CJP Overview of the 2015 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study

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A chance to learn, reflect, and grow

Combined Jewish Philanthropies has commissioned a study of the Greater Boston Jewish community every decade since 1965. The 2015 survey provides a picture of our evolving attitudes, beliefs, and experiences, and is full of insights about how we are living: our backgrounds and lifestyles, our economic well-being, how we relate to Judaism and to Israel, and how we regard the role being Jewish plays in our homes and out in the world. These insights instruct our understanding of, and planning for, our community.

As of 2015, it is estimated that we are 248,000 Jewish adults and children in Greater Boston, constituting almost 7% of our region. This represents 4.6% growth in CJP's historical region since 2005, beyond the additional population from the North Shore that is now part of CJP's catchment area. There are an estimated 123,400 Jewish households, defined as any household that includes at least one Jewish adult. An additional 61,200 individuals who are not Jewish live in Jewish households, bringing the total number of people in Jewish households to over 309,000.

Jewish population of Greater Boston area, summary (rounded to nearest 100)					
	2005	2015	2015, excluding North Shore	Change 2005 to 2015	
Households with at least one Jewish adult	105,500	123,400	108,100	2.5%	
Total Jewish adults and children	208,500	248,000	218,000	4.6%	
Total people in Jewish households	265,500	309,200	271,900	2.4%	

While the study reflects overall population stability and is rich in demographic data, our true focus is not on the numbers; rather, it is about using the data to guide us in creating a Jewish communal life that engages and offers meaning.

The 2015 data indicates potentially important changes in the structure and character of Jewish life as compared to prior years. We are increasingly diverse in our backgrounds, in our ways of engaging, and in the sources from which we derive meaning. We are more mobile, and the study suggests shifts in the geographic centers of the Greater Boston Jewish community.

The study suggests that we may be experiencing changes in how segments of our community connect to Judaism, Israel, and traditional institutions—synagogues, denominations, organizations, schools—that have underpinned the structure of U.S. Jewish communal life for the past 50 years or more.

The data prompt us to question our assumptions and broaden our ways of thinking about how and why our community connects. In a changing historical context, what is a contemporary Jewish life that is rooted in our past, yet enhances our experience today? How will different members and groups create community? What about Judaism and an engaged Jewish experience can be so appealing, so rewarding that it helps define who we are and shapes our daily lives today and in the future?

All in all, there is a strong sense that Jewish life is being reimagined in ways that will carry our people into the future—along with opportunity to ignite, or re-ignite, Jewish passion.

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A broader context

The Greater Boston Jewish community exists within an increasingly diverse, integrated and secularized American society. People are living longer, marrying later (if at all), and are experiencing a significantly greater portion of their lives without children in their households at both ends of the lifecycle. Thanks to social networks, we are both more diffuse and more connected. And we are still feeling the aftershocks of the 2008 economic recession and entrenched economic disparity. Most importantly, American Jews are the product of a century of assimilation. Sociologists have long predicted the weakening or disappearance of Jewish identification and ethnic connection in the fourth generation living in free societies. Continuing rates of intermarriage can impact the trend as can a growing belief in universalism and a rejection of "particular" or "tribal" identities. These trends affect our entire society and certainly underpin the changes we are seeing in our Boston Jewish community.

The American Jewish community is also undergoing generational change, particularly as the Millennial generation (for the purposes of our study, young adults ages 18-34) comes of age and begins to shape Jewish life and institutions. There are new forms of engagement developing outside of the traditional Jewish communal "system." At the same time, we are just beginning to see the impact of a massive increase in the number of young adults who have experienced Israel through Birthright Israel and other types of Israel travel. In this context, Jewish young adults are defying easy categorization. They are universal and particular; compelled by globalism and proud of their Jewish heritage; less institutionally affiliated and seeking spiritual meaning and connection.

A vision for a vibrant Jewish community

Irrespective of attitudinal trends and demographic shifts—be it in Boston or elsewhere—Judaism is not an individual heritage or religion. Jewish life happens in, and requires, a community.

