewish social networks (i.e., friendship and marriage patterns); 2) subjective identification (a sense of belonging and importance of being Jewish); 3) two types of ritual behaviors, episodic and habitual; and 4) synagogue affiliation rates. These dimensions are among those frequently measured in contemporary research on American Jewish identity and collective identity (cf. Sklare & Greenblum, 1967; Glazer, 1958; Cohen, 1983, 1998; Horowitz 1998, 2002; Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004).

This study assumes the importance of culture and context to our understanding of collective identification. The residential community is a contextual variable that may influence the creation of intergroup boundaries, their maintenance and resistance to change, and the utility and applicability of traditional indices of Jewish identity. Focusing on aspects of the larger community allows for greater understanding of the role that contextual variables play in identification, as well as how they may interact with individual-level variables in different circumstances. This research question is situated in the larger literature on collective identity, the influence of context on identification, as well as work on ethnicity in the United States.

Collective Identity Theories and Context

Collective Identity Theory

Collective identification is a psychological concept which focuses on the individual, not the group. At the heart of collective identification is the individual's acknowledgment that he or she claims group membership (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). This subjective claim differentiates those who may be perceived by others to be part of a group (based on some physical characteristics, for example) but for such membership to be considered a collective identity, it must be personally acknowledged by the individual. Jewish identity is an example of a collective identity and the above distinction is especially relevant to the Jewish case because according to Jewish law, Judaism is passed through parental lineage regardless of one's subjective claim. For the purposes of this research, however, one's subjective claim was paramount and lineage was not assumed to mean a claim of group membership.

Collective identity explicitly connects individuals to a group of other people, whereas personal identity refers to the combination of characteristics that is unique to each of us (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Social identity and self-categorization theories have informed how collective identities are formed and maintained. Beginning with the nuclear family and expanding exponentially as people mature and age, identities are created, nurtured, and maintained through social interactions. People come to know who they are, what they believe, and how they feel about and relate to others through interactions with others (Erikson, 1963; Mead, 1934; Tajfel, 1974). Simplifying and giving meaning to our social environment are human tendencies to categorize the social world. We define and evaluate ourselves in terms of common group memberships. We assign ourselves and are assigned by others to certain social categories. The others with whom we affiliate form the basis for our understanding

of ourselves. Thus, social identity theory posits that our identities are formed in the context of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982).

The very process of creating social categories implies that there are ingroups and outgroups relevant to each individual. The process of categorizing ourselves and others highlights differences between the ingroup and the outgroup and at the same time underscores similarities between ingroup members. This process inherently allows us to favor the ingroup in an effort to enhance our sense of self (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

The ingroup-outgroup differentiation is relevant to the Jewish case on many levels. Judaism is a religion and serves to create boundary lines between Jews and Protestants, Catholics, Muslims and every other religion. Being Jewish, however, also includes ethnic, cultural, and national components. Each of these components contains elements that may serve to create ingroup boundaries.

Social identity theory and self-categorization theory posit that social contexts play a role in creating meaningful group boundaries and that collective identities are socially constructed categories that can shift, depending on the situation or context. The quote at the beginning of this chapter illustrates these theories in action. The Rosen's sense of Jewish identity in Chicago was supported by their Jewish social network. When they moved to a Jewishly sparse community they no longer had their social network to rely upon. Some combination of experiencing a change in environment and feeling their minority status forced them to find new ways to define their ingroup. In this case, they joined a synagogue.

Collective identity requires a multidimensional analysis which includes the individual's evaluation of the category, the closeness he or she feels to other members of the group, and the behavioral implications of group membership (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). In addition to this multidimensionality, social psychologists have recently begun to consider how overarching cultural systems influence collective identification (Operario & Fiske, 1999; Squire, 2000). Cross-cultural psychology has established links between individual behaviors and the cultural context, illustrating that people generally behave within the contexts of accepted cultural norms and expectations (Berry, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). Reframing and examining collective identity theories through the lens of the cultural context opened the door to new inquiries seeking to better understand how aspects of the external environment affect identification. Ashmore et. al. posit that the contexts surrounding a person in a situation can affect how that individual experiences or enacts his or her collective identity. My overarching research question examines how one aspect of the context, residential density, affects one type of collective identification, Jewish identity.

The Role of Environment and Social Networks in Identification

The physical environment can function as a tool for maintaining or changing one's identity (Hormuth, 1990). For example, an environment may stimulate memories or remind one of certain goals. Stimulated by the environment, these cognitions may encourage specific behaviors. The environment can aid in the public expression of one's identity. The books on one's bookshelf or the mezuzah on one's door aid in the presentation of the self to others. Some physical environments, such as a court of law or churches, have rules of social conduct which reinforce certain role prescriptions

associated with identities. People have a tendency to seek out and place themselves in contexts and situations that allow them to comfortably display their identities (Brewer, 1991; Deaux, 1991; Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

Behaviors, which may be expressions of collective identification, can also be affected by the physical environment. The influence of community size on behavior was studied extensively by Roger Barker. Barker (1963) examined the voluntary behaviors of students in large and small schools in the Midwest. His research demonstrated that students in smaller schools were more strongly motivated, engaged in more varied activities, and held more responsible and central positions than students in larger schools. In smaller communities, every individual is a key player and is important in maintaining the stability, and perhaps the survival, of the environmental setting. In larger communities there may be a diffusion of responsibility because there are many people who are able to do the same job and the stability and the survival of the community are not at stake. This research exemplifies how the larger context in which we operate has the potential to alter the attitudes and behaviors associated with collective identities.

For the most part, identities are relatively stable, but their functions and uses fluctuate (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Cross & Strauss, 1998; Deaux & Martin, 2003; Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi & Cotting, 1999; Ethier & Deaux, 1994). Depending on the context, the physical environment can provide support for identities or it can increase the threat of stigma. The quote at the beginning of this chapter illustrates how the Jewishly dense environment in Chicago provided support for the Rosen's identity. In Bentonville, Mrs. Rosen felt the threat of stigma through the experience at her daughter's day care center. To offset this threat and reinforce collective identity, the Rosen's joined a

synagogue. This is one example of how the context can affect the extent to which we use our social environment to strengthen collective identity.

Our social networks contribute to identity stability. This was clearly the case for the Rosen's when they lived in Chicago. In fact, some of the best predictors of ethnic identification are involvement with ethnic organizations and informal networks and friends of the same ethnicity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999). In a study of first-year Hispanic students at predominantly white colleges, Ethier and Deaux found that students with initially high ethnic identities strengthened their identities during the course of the year by becoming involved in cultural activities. Presumably, involvement in cultural activities provides members of the minority group with a social network of like-minded friends, offsetting feelings of loneliness and creating a positive affect around being a member of the ethnic group.

For those Hispanic students who felt ambivalent about their ethnic identity, entering an Ivy-League college required them to cope with and adapt to new contextual demands. These individuals felt stigmatized in their new environment; they perceived that they were negatively evaluated by others because of their race. Because these students were ambivalent about their Hispanic identity before entering college, the combination of these attitudes with a new environment resulted in lowered collective self-esteem and lowered identification with other Hispanic students over time (Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

Thus, the intensity of one's identification predicts identity maintenance or change. That is, those who are highly identified tend to engage in collective strategies and are more likely to use enhancement strategies to maintain their identities in the face of threat

(Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997). Ethier and Deaux (1994) used the term “remooring” to refer to repositioning oneself in response to contextual changes in an environment. Remooring requires an individual to simultaneously develop new bases of support for an identity in the new context and detach the identity from its supports in the former environment. This research illustrates that highly identified individuals tend to seek out the support systems in their new environments, which in turn strengthens their identity, minimizes perceptions of threat, and minimizes consequent loss of collective self-esteem. The opposite may occur for low identifiers. In a new environment, low identifiers are more likely to perceive threats to their identity and as a result decrease their ethnic group identification and show consequent decreases in collective self-esteem. Therefore, a contextual change can serve as the impetus to strengthen or weaken an existing identity, depending on the strength of identification before the contextual change.

Different contexts require individuals to be flexible when responding to the immediate situation by choosing to emphasize some identities over others, without relinquishing a well-established identity. For example, decreasing the importance of a particular identity may be useful in certain contexts and may be more desirable than eliminating or denying the existence of an identity altogether (Deaux & Ethier, 1998). Cross and Strauss (1998) articulated five functions (buffering, bonding, bridging, code switching, and individualism) that identities serve in our everyday lives. They asserted that the function an individual chooses to use is dependent upon contextual variables and the individual's unique personality, underscoring the interplay and interdependence of our psychological properties and the characteristics of the situation. These functions serve a variety of purposes and may be triggered by a host of contextual variables. Contexts that

make salient feelings of stigma or identity threat, such as Mrs. Rosen's experience with her daughter's day care center, may activate one type of function, while situations that are culture-specific, but do not include a perceived threat, activate other functions.

Lasting social relations may provide stable support for an identity because identities are dependent upon social interactions to be meaningful. Social networks, because they are comprised of similar people, may also affect participation in day to day activities. Thus, one's identity may be reinforced through defined behaviors that happen in a context of socially, like-minded people (Deaux & Martin, 2003). Goldscheider's (1986) research, which addresses the roles of socio-economic status and Jewish social cohesion, also drew particular attention to the importance of social networks. He found that shared experiences and similar socio-economic achievements formed the structural bases for group solidarity. These structural bases allow for the continued interaction of Jews with other Jews reinforcing collective identity through Jewish social cohesion. In other words, having same-ethnic friends strengthens both individual and collective identities.

The ways in which an environmental context may influence an individual's behavior is complicated and dependent upon many factors. Social psychologists highlight social interactions among majority and minority groups as well as fluctuations and shifts in subjective identification in different contexts. Environmental psychologists emphasize the role of the setting, with specific attention to its size, to understand another aspect of how the larger context exerts pressure on our behavioral choices. Research from across these disciplines illustrates the broad and varied ways of understanding the effects of context on identification.

Ethnic Identification

Ethnic Identity Among White Americans

The term "ethnic identity" is sometimes used synonymously to talk about racial identity even though one can also identify ethnically via one's nationality, religion, and/or language (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic categories and labels are socially constructed phenomena that vary over time, context, and individuals.

Just as with social identities, the ethnic self-label people use may change depending on the circumstances of the situation. However, this change may be constrained by the way one is perceived by others. For example, when distinct racial features are obvious to an outside observer, individuals have less freedom to choose self-labels. Choosing to ascribe to an ethnic identity is different from having an ethnicity imposed by outside observers. Being labeled as part of an ethnic group by an outside observer is not necessarily an endorsement of group membership. In this way, ethnic identity among white Americans is different from some of the other social identities with which individuals identify.

For white Americans, categorizing oneself ethnically implies that one places oneself in a social category; presumably, one may also remove or distance oneself from that group. White Americans can ascribe to ethnic identities, but because that identity is not immediately visible to others they are able to interact with others without allowing their social identity to filter how everything about them is understood. Individuals may try to ascertain others' attitudes toward them in an effort to predict how others will react; they might monitor their speech and behavior. Or, individuals can be very forthright about their identities, displaying signs and symbols that convey ethnic identities related to religious affiliation or sexual orientation, as examples. Because others use visual cues to

categorize people, the subjective and voluntary nature of belonging to ethnic groups is more complicated for people of color. White Americans may have more latitude to hide or proclaim their ethnic identity than people of color who may be visibly categorized. This latitude contributes to the subjectivity of the adherence to and affiliation with ethnic groups.

For white Americans, ethnic identity is flexible, subjective and voluntary. Individuals differ drastically in terms of the strength of their ethnic identification and their levels of direct cultural involvement with ethnic groups. Two people who belong to the same ethnic group may differ widely in their level of commitment to it (Waters, 1990; Horowitz, 2000). They may vary in terms of how salient group membership is for them and what it means to them subjectively. In addition, an individual's ethnic identity can vary over the course of a lifetime.

Symbolic Ethnicity

White ethnic groups in America today are largely the product of immigration several decades ago. When the Italian and Irish emigrated to America, for example, many members of this immigrant generation strove to become culturally and structurally American, to merge their ethnic background with the characteristics of the culture of their new home. The immigrant generation faced many obstacles to becoming part of the mainstream. Acquiring language skills, becoming self-sufficient, and discrimination were obstacles with which all new immigrants had to contend. As a result, ethnic neighborhoods, comprised of same-ethnicity groups, provided a buffer against the harsh reality of the new host culture. Because the immigrant generation was the closest to the original ethnic group, they likely had the most intense feelings of ethnicity. Subsequent

generations, however, slowly immersed themselves into the majority culture. As subsequent generations became more comfortable with a "hyphenated identity," they began to move to mainstream neighborhoods, contributing to the decline of the ethnic neighborhood. Over time, the obstacles to becoming part of the mainstream were overcome to the extent that Italian-Americans and Irish-Americans became fully integrated into American culture, their "social reward" for assimilation (c.f., Brodkin, 1998; Ignatiev, 1995).

Ironically, the obstacles identified by the immigrant generation and the boundaries imposed upon them by mainstream America served to support ethnic groups' collective identity. The experience of living in an ethnic neighborhood and non-acceptance by the mainstream worked to enhance ethnic identity even though these were barriers the immigrant generation sought to eliminate. As these obstacles were removed, new generations moved up the socio-economic ladder, leaving the ethnic neighborhood behind. They overcame discrimination and integrated into mainstream society. With this acceptance, the environmental factors once supporting collective identity were eliminated, which could suggest that acceptance by the mainstream will make it difficult for subsequent generations to maintain a meaningful ethnic identity.

This straight-line assimilationist theory was originally put forth by Gans (1979). He hypothesized that over time ethnic identity will become merely symbolic, to the extent that ethnic identification will simply be a nostalgic allegiance to one's ethnic group, without any meaningful participation. Symbolic ethnicity, therefore, retains a subjective meaning focusing on such things as ethnic foods, holiday celebrations, and using words or phrases in the language of origin, without the affiliative behavioral

practices associated with ethnic culture. The very words “symbolic ethnicity” imply that this identification is figurative; ethnicity is experienced as part of an individual’s subjective feelings but is not grounded in behaviors indicative of cultural practices and/or group relationships in ethnic communal life. Symbolic ethnicity has often been used to describe the ethnicity of white Americans (Keefe, 1992; Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990).

On the other hand, Alba (1990) asserted that no matter how strongly an individual subjectively identifies with an ethnic background, if this identity is not grounded in action, experience, and social ties it cannot be a central component of one’s identity. If one's ethnic identity has no content or commitment to action, it is a pure form of symbolic ethnicity. Alba argues that thinking of oneself in ethnic terms is likely to increase the probability of behavioral manifestations of one's ethnic culture. At the same time, the existence of ethnic culture boosts the probability of identifying ethnically because the culture reminds us of the distinctiveness and value of ethnic origins.

In the case of the Jews, immigration to the United States peaked between 1880 and 1924. During that time, the relatively hostile cultural environment ironically supported Jewish collective identity through anti-Semitism, quotas on Jewish students attending elite universities, and the neighborhoods in which Jews of the immigrant generation could afford to live. As these environmental boundaries were lowered or eliminated, Jews were slowly accepted into American society. With this acceptance came lower levels of discrimination, which in turn allowed Jews to attend public universities and become increasingly upwardly mobile. As Jews reached higher levels of attainment, they were able to move away from ethnic neighborhoods, such as Manhattan’s lower east side, into more affluent neighborhoods. At the same time, these changes led to the

integration of American and Jewish identities. A Jewish identity today no longer precludes one from being American and from associating oneself with a multitude of identities.

Sociologists of American Jewry investigated Gans' theory of straight-line assimilation (Amyot & Seligman, 1996; Kivisto & Nefzger, 1993). Although investigators found evidence of declines in measures of ethnicity, they did not find that involvement in Jewish life was purely symbolic. In fact, Jewish life continues to persist and thrive. They blamed this lack of evidence on the fact that Jewish identity is not strictly ethnic. The religious component of Jewish life provides an important vehicle for the affiliative behaviors that sustain a Jewish collective identification. Jews belong to communities all over the world in which they are free to express their religion; they also reside in places where the amount of religious expression is limited. Throughout history, Jews have had to accommodate to the majority cultures in which they live. Yet despite their diverse circumstances, they have managed to maintain a distinctiveness and a sameness about them. The religious orientation to Judaism is individual, family oriented, and communal. Judaism's character is comprised of a social and communal aspect that is interwoven with, and simultaneously distinct from, its sacramental character.

In 1994, Gans put forth a similar theory about religious identity. He suggested that religious affiliation in America, like white ethnicity, is becoming voluntary and observed that Americans live in an environment of religious individualism. Although many religions "require" participation as well as individual practices and beliefs, there is no way to enforce these requirements. As a result, Gans suggested that religious practices, and perhaps even religious beliefs, may be subject to the same kinds of

acculturation processes as ethnicity, resulting in symbolic religiosity. However, there is little evidence to support this theory.

Jewish Identity

Jewish Identity in America

Jewish identity is comprised of interwoven religious and ethnic components. Religiously, Judaism provides a moral compass, a connection to a higher being, and a set of ethical guidelines for living. Religious celebrations can be spiritually rewarding; they can also connect Jews to their thousands of years of history and traditions and to their collective memory. The ethnic component of Jewish life connotes common ancestry, shared circumstance, and common destiny (Cohen, 1998). As a result of this duality, American Jews share similarities with religious groups such as Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims, as well as ethnic groups such as Italian Americans and Irish Americans.

Strong Jewish identities contribute to Jewish life because they allow Jews to create and sustain meaningful Jewish lives and homes, thus insuring Jewish continuity for future generations. The continuity of Jewish communal life is dependent upon strong identification at the individual level. As a result, sociologists of American Jewry identified a typology for the numerous ways of "being Jewish" in an effort to find the one that offered the best prospects for continuity (Cohen 1983; 1988; Herman, 1989; Himmelfarb, 1980, Sklare & Greenblum, 1967).

Horowitz (1999) summarized the typical indicators of Jewish identity found in much research on American Jewry (c.f., Cohen, 1983; 1988; Goldscheider, 1986; Goldstein & Goldscheider, 1968; Sklare & Greenblum, 1967). She concluded that Jewish identity has typically been operationalized and studied by sociologists and social

scientists in four ways: 1) the length of time spent in America or "generation in America," 2) Jewish education, 3) religious denomination, and 4) affiliation. The length of time spent in America distinguishes Jewish immigrants from their children, grandchildren, and other successive generations. Providing some evidence for Gans' (1979) straight-line assimilation theory, Jewishness declined with each passing generation. However, the index of ritual and religious practices used to measure Jewishness was defined by a narrow set of traditional Jewish practices that did not leave room for newer or different expressions of Jewish identification.

