



# Starting a Conversation: A Pioneering Survey of Those Who Have Left the Orthodox Community

An exploration of journeys, practices, beliefs, identity, community and relationships – across Chasidic, Yeshivish and Modern Orthodox Segments

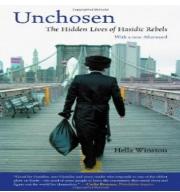
Presented at Young Israel of West Hartford – October 22, 2016

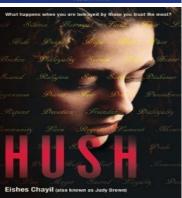


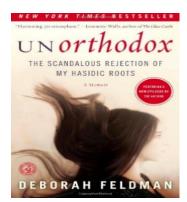
Marketing Research for the Jewish Community

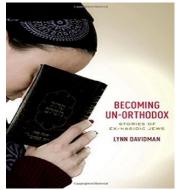
### **OTD Literature**

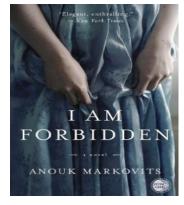




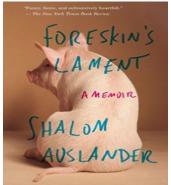


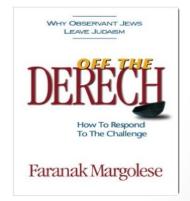
















Shulem Deen's friend celebrates the publication of his book. Three months later she committed suicide ... probably because her family had disowned her after she left the Chasidic community.



- Survey of Those Who Have Left the Orthodox Community
- NISHMA RESEARCH

- Established Nishma Research as a research firm focusing on the Jewish community (Nishma means "we listen")
- Mission includes conducting one pro bono study a year the study of those who have left Orthodoxy is the initial such effort.



Marketing Research for the Jewish Community

nishmaresearch.com

## Background

- Many memoirs, anecdotes, etc. On people leaving Orthodoxy.
- But the plural of anecdote is not data. Is there a need for quantitative data?
- Positive reaction to survey concept – Shulem Deen (author), Footsteps, Project Makom, social media, academics (Prof. Steven M. Cohen, Prof. Mark Rosen), etc.
- Decided to fund a study of those who have left Orthodoxy, expanded across denominations: Chasidic, Chabad, Yeshivish (collectively the Chareidi); and Modern Orthodox (MO)



Where we met Shulem Deen for lunch and kicked off the project in June, 2015.



Survey of Those Who

NISHMA RESEARCH

- From Rabbi Fred Hyman OTD means "off the derech"- those who have left the Orthodox community. The derech is the Path, the Torah way of life, a system of observance comprised of a myriad of practices and beliefs defined by thousands of years of Jewish tradition. We are familiar with the ba'al teshuvah movement- which describes the return of Jews to faith and observance. We are less familiar with the OTD experience. Not that we are unaware of Orthodox Jews who have chosen a different path, but I mean that going off the derech has now gone mainstream.
- The Sefas Emes, a brilliant Chasidic scholar of the late 19th century interprets
  the precept of hashovas aveidah to include people; he notes that among our
  most precious possessions is our sense of self and identity, our spiritual lives!
   Sometimes Jews are lost or cast off, and we have a responsibility to bring
  them back.
- Our survey was not presented as a panacea, an analysis of what's wrong, or a
  diagnostic tool to fix people. But it was presented as a way to give them a
  voice. And what we do with that listening or not taking action or not is
  up to us.