CJP's vision for Boston is of a community that ties individuals to each other through a vibrant network of connections and meaning. It is a vision of a community of deep caring, bringing to fruition our ancient values of justice and righteousness, dignity for all in the broader world, responsibility for the other, the past, the future. It is a vision in which every Jewish adult would know enough about the Jewish story to be able to communicate its beauty to future generations—and would care to—ensuring that we each have a role to play in that evolving story of the Jewish people.

It is also important to remind ourselves that any survey looks at both individuals and a community at a single point in time. While the study offers us an aggregate view of communal changes over time, we are unable through these means to see or anticipate the changes that may occur within individuals. As we consider the data as a whole, we must recognize that each respondent is also on a personal journey. A person with limited involvement in Jewish life today may become the leader of a Jewish organization in future years. Those who are deeply engaged when their children are young may find less meaning and connection to institutions when they become empty nesters or single seniors.

It is against this backdrop that we evaluate the strengths and shifts, and consider what is needed to help create and promote that highly networked community of caring, connection, and learning.

We start with an examination of where we come from.

An evolving Jewish community

Direct comparisons between studies are challenging. Improved research methods allow us to expand the respondent pool, but make it more difficult to understand whether shifts from prior studies are due to methodological differences or actual social change. Regardless of the specific data, one lens we can use to understand how we are evolving is to review how our concepts of the Jewish community have changed over time; i.e., how we have thought differently about the Greater Boston Jewish community in 1995, in 2005, and today.

1995

Twenty years ago, in 1995, there was a general sense of optimism about and within Boston, and a feeling of cohesiveness. High affiliation rates, belownational intermarriage rates, strong attachment to Israel, a record number of families and children, and an overall sense of prosperity characterized our community. Baby boomers were maturing, creating a bulge of adults in their 30s and 40s, as well as an "echo" of their children—today's Millennials.

Synagogue membership was by far the most common way in which Jews connected to Jewish life in all life stages, and especially for families with children. Denominational affiliation was considered an important indicator of Jewish commitment. There was a surge in demand for services and programs for children and teens, and for Jewish education and related family services. For the first time, the 1995 Greater Boston Jewish Community Study suggested a "community of communities" defined by geographic and demographic dispersion and diversity. For the first time, half of all Boston Jews lived outside of Routes 128 and 9.

Jews from the former Soviet Union were still arriving, and the community responded by focusing efforts on resettlement and social service support. Overall, even though the Jewish community was dispersing beyond traditional geographic boundaries, we were building new institutions, engaging people effectively, and addressing the most pressing human service needs that we faced. At our core, we were strong and vibrant.

2005

2005 presented a sense of continued success based on the strategies that had been implemented since the mid-1980s. We saw ourselves as well educated, prosperous (i.e., still enjoying the pre-2008 economic bubble), and continuing to be effective in our communal engagement strategies. The Jewish community remained institution-focused, geographically dispersed but having reached a state of relative equilibrium, with open and welcoming institutions. Only 4% of Jewish adults were estimated to have no connection to Jewish identity, while the most highly connected group surveyed accounted for one-quarter (26%) of the adult population. Over 40% of Jewish households were estimated to belong to a congregation, and 43% reported belonging to other Jewish organizations. Enrollment in Jewish education was "practically universal" for Jewish children ages 9-13.

A growing area of focus had been the increase in interfaith households, and as of 2005 the Greater Boston Jewish community had been particularly effective in engaging and connecting these families to Jewish life. In contrast to the findings of national studies at the time, an estimated 60% of the children born to interfaith families in Boston were being raised solely as Jews, and those families were generally as engaged as inmarried, Reform Jewish families. Strategic efforts to build an open and welcoming community adopted 10 years earlier were validated in the outcomes observed: new demographic groups were effectively being integrated into historical institutions.

As we consider our community in 2015, there are hints in both the 1995 and 2005 studies of the trends now visible. Nevertheless, this study's findings suggest more changes from 2005 than between the prior two studies.

For example, although earlier years found an evolving community, the evolution was primarily observed through geographic shifts. The challenge we confronted as a community was to establish our traditional institutions in more widely distributed geographic regions. Today we must continue to address geographic changes while also confronting new ways that people are connecting Jewishly. Existing institutions and ways of engagement may no longer alone meet the needs of increasingly diverse segments of the Jewish community.