The second indicator focused upon by researchers was Jewish education. Early exposure to Jewish education is correlated with Jewish practices later in life, demonstrating that longer and more intense schooling is associated with a cycle of habit, an informed knowledge base, and social ties (Bock, 1976; Himmelfarb, 1974). These acquisitions lead to more Jewish observance and identification.

Third, sociologists used denomination as a proxy for commitment to Judaism. The Orthodox are more observant than the Conservatives, who are in turn more observant than those in the Reform Movement. In the 1990 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) approximately 20% of American Jewry stated that they were "Just Jewish," refusing to ascribe to a denomination (Kosmin, Goldstein, Waksberg, Lerer, Keysar, & Scheckner,1990), which suggests that denominational affiliation is fluid.

Finally, Jewish communal affiliation has been used as an indicator of commitment and identity. Recent findings suggest that institutional connections are less meaningful among Americans in general (Putnam, 2000). Fewer and fewer Americans are joining institutions, clubs, and organizations and they feel less loyal and less attached to those

they do join. American Jews, like their fellow Americans, are maintaining fewer ties with one another. Jewish enthusiasm for Israel has declined in recent years, as has their felt connection to the organized Jewish community in America. This decline has been accompanied by a rising intermarriage rate, decreased in-group friendships, and a geographic dispersal of the Jewish population (Cohen, 1998; Cohen & Eisen, 2000).

Given the four ways that Jewish identity has traditionally been studied, Horowitz (1999) argued that the methodology previously used to study American Jewry makes assumptions that may be true about certain Jews, but cannot be applied to all. She argued that a more subjective, meaning-centered dimension was needed to fully understand American Jewish identity (Horowitz, 1998). As a result, psychologists and sociologists researching American Jewry have developed qualitative and quantitative methodologies that allow researchers to gain insight into Jews' self-understanding of what being Jewish means to them, in addition to how they are Jewish (i.e., their observable behaviors). These more nuanced approaches to studying Jewish identity have revealed that Jews are expressing their Jewishness in many different ways.

Horowitz (1998, 2000) articulated three overall modes of Jewish involvement: (a) steady low or non-involvement (or assimilation into the larger majority culture); (b) mixed patterns of Jewish engagement; and (c) intensive Jewish involvement. The individuals who exhibited the mixed pattern of Jewish engagement were not ambivalent about their Jewishness, but their ongoing involvement in the Jewish community was dependent upon its being meaningful in their lives. Judaism is therefore experienced as a consciousness about values and peoplehood, not just a mode of observance. Horowitz concluded that assimilation into American society does not require individuals to reject

their Jewish identity in order to become American, but instead being Jewish requires intentional effort. The subjective meaning that an individual attaches to Jewish identity has become more important in this climate because as a group, Jewish continuity now depends on choice. Because Jews have become widely accepted in mainstream American society, younger Jews especially feel no need to choose between being American and being Jewish. Being American has become the default position but being Jewish requires the individual to be proactive.

Cohen and Eisen (2000) examined Jewish identity through the eyes of those they call "moderately affiliated." Their most striking finding was that the collectivist communal loyalties and norms (such as commitment to and affiliation with the organizational life of the Jewish community) that heavily influenced the development of Jewish identities in the past have lost much of their allure. Instead, American Jews are embarking on individually personalized and highly subjective quests for meaning within the framework of Jewish practices and beliefs. For example, Cohen and Eisen found that many American Jews proclaim their Judaism to be “personalist.” That is, each person interacts with Judaism in meaningful ways that suit him or her in a nonjudgmental fashion. In this way, defining one's commitment to Judaism is a lifelong process that requires ongoing evaluations about Jewish observance and involvement. Among those whom Cohen and Eisen call the moderately affiliated, we see a pattern of emerging personalism in the Jewish community. American Jews are choosing to identify as Jews and with Judaism as a foundation for personal journeys and experiences in their lives. These experiences are framed within a Jewish context and give flexibility to the notion of Jewish identity development as a subjective, voluntary, and ongoing process.

The notion of an emerging personalism in Jewish identity is reminiscent of the empirical findings noted earlier in the discussion of symbolic ethnicity. Like white Americans, American Jews are expressing their Jewish identities in ways that are fluid, as well as situationally constrained. The search for Jewish meaning is subjective; ritual observances are evaluated and re-evaluated as American Jews try to express themselves in ways that are personally meaningful at different stages throughout their lives.

Given the personalized nature of Jewish identity, it not surprising that American Jews are increasingly detached from the organized Jewish community, have lower levels of connectedness to Israel, marry non-Jews in ever greater numbers, and have gained widespread acceptance in the larger American society (Cohen, 1998; Cohen & Eisen, 2000). Jewish identity, however, is affected by countless variables, not the least of which is the context of the larger community in which one lives.

In every community distinctive sets of historical, structural, organizational, and leadership factors set the stage for the creation of religio-ethnic communities. In 1977, Lazerwitz found that the local community in which one resides has a moderate impact on several measures of Jewish identification. He put community in the same league as family life cycle and U.S. generation, in terms of its ability to affect identification. Jewish identity is manifested and reinforced by a variety of variables, such as participation in the formal, organized life of the community, through the observance of ritual practices, and informally through one's Jewish friends and social networks.

We now know that involvement with ethnic organizations and informal networks and friends of the same ethnicity are good predictors of ethnic identification (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999). That said, how might Jewish identity be affected if

there are few other Jews with whom to socialize? How might this context play a role in the subjective attitudes expressed about being Jewish? Does living near or further from other Jews affect ritual practice? Finally, how might the communal context affect affiliation if there are few Jewish organizations to join? In sum, how might the landscape of the American community and context affect Jewish identity?

Community as a Contextual Influence on Jewish Identity

Communities are complex systems of networks, comprised of friendship and kinship networks, as well as formal and informal associations. Many of these networks are rooted in family lives or ongoing social networks and commitments (Roof, 1976). In the most traditional sense, the role of community is essential to Jewish life. Judaism's laws include an injunction to assemble a minyan (at least 10 people) for prayer. Expulsion from the Jewish community is Judaism's gravest penalty. Throughout history, Jews have had to accommodate to the majority cultures in which they live. Yet they have managed to maintain a uniqueness and a sameness about them that allows them to be called Jewish. The Jewish people have remained unique by continuing to hold strong to the traditions of their faith while accommodating to the majority culture, and yet those traditions are exactly what has allowed the religious practice and system of values to remain constant and the same over time.

Several researchers have demonstrated the potential influences of residential communities on American Jewish identity. In 1928 Wirth analyzed the origins of the medieval Jewish ghettoes, both voluntary and compulsory. Wirth’s (1928) analysis elucidated the psychological impact of the constraints imposed by living in Europe’s Jewish ghettoes and contrasted these living restrictions with the geographical freedom

offered in America's cities at the turn of the century. Geographical freedom, along with lessening discrimination and anti-Semitism over the next 75 years, led to changes in the communal character of Jewish life as well as the ways in which individual Jews practiced Judaism. The freedom offered by American society was different from anything generations of Jews had experienced. No one predicted the extent to which American Jews would become part of mainstream society.

On the other hand, not all elements of the Jewish community took advantage of the geographical freedom America offered. Mayer (1979) studied the tightly-knit Orthodox community residing in Boro Park. His research highlighted the role of the Jewish neighborhood among the Orthodox community, which persists today. Even among the non-Orthodox, the Jewish neighborhood did not disappear. Goldscheider (1986) suggested that just as Mayer's Boro Park Jews live in a cohesive community, as Jews have gained entrance into the upper middle class by becoming more educated and earning higher incomes, they have created new (exclusive, to some extent) Jewish neighborhoods.

Most recently, Goldstein and Goldstein's (1996) analysis of the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey showed that in addition to becoming upwardly mobile, American Jews are increasingly dispersed across the major regions of the Unites States. Growing numbers of Jews are moving from metropolitan areas to suburbs, as well as to smaller cities and towns. American Jews are experiencing acceptance in mainstream America more than ever before. Jews throughout America are choosing to identify Jewishly in ways that are personally meaningful to them, rendering the process of identity development dynamic and changing.

There is a qualitative difference between being Jewish in the New York metropolitan area, where approximately 20% of the entire American Jewish population resides, and just about anywhere else in the United States (Horowitz, 1999a; Horowitz & Solomon, 1992). Comparisons between Jewish New Yorkers and the rest of American Jewry illustrate some very interesting contrasts, suggesting that something about the context accounts for the differential profile.

Horowitz (1999a) reported that Jewish New Yorkers are different from American Jewry at large because the Jewish context New York City offers is unique. Policies such as school closings and suspension of alternate side of the street parking on Jewish holidays reflect the visible presence of New York Jewry in public life. These practices and policies surely increase Jewish awareness on the part of all New Yorkers and may have a strengthening effect on Jews in terms of their Jewish awareness.

New York City is also home to rabbinical seminaries from the three denominations, and it is the headquarters of most of the major American Jewish communal institutions. New York appears, therefore, to be the center of Jewish organizational life for American Jews. These things contribute to the high profile of New York Jewry. It is acceptable, comfortable, and to some, important, to be Jewish in New York (Horowitz, 1999a). Some Jews are attracted to the national, international, cultural, religious, and communal institutions in New York, but the number of Jews living in New York makes it statistically likely that Jews will interact with other Jews simply by chance. Frequent serendipitous encounters with other Jews reduce the need for formal affiliations with Jewish organizational life. Horowitz concludes that Jewishness in New York City is highly visible, is accepted and appreciated by the mainstream, and has a

prominent and positive role in the city. This climate makes it easier for Jews to identify with Judaism, in contrast to the social contexts that make such identification harder elsewhere.

On the other hand, Jews in less dense communities may be forced to consciously work to preserve their traditions, perhaps even modifying their observances and ritual behaviors in response to the majority culture in which they live. Compared with Jewishly dense communities, voluntary participation in the organized Jewish community is necessary in sparsely populated communities as a matter of survival. Jews in sparse communities are likely to feel peer pressure to actively participate in their community. Yet, because the Jewish community is few in numbers, fewer people are required take on more meaningful and important tasks, perhaps contributing to satisfaction levels and ensuring prosperity as Barker's (1963) work would suggest. Involvement in one's Jewish community may lead to increased identification. Jews living in sparsely populated areas may view themselves as assets to their community. Thus, having to work to preserve one's traditions in the absence of a large Jewish community may, for some, strengthen commitment to and identification with Judaism.

Residential Density and Jewish Identity

Environment influences identity and people adapt and modify their identities in different contexts. At the same time, people's identities affect their choice of social environments. So it is with the Jewish case. Strictly observant Jews hardly consider moving to a region of the country that does not support their identity (e.g., small towns where it is difficult to observe kosher laws or where there is no Orthodox synagogue). They are far more likely to remain in urban centers such as New York or Boston where

environmental structures already in place support their identity. Nonetheless, demographic patterns suggest that American Jews are geographically dispersed (Goldstein & Goldstein, 1996).

Analyses of community size and Jewish identification found that the smaller the minority community, the more its members are affected by community size (Rabinowitz, 1989; Rabinowitz, Kim, & Lazerwitz, 1992). Rabinowitz (1989) examined the effects of community size on intermarriage rates, synagogue membership, and philanthropic giving to the Jewish Federation. He found that the larger the community, the lower the rates of intermarriage, synagogue membership, and philanthropic giving. Compared with those in larger communities, Jews in smaller communities report higher levels of organized communal affiliation and participation. He termed these findings a paradox because they show that small Jewish communities tend to have high levels of participation but also have high levels of intermarriage. Jews in small towns associate with non-Jews to a much greater extent than those living in larger, urban settings. These associations tend to lead to greater interfaith socializing, and as a result, interfaith friendships and perhaps marriage. Rabinowitz, Kim, and Lazerwitz (1992) replicated the finding that community size and affiliation are inversely related, meaning that the larger the Jewish community, the less likely its members will participate in formal organizational memberships. In addition, they found a direct relationship between community size and informal practices such as friendships patterns. That is, members of larger communities are more likely to participate informally in the community by means of their within-group friendships than those living in smaller communities.

The size of the Jewish community, however, does not fully explain how the communal context has the potential to shape identification. Larger Jewish communities may have small neighborhoods where significant numbers of Jews live and areas where fewer or virtually no Jews reside. In fact, we are more likely to interact with those who are geographically close to us than those who are distant (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Neighborhood composition is a contextual variable that can limit or increase between-group interactions (Blau, 1994). Furthermore, neighborhoods have also been identified as one of most likely places to form friendships (McPherson, et al., 2001). That is, Jewishly dense neighborhoods ensure that Jews will interact with other Jews, regardless of whether the overall Jewish community is large or small. This geographic propinquity creates a context for Jews to interact with other Jews, opening the door to Jewish friendship. We know from previous research that same-ethnicity friendships have the potential to affect other aspects of identity. Therefore, examining the impact of Jewish density on measures of identification refines the research on community size and allows us to better understand how Jewish friendships are formed and the ways in which those relationships affect other expressions of Jewish identity.

In addition to residential density, other communal variables have the potential to affect Jewish identification. In order to understand the net impact of residential density, historical and structural variables must also be considered. For example, communities vary widely in their availability of Jewish organizations, institutions, and agencies. Mature communities are likely to offer more affiliative opportunities than those which are newly-formed because established Jewish communities have more resources, institutions, and variety. If the organized Jewish community is relatively new or unstable, that may

mean that many of its residents are relatively new the community. Recent Jewish migrants are much less active in the community and are less likely to affiliate in the Jewish community's formal organizational structure than are long-term residents, presumably because it takes time to integrate into a new community (Cohen, 1983; Goldstein & Goldstein, 1996). Thus, the maturity of the community is a community-level variable that has the potential to affect expressions of Jewish identification.

Broadly speaking, Jews express themselves differently in different regions of the United States. The West, for example, is noted for being the least religiously observant area in the country; the highest rates of synagogue affiliation are found in the Midwest; the most religiously observant Jews are found in the Northeast (Kotler-Berkowitz, Cohen, Ament, Klaff, Mott, & Pekerman-Neuman, 2003; Sheskin, 2004). Region of the country is another community-level variable that could affect Jewish identification.

Jewish identity may be affected by communal variables but one's identity may also affect residential choice. All things equal, Orthodox families and individuals are the probably the least mobile because their choice of locations is the most constrained. Presumably, Orthodox families want to have access to appropriate synagogues, to observe Jewish dietary laws, and to send their children to day school. Given these restrictions, they are less likely to move to a new (i.e., not mature) Jewish community and in fact, new communities have attracted the lowest numbers of Orthodox and Conservative Jews (Schor, 2000).

Several questions are left unanswered: How does residential density affect Jewish friendship and marriage patterns? Does living in a sparsely or densely populated Jewish neighborhood affect how one thinks and feels about being Jewish? Does this context play

a role in the ways Jews observe rituals? Does Jewish density affect synagogue affiliation rates? Finally, how does density intersect with other community-level and individual variables when examining measures of Jewish identification?

This research will consider how density and other communal and individual-level variables may affect four measures of Jewish identification: 1) social networks (i.e., friendship and marriage patterns); 2) subjective attitudes about being Jewish; 3) two types of ritual observance, episodic and habitual; and 4) synagogue affiliation rates.

Data and Methods

Data for this analysis came from the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01 (NJPS).[1] Its purpose is to provide a comprehensive social and demographic portrait of the American Jews. The questionnaire covers a variety of topics such as geographic distribution and socio-economics, family structure, marital history, subjective Jewish identification, religious practices, Jewish education, affiliative practices, feelings about Israel, and philanthropic giving, among others. In the NJPS, screening of households from all 50 states plus the District of Columbia, yielded 4523 households with at least one Jewish member (i.e., religious affiliation, Jewish parentage, whether the respondent was raised Jewish, and if he or she considers him/herself Jewish for any reason). These analyses included only the respondents who indicated that they are Jewish by religion or those who consider themselves Jewish and have no other religious preference[2].

In an effort to more efficiently contact Jews, who are considered a rare population by survey researchers, the United States was divided into seven strata which were based on pre-survey estimates of Jewish population density. The researchers oversampled areas with higher estimates of Jewish density but adjusted for this difference in the chance of being called by using weights. Multivariate analyses cannot be performed and interpreted meaningfully with the weighted data because the number of cases is so large that everything is rendered statistically significant. However, using unweighted data ensures bias because the sample was constructed with the use of weights from the outset.

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[1] See Kotler-Berkowitz, Cohen, Ament, Klaff, Mott, & Pekerman-Neuman (2003) for an overview of the NJPS 2000-01. I obtained the data file from the North American Jewish Data Bank.

[2] Social scientists and demographers in the Jewish community debated the methodological validity of the NJPS 2000-01 following its publication. This debate centered upon the current number of Jews living in the U.S. and was not relevant to my analysis which focused upon the attitudes and behaviors of American Jews.

Kadushin, Phillips, and Saxe (2005) recommend researchers reweight the data by dividing the weights by their mean in order to reduce the weighted sample size to approximate the unweighted sample size. Kadushin et. al. also recommend using a conservative design effect of 1.5 which essentially reduces the sample size by one third. The analyses that follow are based on these recommendations. The results of these analyses were based on 2240 weighted respondents.

In order to assess the extent to which Jewish density had an impact on expressions of Jewish identity, it was necessary to create a variable that measured Jewish density. In addition to the absolute size of the Jewish population in a given community, four measures of density were created. All of these measures were tested; the one which best predicted Jewish friendship, a variable that has been shown to consistently predict social identity, was selected and used in the subsequent analyses.

Two other predictor variables which served as controls were also computed. First, a measure of institutional maturity, defined as how many Jewish institutions were available to members in a given community, was created. Second, a measure of the individual's Jewish background, defined by a scale that assessed the respondents' childhood Jewish education, the extent to which some rituals were performed in the household, and Jewish parentage, was used.

The outcome variables were divided into four categories: social networks, subjective identification, rituals, and affiliation. A detailed explanation all of the predictor and outcome variables, as well as the methods used to create them, is found in the sections that follow.