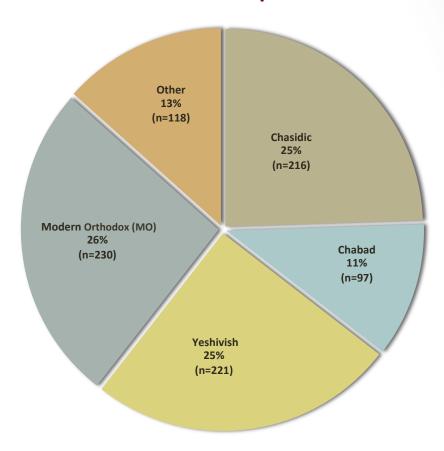
## **Defining OTD – "Off the Derech"**

- Survey of Those Who Have Left the Orthodox Community
- NISHMA RESEARCH

- Beliefs What is on the derech and what is off the derech; to some extent, these are internal and unknown
- Practices No one is perfect
- Identity / Self-Identity Denominational attachments, historical and current

## **How the Survey Was Conducted – How We Reached Respondents**

- No census or "mailing list" existed for this group. Therefore, we conducted an opt-in survey via broad outreach.
- Target audience of physical and virtual communities reached by email, announcements, social media groups. Included all members of Footsteps and Project Makom, and several Facebook groups.



Q. Raised as Orthodox?	Percent	Count
Yes - I was raised fully Orthodox	86%	758
Partially - Spent part of my life as Orthodox	14%	127

Q. Still Member of Orthodox Community?	Percent	Count	
Fully	Excluded from survey		
Somewhat	45%	398	
Not at all	55%	487	
Total		885	



- Gender close to 50/50.
- Age Median ranged from 29 among Chasidic to 37 among MO..
- Education MO 85% college+ and 51% postgraduate degree. Overall 61% college grads.
- Employment 50% full-time.
- Household Income MO Median \$101K, overall \$62K.
- Marital Status 55% married, living with a partner or in a long-term relationship (36% when they left).
- Children 31% had children when they left their community, with a median of 3 children.
- Family Background 32% had one or both parents baalei teshuva.
- Time Since Leaving Overall median 6-7 years ago; among MO 9 years.

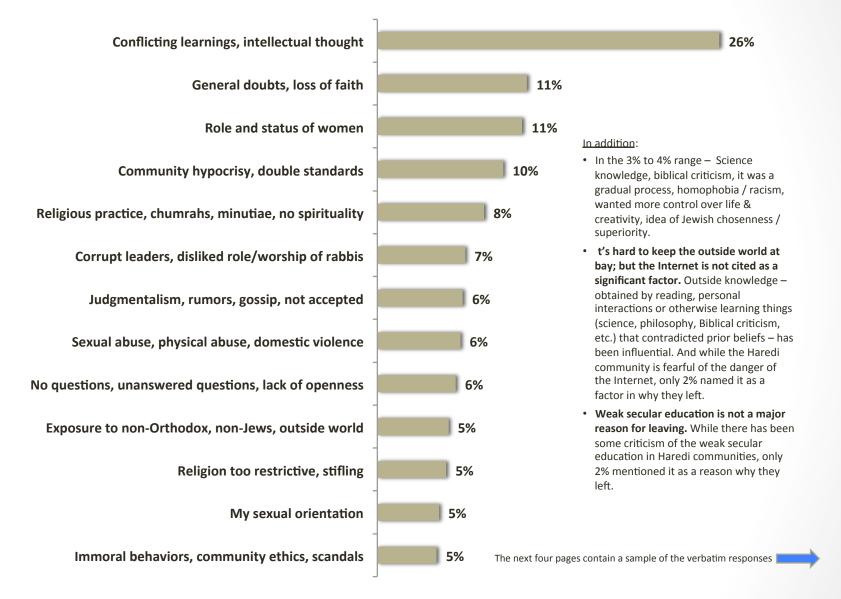
Survey of Those Who Have Left the Orthodox Community



Why People Left Their Community: What Caused Beliefs and Practices to Change

- A major objective of this survey was to quantify the reasons why people left their Orthodox community.
- In order to avoid asking leading questions, we posed this as a fully open-ended question: "Please think back to when you started moving away in belief or practice from the Orthodox community in which you were raised. What were the key things that caused your beliefs and practices to change?"
- Taking the many hundred of subjective responses and "quantifying them" was a challenging but eye-opening exercise. We read the full text of the responses and categorized them against a list we developed of approximately 50 reasons that people were giving, some of which were subtle variations of overlapping themes. Many respondents offered multiple reasons in sometimes quite lengthy responses.