Below we outline several of these shifts and begin to ask key questions that we must address as we seek to continue to build and support an engaging and purposeful Jewish life in Greater Boston.

What we have learned

The geographic center of the community is shifting

Increasing urbanization is changing the Jewish landscape. In 2005 we considered ourselves primarily a suburban community. Today many more Jews are living in Cambridge, Somerville, and Central Boston¹—and fully half of young men and women ages 18-34 are living in these areas. The result is that large segments of the community are living in areas with comparatively few Jewish institutions and organizations.

The Greater Boston Jewish Community is increasingly diverse

Members of our community come from diverse backgrounds and experiences. Seven percent of Jewish adults were born or raised in Russia or the Former Soviet Union, or were raised in a Russian-speaking household. In addition, 8% of Jewish adults in Boston are Israeli. An estimated 7% of Jewish adults identify as LGBTQ. Just over half (53%) of married or partnered couples in Greater Boston Jewish households include two Jews, while the remainder (47%) include one Jewish adult and another adult of another religion or no religion. Young adults comprise 22% of the population (although this may be an undercount due to difficulty reaching this group). For the first time, the Jewish community has a significant number of adult children of interfaith parents (22%). This increases among younger segments so that 47% of the young adult population are children of interfaith parents. In each case, diverse segments bring new and distinct ways to engage with and express their Judaism.

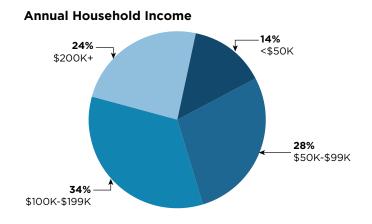
53%	Inmarried couples
47%	Interfaith couples
19%	Adults with interfaith parents
22%	Young adults (18-34)
8%	Adults who are Israeli
7%	Adults who are Russian or raised in a Russian-speaking household
7%	Adults who identify as LGBTQ

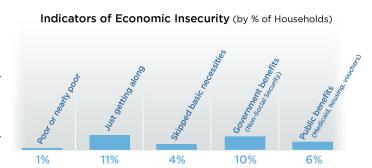
^{1 &}quot;Cambridge, Somerville, Central Boston" includes Arlington, Belmont, Boston (Back Bay, Bay Village, Beacon Hill, Chinatown, Downtown, Fenway, Jamaica Plain, Leather District, Longwood Medical Area, Mission Hill, North End, Roslindale, West End, and West Roxbury), Cambridge, Somerville, Waltham, and Watertown.

We are a wealthy community, with notable exceptions

We learn that 59% of Greater Boston Jewish households reported income greater than \$100,000, including 24% with incomes above \$200,000 (note this does not include 28% who declined to answer the income question). This suggests an overall prosperous community. At the same time, however, pockets of financial vulnerability exist. When asked to describe their standard of living, 11% said that they were "just getting along" and approximately 1% identified themselves as "nearly poor" or "poor." Four percent of households had skipped basic necessities such as food in the past year. Additionally, 10% had received government benefits other than Social Security, including 6% who said that they receive public benefits reserved for people with very limited incomes, specifically Medicaid, public housing, government funded childcare vouchers, and SNAP (food stamps).

It is important to note that for multiple reasons, many of which may contribute to possible undercounting (e.g., reach, access, privacy concerns, and questions of whether survey respondents tend to report income accurately), studies of engagement are not the optimal ways to fully understand economic needs and challenges of a community.



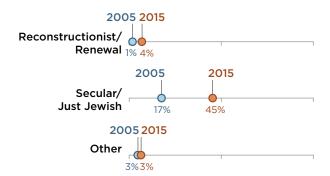


Boston Jews no longer identify with a specific denomination

Denominational affiliation has historically been one of the basic indicators of Jewish identity and practice in the United States. Individuals and families saw themselves as connected to a specific stream of Jewish practice and belief. The percentage of Boston Jews who identify as Reform or Conservative has significantly declined in ten years, from nearly three-quarters (74%) in 2005 to less than half (44%) today. The Orthodox population in Boston is steady at 4%. By contrast, the number of Jews who do not identify with any denomination—those who are secular, culturally Jewish, or "just Jewish"—has increased dramatically, from 17% in 2005 to 45% of the population in 2015.