Predictor Variables

Four Jewish density indices (JDI) were computed and tested. The four indices were the result of a 2x2 design based on two variables: type of population estimate (community or neighborhood) and race (total population or white Americans only). At the outset, it was not clear whether measuring units of geographic areas, such as neighborhoods, would be better predictors of identity than a density measure based on the entire community. The boundaries of these communities were defined by the geographic summaries found the American Jewish Yearbook (2001).

The issue of race was addressed because of the significant literature that discusses how the ethnic identity of white Americans is different from the ethnic identities of people of color (Alba, 1990; Gans, 1979; 1994; Waters, 1990). It was not clear whether the density measure should compare Jews to the total population or to only the white population. Research has shown that several types of contexts limit opportunities for interracial relations; neighborhoods are not generally considered bastions of racial diversity in the United States (Blau, 1994).

These unknowns led to the development of four density indices:

1) Community JDI –total: A ratio of the number of Jews in a community compared to the total population in the same community.
2) Community JDI- white: A ratio of the number of Jews in a community compared to the white, non-Hispanic population in the same community.
3) Neighborhood JDI- total: A ratio of the number of Jews in a neighborhood compared to the total population in the same neighborhood.

4) Neighborhood JDI- white: A ratio of the number of Jews in a neighborhood compared to the white, non-Hispanic population in the same neighborhood.

The absolute size of the Jewish population in a given community was also examined. Previous research showed a relationship between the absolute size of a Jewish community and some measures of identity (Rabinowitz, 1989; Rabinowitz, Kim, & Lazerwitz, 1992). In this case, both density and size were tested in an effort to find the best predictor of Jewish identity.

The one measure that best predicted Jewish friendship was used in the subsequent analyses. Jewish friendship was chosen as the dependent variable because of previous research that demonstrated the strong predictive relationship between friendship and social identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999).

It should be noted that the greater New York area was treated differently from the rest of the country. According to the New York Population Study (Ukeles, Miller, & Beck, 2002), the New York area is home to approximately 20% of the American Jewish population. The New York study showed very different Jewish profiles based on a geographic analysis of the five boroughs and three counties that comprise the New York area. Therefore, the New York area was broken into eight separate communities: the five boroughs that comprise New York city (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Staten Island, Queens) and three surrounding counties (Nassau, Suffolk, and Westchester).

The specific methods employed in creating the density indices as well as the measure of absolute size are described in detail below.

Measure 1: Community JDI- total

The community JDI-total was a ratio of the number of Jews in a given community to the total population in the same geographic area. The number of Jews in a given community was determined by the 2001 American Jewish Yearbook which publishes yearly population estimates (based on local community studies) and clearly designates the geographic area included in the estimate. The 2001 American Jewish Yearbook community Jewish population estimates might include a city, a city and one surrounding county, or a city and several surrounding counties. The publication very specifically notes how each Jewish community was measured with regard to geographical boundaries. The denominator, or total population, was based on population estimates from the 2000 U.S. Census for the same geographic area. These population estimates were found on the U.S. Census website (www.census.gov).

Measure 2: Community JDI- white

This measure was exactly the same as the community JDI- total (described above) except that the denominator was the number of white Americans estimated by the U.S. Census to be living in the designated geographic area.

Measure 3: Neighborhood JDI- total

Neighborhood indices were only computed for Jewish communities with more than 17,000 Jews because there was not enough information in the data file to create such a profile for the smaller communities. These larger communities (those with more than 17,000 Jews) comprised approximately 60% of the data file. Thus, for sizable Jewish communities neighborhood population estimates were based on zip codes. However, there are no published Jewish population estimates based on zip codes. Therefore, the zip codes found in the data file were used to create neighborhood profiles. To create these

profiles, the zip codes for each community were listed in descending frequency and these lists were examined. It was determined that about 30% of the Jews in each community live in a relatively small number of zip codes. By the same token, approximately 20% live in the least Jewishly dense zip codes. That left 50% of the Jewish population in a given community residing in moderately dense Jewish neighborhoods.

Each community was divided into inner, middle, and outer neighborhoods. The innermost neighborhoods were comprised of the zip codes containing approximately 30% of the population. The middle neighborhood was comprised of the zip codes in the next 50%, and the outer neighborhood was comprised of the zip codes where the remaining 20% resided. The numerator of the neighborhood JDI –total was based on the corresponding percentage of the community estimate found in the American Jewish Yearbook (2001).

The denominator of the neighborhood-JDI total was computed by summing the US census total population estimates for each zip code in the inner, middle, and outer neighborhoods.

The neighborhood JDI-total was a ratio of the population estimates in the inner, middle, and outer neighborhoods to the corresponding total US population.

All of these procedures, however, were only relevant for those Jewish communities with Jewish populations greater than 17,000. For smaller communities, there were not enough zip codes in the data file to create inner, middle and outer neighborhood profiles. Therefore, in communities with fewer than 17,000 Jews, the community JDI-total was substituted.

Measure 4: Neighborhood JDI- white

This measure was exactly the same as the neighborhood JDI- total (described above) except that the denominator was the number of white Americans estimated by the U.S. Census to be living in the designated geographic area. Once again, in communities with fewer than 17,000 Jews, there were not enough zip codes to create neighborhood profiles so the community JDI- white was substituted[3].

Measure 5: Absolute size

The absolute size of a given Jewish community was also considered as a predictor of Jewish identity. This measure was simply the numerator of the community JDI measure, which is the number of Jews in a given community as determined by the American Jewish Yearbook, 2001.

Selected Jewish Density Index (JDI)

A series of regression analyses was performed to determine which of the above indices was the best predictor of social networks. In this study, social networks were measured by Jewish friendship and marriage patterns. Marriage patterns were not chosen because an examination of Jewish or non-Jewish spouses excludes the respondents who are not married. Instead, friendship was chosen because it is conceptually closest to the findings of other researchers who demonstrated that same-ethnic friendships predict social identification (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999).

As can be seen in Table 1, the neighborhood JDIs (total and white, β=.30, p<.01 and β=.31, p<.01, respectively) were better predictors of Jewish friendship than either of

[3] There were some zip codes in the data file for which there was no Jewish community population estimate. In these cases, although one may assume that the Jewish population is very small (i.e., less than 100 people) to be conservative, these zip codes were dropped from the analysis in every measure of Jewish density.

the total or white community JDIs (β=.21, p<.01 and β=.24, p<.01, respectively) or absolute size (β=.23, p<.01).

Two conclusions may be drawn from this analysis. First, density at the neighborhood level was the best predictor of Jewish friendship. The neighborhood level measures outscored the community level variables as well as the absolute size measure. This suggests that a contextual examination of Jewish identity is best conducted with refined measures. The more refined the geographic area, the better the measures of Jewish density. Density, therefore, is directly related to the geographic focus (c.f., Dash Moore, 1981).

The second conclusion that may be drawn from this analysis is that race is not a relevant variable at the neighborhood level. At the community level, the whites-only variable was more predictive than the total-population variable. The difference between the two neighborhood measures, however, was very slight. This finding is likely explained by the fact that most neighborhoods in the United States are not as racially diverse as whole communities (Blau, 1994; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Therefore, the decision was made to use the neighborhood JDI-total because it had the best predictive power and was also parsimonious.

Institutional Maturity

Mature Jewish communities offer more Jewish institution affiliations by way of synagogues, day schools, and other culturally Jewish organizations than newer communities even if they have Jewish populations of about the same size. The number of Jewish communal institutions is an indication of the stability and strength a community. More institutions translate into more opportunities to affiliate, resulting in more active

and involved members of the community. Fewer institutions translate into fewer opportunities to affiliate, and may signal a newer and less stable Jewish community. It takes time for communities to become stable and offer an array of Jewish affiliative choices to community members. Therefore, the impact that a community may have on expressions on Jewish identity is related to its relative institutional maturity.

Communities with denser areas of settlement may also be areas where the communities are older and established, offering a variety of affiliative options, whereas communities that are sparsely settled may be reflective of newly emerging Jewish communities that are unstable and offer fewer affiliative opportunities. The extent to which there are affiliative opportunities in a given community can affect measures of Jewish identification. Therefore, to control for the possible relationship between density and community-wide affiliative opportunities, an institutional maturity variable was created.

Institutional maturity was measured through a proxy ratio based on the population growth in given state over the past 30 years. I assumed that newer Jewish communities have had significant population growth over the past 30 years and represent immature Jewish communities. Newer Jewish communities are likely to have fewer Jewish institutions to join than do older ones. At the same time, I assumed that older, established communities have ample Jewish institutions with records of success, but over the past 30 years have experienced static or declining population counts. Therefore, while population decline or growth was not of primary interest, it created the context for measuring the relationship between density and institutional affiliative opportunities.

To create the institutional maturity variable, a growth ratio was computed for each state:

$$\frac{\text{Jewish population in state X in 2001} - \text{Jewish population in state X in 1970}}{\text{Jewish population in state X in 1970}}$$

This ratio shows the extent to which a Jewish community grew from 1970 to 2001. Positive scores indicate growth, reflecting newer, less stable communities with fewer institutions to join and presumably fewer Jewishly dense neighborhoods. Negative scores indicated population decline, reflecting older, established Jewish communities. Older, established communities probably have more Jewishly dense neighborhoods and also have more institutional affiliative opportunities than those which are new.

The scores from this ratio were divided into quartiles. The first quartile reflected a great deal of Jewish population decline over the last 30 years (ratio scores ranged from -.65 to -.43). Because these communities experienced a decline, it was assumed that they are old and established. They were coded as having the most Jewish institutions. The second quartile had ratio scores ranging from -.36 to .21 and contained communities with both decline and some modest growth. They were coded as having "some" institutions. The third quartile's ratio scores ranged from .22 to .44, reflecting only communities with growing Jewish populations. Because these communities are newer than the others described, they were coded as having "a few" Jewish institutions. Finally, the fourth quartile included ratio scores from .51 to 31.35, which means that community growth in these places more than doubled over the last 30 years. Because these Jewish communities are relatively new, they were coded as having the least number of Jewish institutions. This 4-category variable became the institutional maturity scale. It was used to control for

the community-level effect of affiliative opportunities so that we may understand the net impact of density on Jewish identity.

Jewish Background

An individual's Jewish background may also affect his or her Jewish identification, regardless of density. Children who received intense Jewish education, grew up performing Jewish rituals in their homes, and grew up in homes where both parents were Jewish are likely to be more Jewishly identified than children who did not have such experiences. In an effort to control the effect that an individual's Jewish background had on the relationship between density and Jewish identity, a Jewish background scale was created.

Three types of questions were used to create a Jewish background scale. This scale was comprised of a measure of Jewish education, rituals that were performed in the household when the respondent was aged 10 or 11, and Jewish parentage. In order create standardized measures, all were coded on a scale of 0 to 100.

The first measure, Jewish education, was computed by coding what kind of Jewish education respondents received during grades 1-7. Those who received none at all received a score of 0, private tutoring or other received a score of 25, Sunday school received a score of 50, two times per week part-time school received a score of 75 and Jewish day school received a score of 100.

The second measure was a score on scale from 0 to 100 comprised of rituals performed in the household when respondents were 10-11 years old: how frequently the family lit candles Friday night, how often the family attended religious services, and respondent's denomination raised.

The third measure, Jewish parentage, gave respondents a score of 100 if both parents were Jewish and 50 if one parent was Jewish.

Taken together, the scores on these three measures were combined into a single Jewish background scale (Cronbach's alpha= .644)

Outcome Variables

Several outcome variables were constructed in order to examine the effect of Jewish density on identity. Identity was defined as having four components: social networks, subjective attitudes, rituals and affiliation. An explanation of each component and the variables used to assess it follows.

Social Networks

Friendship patterns and social networks comprised of like-minded people create positive feelings about being a member of an ethnic group. Both of these variables may be affected by the residential context. Two separate questions were used to understand how density affects social networks, defined as friendship and marriage patterns. The first question was, "How many of the people you consider to be your closest friends are Jewish?" Response options contained five categories: none (0), some (25), about half (50), most (75), or all (100).

The second variable asked whether the respondent's current spouse was Jewish. This question was relevant only for those respondents who indicated that they had a spouse or partner. The same criteria was applied to the spouse as was applied to the respondent to determine whether he or she was Jewish. Those spouses who indicated they were Jewish by religion or considered themselves Jewish but had no other religious

preference were coded as Jews. A Jewish spouse received a score of 100; a non-Jewish spouse was scored as 0.

Subjective Identity

A considerable body of research has underscored the increasing importance of subjective attitudes in the group identity American Jews (c.f., Cohen and Eisen, 2000; Horowitz, 1998, 2000; Liebman and Cohen, 1990). What, how and why Jews feel about being Jewish have become central questions. Parallel research on other religious and ethnic groups has shown many of the same patterns with regard to the fluid and individualized nature of identity (Gans, 1994; Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990). Attitudinal questions such as, "How do you feel about being Jewish?," "To what extent do you feel like an outsider in American society because you are a Jew?," and "How important is being Jewish in your life?" assess subjective identity about being Jewish.

Previous research found that the smaller the minority community, the more its members are affected by community size (Rabinowitz, 1989; Rabinowitz, et. al., 1992). Jews in smaller communities tend to be active participants in the organizational life of the larger community. At the same time, they are aware of their token status and cognizant that being an active participant in the larger community means that they are sometimes viewed by others as speaking on behalf of all Jews. This representativeness increases consciousness and awareness of being different from the rest of the community (Rose, 1977; Rottenberg, 1998).

The subjective identity scale was a measure of thoughts and feelings about being Jewish, how salient this identity was to the respondent. The items in this scale (Cronbach's alpha= .812) can be found in Table 2.

Ritual Practice

A defining characteristic of being Jewish in America is not being Christian (Liebman & Cohen, 1990), and Jewish ritual behavior is a significant expression of identity that differentiates Jews from Christians. Judaism's sacramental character is steeped in ritual behavior. Life cycle events and holidays are marked by rituals believed to be thousands of years old. Jewish rituals reaffirm Jewish group belonging. American Jews, however, are constantly rethinking and evaluating their observance of ritual activities. Marshall Sklare (1971) observed Jews in America's suburban heartland and commented:

> The highest degree of retention will occur when a ritual: 1) is capable of effective redefinition in modern times; 2) does not demand social isolation or the adoption of a unique lifestyle; 3) accords with the religious culture of the larger community while providing a "Jewish alternative" when such is felt to be needed; 4) is centered on the child; and 5) is performed annually or infrequently (p. 114).

Several questions about ritual practice were included in the NJPS questionnaire. These questions were factor analyzed using principal component analysis. The factors converged in 3 iterations and accounted for 49% of the variance, resulting in two factors: episodic practice and habitual observance (see Table 3). The two factors were used to create two ritual scales. Episodic ritual practices included attending a Passover seder, putting a mezuzah on one's door, lighting Hanukkah candles, observing a mourning ritual (if applicable), and fasting on Yom Kippur. Habitual ritual observances included items such as keeping kosher in one's home, refraining from spending money on Shabbat, and usually or always lighting Shabbat candles. The Cronbach's alpha for the episodic practice scale was .692 and for the habitual observance scale was .691.

Affiliation

Affiliation was measured by whether respondents were currently members of a synagogue (yes=100, no=0). Synagogue membership represents the largest domain of affiliative practice among American Jews. Jews in smaller or sparsely populated communities may feel a greater need to participate in formal organizations such as synagogues in order to maintain the Jewish community. In an American context, religious affiliation is socially acceptable and in smaller communities, affiliating with the synagogue may be an outward sign that one is part of a specific group. In fact, empirical research demonstrated that people in small environments are more strongly motivated to participate, be engaged in more varied activities, and are more responsibly involved (Barker, 1963). In small communities, synagogue affiliation may be a venue for making being Jewish an acceptable social identity. It is also possible that Jews in smaller communities more keenly feel an obligation to join their synagogue or they may feel more susceptible to social sanctions if they do not.

Data Analysis

A series of regression analyses were used to determine the extent to which Jewish density affects identification. First, density was regressed upon each dependent variable. Next, the additional independent variables, institutional maturity and Jewish background, were added to the equation. Finally, the Jewish friendship variable was added to the equation (except when analyzing the social networks variables) in an effort to gain an understanding of the impact of density above and beyond all of the other variables that may contribute to predicting identification.

Additional Variables

Three additional variables were examined throughout the statistical analyses: the non-Orthodox, marital status, and region of the country. The extent to which these additional variables added to the explanation of how or why density predicted identification varied. When relevant, they are discussed in the results chapter. The results of all analyses of these additional variables are in the appendix.

Non-Orthodox

Orthodox Jews comprise only 10% of the American Jewish population. However, the Orthodox tend to live in Jewishly dense areas and the vast majority marry other Jews, especially in comparison to the other religious denominations. The nature of the Orthodox belief system requires them to adhere to strict laws of ritual observance and affiliation. It would naturally follow that the Orthodox have high levels of subjective identification. Because Orthodox Jewry is skewed in every area examined in this research, it was necessary to create a non-Orthodox sample to ensure that the statistical findings were not strictly the result of this small but steadfastly Jewish part of the sample.

Marital Status

Just as friendships with similar others can increase social identification, having a Jewish or non-Jewish spouse may also affect patterns of identification. To that end, all of the analyses were replicated with three samples: in-married respondents, not married respondents, and inter-married respondents.

Region of the Country

Finally, the same series of regression equations was reproduced for each region of the country in an effort to identify whether there were differences in the ways people experience and identify Jewishly around the country. Regional differences were assessed

by creating a region variable, based on residency by sate and the census regions of the country. The sample was divided into 5 regions: the 8-county NY Metro area (which comprises 20% of the Jewish population), the Northeast, Midwest, South and West. A chart of the States and their corresponding region may be found in Table 4.

Results

Overview

This study examined the extent to which the density of the Jewish residents in an area was related to Jewish identification. Expressions of Jewish identity were examined through four sets of measures: social networks, subjective identity, ritual observance, and synagogue affiliation. For each outcome variable, a series of step-wise regression analyses was conducted in order to understand the net impact that density had on each measure of Jewish identity. Based on previous research (c.f., Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999) it was hypothesized that social networks might mediate the relationship between density and the other outcome variables. When warranted, mediational tests were performed in an effort to explain how the Jewish density of a residential area interacted with other variables. Finally, additional analyses related to denomination, marital status, and region of the country were examined.