## Why People Left Their Community – All Respondents





<sup>12</sup> 

## Why People Left Their Community – Sample Verbatim Responses

#### CONFLICTING LEARNINGS, INTELLECTUAL THOUGHT

- Thinking about God and religion for the first time. Facts. I studied more history and philosophy and never got answers.
- I had many conflicts between my core values and things in Orthodox Judaism that appear to contradict these values sexism, racism, homophobia, etc. I also started to question the theological assumptions of Orthodoxy the Torah being dictated word for word by G-d, the world being 6,000 years old, etc.
- Learning Jewish History and the academic study of Bible, studying Jewish philosophy, discussing and debating these things with friends, classmates, and teachers

#### **GENERAL DOUBTS, LOSS OF FAITH**

- My liberal social values were not in line with the communities values. There was not enough room for diversity and pluralism. I felt that the community was very insular and judgmental.
- There was a recognition that I just didn't believe in the same set of values regarding separation of men/women and place of Israel vis a vis the rest of the nations. I was more liberal that orthodox colleagues. The fact that I was struggling with coming out as gay was not an issue here.
- As I got older, it just didn't make sense to me. Then I heard a rabbi speak at a 19 the old's funeral & say to the family that the deceased died as a sacrifice for the sins of the Jewish nation. I was already pulling away from Orthodoxy, but that made me break with it completely.

#### **ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN**

- I was seven years old and was regularly leading the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and/or the Hatikvah at my yeshiva's assemblies. I told my mother that I wanted to lead אין כאלוהינו מחלום אנים זמירות at shul on Shabbos. She was shocked and told me in no uncertain terms that girls don't do that. When I asked "why not?" I was told the same answer as I was given to most of my Jewish-related questions: "because G!d said so!" Being a fairly wild child, I started "testing" some of G!ds rules and when lightening didn't strike, I continued to make my own rules and left the community as soon as I could.
- Seeing women as nothing but mothers and wives, maybe a teacher... and that's it. Seeing the double standard for men in Judaism and women are merely fluff. I loathe how Judaism keeps women in the dark ages, in particular in orthodox communities.
- I felt like I had nowhere to grow as a female. I have a heavy text based background and at the time, I would have loved to have become a rabbi but I didn't feel that was an option for me because I didn't want to be controversial. I felt really hurt by how limited my options were. I didn't like being a bystander in services. I remember thinking, I am holy enough to bake the challah but not holy enough to bless it? I know now they there is nuance and have since come back through renewal.



## Why People Left Their Community – Sample Verbatim Responses (Continued)

#### **COMMUNITY HYPOCRISY, DOUBLE STANDARDS**

- Hypocrisy, racism in the community, sexism in the community, scandals, abuse, holding criminals up as pillars of society because they have money or power.
- I saw how much hypocrisy was in the orthodox community. I didn't become orthodox until I was 14 so I knew what life was like in other communities. I saw the tactics they used to control the community through different means. I was also sexually assaulted by someone in the community and shamed and shunned for coming forward. Enforcement of little things like skirt length in school without penalizing major moral violations like stealing and cheating Laws don't seem relevant to modern life
- Hypocrisy exhibited by Jewish people, strict adherence to laws at the expense of good behavior towards others, enforcement of archaic, outdated laws that should have evolved and adapted to modernity.
- When my son was young he was mistreated by his rabbis Rabbis in my community were arrested for money laundering Rabbis in general were constantly sending conflicting messages. I did not loose my faith in G-d, just in the religion.