Denominational Identification of Jewish Adults





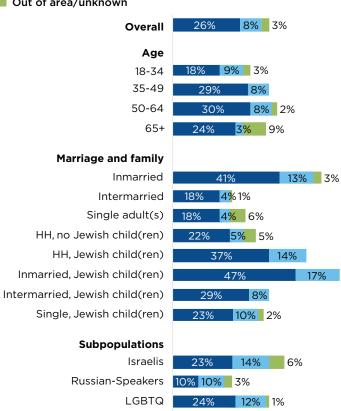
Synagogues and other congregations continue to be central to Jewish engagement, though we may be observing important shifts

Corresponding to the decrease in denominational affiliation, synagogue membership may also be in the midst of change, though comparisons on affiliation from 2005 to 2015 are more suggestive than conclusive. Overall, 37% of households reported belonging to a Jewish congregation or synagogue, as compared with 42% in the 2005 study. As in the 2005 study, these are "point in time" numbers and mask the affiliation rate over time. In 2015, 70% of inmarried Jewish households with children ages 9-13 were affiliated with a congregation showing the continued central role that congregations play in the life of our community. The 2005 study showed 83% affiliation among similar households. In contrast to a potential overall drop in inmarried households (66% to 60%), when we look at the overall membership rates for interfaith families raising Jewish children, we see higher rates of membership in the 2015 study compared to 2005 $(24\% \text{ to } 41\%).^2$

We also know from observation that there is growth and strength in some synagogues, where membership is expanding and programming is engaging families and individuals of all ages and lifecycle stages, while other congregations are in decline.

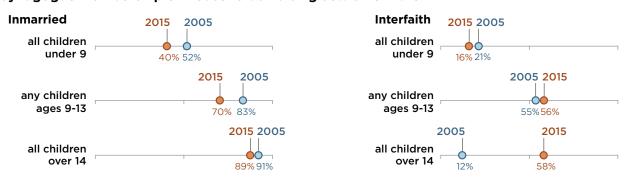
Traditional Versus Alternative Synagogue Membership Percent of Jewish households

- Traditional model synagogue
- Alternative communities and structures
- Out of area/unknown



At the same time, among congregation member households, almost 24% indicated in response to "congregation membership" that they belong to alternative congregational structures and communities such as havurot, minyanim, Chabad, and others (including Moishe House and Workmen's Circle). Nine percent indicate that they are members of traditional synagogues but that dues are either not required or they do not pay dues. Notably, among young adult, Israeli, Russian, and LGBTQ congregation members there is a disproportionately high (33%-50%) affiliation with alternative communities and structures rather than traditional model synagogues. This may reflect a continued search for ways to build vibrant, meaningful, spiritual communities among the diverse segments of Boston Jewish life.

Synagogue Membership of Households Raising Jewish Children



² These rates are derived from secondary analysis of the Cohen Center report data.

The Jewish education landscape is evolving

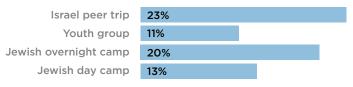
Formal and informal Jewish educational experiences have served a critical role within the American Jewish community. In Boston in 2005, enrollment was practically universal (96%) among inmarried households with 9–13 year olds, and about 50% among inmarried households with teens. The 2015 study suggests a sizable shift, with only 79% of inmarried households with 9–13 year olds, and 44% of inmarried households with teens participating in formal Jewish education programs.

As with synagogue memberships, the story here is complex. While inmarried households apparently have reduced their rates of participation in formal education, the rates of participation in formal education among interfaith households raising Jewish children appear to have been on the rise from 2005 to 2015: from 52% to 65% of households with 9–13 year olds, and from 7% to 30% of households with teens.