Preliminary Consideration of Density

In order to understand the relationship between Jewish density and the outcome variables, it was necessary to consider that the Jewish density of a given community may appeal to Jewish residents for a variety of reasons. Many of these reasons could account for the relationship between density and identity. For example, one possible explanation for the relationship between density and identity is that Jewishly dense areas are home to multiple Jewish institutions. Some Jews may be attracted to the national, international, cultural, religious, and communal Jewish institutions found in places like New York or Los Angeles. A mature communal organizational structure may contribute to enhancing the profile of Jews in a given community and also provides multiple paths for affiliation.

Previous research has shown that Jews who join multiple institutions are more strongly connected to Judaism (Cohen, 1998). Therefore, in analyzing the relationship between density and identification, the analysis consistently controlled for the maturity of the formal Jewish institutions in each community.

Another explanation for the relationship between density and identity may be that areas of Jewish density attract Jews with strong Jewish backgrounds. That is, Jews who were highly Jewishly educated or grew up in homes where both parents were Jewish or homes in which many rituals were observed may wish to live near others with similar backgrounds. The chances of meeting similar others will be greater in areas of high Jewish density. Therefore, the analysis also controlled for respondents' Jewish education, their parents' ritual observance, and whether both parents were Jewish through a variable called Jewish background.

Third, an obvious consequence of living in a Jewishly dense area is that there are more opportunities to make Jewish friends. Previous research on ethnic identity has demonstrated that friendship is a predictor of ethnic involvement. Therefore, when applicable, the analyses that follow controlled for Jewish friendship (which was also a predictor variable) in order to ascertain the net effect of density on identification, as well as to understand how density and friendship may interact.

Fourth, even though the self-defined Orthodox comprised just 10% of the sample, they live in Jewishly dense areas, they marry other Jews, and they have especially high rates of Jewish education and high levels of Jewish observance. They are "extreme" in each of these areas and may skew the findings in the overall sample. Therefore, all of the analyses were repeated with a non-Orthodox sample.

Fifth, because one's spouse has great potential to influence behaviors and attitudes, the sample was also divided by marital status: in-married, not married, and intermarried. It is plausible that those who are in-married may be attracted to Jewishly dense communities so that they may have more choices about what type of Jewish education to give their children. Jews living in intermarried households may think and feel differently about being Jewish and may have different priorities regarding the religious education of their children. To check for differences due to marital status, all of the analyses were repeated for the in-married, not married, and intermarried.

Descriptive Summary

The means and standard deviations for the variables examined in the overall sample are found in Table 5. In the overall sample, the mean score on the friendship scale was 3.05 (out of 5), meaning that, on average, respondents indicated that about half of their closest friends were Jewish. The average score on the marriage measure was .77, meaning that of those respondents who were currently married, 77% were married to another Jew. The average score on the subjective identity scale was 3.28 (out of 5), suggesting that most respondents felt positively about their connection to Judaism and Jewish life. The episodic practices scale received a mean score of 3.37 (out of 5), meaning that respondents celebrated or observed just over half of the rituals in this scale. In contrast, the average score on the habitual observance scale was 1.89 (out of 5), which reflects the substantive difference in the two ritual practice scales. The habitual observance scale contained items describing behaviors that occur frequently and are demanding, which might explain why the scores were lower on this scale than on the episodic practices scale. Finally, the average score for synagogue affiliation was .46,

meaning just under half of the respondents were currently dues-paying members to synagogues.

These descriptives were generally similar to those reported in the NJPS 2000-01 and therefore accurately represent an overall picture of some aspects of American Jewish life.

Tests of Hypotheses: General Strategy

The analyses that follow first test the extent to which density has an impact on each dependent variable, and then attempt to explain why this relationship exists. First, simple bi-variate relationships between the independent and dependent variables were established. Next, a series of regression equations examined the impact of density on each dependent variable, which are illustrated in Figure 1. In Model 1, density was entered into the regression equation as the sole predictor. In Model 2, institutional maturity and Jewish background were added to the predictor list so that the net impact of density on identity, while controlling for these variables, could be established. In Model 3, the friendship variable was added to the equation as a final predictor.

These models provide the framework for the results discussed below, which are organized by the outcome variables. The first series of regression analyses examined the extent to which density predicted friendship and marriage patterns. Second, the relationship between density and subjective identity was assessed, followed by episodic practices, habitual observance and finally, affiliation. In addition, all of the results were re-analyzed with a non-Orthodox sample, by marital status, and by region. Results of note from those additional analyses are presented in the text. The complete statistical summaries for each of these sub-samples may be found in the appendices.

Correlational analyses were used to establish bi-variate relationships between the predictor and outcome variables (see Table 6). Density was positively associated with all of the predictor variables, suggesting that on its face, the density of a community has the potential to impact Jewish identity. However, the correlations ranged from .30 (for density and friendship as well as density and spouse, $p<.01$, respectively) to .05 (for density and synagogue membership, $p<.05$). Thus, although density was positively correlated with all the identity measures, it was more strongly related to the social networks variables than with the affiliation measure. Density was positively correlated with the subjective identity scale ($r=.16$, $p<.01$), the episodic ritual practices scale ($r=.17$, $p<.01$) and the habitual ritual observance scale ($r=.22$, $p<.01$).

In addition to density, two other predictor variables, institutional maturity and Jewish background, were examined. Positive bi-variate relationships were also established between institutional maturity and Jewish background with all of the independent measures. The only exceptions were having a Jewish spouse and one's own subjective identity as a Jew. Neither of these variables was not significantly related to institutional maturity. The correlational analysis established bi-variate relationships between the predictor and outcome variables.

Social Networks

Social networks were analyzed in two ways- through friendship patterns and in terms of marital partners.

Friendship

Positive feelings about membership in an ethnic group are enhanced by interacting with ethnically similar friends. I hypothesized that in areas of greater density,

respondents would have more Jewish friendships than in areas of lower density merely because of their proximity to each other. Quite simply, in areas of lower density, there are fewer Jews with whom to socialize.

As can be seen in Table 7, when density was the sole predictor of friendship, the model was significant ($p<.01$) and explained about 10% of the variance. The institutional maturity and Jewish background variables were then added to the equation as predictors. The model remained significant ($p<.01$) and explained about 14% of the variance. In this model, all three independent variables were significant predictors of Jewish friendship (density: $\beta=.28$, $p<.01$; institutional maturity: $\beta=.07$, $p<.01$; and Jewish background: $\beta=.19$, $p<.01$). Even after controlling for the institutional maturity of the community and the Jewish background of the individual, the Jewish density of a community clearly influenced the extent to which respondents created and maintained Jewish friendships.

This finding showed that Jewish friendship occurred more frequently in areas with greater numbers of Jews, not solely because of the organizational maturity of the community or because of the Jewish background of an individual, but in part as a result of proximity to other Jews. The opportunity to make Jewish friends offered by this proximity may have led to serendipitous encounters in a variety of venues (including Jewish institutions), setting the stage for Jewish friendships to blossom.

Marriage

Several factors affect whether a Jew will marry another Jew. Once that choice is made, the decision to reside in one residential community over another is also affected by a series of factors. This analysis examined only those respondents who were already married. It sought to elucidate whether the Jewish density of a community was associated

with in-marriage. It was hypothesized that, like friendship, respondents who lived in Jewishly dense communities would be more likely to have Jewish spouses than those living in less dense areas. There are two lines of reasoning for this hypothesis varying in their causal direction. The first is that the more Jews there are in a community, the greater the pool of potential Jewish spouses. Second, it is possible that already in-married Jews prefer to live in Jewishly dense communities so that they may have more choices with regard to affiliation, friendships, and choices for their children's Jewish education.

When density was the sole predictor of Jewish spouse, the model was significant (R^2=.10, p<.01), as was density (β=.31, p<.01) (see Table 8). Thus, density, by itself, was a significant predictor of in-marriage: areas of greater Jewish density are comprised of more in-married households than areas that are sparsely populated. Next, institutional maturity and Jewish background were added to the regression equation as predictors. In this case, the model was again significant (R^2=.12, p<.01), and density and Jewish background were significant predictors (β=.29, p<.01, and β=.15, p<.01, respectively) of in-marriage. Institutional maturity had no effect.

In the overall sample, this analysis illustrated that density was a significant predictor of the likelihood that a respondent had a Jewish spouse. Whether the explanation is that Jews who live in dense areas are more likely to choose other Jews as spouses, or that in-married couples are more likely to move to Jewishly dense areas (or both), the analysis showed that Jewishly dense communities have more in-marriage and less dense communities have more intermarriage. The Jewish background of the individual was also a significant predictor of in-marriage, but the community-level variable of institutional maturity had no effect on in-marriage.

Although it is not clear if Jews already living in Jewishly dense areas are choosing Jewish marriage partners or if in-married couples are moving to Jewishly dense areas, the findings show that Jewishly dense communities have more in-married couples than do less dense communities. These findings, taken together with the findings on density and Jewish friendship, demonstrate the predictive power of Jewish density on social networks variables. Given that previous research has shown that friendship patterns statistically predict other aspects of ethnic identity, the analyses that follow will add the friendship variable into the regression equation in the last step. This stepwise analysis will explore how density and friendship interact when predicting ritual behavior, synagogue affiliation, and subjective identity.

Subjective Identity

Subjective identity is a measure of a sense of belonging, or how connected respondents feel to the Jewish people, Judaism, and Jewish culture. Because subjective identity is uniquely individual and density is contextual by nature, it was not clear to what extent density would predict this attitudinal measure. An argument could be made that members of a small minority (i.e., those living in less dense areas) would more frequently be reminded of the differences between themselves and others in the majority, rendering their minority identity more salient than that of those living in places with greater Jewish density. On the other hand, previous research has demonstrated that one of the best predictors of ethnic identity is friends of the same ethnicity. Because Jewish friendship is strongly predicted by density, it was reasonable to hypothesize that the impact of density on subjective identity would be mediated by friendship.

As the sole predictor of subjective identity, density was significant (β =.17, p<.01), but this model (Model 1) only explained 3% of the variance (see Table 9). Density remained a significant predictor (β =.13, p<.01) in Model 2, after adding institutional maturity and Jewish background to the predictor list (R^2=.13, p<.01). Jewish background was also a significant predictor of subjective identity (β =.31, p<.01) in this model; institutional maturity was not. In Model 3, friendship was entered into the equation. Here, Jewish background and friendship were significant predictors (β =.23, p<.01 and β =.44, p<.01, respectively) of subjective identity, but density was not. Density was a significant predictor of subjective identity in Model 2, but not in Model 3, after friendship was added to the predictor list.

In other words, the relationship between subjective identity and density was mediated by friendship. Respondents who lived in Jewishly dense areas had more Jewish friends. Those friends, in turn, influenced the way respondents thought and felt about being Jewish, which led to higher scores on the subjective identity scale, that is, a greater sense of connectedness to being Jewish. Living in less Jewishly dense communities had the opposite effect because respondents had fewer Jewish friends with whom to socialize, thereby having less of an impact on their feelings and attitudes about being connected to Judaism and being Jewish.

Ritual Behavior

I consider two forms of ritual behavior: first, episodic practices which occur only once or twice per year, and second, habitual observances, which includes rituals that conducted with greater regularity.

Episodic Practices

The episodic practices scale contained items referring specifically to three holidays (Passover, Hanukkah and Yom Kippur). The other two items in the scale asked respondents whether they had a mezuzah on their front door and whether they observed a mourning ritual in the past year, if a death in the family occurred. What these items have in common is that they are practiced episodically and tend to be observed with family and friends. In addition, these practices are not especially demanding, nor are they socially isolating.

I hypothesized that density would predict episodic practices but that the relationship would also be mediated by friendship, because friendship is a predictor of ethnic involvement. Specifically, I predicted that those who live in areas of greater density would score higher on the episodic practices scale because they would have more Jewish friends, who presumably celebrate the same holidays and rituals. In sparsely Jewish areas the opposite was predicted: episodic practices would be less frequent as a function of having fewer Jewish friendships.

As can be seen in Table 10, all three models were significant. In Model 1, density was the sole predictor and was significant (β=.18, p<.01), but the model only accounted for 3% of the variance (p<.01). Model 2 was also significant (p<.01) and explained 19% of the variance. In this case, all three independent variables – density (β=.11, p<.01), institutional maturity (β=.08, p<.01), and Jewish background (β=.39, p<.01) - were significant predictors of episodic practices. Finally, in Model 3, Jewish friendship was entered into the equation along with the other predictors. The model was significant (p<.01), accounting for 26% of the variance. In Model 3, however, density no longer predicted episodic practices. Instead, institutional maturity (β=.06, p<.01), Jewish

background (β=.34, p<.01), and Jewish friendship (β=.29, p<.01) were the significant predictors. Because density was a significant predictor of episodic practices in Models 1 and 2, but was no longer significant when Jewish friendship was entered into the equation, this analysis demonstrated that friendship mediated the relationship between density and episodic practices.

Once again, Jews living in areas of greater Jewish density had more Jewish friends which, in turn, influenced the extent to which episodic practices were observed. The episodic practices scale is communal in nature: attending a Passover seder or lighting Hanukkah candles occur once over the course of a year and are marked by festive gatherings of family and friends. Density more easily lends itself to an analysis of episodic practices because of the communal context. The second type of ritual behavior examined was habitual observance, which is somewhat more individualized.

Habitual Observance

The habitual observance scale contained items such as keeping a kosher home and refraining from spending money on Shabbat. In contrast to episodic practices, habitual observances occur with regularity and have the potential to be socially isolating. For example, keeping a kosher home is something that one must do every day, for every meal. The rules of *kashrut* require strict observance and attention. This level of observance may also be socially isolating because those who keep a kosher home often choose not to eat in the homes of people who do not meet this standard. Jews who wish to commit to this level of habitual observance are therefore more likely to live in Jewishly dense areas. Practically speaking, it is easier to find kosher butchers and groceries in

communities that have large Jewish populations. For the same reason, Jews living in areas of lower density may be less willing or interested in observing these intense rituals.

I hypothesized that Jews who regularly observe habitual rituals would generally reside in areas of greater Jewish density. The multiple regression analysis showed that density was a significant predictor of habitual ritual observance at each step (see Table 11). In model 1, density was the sole predictor of habitual observance (β=.22, p<.01) and the model explained about 5% of the variance (p<.01). Model 2 added institutional maturity and Jewish background to the equation. Now the model accounted for 10% of the variance (p<.01) and density and Jewish background were significant predictors of habitual ritual (β=.18, p<.01 and β=.23, p<.01, respectively). Finally, in model 3, friendship was added to the list of predictors. Model 3 was also significant, explaining 15% of the variance (p<.01). All of the predictors were significant except for institutional maturity. Density was a significant predictor of habitual observance (β=.12, p<.01), even after controlling for Jewish background and Jewish friendship (both of which were significant: β=.18, p<.01 and β=.24, p<.01, respectively).

This analysis demonstrated that density predicted habitual observance, even when controlling for other influential variables. The greater the Jewish density in a given community, the greater level of habitual observance. Given that Jewishly dense communities have high levels of Jewish friendship and in-marriage, it is not surprising that they also have high levels of habitual observance.

The habitual observance scale assesses strict practice. These behaviors have the potential to separate Jews from the larger residential community. In areas where Jews are few in numbers, strict religious observance is a recipe for social isolation. Therefore, it

makes sense that observance was strongest in more densely Jewish areas. It is no accident that Orthodox Jewry live in close proximity to each other. Strict religious observance requires a significant commitment on the part of the individual, which is facilitated by a community of like-minded others.

Synagogue Affiliation

Synagogue affiliation is an indicator of identity because it is a sign to the outside world of membership in a group. It was plausible to hypothesize that more Jewishly dense areas would have higher rates of synagogue affiliation simply because the Jewish populations are larger. In fact, the bivariate correlations showed that synagogue membership was positively correlated with density, institutional maturity and Jewish background (see Table 2), suggesting that greater rates of synagogue membership were associated with higher density. However, it was also plausible to hypothesize that density would be inversely related to synagogue membership. That is, dense areas would have lower affiliation rates and areas of less density would have higher rates. This second hypothesis is based on the theory that synagogue membership substitutes for the lack of informal networks of friends in sparsely populated areas. Thus, synagogue affiliation would be more likely in sparse areas than in areas with large numbers of Jews and greater likelihood of friendship networks.

The results of the regression analyses are summarized in Table 12. In Model 1, density was a significant predictor of membership when it was the sole predictor in the equation (β=.06, p<.05), but the model accounted for a negligible amount of variance (less than 1%). When institutional maturity and Jewish background were added as predictors of synagogue membership, the amount of variance explained rose to 11%. In

Model 2, however, density did not predict synagogue membership, whereas institutional maturity (β=.06, p<.01) and Jewish background (β=.31, p<.01) were predictive. Finally, friendship was included as the final predictor in Model 3. In this case, 18% of the variance was explained (p<.01). With this constellation of predictors, institutional maturity lost its predictive power. Instead, Jewish background and Jewish friendship were most strongly related synagogue membership (β=.26, p<.01 and β=.29, p<.01, respectively) and the relationship between density and synagogue membership was significant, but negative (β=-.07, p<.01). Even though the relationship between density and synagogue membership was not particularly strong, it supports the hypothesis that Jews who live in sparsely populated Jewish areas are more likely to join a synagogue than those who live in Jewishly dense areas (when controlling for Jewish background and friendship).

Because the relationship between density and synagogue membership was not especially strong, it is likely that countervailing influences exist in patterns of synagogue membership. First, it is reasonable to assume that greater density will lead to higher rates of synagogue membership. More dense areas contain more Jews of all religious backgrounds, and more Jews may very well lead to affiliation. It is also reasonable to assume that when there are few Jews in an area, synagogue membership can substitute for informal affiliations. These two patterns will cancel each other out if both are operating simultaneously. In the overall sample, the latter prediction was significant: the net effect of density on synagogue membership was weak, when other powerful predictors such as Jewish friendship and background were included in the equation. The weak finding suggests that Jews are more likely to join synagogues in areas of low

density, especially if they have many Jewish friends (who, one presumes, also join the synagogue).