#### RELIGIOUS PRACTICE, CHUMRASH, MINUTIAE, NO SPIRITUALITY

- The Modern Orthodox community's move to the right, some very stupid Rabbinic pronouncement, failure of the community to address women's and LBGT issues.
- I can go on forever, but initially it was nonkosher food. That 95% of Jews eat it all. Some even consider themselves frum (eat dairy out, eat salads out, etc.) and it's fine so let me try. But when I was eating traif (salad out is TRAIF) I couldn't distinguish between one TRAIF and the next. So if I'm eating traif pasta I may as eat a cheeseburger. Not until that point did I realize that it was ALL arbitrary and everyone made their own rules. Made no sense that God would have 100 different rules. What time is shabbos over? Depends who u follow. What hechsher is good? Depends who u ask. Can I do xyz on shabbos, depends. Can u eat this on pesach?

  Depends...depends...depends... Only after many years of that did it occur to me that there was no god keeping track.
- When I was 15, one of my Modern Orthodox day school teachers told us that Orthodox Jews felt commanded by God to do mitzvot and that Conservative Jews didn't, and I realized that I didn't feel commanded by God, particularly. I did mitzvot for entirely different reasons. And then, once, on a Shabbat when I was 18, I discovered my wallet in my coat pocket, and I thought that the halakhic thing to do would be to try to hide it by the side of the road and come back after Shabbat ended to look for it, but I also knew that there was no way that I was going to do that! I left it in my pocket and took it out when I got home. Then, I was very depressed, and (in the days before "Shabbos lamps"), in college, found myself deciding between turning on my bedside lamp to read for distraction on Friday night/Shabbat, or crying for hours in the dark, and I opted to turn my bedside lamp on and then off.
- davvening in shuls without natural light beauty didn't seem to be a religious sensibility lack of any cultural framework towards
  developing emotional maturity with women cats considered muksa on shabbes this idea that meat was needed for joy on shabbes
  and yontov.



## Why People Left Their Community – Sample Verbatim Responses (Continued)

#### CORRUPT LEADERS, DISLIKED ROLE/WORSHIP OF RABBIS

- I was a victim of rabbinic malpractice, and both the community and RCA/bet din not only failed to do anything but sought to silence the shanda. My life was destroyed, my family was destroyed. To this day I can receive private sympathy from major leaders, but no vehicle such as the archdiocese Ministry of Reconciliation exists, much less to correct matters. We are, indeed, children of a lesser God.
- The corrupt and self serving rabbis and a general loss of a belief in god. There can be no living god in this world that would allow these rabbi to hold sway so tightly over Jewish lives.

#### JUDGMENTALISM, RUMORS, GOSSIP, NOT ACCEPTED

• I was in basis Yaakov but my mom wore hats and sometimes pants at the gym and people were afraid to let their kids eat at our house and asked if I was going to have an Aliya at my bat mitzvah! The super frum not accepting that there is more than one way to be shomer mitzvoth.

#### SEXUAL ABUSE, PHYSICAL ABUSE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

• After many years of abuse from my husband, he turned on my son. I went to my rebbetzin for advice and she told me to keep shalom bayis and do all these things to make my husband happier. I tried again, and failed. I talked to the rev. He said the same. My husband tried to kill me and the police got involved. I question everything now.

#### NO QUESTIONS, UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, LACK OF OPENNESS

- Anger at god over the holocaust after a visit to Poland.
- Felt resentful that one could not question anything and, having been raised in a black and white world, found it easy to reject the whole notion of religion rather than just slipping a little. Ex; the belief that eating 'non-treif' food in a treif restaurant is as bad as having a bacon cheeseburger...so why not have the bacon cheeseburger? I have had questions for years. After trying for a very long time to reconcile them I finally came to the conclusion that it's all man made.
- I think it started for me when my uncle died. While I had lost my father and grandparents as a child, my uncle passed when I was in early high school. I prayed and prayed for him to get better and he didn't. While that in itself isn't the reason I walked away, it opened up a new world of disbelief in a higher power for me. There were no suitable answers, to my mind, about the larger questions of life: why do bad things happen to good people, why doesn't God respond to prayer, how do we know that our God is the right one when there are hundreds (thousands?) of different gods out there, why do we base our personal beliefs on the religious choices of our parents and not our own ideas, and the list goes on. After the experience of putting genuine faith into something that seemingly offered no return on that investment, I began to question everything.