K-12 Jewish Day School Enrollment

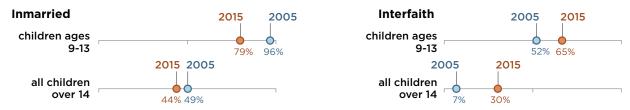


Participation in Informal Education by Age-Eligible Jewish Children



In the past decade, informal and immersive educational experiences continued as a focus of communal policy. In 2015, 13% of age-eligible Jewish children attended Jewish day camp, 20% attended a Jewish overnight camp, 11% were participating in youth groups, and 23% of high school students had traveled to Israel on peer trips. Notably, the 2015 rates of informal education are up substantially from 2005 for both inmarried and interfaith households raising Jewish children.³ Jewish day school enrollment of children K-12 has decreased from 2,866 in 2005 to 2,430 in 2015.

Formal Jewish Education of Households Raising Jewish Children



Informal Jewish Education of Households Raising Jewish Children

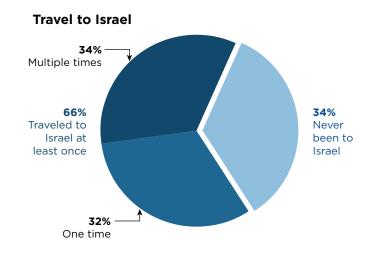


³ Based on supplementary analysis of the Cohen Center data we see the rate of inmarried households with any children ages 9–13 participating in informal education programs rise from 43% in 2005 to 58% in 2015; rates of inmarried households with teens rose from 39% to 60%. Likewise, in interfaith households raising Jewish children ages 9–13 the rate of participation in informal education programs rose from 15% to 35%; teens from 4% to 38%.

Widespread travel and close connection to Israel are important aspects of the Greater Boston Jewish experience

Approximately two-thirds (66%) of Boston's Jews have been to Israel, including 34% who have been to Israel multiple times. This is a substantial increase in Israel travel since 2005 when 46% of Boston's Jews had been to Israel. In 2015, over half (55%) have close family or friends living in Israel, and two in five (46%) followed news about Israel at least once a week in the past month.

Corresponding to these high rates of travel, twothirds (63%) of Boston Jewish adults report feeling somewhat or very connected to Israel; rates are higher (86%) among those who have traveled to Israel multiple times. This widespread travel to Israel may contribute to deepened ethnic connection and love of the Jewish people, which can be at the heart

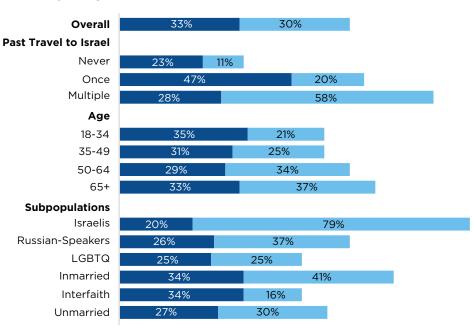


of Jewish identity, and for many a precondition of other kinds of Jewish commitment and connection.

Emotional Attachment to Israel

Percent of population reporting somewhat/very strong attachment

- Somewhat attached
- Very strong attachment



Young adults are more integrated in American society and Jewishly engaged — in both traditional and new ways

In contrast to prior generations, Millennials are more integrated into broader American culture. Nearly half (47%) of this group have interfaith parents. Nearly 60% consider themselves "just Jewish" or secular.⁴ They have grown up in a society that has generally had minimal anti-Semitism.

Even with such significant numbers of young adults being associated with patterns not necessarily bound to Jewish institutional life, the data show unexpectedly high levels of Jewish vitality. An extraordinary 74% of the young adult population in Greater Boston has traveled to Israel—47% through Birthright Israel, which may well explain high levels of Jewish connection in this cohort, through a myriad of traditional and non-traditional means of engagement. Thirty percent of young adult respondents live in households that are members of synagogues—about one third in alternative congregations, such as minyanim, havurot, Chabad, and Moishe House. Their attendance at religious programs and their ritual practices are on par with or exceed those of other age groups. Almost 80% have attended at least one Jewish program in the past year; 24% participate monthly in informal activities, such as Shabbat dinners or Jewish book clubs.

With regard to young adults, we must always ask whether we are seeing behaviors that reflect life stage and are reflective of deferred marriage and families? Or are young adults connecting with Jewish life in fundamentally different ways than prior generations, ways that will persist over time even as they age and raise families? Time will tell.