Although the relationship between density and synagogue membership was not overwhelming, these findings provide some evidence for the hypothesis that persons living in less dense areas use formal memberships as a substitute for their lack of informal networks of friends. Institutional affiliations are presumably more important in areas of less density because there are fewer Jews with whom to mingle on an informal basis.

Additional Analyses

I consider three aspects of the sample, denomination (specifically the non-Orthodox), marital status (i.e., in-married, not married, intermarried), and region of the country, which will further contextualize and deepen our understanding of the findings cited above.

Non-Orthodox

Non-Orthodox Jewry live in all areas of the United States, some in Jewishly dense areas and others in areas far more rural and remote. Orthodox Jewry, in contrast, tend to live in Jewishly dense neighborhoods and are somewhat socially isolated from the majority community as a result of their religious lifestyle. The self-defined Orthodox, who comprised just 10% of the overall sample, adhere to a strict Jewish lifestyle, living in close proximity to other Jews, marrying other Jews, and observing Jewish rituals. In order to determine if the overall findings were skewed by Orthodox Jewry, the analyses were re-computed with only the non-Orthodox sample.

Social Networks among the Non-Orthodox

In the overall sample, friendship was predicted by density. This finding was replicated among the non-Orthodox (see Table A1 in Appendix A), demonstrating that the predictive power of density with regard to Jewish friendship is not limited to, or a result of, Orthodox Jewry.

Having a Jewish spouse was also predicted by density in the overall sample. One possibility is that this relationship may be due to Orthodox Jewry. The Orthodox have very high rates of in-marriage and tend to live in Jewishly dense communities, and so the finding could be the result of their skewing the overall sample. However this was not the case. The general finding that density predicted in-marriage was replicated in the non-Orthodox sample. Therefore, the predictive power of density on in-marriage is not due to the inclusion of Orthodox Jewry (see Table A2 in Appendix A).

Subjective Identity among the Non-Orthodox

The relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by friendship in the overall sample. To ensure that this finding was not the result of the high commitment levels of Orthodox Jewry, the same analysis was conducted with the non-Orthodox sample (see Table A3 in Appendix A). Once again, the findings in the overall sample were replicated with a non-Orthodox sample: friendship mediated the relationship between density and subjective identity.

Ritual Behavior among the Non-Orthodox

The relationship between episodic ritual practice and density was mediated by friendship in the overall sample. Because the Orthodox are highly committed to ritual observance, including episodic practices, they could have influenced those findings (see Table A4 in Appendix A).

Among the non-Orthodox, density was a significant predictor of episodic practices in Models 1 and 2, but when friendship was entered into the regression equation in Model 3, only institutional maturity (β=.06, p<.05), Jewish background (β=.32, p<.01) and Jewish friendship (β=.26, p<.01) predicted episodic practices. As in the overall analysis, density did not predict episodic practices in Model 3, demonstrating that among the non-Orthodox, the relationship between density and episodic practices was also mediated by friendship.

That is, in Jewishly dense areas, non-Orthodox respondents had more Jewish friendships, which in turn led to more episodic practices. It is assumed that having Jewish friends, who validate and support episodic practices, influences respondents' willingness to observe such rituals, especially among the non-Orthodox.

The items in the habitual observance scale, however, were generally indicative of staunch Jewish practice and commitment. This level of Jewish observance may be most frequently found among Orthodox Jews, who mainly reside in Jewishly dense communities. The effects of density on habitual ritual behavior may best be understood with a non-Orthodox sample.

In fact, among the non-Orthodox, density was not a significant predictor of habitual observance in any of the models (see Table A5 in Appendix A). This finding suggests that the results of the overall sample are, in fact, due to the very committed observance levels among the Orthodox and the fact that they tend to live in Jewishly dense areas.

Synagogue Affiliation among the Non-Orthodox

Because Orthodox Jewry join synagogues at extremely high rates, analyses of synagogue affiliation were also conducted with a non-Orthodox sample. The pattern in the overall sample was replicated among the non-Orthodox (see Table A6 in Appendix A). That is, among the non-Orthodox the relationship between density and synagogue membership was significant, but inverse, meaning that areas of lower density had higher synagogue affiliation rates. Among the non-Orthodox, as in the overall sample, this finding supports the hypothesis that synagogue affiliation serves as a substitute for informal socialization in areas of low Jewish density.

Marital Status

The marital status of respondents, in-married, not married, or intermarried, could also shed light on the relationship between density and the outcome variables. One's spouse has great potential to influence behaviors and attitudes. Because people tend to marry similar others, the marital status variable stratifies the sample with respect to Jewish involvement. As can be seen in Table B1 in Appendix B, the pattern of means shows that the in-married have the highest levels of Jewish involvement, followed by those who are not married. The intermarried score consistently scored the lowest on the outcome variables. Marital status, therefore, challenges the extent to which density is a relevant predictor of Jewish identity. To refute this challenge, all of the analyses were repeated by marital status.

Social Networks and Marital Status

In the overall sample, density predicted Jewish friendship. It was hypothesized that density would be related to friendship patterns for in-married couples, but not necessarily for those who are intermarried (see Table B2 in Appendix B). Not

surprisingly, density was a significant predictor of Jewish friendship for the in-married and those who were not married, even after controlling for institutional maturity and Jewish background (β=.20, p<.01 and β=.25, p<.01, respectively). Of special note, however, is the finding that density also a predicted Jewish friendship among the intermarried (β=.15, p<.05). The more Jewishly dense the area, the more likely respondents were to have close Jewish friends, regardless of their marital status, even when controlling for institutional maturity and Jewish background.

Subjective Identity and Marital Status

In the overall sample as well as in the non-Orthodox sample, the relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by friendship. It would be reasonable to assume, therefore, that spouses also exert influence in this realm. It was expected that respondents who were in-married or not married would not differ dramatically from the overall sample. Among the intermarried, in contrast, the Jewish spouse's thoughts and feelings about being Jewish were likely to differ from those who were in-married, simply by virtue of marrying outside the faith. It was not clear if density would predict subjective identity among the intermarried.

The pattern of findings among the in-married group replicated those in the overall sample, as expected (see Table B3 in Appendix B). That is, density was a significant predictor of subjective identity (Models 1 and 2) until friendship (Model 3) was introduced into the equation. Thus, the findings in the overall sample were replicated with in-married: the relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by friendship.

The same pattern of findings was found among those who were not married (see Table B3 in Appendix B). Again, when friendship was introduced into the equation, density was no longer a significant predictor of subjective identity, demonstrating that friendship mediated this relationship. The findings in the overall sample were again replicated with those who were not married.

As in the overall sample, the relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by Jewish friendship among the in-married and not married. This was not the case, however, among the intermarried (see Table B3 in Appendix B). For this group, density never predicted subjective identity. Even though density was a significant predictor of Jewish friendship among the intermarried, it did not influence the intermarried respondents' thoughts and feelings about being Jewish. It is plausible that a non-Jewish spouse would influence the Jewish spouse's attitudes about being and feeling Jewish; at the same time, it is also very possible that the Jewish spouse was ambivalent about his or her Jewish identity long before getting married. Thus, the patterns in the overall sample and other sub-samples conform to the findings of previous research. They do not hold up, however, with the intermarried sub-sample.

Ritual Behavior and Marital Status

Marital status also has the potential to affect the relationship between density and episodic practices. That is, given that the relationship between density and episodic practices was partially mediated by friendship in the overall sample, those Jews who are not married may rely more heavily on their friends to celebrate festive holidays such as attending a Passover seder or lighting Hanukkah candles. Therefore, their holiday observance may vary as a function of their Jewish friendships, which, as shown earlier,

varies by density. In-married and intermarried couples and families can celebrate these holidays within the confines of their home, regardless of the community in which they live, and therefore they may not be as susceptible to the effects of density or friendship.

In fact, density did not predict episodic practices for the in-married or the intermarried in any of the models (see Table B4 in Appendix B). For those who were not married, however, density was a significant predictor of episodic practices in Models 1 and 2 but in Model 3, when friendship was introduced as another predictor, density lost its significance. Again, the relationship between density and episodic practices was mediated by friendship for respondents who were not married.

In the overall sample, the relationship between density and episodic ritual was mediated by friendship. Among non-married Jews, the relationship between this predictor and outcome was also mediated by friendship, probably because the non-married depend upon their friends to celebrate and observe with them because they do not have spouses with whom to do so.

Marital status may also influence habitual ritual observance. In the overall sample, habitual observance was predicted by density. It was not expected that density would predict habitual observance among the intermarried intermarried couples or families would be unlikely to engage in this level of ritual practice. The very fact that a Jewish respondent married a non-Jew is suggestive of his or her lack of interest and/or commitment to observe Judaism's most demanding practices. On the other hand, density could play a role in the level of ritual observance among those who were married to other Jews and those who were not married.

None of the models tested was significant among the intermarried (see Table B5 in Appendix B). Among the in-married and the non-married, the general finding was replicated: density predicted of habitual observance. Not surprisingly, among the in-married and non-married, habitual rituals were practiced more frequently in areas of greater Jewish density.

Synagogue Affiliation and Marital Status

Finally, synagogue membership may be affected by marital status because in-married couples join Jewish institutions in greater numbers than do the unmarried or intermarried. Relationships between density and synagogue membership for the in-married and those who were not married were similar to the patterns observed in the overall sample and the non-Orthodox sample (see Table B6 in Appendix B). Density alone did not dramatically impact synagogue membership. Taken together with the Jewish background of the respondent and the friendship variable, however, synagogue membership was inversely related to density in the overall sample and among the non-Orthodox, in-married and not married sub-samples. Density did not predict synagogue membership among the intermarried.

As in the overall sample, the inverse relationship with between density and synagogue memberships supports the hypothesis formal membership with an institution substitutes for the lack of opportunities to socialize informally in Jewishly sparse areas.

Region of the Country

Stratifying the sample by region of the county also challenges the extent to which density is a predictor of Jewish identity. In order to examine whether the effects of density on Jewish identity differed regionally, the sample was divided into the U.S.

census regions: northeast, midwest, south, and west. In addition, because approximately 20% of America's Jews live in the New York metropolitan area (the five boroughs of New York City, plus Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk counties), New York comprised a fifth region. The means and standard deviations of all outcome variables by region may be found in Table C1 in Appendix C. All of the above analyses were repeated by region of the country (see Appendix C). The major finding of these analyses was that density was predictive of friendship patterns across all regions of the country (see Table C2 in Appendix C). The other outcome variables, however, did not exhibit the same level of uniformity across region and the patterns were too inconsistent to pursue further.

Summary of Results

These results showed that density is predictive of social networks, defined as friendship and marriage patterns, under all circumstances. Specifically with regard to friendship, regardless of denomination, marital status, or region of the county, the more Jewishly dense the residential neighborhood, the more Jewish friends respondents had. Stratifying the sample by marital status and region elucidated the extent to which density remained a powerful predictor of Jewish friendship, even among the intermarried and across the country.

Companionship with Jews in an informal setting was very clearly predicted by the level of density in a given community. Living in areas with large numbers of Jews created opportunities to meet other Jews at work, in the neighborhood, and through other friends. Thus, density contributed to the convenience of making Jewish friends. Little work is required in areas of high Jewish density with regard to Jewish friendship because opportunities to meet and mingle with others abound. In sparsely populated areas, the

opposite is true: because there are fewer Jews with whom to socialize, there are fewer opportunities to meet informally, resulting in fewer Jewish friendships.

Density was also associated with marital status, such that in-married couples were more likely to be living in areas of high Jewish density than in sparsely populated areas.

The relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by friendship. The denser the community, the more Jewish friends the respondent had, which in turn led to greater feelings of connectedness to Judaism and Jewish life. This finding was replicated in the non-Orthodox sub-sample was well as in the in-married and not married sub-samples.

The mediating role of friendship was also found when examining the relationship between density and episodic ritual practice. In the overall sample as well as among the non-Orthodox and those who were not married, the relationship between density and episodic practices was fully mediated by Jewish friendship. Again, a Jewishly dense community leads to more Jewish friends, which leads to greater ritual practices, especially those that are related to the holidays or occur episodically. Time-consuming or habitual observances, on the other hand, were predicted by density, but this relationship was largely due to the Orthodox, who tend to live in Jewishly dense communities in order to adhere to the strict observance their lifestyle demands.

Density was inversely related to synagogue affiliation in the overall sample as well as among all sub-samples except the intermarried. This finding was the weakest of the other outcome variables examined. Nonetheless, the analysis demonstrated that Jews in sparsely populated areas were more likely to join synagogues than were their counterparts living in dense communities. One explanation for the weakness of the

relationship between density and synagogue affiliation may be that two rival influences are at work. In sparse communities synagogue membership may substitute for the lack of informal networks of friends to which Jews living in dense communities have access. At the same time, many Jews living in dense areas are synagogue members, especially the Orthodox. These two processes may have been working against each other statistically.

In sum, density is an important variable for understanding Jewish identity. This contextual examination of the relationship between residential density and Jewish identity has highlighted both its complexity and its relevance.

Discussion

The results of this study underscore the importance of taking a contextual approach in understanding the underpinnings of Jewish identity. The environment in which we live has the potential to impact many facets of Jewish identity, especially as they relate to social networks, ritual behaviors, and synagogue affiliation. However, the relationship between residential density and expressions of American Jewish identity is complex.

First, density matters for social networks. Residential density was a very powerful predictor of friendship and marriage patterns even after controlling for institutional maturity and Jewish background. Regardless of respondents' denomination, marital status, or region of the country, those living in Jewishly dense areas had more Jewish friends than those living in sparsely populated areas. Residential density also predicted Jewish marital status, meaning that in-married couples were more likely to be found in areas of high Jewish density. Second, the relationship between density and subjective identity, how one thinks and feels about being Jewish, was mediated by friendship. That is, the more Jewishly dense the community, the more likely the respondent was to have more Jewish friends and as a consequence the more connected he or she felt to Jewish life. Third, the same mediating relationship was found between density and episodic ritual practices. Again, the denser the community, the more Jewish friends a respondent indicated having, and in turn the more likely he or she was to observe episodic rituals. Fourth, other types of rituals- those that are time-intensive and demanding, characterized as habitual observances – were predicted by density, but this relationship was largely a function of the Orthodox, who overwhelmingly live in Jewishly dense areas. Finally,

density and synagogue membership had an inverse relationship. Though relatively weak, this finding that sparsely populated areas have more synagogue members suggests that formal affiliation substitutes for the lack of informal networks available in highly dense areas.

It is important to note that because this was a correlational study and descriptive of respondents' Jewish identity at a single moment in time, the causal relationship between density and the outcome variables is equivocal. It is plausible to consider that density could be an outcome variable instead of a predictor. In other words, people with more Jewish friends and stronger subjective identities may choose to live in areas that are more Jewishly dense. People make residential choices based on a variety of motivating factors that may or may not include a Jewish component. The data did not allow for an examination of when or why respondents moved to the neighborhood in which they were living at the time or the survey.

Even with this limitation, however, these findings show that expressions of Jewish identity do not exist in a vacuum. Even after controlling for other contextual and individual variables, density – a measure of how near or far one lives from other Jews – emerged as a significant predictor of Jewish identification. The answer, in a word, to the question of whether *where* one is Jewish affects *how* one is Jewish, is yes.

Social Networks

Previous research has shown that our opportunities to meet and befriend others who are different from us- racially, ethnically, or religiously- are limited by our region of residence, neighborhood composition and school composition (Blau, 1994; Goldscheider, 1986). Furthermore, contact between people who are similar to each other along racial

and ethnic lines occurs at higher rates than among dissimilar others (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). In diverse communities (such as the United States), people prefer to have same-race and same-ethnicity friends and spouses. The same preference was found with regard to having friends and spouses of the same religion, but the pattern was not as strong. Such research helps explain why we hear generalizations such as "birds of a feather flock together" or "similarity breeds connection."

This study of density demonstrated that Jewish friendships were more likely to occur in Jewishly dense neighborhoods, even after controlling for the Jewish background of the individual and the institutional maturity of the community. This finding was replicated with a non-Orthodox sample, among the in-married, the intermarried, and across every region of the country. This finding demonstrated that density's predictive power was not an artifact of denomination, marital status, or region. Living in a Jewishly dense community clearly contributed to the convenience of finding similar others to befriend. Friendships are formed in many different places, but the most convenient context is the immediate environment, such as through family, work, or leisure activities (Adams & Allan, 1998).

In a Jewishly dense residential community, there are more opportunities to "bump in" to other Jews in the neighborhood, at work, or at a child's school. These venues create opportunities to make friends. At the other end of the spectrum, those living in Jewishly sparse communities have a smaller pool of Jews from which to choose. Furthermore, their everyday encounters in their neighborhoods, at work, and through their children will provide them with opportunities to create friendships with others who are similar to them in ways other than religion, because most of those interactions will be with non-Jews.

The context in which friendships are created and maintained is important because of the predictive power that friendship has on other aspects of Jewish identity. Previous research demonstrated that having friends of the same ethnicity predicted ethnic identification over time (Saylor & Aries, 1999). In addition, involvement in cultural activities provided members of a minority ethnic group with a social network of similar friends who offset feelings of loneliness and contributed to a positive mindset around ethnic group membership (Ethier & Deaux, 1994).

In addition to friendship, this study also demonstrated that density was a powerful predictor of in-marriage. After controlling for individual and community-level variables, the results indicated that in-married couples were more likely to be living in Jewishly dense communities. This finding was replicated with a non-Orthodox sample and across the major regions of the country. This analysis did not address whether individuals already living in Jewishly dense areas met their spouses there and married or, if after getting married, they decided to move to a Jewishly dense community. Both scenarios are plausible.

Regardless of how in-married couples ended up living in Jewishly dense areas, there are likely to be many more opportunities to nurture the Jewish identities of their children in a Jewishly dense community. Simply put, dense Jewish communities have a critical mass that allows them to support synagogues, day schools, camps and cultural activities of a caliber that may not be found in sparsely populated areas.

Density has a robust relationship with Jewish social networks. Regardless of individual or community-level variables, Jews living in Jewishly dense areas are more likely to have close Jewish friends and Jewish spouses. Because we are social creatures,

we need to have meaningful interactions with others to actualize our identities. Such interactions with friends and spouses have great potential to affect how we think, feel, and behave Jewishly.

Subjective Identity

This study found that the relationship between density and subjective identity was mediated by friendship, such that Jews living in dense communities were more likely to have Jewish friends, and were in turn more likely to have positive feelings about being connected Jewishly. This finding was replicated among the non-Orthodox, the in-married, among those who were not married, and in most major regions of the country.

Subjective identity measures thoughts and feelings, not behaviors. Although behaviors can reinforce thoughts and feelings and vice versa, it is possible to score highly on measures of subjective identity without acting on such thoughts through ritual or religious behaviors. In fact, Amyot and Seligman (1996) found that Judaism - the religion - provided religiously committed Jews with a strong sense of Jewish identity. For American Jews who lack strong religious convictions, being part of Jewish kinship groups and organizations provides regular confirmation of their Jewishness. In other words, in the absence of religiosity, having Jewish friends can reinforce feelings of ethnic bonds and connectedness among Jews. Kinship connections emerged as an important theme in Sinclair and Milner's (2005) study of Jewish identity development of young British adults. They found that family, friends, and community affected the ways in which Jews felt connected to other Jewish people. This kinship connection allowed them to bond with each other through mutual support and understanding, common language, and shared history, all of which are aspects of commonality found in ethnic identity.

Jewish identity begins with a foundation of strong subjective feelings about being Jewish, as well as behavioral expressions of such feelings. The subjective identity of American Jews has become increasingly personalist (Cohen & Eisen, 2000; Horowitz, 2000). That is, American Jews are searching for ways to make Judaism's practices and beliefs relevant and meaningful to them as individuals. This understanding of Judaism is personalized, subjective, and subject to change as the circumstances in one's life change. To that end, American Jews are choosing to identify Jewishly as a means for providing meaning in their lives, but their identification is voluntary, subjective, and flexible.

At the same time, subjective identity is affected by friendship, which is in turn affected by density. Friendship serves many purposes. As mentioned earlier, as humans we simply prefer to befriend similar others. Friendship reduces feelings of loneliness or social isolation. Friends reinforce our thoughts and feelings, can serve as a buffer when we become aware of differences between ourselves and others, and allow us to discover and nurture commonalities. If our identities are dependent upon social interactions to be meaningful, and if American Jews are searching for ways to make Judaism personally meaningful, perhaps this journey is made easier by traveling with similarly-minded friends.

Episodic Practice

The findings for episodic practice mirror those found for subjective identity: Jewish friendship mediated the relationship between residential density and episodic ritual practice. That is, denser communities led to more Jewish friendships which led to more observance of episodic rituals such as attending a Passover seder or lighting

Hanukkah candles. This finding was replicated among the non-Orthodox and was especially prevalent among those who were not married.

By definition, episodic practices do not occur frequently. They represent holiday celebrations that occur annually, or rituals such as having a mezuzah on one's door, which is usually put on the door once when moving into a new home. These rituals are not particularly time-intensive, nor do they require a great deal of religious devotion. For example, the survey asked whether respondents attended a Passover seder in the last year. It did not ask respondents to indicate whether the *Haggadah* was read, if the four questions were asked, or if traditional Passover foods were served. It is very possible that respondents' definitions of what a seder looks like and means may differ drastically from individual to individual. Nonetheless, episodic ritual practice, however it is defined by respondents, is an important component of Jewish life and a behavioral expression of identity that has both ethnic and religious aspects.

The finding that friendship mediated the relationship between density and episodic practice was especially pronounced for Jews who were not married. It is reasonable to assume that those who are not married depend on their friends to fill the chairs around their table for Passover and Hanukkah. Celebrating together has the potential to enhance feelings of kinship and increase feelings of connectedness to Judaism and the Jewish People. Friends who celebrate together can become part of an "extended family." Friendship provides mutual support by offsetting feelings of social isolation for Jews who are unable to be with their families for these religious celebrations. Having Jewish friends provided respondents with a community with which to celebrate, which likely contributed to strengthening the bonds between them.

Furthermore, shared cultural experiences can enhance positive feelings about group membership and serve as an affirmation of identity.

Habitual Observance

Density had a different relationship with habitual ritual observance. Habitual observance was predicted by density, meaning that the more Jewishly dense the community, the more likely respondents indicated that they observed time-consuming and religiously demanding habitual rituals, such as keeping a kosher home or refraining from spending money on Shabbat. This finding, however, was largely a function of the Orthodox. That is, the Orthodox live in Jewishly dense communities, are religiously committed, and observe habitual rituals as a way of life.

Habitual ritual observance has many purposes. First, these rituals are Jewish laws that some believe must be strictly followed in order to live a Jewish life. Second, this type of daily and intense ritual observance serves as a constant reminder of one's beliefs and reinforces a Jewish identity. Third, following this way of life keeps the Jewish community different from the mainstream, allowing it to insulate itself by decreasing opportunities to mingle with others outside of a close-knit circle, thereby lessening the chances of assimilation.

Sinclair and Milner (2005) found that individuals with very strong ethnic and religious Jewish identities are less open toward interacting with other groups. These religiously observant individuals felt very secure and comfortable with their identity, and therefore were relatively unconcerned about being different from others.

Orthodox Jewry is, generally speaking, closed off from secular life in favor of one that is based on strict religious laws. Under normal circumstances such a way of life

would undoubtedly lead to feelings of social isolation. Refraining from spending money on Shabbat or keeping kosher can inhibit relationships from forming with others who do not observe the same rituals. In this way, the Orthodox set themselves apart from the mainstream community. But by associating only with others who share their values and lifestyle, they become a very tightly-knit community, which may reduce or eliminate feelings of social isolation. The Orthodox way of life demands religious devotion to the extent that it insulates them and creates boundaries between "us" and "them."

In this context, it makes sense that the Orthodox would live in Jewishly dense communities. Dense communities provide a practical logistic solution to following strict religious rules (e.g., kosher butchers are available, synagogues are within walking distance from one's home, kosher restaurants are clustered together). Furthermore, living in a Jewishly dense neighborhood serves to avoid social isolation and reinforces a religious lifestyle. In other words, the Orthodox exhibit the same needs and desires to socialize with similar others, especially as the need relates to rituals that separate one from the rest of the mainstream community. For the Orthodox, living in a Jewishly dense residential area serves to reinforce their Jewish identity, and keeps them insulated from outside influences, thus ensuring their lifestyle with regard to Jewish continuity.

Synagogue Affiliation

Synagogue affiliation was higher in sparsely populated communities than dense areas. This finding can again be explained by a desire to be with similar others. In sparsely populated areas, other Jews are less likely to be encountered in the neighborhood, the workplace, or child's classroom. The best place to meet other Jews, therefore, would logically be the synagogue. In this case, the formal religious affiliation

serves as a substitute for the lack of available informal social networks. In order to meet and mingle with Jews in a sparsely populated area, it is necessary to be a part of the organized Jewish community because the opportunity to "bump into" other Jews is less likely. It is important to note, however, that this inverse relationship between density and synagogue membership was relatively weak, possibly because of a rival hypothesis operating simultaneously.

It is plausible that in areas of high density, significant number of Jews affiliate with the synagogue, even though there are ample opportunities to meet with Jews informally. Synagogue affiliation is one expression of religious identity and, as was demonstrated in the habitual observance analysis, religiously committed Jews tend to live in Jewishly dense areas. Furthermore, Jewishly dense communities often have more than one synagogue from which to choose, implying that these institutions are supported by Jews in the community. Without adequate membership and support, multiple institutions could not be sustained. Therefore, areas of high Jewish density may also have relatively high rates of synagogue affiliation, but for different reasons than sparsely populated areas.

Sparsely populated areas tend of have high rates of synagogue membership because the synagogue serves as a hub for Jewish life, formally and informally. In contrast, in densely populated communities it is not necessary to formally join a synagogue in order to participate in Jewish life because there are ample opportunities to engage informally. However, joining a synagogue is also a religious affirmation and expression of one's identity, and because religiously observant Jews tend to live in Jewishly dense areas, they are also likely to join synagogues in large numbers. These

rival hypotheses work against each other, contributing to the statistical weakness of the overall finding.

The fact that density has a relationship with affiliation, however, remains. Affiliation is an outward sign to the majority of membership in a minority group. In sparsely populated communities synagogue membership serves several purposes: it allows Jews to have a religious community but also much more. The synagogue is a common meeting ground; without such an institution, Jews in these communities might not have the opportunity to meet and mingle with other Jews. In densely populated communities significant numbers of religiously committed Jews are joining synagogues not so much for the informal networking (they can get that elsewhere), but for the religious community synagogue membership affords. Even though their reasons for joining synagogues may be different, the hypotheses in sparse and dense areas work to cancel out a statistically significant relationship. Statistically speaking, the sparsely populated communities "win"- the effect is weak, but significant: there is an inverse relationship between density and synagogue membership.

Conclusion

Tajfel (1981) introduced social identity theory as a means of categorizing our social worlds in ways that make sense and enhance the positive distinctiveness of our group memberships. Barker's (1963, 1965) research elucidated the ways in which our social environment affects expressions of identity. More recently, social psychologists have begun to reframe social identity theory in a way that that allows us to consider how culture has the potential to influence how we think, feel, and behave on a personal and collective level (Operario & Fiske, 1999). Links between the cultural context and

individual's behaviors have been established in cross-cultural psychology, such that people generally behave in accordance with cultural influences and expectations (Berry, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 1992). This cultural reframing opened the door to a deeper exploration of ways in which aspects of the external environment have the potential to influence individual and collective identities. The Jewish density of one's residential community is an example of an environmental factor that has an impact upon Jewish identification.

Historically and ideologically, Judaism is steeped in a culture that is rooted in a belief in the importance of place. Throughout history Jews have been searching for the "right place" to be Jewish. Biblically, this idea is illustrated by the story of God commanding Abraham to leave his homeland, rendering the Jews nomads. It continues with the Hebrews becoming slaves in Egypt and then living in exile until entering the "Promised Land." Historically, throughout the Middle Ages, Europe's Jews lived in voluntary and compulsory ghettoes, subject to expulsion at any time. The Yiddish term "Die Goldeneh Medinah," means the Golden Land, and was the name for America among the Jews of Eastern Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. American Jews continued their love affair with place on New York's lower east side and contemporary concerns with the preservation of Jewish residential concentration and Jewish dispersal remain today. In modern history, Zionism added to the ideology of the importance of place to identity. Notions of the "Promised Land," the "national homeland," and the "Golden Land" have all played an important role in shaping the collective psyche of American Jews.

The role of community is essential to Jewish life. Without a critical mass of numbers a Jewish community is vulnerable to extinction. At the same time, empirical research demonstrated that friendship patterns and involvement in cultural activities are powerful contextual variables that support an identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1990, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999). The Jewish density of a community has the potential to affect the development of social networks with other Jews. The maturity of the community may affect the extent to which there are opportunities to join and become involved with the organized Jewish community. American Jewish identities are subjective, voluntary, and may be influenced by the Jewish density of a community.

For decades, American Jews' identity was reinforced, in part, by their exclusion from the mainstream community. This meant that Jews lived in Jewish neighborhoods, socialized and worked together, and their children played and learned together. Even though Jews strove to integrate into American society, these external boundaries contributed to the continuity of Jewish identity. Following World War II, overt anti-Semitism decreased in America and the boundaries that had at one time excluded Jews from participating in mainstream society were gradually lowered. Even though social integration and acceptance into American society were always goals for American Jews both personally and collectively, the downside of acceptance was that the external boundaries that had contributed to Jewish identity in the past were removed.

American Jews did not predict the extent to which they would be accepted by and assimilated into American society. As a result, Jewish scholars began to wonder whether assimilation is compatible with a distinctly Jewish identity (Cohen, 1983; Cohen & Fein, 1985; Amyot & Seligman, 1996). In the late 1950's Glazer (1958) observed that the

combination of religious Judaism and ethnic Jewishness was the key component to Jewish identity, but by the 1980's Goldscheider (1986) asserted that Judaism - the religious component- and Jewishness - the ethnic component - were no longer as intertwined as they once were. As a result, researchers differentiate between religious and ethnic components of Jewish identity.

The analyses discussed throughout this study have implications for Jewish identity and continuity. The Orthodox strongly identify Jewishly in both a religious and ethnic sense, live in Jewishly dense communities and generally have very low rates of intermarriage. If there is a desire to retain the non-Orthodox character of Jewish life as we currently know it, American Jews must make an effort to infuse religious and ethnic components of Jewish life into their lives as well as the lives of their children. Regardless of whether one lives in a dense or sparsely populated area, this study underscored the importance of Jewish friendship as an indicator of ethnic identity.

The implications of these findings are clear: Those living in Jewishly dense areas are more likely to have more Jewish friendships by virtue of their community. By the same token, Jews in sparsely populated areas do not necessarily have the luxury of having serendipitous encounters with other Jews in the grocery store, the local coffee shop, or their children's school. Parents of Jewish children in sparsely populated areas must make a concerted effort to help their children develop friendships with other Jews. They can do this by sending their children to summer camps, by encouraging them to attend colleges with significant Jewish populations, or even by encouraging them to move to communities with larger Jewish populations.

The consequences of having Jewish friends are long-reaching. Friendships influence attitudes and behaviors. Simply put, Jewish friendships affect subjective identity- how Jews think and feel about being Jewish. Respondents with more Jewish friends were more strongly identified Jewishly, meaning that they felt more strongly connected and a sense of belonging to the Jewish People. Friendships also influenced behaviors such as episodic ritual practice, many of which are holiday celebrations that take place among family and friends. Finally, in sparse communities Jews were more likely to join synagogues, both as an expression of the religious component of their identity, as well as to find a community of similar others with whom to mingle, socialize, and befriend. This study clearly demonstrated that it is easier to acquire Jewish friends if one lives in an area in which there are ample opportunities to meet and mingle with other Jews. The environment in which one lives has the potential to affect how one thinks and behaves Jewishly, as well as what kinds of institutions one joins.

Ritual practice and synagogue membership could be considered aspects of religious identity (as opposed to ethnic identity), but the lines are blurred. That is, aspects of episodic ritual practice have components that relate to both religious and ethnic identities. Habitual ritual observance, however, is more clearly an indicator of religious identity, as was demonstrated by the rigor with which these rituals were practiced among the Orthodox. Nonetheless, density was a relevant external variable for the Orthodox with regard to habitual observance. In order to maintain a strict religious lifestyle, it was preferable to live in a Jewishly dense area, both in order to observe certain Jewish laws as well as to ward off feelings of social isolation that would undoubtedly arise as a result of creating boundaries between themselves and mainstream society. As mentioned above,

synagogue membership can serve several purposes. One purpose is to be a part of a formal religious institution. Clearly, religiously observant Jews will be synagogue members. At the same time, synagogue affiliation may also be an indicator of ethnic identity because it may be "the" place for Jews to gather and socialize in communities where there are few other opportunities or places to do so.

Among the intermarried, the only aspect of Jewish identity for which density was a predictor was friendship. That is, among intermarried couples, those living in densely populated areas had more Jewish friends than those living in sparse Jewish communities. Among the intermarried, density did not have a relationship with any of the other Jewish identity variables examined. This finding is interesting because high rates of intermarriage could be considered the highest form of acceptance into mainstream society. One could argue that for the intermarried, the external boundaries that had long existed to keep Jews from mingling with those in the mainstream were completely gone. At the same time, all of the respondents in this study self- identified as Jews. It is not clear how Jews who intermarry think about, articulate, or exhibit their Jewish identities. In this study, density had no relationship to subjective identity, ritual practice, or affiliation among the intermarried, but it did relate to friendship. Given that these respondents identified as Jews and that a significant portion of the Jewish community is intermarried, future research might investigate why the traditional measures of Jewish identity were not relevant for this group and at the same time, might work to develop indicators of Jewish identity that are relevant for this population.

There is more than one path to strengthening Jewish identity. Attending Jewish day schools, summer camps, participating in college Hillel, taking Jewish studies courses,

doing community service in a Jewish context, and traveling to Israel are just a few examples of identity-strengthening activities. The effects of these kinds of programs are presumably cumulative. All of these examples have an educational component to them, and the impact of informal education and connections should not be overlooked. Just as living in a Jewishly dense area allows for the creation of friendships, all of these activities have that potential as well.

Generalities and Future Research

Considerable research has shown that friendships with similar others can provide a great deal of support for an ethnic identity (c.f., Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Saylor & Aries, 1999; Sinclair & Milner, 2005; Amyot & Seligman, 1996) and the results of this study add to that literature. For ethnic groups that struggle to maintain a distinct sense of identity amidst an accepting and assimilating America, the results of this study can to be generalized. Living in an ethnically dense neighborhood contributes to the creation of same-ethnicity friendships, which has positive implications for subjective identity, ethnic behaviors, and perhaps, affiliation.

In the 21st century, diversity and multiculturalism are embraced in the United States. Some evidence suggests that the ethnic component of Jewish identity is declining (Cohen, 1998; Cohen & Wertheimer, 2006). Assimilation into the mainstream society is not desirable if it requires people to give up parts of their identity that link them to their heritage. American Jewish leadership and other ethnicities that wish to retain their distinctiveness must begin to thoughtfully consider how to balance the lure of assimilation with social isolation in an effort to revive the very rich ethnic and cultural diversity for which America is famous.

This study did not address every aspect of Jewish identity, such as the distinct role that Israel plays in the psyche of some American Jews, philanthropic giving, how Jews derive a sense of meaning from their Jewishness, or alternative/non-traditional measures of identity. Previous research suggests that the attachment of American Jews Israel is declining (Cohen & Wertheimer, 2006). Research on city size and philanthropic giving has shown that the highest rates of giving are found in small communities (Rabinowitz, 1989; Rabinowitz, Kim, & Lazerwitz, 1991) but this finding was not linked to personal or collective identity. Alternative and non-traditional measures of identity may be of interest especially as they relate to the intermarried and the younger generation of American Jews who have spent their whole lives in an accepting and welcoming society. These areas deserve attention in future research because the current study was limited by the number and kinds of questions asked in the National Jewish Population Survey (Kotler-Berkowitz, Cohen, Ament, Klaff, Mott, & Pekerman-Neuman, 2003).

This study also did not specifically address the causal relationship between density and identity. The data did not allow for an exploration of understanding why respondents chose to move to their current communities. The density or vibrancy of a Jewish community can be one factor of many that influences residential choice. Given the pattern of results, however, it is reasonable to suggest that ethnically dense neighborhoods have the potential to increase ethnic identification, especially as a result of having more same-ethnicity friendships.