74% traveled to Israel, 47% of those on Birthright Israel

30% live in households that belong to synagogues—about one third in alternative congregations

80% attended at least one program in the last year

24% participate monthly in informal activities

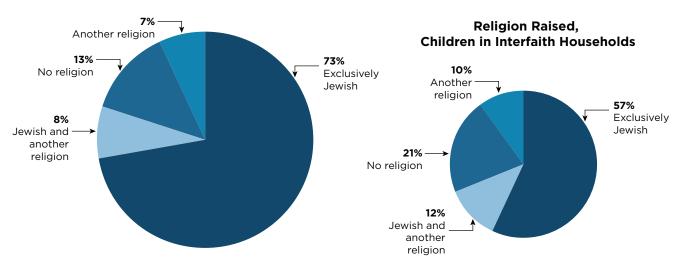
⁴ As further explained below, 46% of young adults display patterns of engagement (22% Minimally Involved and 24% Familial) that reflect limited connection to local Jewish communal organizations and ritual practice.

Interfaith families—particularly those raising their children Jewish—increasingly reflect the patterns of engagement of in-married families

Boston's rate of intermarriage has remained stable over the past decade. Just over half (53%) of married or partnered couples in Greater Boston Jewish households include two Jews, while the remainder (47%) include one Jewish adult and an adult of another religion or no religion. As in 2005, more than half (57%) of today's children of interfaith parents are being raised exclusively Jewish.

As noted above, in 2015, interfaith families who are raising Jewish children are increasingly synagogue members and participate more in both formal and informal education than in 2005. In 2015, across a myriad of dimensions, inmarried and interfaith families raising Jewish children look strikingly similar: lighting Chanukah candles (100%/100%); attending a seder (99%/93%); and attending services in the past year (93%/83%). These are important and positive shifts since 2005.





Israelis constitute 8% of Greater Boston Jewish adults and are among the most Jewishly engaged community members

Individuals born or raised in Israel, holding Israeli citizenship, or who consider themselves Israeli for other reasons are a significant and growing segment of the Boston Jewish community. They are a younger cohort than the overall average, with 42% between the ages of 35 and 49. Among married adults, 85% are inmarried.

Israelis also tend to be much more engaged in Jewish life than the overall population. Forty-three percent of households with an Israeli are members of synagogues (half of these in alternative models); both members and non-members participate in ritual practices more frequently than the overall population. They enroll their children in Jewish education programs more frequently and are more likely to send their children to camp.

Compared to the overall population, Israelis listen to more Jewish or Israeli music (73% vs. 35%), read more Jewish or Israeli literature (68% vs. 31%), visit more Jewish or Israeli websites (72% vs. 44%), and participate in more informal Jewish activities (81% vs. 62%).

Israelis are more likely than households overall to feel connected to their global Jewish communities. These higher levels of connectedness suggest opportunity to further engage our Israeli community members. They are in the process of defining a long-term sustainable Jewish life in America. Further, we have the opportunity to consider the characteristics of Israeli community members (attitudes, beliefs, habits) that can be identified and cultivated to strengthen overall Jewish life in Boston.

A new typology of Jewish engagement

The Jewish community should no longer be conceived as exhibiting a set of concentric circles with a core group and periphery, but rather as a community increasingly exhibiting a spectrum of different engagement patterns.

In response to widely reviewed national studies that focus primarily on questions of self-identification, the Cohen Center sought to identify and understand specific and measurable patterns of behavior. The goal was to gain new insight into the wide variety of ways in which Boston Jews today "do Jewish."

In prior Boston community studies, the Jewish community was conceived as falling within a set of concentric circles of engagement, with the most highly engaged at the center and lesser-engaged individuals in the farther circles. We used terms such as "core" and "periphery" to differentiate people within the community, and terms such as "outreach" to reflect a strategy of bringing people into the core.

In contrast, the 2015 study suggests that contemporary communal behaviors can be better understood as a spectrum of different engagement patterns. The Cohen Center developed a typology of respondents based on a broad base of reported behaviors and attitudes. The typology has five categories, the names of which reflect the primary, though not necessarily the only, way that Boston Jews engage in Jewish life.