Finally, going forward, it is not clear how advances in technology will affect the development of communities and friendship. The world is becoming flatter and smaller with email, instant messaging, blogs, and websites. Will virtual communities render

geography irrelevant? In the early 1980's research showed that residential proximity was the single best predictor of how often friends get together to socialize and that high tech encounters were originally made and sustained through face-to-face interactions (Verbrugge, 1983). Almost 20 years later, Hampton and Wellman (2000) speculated that new technologies may allow people greater latitude to create ties among other similar dimensions. If this is the case, perhaps in the future density will cease to be the powerful predictor of Jewish identity that this research showed. If virtual friendships become increasingly common, to what extent will the physical distance between friends matter? Future research should monitor how the creation and maintenance of friendships in the 21st century will continue to be affected by the density of one's residential community.

Tables

Table 1 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Jewish Density Indices and Absolute Size on Jewish Friendship

Density Indices and Absolute Size	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Community JDI- total (*n*=2143)			
Constant	2.75	0.04	
Community JDI- total	0.04	0.00	.21*
R^2=.04, *p*<.01			
Community JDI- white (*n*=2143)			
Constant	2.73	0.04	
Community JDI- white	0.02	0.00	.24*
R^2=.06, *p*<.01			
Neighborhood JDI- total (*n*=2141)			
Constant	2.64	0.04	
Neighborhood JDI- total	0.02	0.00	.30*
R^2=.09, *p*<.01			
Neighborhood JDI- white (*n*=2141)			
Constant	2.62	0.04	
Neighborhood JDI-white	0.02	0.00	.31*
R^2=.10, *p*<.01			
Absolute size (*n*=2150)			
Constant	2.74	0.04	
Absolute size	0.00	0.00	.23*
R^2=.05, *p*<.01			

* *p*<.01

Table 2 : Factor Analysis of Subjective Identity Scale

	Eigenvalues
Judaism guides important life decisions	.752
I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people	.748
Importance of religion in my life today	.739
The likelihood of looking for Jewish places of interest when traveling	.699
Level of emotional attachment to Israel	.690
Importance of having friends who share my way of being Jewish	.672
I have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to me	.563
Being Jewish has little to do with how I see myself*	.467
Cronbach's alpha= .812	

*item was reverse-coded

Table 3 : Factor Analysis of Ritual Questions

	Eigenvalues
Factor 1: Episodic Practice	
Attending a Passover seder	.682
Having a mezuzah on door	.652
Always or usually lighting Hanukkah candles	.576
Observing a mourning ritual (if applicable)	.551
Fasting last Yom Kippur	.516
Cronbach's alpha= .692	
Factor 2: Habitual Observance	
Keep kosher in home	.804
Refrain from spending money on Shabbat	.778
Usually or always lighting Sabbath candles	.680
Cronbach's alpha= .691	

Table 4 : Census Regions and States

New York Metropolitan Area	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Bronx Brooklyn Manhattan Nassau Co. Staten Island Suffolk Co. Queens Westchester	Connecticut Maine Massachusetts New Hampshire New Jersey New York Pennsylvania Rhode Island Vermont	Indiana Illinois Iowa Kansas Michigan Minnesota Missouri Nebraska North Dakota Ohio South Dakota Wisconsin	Alabama Arkansas Delaware District of Columbia Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana Maryland Mississippi North Carolina Oklahoma South Carolina Tennessee Texas Virginia West Virginia	Alaska Arizona California Colorado Hawaii Idaho Montana New Mexico Nevada Oregon Utah Washington Wyoming

Table 5 : Means and Standard Deviations of Outcome Variables

Variable	*M*	*SD*
Friendship (*n*=2008)	3.05	1.13
Spouse (*n*=1141)	0.77	0.42
Subjective identity (*n*=1880)	3.28	1.08
Episodic practice (*n*=1798)	3.37	1.51
Habitual observance (*n*= 1113)	1.89	1.88
Synagogue membership (*n*=2008)	0.46	0.50

Table 6 : Intercorrelations of Jewish identity variables institutional maturity, Jewish background, and density

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Friendship	---								
2. Spouse	.48*	---							
3. Subjective identity	.49*	.40*	---						
4. Episodic practice	.38*	.46*	.59*	---					
5. Habitual observance	.31*	.16*	.41*	.31*	---				
6. Synagogue affiliation	.33*	.33*	.46*	.52*	.30*	---			
7. Institutional maturity	.10*	.03	.04	.12*	.07**	.08*	---		
8. Jewish background	.24*	.19*	.33*	.42*	.25*	.32*	.09*	---	
9. Density	.30*	.30*	.16*	.17*	.22*	.05**	.05**	.14*	---

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table 7 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Friendship
(n=2008)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	2.64	0.04	---
Density	0.02	0.00	.31*
R^2=.10, p<.01			
Model 2			
Constant	2.06	0.08	---
Density	0.02	0.00	.28*
Institutional Maturity	0.03	0.01	.07*
Jewish Background	0.19	0.02	.19*
R^2=.14, p<.01			

* p<.01

Table 8 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Spouse
(n=1141)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	0.61	0.02	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.31*
R^2=.10, p<.01			
Model 2			
Constant	0.42	0.04	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.29*
Institutional Maturity	0.00	0.01	.01
Jewish Background	0.01	0.01	.15*
R^2=.12, p<.01			

* p<.01

Table 9 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, Jewish Background, and Jewish Friendship as Predictors of Subjective Identity (*n*=1880)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	3.06	0.04	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.17*
R^2=.03, *p*<.01			
Model 2			
Constant	2.09	0.08	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.13*
Institutional Maturity	0.00	0.01	.00
Jewish Background	0.30	0.02	.31*
R^2=.13, *p*<.01			
Model 3			
Constant	1.22	0.08	---
Density	0.00	0.00	.00
Institutional Maturity	-0.01	0.01	-.02
Jewish Background	0.22	0.02	.23*
Jewish Friendship	0.43	0.02	.44*
R^2=.30, *p*<.01			

* *p*<.01

Table 10 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, Jewish Background, and Jewish Friendship as Predictors of Episodic Ritual Scale (n=1798)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	3.07	0.05	---
Density	0.02	0.00	.18*
R^2=.03, p<.01			
Model 2			
Constant	1.41	0.11	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.11*
Institutional Maturity	0.04	0.01	.08*
Jewish Background	0.53	0.03	.39*
R^2=.19, p<.01			
Model 3			
Constant	0.62	0.12	---
Density	0.00	0.00	.04
Institutional Maturity	0.03	0.01	.06*
Jewish Background	0.46	0.03	.34*
Jewish Friendship	0.38	0.03	.29*
R^2=.26, p<.01			

*p<.01

Table 11 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, Jewish Background, and Jewish Friendship as Predictors of Habitual Ritual Scale (n=1113)

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	1.39	0.09	---
Density	0.03	0.00	.22*
R^2=.05, p<.05			
Model 2			
Constant	0.14	0.18	---
Density	0.02	0.00	.18*
Institutional Maturity	0.03	0.03	.03
Jewish Background	0.38	0.05	.23*
R^2=.10, p<.01			
Model 3			
Constant	-0.80	0.21	---
Density	0.01	0.00	.12*
Institutional Maturity	0.01	0.02	.02
Jewish Background	0.30	0.05	.18*
Jewish Friendship	0.41	0.05	.24*
R^2=.15, p<.01			

* p<.01

Table 12 : Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, Jewish Background, and Jewish Friendship as Predictors of Synagogue Membership (n=2008)

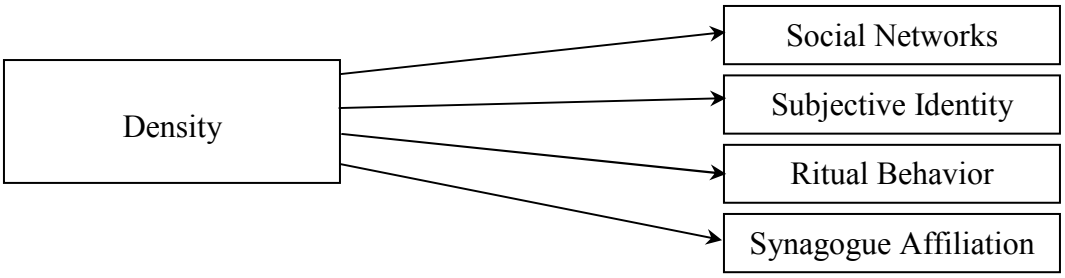
Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1			
Constant	0.43	0.02	---
Density	0.00	0.00	.06**
R^2=.00, p<.05			
Model 2			
Constant	0.00	0.04	---
Density	0.00	0.00	.01
Institutional Maturity	0.01	0.00	.06*
Jewish Background	0.14	0.01	.31*
R^2=.11, p<.01			
Model 3			
Constant	-0.26	0.04	---
Density	0.00	0.00	-.07*
Institutional Maturity	0.01	0.00	.04
Jewish Background	0.11	0.01	.26*
Jewish Friendship	0.13	0.01	.29*
R^2=.18, p<.01			

* p<.01, **p<.05

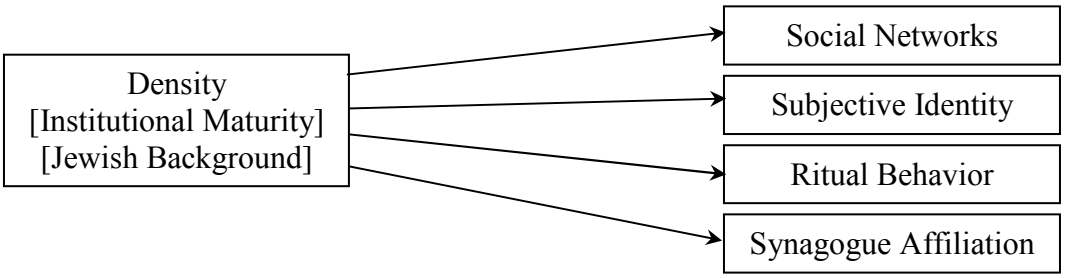
Figure

Figure 1 : Models of Analysis

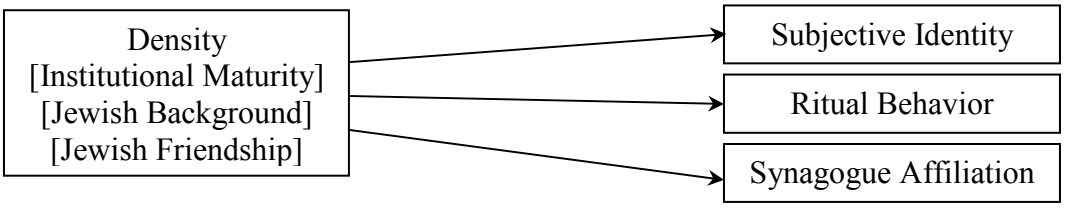
Model 1: Density as the Sole Predictor of Dependent Variables



Model 2: Regression Analysis of Density, Controlling for Institutional Status and Jewish Background on Dependent Variables



Model 3: Regression Analysis of Density, Controlling for Institutional Status Jewish Background, and Friendship on Selected Dependent Variables



Appendix A
Additional analyses with the non-Orthodox

Table A1
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Friendship among the Non-Orthodox (n=1690)

Jewish Friendship	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	2.95	1.09			
Constant			2.62	0.04	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.26*
R^2=.07, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.29	0.09	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.25*
Institutional Maturity			0.02	0.01	.06*
Jewish Background			0.11	0.02	.11*
R^2=.09, p<.01					

*p<.01

Table A2
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Spouse among the Non-Orthodox (n=974)

Jewish Spouse	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	0.74	0.44			
Constant			0.58	0.02	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.31*
R^2=.10, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			.041	0.05	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.30*
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	.00
Jewish Background			0.05	0.01	.12*
R^2=.11, p<.01					

*p<.01

Table A3
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Subjective Identity among the Non-Orthodox (n=1589)

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	3.18	1.05			
Constant			3.05	0.04	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.10*
R^2=.01, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.24	0.09	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.08*
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	-.01
Jewish Background			0.25	0.02	.26*
R^2=.08, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.37	0.09	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.02
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.01	-.03
Jewish Background			0.21	0.02	.21*
Jewish Friendship			0.39	0.23	.40*
R^2=.22, p<.01					

*p<.01

Table A4
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Episodic Practice among the Non-Orthodox (n=1538)

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	3.30	1.50			
Constant			3.08	0.06	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.12*
R^2=.02, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.53	0.12	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.09*
Institutional Maturity			0.04	0.01	.08*
Jewish Background			0.49	0.03	.35*
R^2=.15, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.73	0.14	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.03
Institutional Maturity			0.03	0.01	.06**
Jewish Background			0.45	0.03	.32*
Jewish Friendship			0.36	0.03	.26*
R^2=.21, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table A5
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Habitual Observance among the Non-Orthodox (*n*=870)

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	1.37	1.53			
Constant			1.27	0.08	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.06
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			1.02	0.18	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.05
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.02	.00
Jewish Background			0.07	0.05	.05
R^2=.01, *p*>.05					
Model 3					
Constant			0.70	0.22	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.04
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.02	-.01
Jewish Background			0.06	0.05	.04
Jewish Friendship			.12	.05	.09**
R^2=.01, *p*<.05					

**p<.05

Table A6
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Synagogue Membership among the Non-Orthodox (*n*=1690)

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 1	0.43	0.50			
Constant			0.44	0.02	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.03
R^2=.00, p>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.10	0.04	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.04
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.00	.05**
Jewish Background			0.11	0.01	.24*
R^2=.06, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.16	0.05	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.11*
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.00	.04
Jewish Background			0.10	0.01	.21*
Jewish Friendship			0.11	0.01	.25*
R^2=.12, p<.01					

*p<.01. **p<.05

Appendix B
Additional analyses by marital status

Table B1
Means and Standard Deviations (in Parenthesis) of Outcome Variables by Marital Status

	In-Married	Not Married	Intermarried
Friendship	3.54 (1.02)	2.80 (1.11)	2.26 (0.83)
Subjective Identity	3.66 (0.94)	3.07 (1.11)	2.71 (1.01)
Episodic Practice	3.99 (1.19)	3.05 (1.58)	2.47 (1.49)
Habitual Observance	2.09 (1.97)	1.77 (1.77)	1.01 (1.36)
Synagogue Affiliation	0.62 (0.49)	0.37 (0.48)	0.23 (0.42)

Table B2
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Friendship by Marital Status

Jewish Friendship	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
In-Married (*n*=874)	3.54	1.02			
Model 1					
Constant			3.25	0.06	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.21*
R^2=.05, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.72	0.13	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.20*
Institutional Maturity			0.02	0.02	.04
Jewish Background			0.16	0.03	.16*
R^2=.08, *p*<.01					
Not Married (*n*=784)	2.80	1.11			
Model 1					
Constant			2.46	0.06	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.27*
R^2=.07, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.00	0.12	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.25*
Institutional Maturity			0.03	0.01	.07**
Jewish Background			0.16	0.03	.16*
R^2=.11, *p*<.01					
Inter-Married (*n*=266)	2.26	0.83			
Model 1					
Constant			2.11	0.07	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.19*
R^2=.04, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.93	0.15	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.20*
Institutional Maturity			0.04	0.02	.15**
Jewish Background			0.07	0.04	.09
R^2=.06, *p*<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table B3
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Subjective Identity by Marital Status

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
In-Married (*n*=815)	3.66	0.94			
Model 1					
Constant			3.52	0.05	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.11*
R^2=.01, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.61	0.12	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.07**
Institutional Maturity			0.02	0.01	.05
Jewish Background			0.27	0.03	.30*
R^2=.11, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.66	0.14	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.00
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.01	.03
Jewish Background			0.21	0.03	.24*
Jewish Friendship			0.35	0.03	.37*
R^2=.23, *p*<.01					
Not Married (*n*=734)	3.07	1.11			
Model 1					
Constant			2.91	0.06	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.13*
R^2=.02, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.97	0.21	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.09*
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.01	-.02
Jewish Background			0.30	0.03	.31*
R^2=.11, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.16	0.13	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.01
Institutional Maturity			-0.02	0.01	-.04
Jewish Background			0.24	0.03	.25*
Jewish Friendship			0.41	0.03	.40*
R^2=.26, *p*<.01					
Inter-Married (*n*=253)	2.71	1.01			
Model 1					
Constant			2.75	0.09	---
Density			-0.01	0.01	-.05
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					

Table B3 (con't)

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			2.24	0.19	---
Density			-0.01	0.01	-.05
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.04	-.02
Jewish Background			0.16	0.06	.19*
R^2=.04, p<.05					
Model 3					
Constant			1.60	0.23	---
Density			-0.01	0.01	-.12
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.04	-.02
Jewish Background			0.14	0.05	.16*
Jewish Friendship			0.35	0.08	.28*
R^2=.11, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table B4
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Episodic Practice by Marital Status

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
In-Married (*n*=758)	3.99	1.19			
Model 1					
Constant			3.89	0.07	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.07
R^2=.01, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			2.60	0.16	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.02
Institutional Maturity			0.06	0.02	.12*
Jewish Background			0.39	0.04	.33*
R^2=.14, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			2.15	0.20	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.01
Institutional Maturity			0.06	0.02	.11*
Jewish Background			0.37	0.04	.31*
Jewish Friendship			0.16	0.04	.14*
R^2=.16, *p*<.01					
Not Married (*n*=718)	3.05	1.58			
Model 1					
Constant			2.80	0.09	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.13*
R^2=.02, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.19	0.17	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.08**
Institutional Maturity			0.04	0.02	.07**
Jewish Background			0.53	0.05	.39*
R^2=.18, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.54	0.19	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.03
Institutional Maturity			0.03	0.02	.06
Jewish Background			0.48	0.05	.35*
Jewish Friendship			0.33	0.05	.23*
R^2=.23, *p*<.01					
Inter-Married (*n*=250)	2.47	1.49			
Model 1					
Constant			2.43	0.13	---
Density			0.00	0.01	.03
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					

Table B4 (con't)

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			0.96	0.26	---
Density			0.00	0.01	0.02
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.03	0.03
Jewish Background			0.48	0.08	.37*
R^2=.14, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.31	0.33	---
Density			0.00	0.01	-.02
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.03	.00
Jewish Background			0.46	0.08	.36*
Jewish Friendship			0.33	0.12	.19*
R^2=.17, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table B5
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Habitual Observance by Marital Status

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
In-Married (*n*=616)	2.09	1.97			
Model 1					
Constant			1.55	0.13	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.22*
R^2=.05, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			-0.17	0.28	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.17*
Institutional Maturity			0.41	0.08	.19*
Jewish Background			0.54	0.07	.29*
R^2=.17, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-1.45	0.33	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.12*
Institutional Maturity			0.42	0.08	.20*
Jewish Background			0.43	0.07	.23*
Jewish Friendship			0.50	0.07	.26*
R^2=.23, *p*<.01					
Not Married (*n*=376)	1.77	1.77			
Model 1					
Constant			1.38	0.14	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.18*
R^2=.03, *p*>.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.64	0.29	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.15*
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.03	-.03
Jewish Background			0.23	0.08	.15*
R^2=.05, *p*>.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.02	0.34	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.11**
Institutional Maturity			-0.02	0.03	-.04
Jewish Background			0.19	0.08	.13**
Jewish Friendship			.029	0.08	.19*
R^2=.09, *p*>.01					
Inter-Married (*n*=77)	1.01	1.36			
Model 1					
Constant			1.02	0.21	---
Density			0.00	0.01	-.01
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					

Table B4 (con't)

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			1.39	0.42	---
Density			0.00	0.01	.01
Institutional Maturity			-0.05	0.06	-.10
Jewish Background			-0.14	0.12	-.14
R^2=.03, p>.05					
Model 3					
Constant			0.98	0.57	---
Density			0.00	0.01	-.01
Institutional Maturity			-0.06	0.06	-.10
Jewish Background			-0.16	0.12	-.15
Jewish Friendship			0.20	0.19	.13
R^2=.04, p>.05					

*p<.01, ** p<.05

Table B6
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Synagogue Membership by Marital Status

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
In-Married (*n*=874)	0.62	0.49			
Model 1					
Constant			0.65	0.03	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.04
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.13	0.06	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.07**
Institutional Maturity			0.02	0.01	.07**
Jewish Background			0.15	0.02	.33*
R^2=.12, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.13	0.07	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.11*
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.01	.06
Jewish Background			0.14	0.02	.30*
Jewish Friendship			0.10	0.02	.20*
R^2=.16, *p*<.01					
Not Married (*n*=784)	0.37	0.48			
Model 1					
Constant			0.37	0.03	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.01
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.03	0.05	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.03
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	.03
Jewish Background			0.11	0.01	.27*
R^2=.07, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.16	0.06	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.08**
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	.01
Jewish Background			0.10	0.01	.24*
Jewish Friendship			0.09	0.02	.22*
R^2=.12, *p*<.01					
Inter-Married (*n*=266)	0.23	0.42			
Model 1					
Constant			0.26	0.04	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.07
R^2=.01, *p*>.05					

Table B5 (con't)

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			0.09	0.08	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.06
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.01	0.08
Jewish Background			0.06	0.02	.16**
R^2=.03, p<.04					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.11	0.10	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.10
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.01	.05
Jewish Background			0.05	0.02	.14**
Jewish Friendship			0.10	0.03	.20*
R^2=.07, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Appendix C
Additional analyses by region of the country

Table C1
Means and Standard Deviations (in Parenthesis) of Outcome Variables by Region

	Northeast	Midwest	South	West	New York Metro
Friendship	3.06 (1.17)	2.85 (1.08)	3.04 (1.11)	2.85 (1.12)	3.35 (1.08)
Jewish Spouse	0.74 (0.44)	0.71 (0.45)	0.78 (0.42)	0.70 (0.46)	0.87 (0.34)
Subjective Identity	3.28 (1.13)	3.29 (1.05)	3.20 (1.07)	3.18 (1.08)	3.43 (1.05)
Episodic Practice	3.50 (1.50)	3.33 (1.56)	3.38 (1.48)	2.99 (1.58)	3.65 (1.41)
Habitual Observance	2.03 (1.96)	1.57 (1.66)	1.46 (1.62)	1.43 (1.72)	2.59 (1.98)
Synagogue Affiliation	0.53 (0.50)	0.53 (0.50)	0.44 (0.50)	0.37 (0.48)	0.48 (0.50)

Table C2
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Friendship by Region of the Country

Jewish Friendship	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=478)	3.06	1.17			
Model 1					
Constant			2.74	0.08	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.26*
R^2=.07, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.89	0.17	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.23*
Institutional Maturity			-0.11	0.16	-.03
Jewish Background			0.25	0.05	.24*
R^2=.13, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=229)	2.85	1.08			
Model 1					
Constant			2.45	0.09	---
Density			0.03	0.00	.38*
R^2=.14, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.97	0.20	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.34*
Institutional Maturity			0.08	0.20	.02
Jewish Background			0.16	0.06	.17*
R^2=.17, *p*<.01					
South (*n*=433)	3.04	1.11			
Model 1					
Constant			2.74	0.07	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.28*
R^2=.08, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.77	0.19	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.23*
Institutional Maturity			-0.20	0.06	-.16*
Jewish Background			0.21	0.05	.20*
R^2=.14, *p*<.01					
West (*n*=429)	2.85	1.12			
Model 1					
Constant			2.42	0.08	---
Density			0.03	0.00	.33*
R^2=.11, *p*<.01					

Table C2 (con't)

Jewish Friendship	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			2.19	0.15	---
Density			0.03	0.00	.31*
Institutional Maturity			0.03	0.01	.15*
Jewish Background			0.10	0.04	.11**
R^2=.15, p<.01					
New York Metropolitan Area (n=438)	3.35	1.08			
Model 1					
Constant			2.84	0.10	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.27*
R^2=.07, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.18	0.18	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.24*
Institutional Maturity			0.05	0.12	.02
Jewish Background			0.20	0.04	.20*
R^2=.11, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table C3
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Jewish Spouse by Region of the Country

Jewish Spouse	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=276)	0.74	0.44			
Model 1					
Constant			0.62	0.04	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.28*
R^2=.07, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.38	0.09	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.25*
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.08	.00
Jewish Background			0.07	0.02	.17*
R^2=.09, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=138)	0.71	0.45			
Model 1					
Constant			0.51	0.05	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.42*
R^2=.18, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.39	0.11	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.41*
Institutional Maturity			-0.17	0.10	-.13
Jewish Background			0.04	0.03	.10
R^2=.21, *p*<.01					
South (*n*=270)	0.78	0.42			
Model 1					
Constant			0.64	0.04	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.33*
R^2=.11, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.33	0.10	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.30*
Institutional Maturity			-0.03	0.03	-.06
Jewish Background			0.08	0.02	.19*
R^2=.15, *p*<.01					
West (*n*=216)	0.70	0.46			
Model 1					
Constant			0.54	0.05	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.30*
R^2=.09, *p*<.01					

Table C3 (con't)

Jewish Spouse	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			0.44	0.10	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.28*
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	.01
Jewish Background			0.03	0.03	.08
R^2=.10, p<.01					
New York Metropolitan Area (n=241)	0.87	0.34			
Model 1					
Constant			0.76	0.04	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.17*
R^2=.03, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.57	0.08	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.12
Institutional Maturity			0.06	0.05	.08
Jewish Background			0.06	0.02	.19*
R^2=.07, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table C4
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Subjective Identity by Region of the Country

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=446)	3.28	1.13			
Model 1					
Constant			3.04	0.08	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.20*
R^2=.04, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.67	0.17	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.15*
Institutional Maturity			-0.29	0.16	-.08
Jewish Background			0.40	0.04	.39*
R^2=.19, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.88	0.16	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.05
Institutional Maturity			-0.24	0.14	-.07
Jewish Background			0.29	0.04	.28*
Jewish Friendship			0.43	0.04	.45*
R^2=.37, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=216)	3.29	1.05			
Model 1					
Constant			2.99	0.10	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.28*
R^2=.08, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.21	0.21	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.22*
Institutional Maturity			-0.25	0.19	-.08
Jewish Background			0.26	0.06	.28*
R^2=.16, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.40	0.22	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.07
Institutional Maturity			-0.27	0.18	-.09
Jewish Background			0.20	0.06	.22*
Jewish Friendship			0.41	0.06	.42*
R^2=.31, *p*<.01					
South (*n*=411)	3.20	1.07			
Model 1					
Constant			3.13	0.07	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.07
R^2=.01, *p*>.05					

Table C4 (con't)

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			2.06	0.20	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.05
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.06	.01
Jewish Background			0.33	0.05	.31*
R^2=.10, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.28	0.19	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.06
Institutional Maturity			0.09	0.05	.08
Jewish Background			0.23	0.05	.22*
Jewish Friendship			0.44	0.04	.45*
R^2=.28, p<.01					
West (n=401)	3.18	1.08			
Model 1					
Constant			2.67	0.08	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.17*
R^2=.03, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			2.51	0.16	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.15*
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.01	.00
Jewish Background			0.16	0.05	.17*
R^2=.06, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			1.48	0.17	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.01
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.01	-.05
Jewish Background			0.11	0.04	.12*
Jewish Friendship			0.48	0.05	.49*
R^2=.26, p<.01					
New York Metropolitan Area (n=406)	3.43	1.05			
Model 1					
Constant			3.15	0.11	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.15*
R^2=.02, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.94	0.18	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.12**
Institutional Maturity			-0.09	0.12	-.04
Jewish Background			0.36	0.04	.38*
R^2=.17, p<.01					

Table C4 (con't)

Subjective Identity	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 3					
Constant			1.14	0.19	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.03
Institutional Maturity			-0.10	0.11	-.04
Jewish Background			0.29	0.04	.30*
Jewish Friendship			0.37	0.04	.38*
R^2=.30, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table C5
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Episodic Practice by Region of the Country

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=431)	3.50	1.50			
Model 1					
Constant			3.30	0.10	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.13*
R^2=.02, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.32	0.22	---
Density			0.01	0.00	0.08
Institutional Maturity			-0.04	0.21	-.01
Jewish Background			0.59	0.06	.43*
R^2=.20, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.54	0.23	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.00
Institutional Maturity			0.00	.20	.00
Jewish Background			0.49	0.06	.36*
Jewish Friendship			0.42	0.06	.33*
R^2=.29, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=208)	3.33	1.56			
Model 1					
Constant			3.00	0.15	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.22*
R^2=.05, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.16	0.30	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.12
Institutional Maturity			-0.42	0.28	-.09
Jewish Background			0.60	0.09	.43*
R^2=.24, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			.505	0.35	---
Density			0.00	0.01	.04
Institutional Maturity			-0.46	0.27	-.10
Jewish Background			0.55	0.09	.40*
Jewish Friendship			0.33	0.09	.23*
R^2=.28, *p*<.01					
South (*n*=393)	3.38	1.48			
Model 1					
Constant			3.13	0.10	---
Density			0.02	0.00	.17*
R^2=.03, *p*<.01					

Table C5 (con't)

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			1.38	0.27	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.15*
Institutional Maturity			0.05	0.08	.03
Jewish Background			0.55	0.07	.38*
R^2=.18, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.72	0.28	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.09
Institutional Maturity			0.12	0.08	.08
Jewish Background			0.47	0.07	.33*
Jewish Friendship			0.38	0.06	.29*
R^2=.25, p<.01					
West (n=383)	2.99	1.58			
Model 1					
Constant			2.59	0.12	---
Density			0.03	0.01	.22*
R^2=.05, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			1.44	0.22	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.15*
Institutional Maturity			0.04	0.01	.13*
Jewish Background			0.43	0.06	.33*
R^2=.18, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			0.40	0.25	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.04
Institutional Maturity			0.02	0.01	.08
Jewish Background			0.38	0.06	.29*
Jewish Friendship			0.49	0.07	.35*
R^2=.28, p<.01					
New York Metropolitan Area (n=384)	3.65	1.41			
Model 1					
Constant			3.41	0.15	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.10
R^2=.01, p>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			1.82	0.25	---
Density			0.00	0.01	.04
Institutional Maturity			0.15	0.15	.05
Jewish Background			0.48	0.06	.37*
R^2=.15, p<.01					

Table C5 (con't)

Episodic Practice	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 3					
Constant			1.28	0.28	---
Density			0.00	0.01	-.01
Institutional Maturity			0.13	0.15	.04
Jewish Background			0.44	0.06	.34*
Jewish Friendship			0.25	0.07	.19*
R^2=.18, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table C6
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Habitual Observance by Region of the Country

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=265)	2.03	1.96			
Model 1					
Constant			1.51	0.17	---
Density			0.03	0.01	.26*
R^2=.07, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			-0.27	0.41	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.21*
Institutional Maturity			-0.76	0.36	-.12**
Jewish Background			0.49	0.11	.27*
R^2=.15, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-1.46	0.44	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.16*
Institutional Maturity			-0.53	0.34	-.09
Jewish Background			0.34	0.11	.18*
Jewish Friendship			0.56	0.10	.32*
R^2=.24, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=119)	1.57	1.66			
Model 1					
Constant			1.29	0.22	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.16
R^2=.03, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.46	0.48	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.13
Institutional Maturity			0.23	0.42	.05
Jewish Background			0.26	0.13	.18
R^2=.04, *p*>.05					
Model 3					
Constant			0.28	0.59	---
Density			0.01	0.01	.11
Institutional Maturity			0.23	0.42	.05
Jewish Background			0.25	0.14	.17
Jewish Friendship			0.09	0.17	.05
R^2=.06, *p*>.05					
South (*n*=223)	1.46	1.62			
Model 1					
Constant			1.40	.016	---
Density			0.00	0.01	.04
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					

Table C6 (con't)

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			0.92	0.44	---
Density			0.00	0.01	0.02
Institutional Maturity			-0.09	0.12	-.05
Jewish Background			0.11	0.11	.07
R^2=.01, p>.05					
Model 3					
Constant			0.28	0.49	---
Density			0.00	0.01	-.01
Institutional Maturity			-0.01	0.12	0.00
Jewish Background			0.05	0.11	0.3
Jewish Friendship			0.32	0.11	.21*
R^2=.05, p<.05					
West (n=228)	1.43	1.72			
Model 1					
Constant			0.92	0.18	---
Density			0.03	0.01	.24*
R^2=.06, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			0.18	0.33	---
Density			0.03	0.01	.22*
Institutional Maturity			-0.03	0.03	-.07
Jewish Background			0.23	0.09	.16**
R^2=.09, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.33	0.41	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.18*
Institutional Maturity			-0.04	0.03	-.09
Jewish Background			0.19	0.09	.14**
Jewish Friendship			0.23	0.11	.15**
R^2=.11, p<.01					
New York Metropolitan Area (n=279)	2.59	1.98			
Model 1					
Constant			1.86	0.24	---
Density			0.03	0.01	.21*
R^2=.04, p<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			-0.19	0.41	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.16*
Institutional Maturity			0.30	0.29	.06
Jewish Background			0.57	0.10	.32*
R^2=.15, p<.01					

Table C6 (con't)

Habitual Observance	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 3					
Constant			-1.33	0.48	---
Density			0.02	0.01	.10
Institutional Maturity			0.23	0.28	.05
Jewish Background			0.48	0.10	.27*
Jewish Friendship			0.48	0.11	.25*
R^2=.21, p<.01					

*p<.01, **p<.05

Table C7
Results of Multiple Regression Analysis of Density, Institutional Maturity, and Jewish Background as Predictors of Synagogue Membership by Region

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Northeast (*n*=478)	0.53	0.50			
Model 1					
Constant			0.45	0.03	---
Density			0.01	0.00	.14*
R^2=.02, *p*<.01					
Model 2					
Constant			-0.05	0.07	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.11**
Institutional Maturity			-0.12	0.07	-.08
Jewish Background			0.15	0.02	.33*
R^2=.13, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.34	0.08	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.02
Institutional Maturity			-0.10	0.06	-.07
Jewish Background			0.11	0.02	.24*
Jewish Friendship			0.16	0.02	.36*
R^2=.24, *p*<.01					
Midwest (*n*=229)	0.53	0.50			
Model 1					
Constant			0.47	0.05	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.12
R^2=.02, *p*>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.05	0.10	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.06
Institutional Maturity			-0.11	0.09	-.07
Jewish Background			0.14	0.03	.31
R^2=.12, *p*<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.12	0.11	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.00
Institutional Maturity			-0.11	0.09	-.08
Jewish Background			0.12	0.03	.28*
Jewish Friendship			0.09	0.03	.19*
R^2=.15, *p*<.01					
South (*n*=433)	0.44	0.50			
Model 1					
Constant			0.47	0.03	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.06
R^2=.00, *p*>.05					

Table C7 (con't)

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 2					
Constant			0.10	0.09	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.06
Institutional Maturity			0.06	0.03	.12**
Jewish Background			0.14	0.02	.29*
R^2=.10, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.14	0.09	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.13*
Institutional Maturity			0.09	0.03	.17*
Jewish Background			0.11	0.02	.23*
Jewish Friendship			0.13	0.02	.30*
R^2=.18, p<.01					
West (n=429)	0.37	0.48			
Model 1					
Constant			0.35	0.04	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.05
R^2=.00, p>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			0.11	0.07	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.02
Institutional Maturity			0.01	0.00	.07
Jewish Background			0.08	0.02	.21*
R^2=.05, p<.01					
Model 3					
Constant			-0.21	0.08	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.09
Institutional Maturity			0.00	0.00	.02
Jewish Background			0.07	0.02	.17*
Jewish Friendship			0.15	0.02	.34*
R^2=.15, p<.01					
Metropolitan New York Area (n=438)	0.48	0.50			
Model 1					
Constant			0.43	0.05	---
Density			0.00	0.00	.05
R^2=.05, p>.05					
Model 2					
Constant			-0.17	0.08	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.01
Institutional Maturity			0.06	0.05	.05
Jewish Background			0.18	0.02	.40*
R^2=.17, p<.01					

Table C7 (con't)

Synagogue Membership	*M*	*SD*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Model 3					
Constant			-0.39	0.09	---
Density			0.00	0.00	-.06
Institutional Maturity			0.05	0.05	.05
Jewish Background			0.16	0.02	.36*
Jewish Friendship			0.10	0.02	.21*
R^2=.21, p<.01					

*p<.01. **p<.05

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