Immersed (15% of population)

Reflect the highest rates of participation in ritual, cultural and communal activity; view being Jewish as equally a matter of culture, heritage, belonging to a people, community, and religion. Maintain the strongest sense of Judaism as part of their daily lives and strongest sense of connection to all Jewish communities—frequently, but not necessarily, expressed through traditional ritual practices and/or observance.

Cultural (18%)

Largely participate in Jewish life through personal rather than institutional connections (for example, reading Jewish books, listening to Jewish music, etc.); define Judaism as belonging to a people. The study suggests that this group is committed to Jewish engagement and experiences deep connections, although those connections are not necessarily institution-based.

Affiliated (26%)

Strongly tied to Jewish institutions, particularly synagogues, following historical engagement patterns; they formally engage, but their actual participation may not be so extensive.

Familial (24%)

Incorporate Judaism into their lives through home- and family-based rituals that do not involve institutional participation or commitment, with relatively weak attachments to Jewish community. The expression of this typology may look different for young adults who have not yet begun families as compared with older adults, another relatively large cohort within Familial, who may have become less formally affiliated after their children have grown.

Minimally Involved (17%)

Least engaged in Jewish life, reporting little observable engagement and minimal connection to the local, national, and/or worldwide Jewish community.

Through the lens of the typologies, we have a deeper understanding of our diverse population, and ways in which Jewish life can be enhanced for varied needs and interests. In this way, the typology analysis can both deepen understanding as well as help prospectively shape messaging and targeted engagement opportunities for different populations.

Considerations and questions for the future

In our initial analysis of this data, we have sought to explore contemporary behaviors against a broad, longer-term vision for the Greater Boston Jewish community. How do the two mesh, and where do they diverge? Fortunate as we are to have such a significant body of data, we are cautious to draw conclusions without further research and reflection:

- What does it mean to be an engaged Jew in 2016? Traditional denominational affiliation has attenuated over time, yet we observe great passion for all aspects of Jewish engagement. New models of engagement appear to be growing within the Israeli, young adult, and some other segments of the community, suggesting new patterns of connection. Can existing institutions adapt? Or will they, perhaps, be only one of a broad array of options for deep engagement in Jewish communal life? How can we support a sense of connection, stability, and foundation for continuity in the absence of affiliation with traditional institutions? How can we support and help intensify the experience of our micro-communities?
- What new structures and what changes to our current structures are needed, to ensure that all interested individuals are able to identify opportunities that are consistent with their needs and aspirations—not just for themselves, but also for their children and grandchildren? For example, what can we learn about what strengthens synagogues to keep them vibrant and relevant for future generations? What roles can formal and informal Jewish education play?
- For many, Jewish engagement is deep and personal—but not necessarily communal or ritual-based. For example, the Cultural group, which attaches little affiliation, comprises nearly one-fifth of Boston Jews. What can we learn from the preferences of this group? Can their behaviors endure from generation to generation, absent a deep role in communal life?
- Israel is playing an increasing role in Jewish engagement patterns. How will this shape the nature of participation in Jewish life and Jewish institutions? What opportunities are presented by such a sizable portion of the overall population—in particular young adults—traveling there?
- While the Boston Jewish community is wealthy overall, certain segments continue to struggle economically. How do we most effectively identify these segments and provide appropriate services to meet their needs?
- The Boston Jewish community—particularly young adults—is increasingly residing in urban geographies with comparatively fewer Jewish institutions. What does this mean for future engagement of these members of the community, and for the institutions that customarily (or historically) have engaged them?

In studying the Greater Boston Jewish community at this point in time, considering the shifts from the past, we are poised to consider our future. What are our aspirations for our community? What decisions must be made, and resources invested, that will most effectively harness all the passion and strength of our diversity? How can we create and recreate a vibrant Jewish Boston in the years ahead?

Perhaps most globally: how do we integrate the centrality of Judaism in people's lives in this growing age of universalism?

Please join us in this vital discussion regarding the future and our collective effort to achieve our greatest hopes and dreams for the Greater Boston Jewish community. Visit us at JewishBoston.com/topic/2015-greater-boston-jewish-community-study

Acknowledgements

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