## Why People Left Their Community – Sample Verbatim Responses (Continued)

#### EXPOSURE TO NON-ORTHODOX, NON-JEWS, OUTSIDE WORLD

• When I started working in the secular world and didn't work with any Jews and realized they all had morals etc. even without being jewish.

#### **GRADUAL**

• I always enjoyed the holidays and traditions, but ultimately I never really had true belief/faith. I can clearly recall faking davening for so many years and wondering when it will mean something to me. There was no moment, no loss of faith, no incident. All the same I could never be myself and continue to lie about it to this day. It is a heavy burden.

#### HOMOPHOBIA, RACISM, SEXISM

• Sexism. Racism (including anti-Arab racism). Homophobia. The way that rich people control the community and judge the poor. Bullying. Being Orthodox seemed so divorced from being a good person, which to me means replacing kashrus with vegetarianism and religion with solidarity and activism.

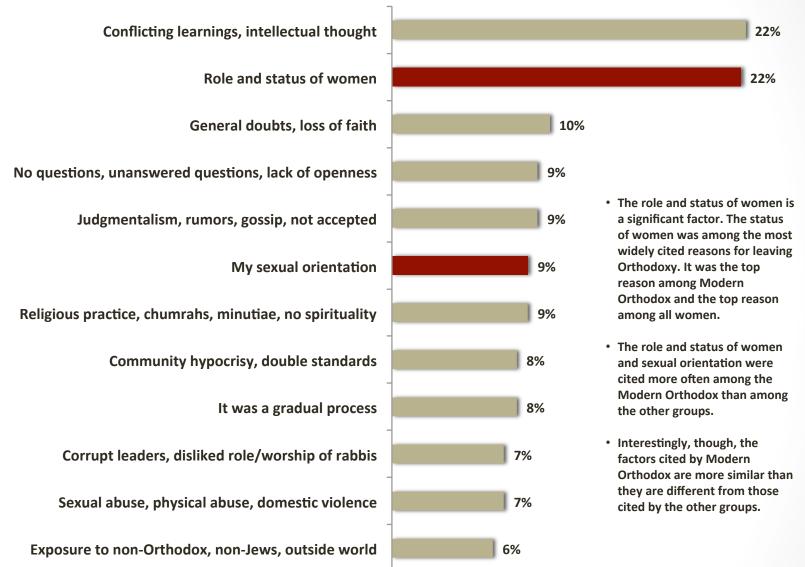
#### **OTHER**

- I never believed, and didn't follow halacha in private, but remained part of orthodox community because I loved the social part of orthodoxy (eg holidays, shabbat dinners, etc). However, As I remained single, and my friends were all getting married and I was living on my own, I started to slowly stop attending Orthodox institutions and started practicing less and less as time went on. Once you hit a certain age (late 20s), there is no comfortable place within the orthodox social structure. Many folks I know stopped practicing when single and reaching their late 20s, though most of those returned to full orthodox practice once they got married and had kids etc.

  Male Brooklyn Mid-40's 10+ Years
- Apathy for basic rules like Kashrut. In addition, I began to see fundamental flaws with the Jewish theology. Most importantly however, I take great issue in the way that orthodoxy deifies the scholars and commentators. Three days ago, I heard an orthodox man claim that "Rashi never once said anything in his life that turned out to be incorrect." Male Washington State 18 3-4 Years Parents BT
- The realization of how much \*better\* the world could have been with slightly different mitzvot. It did not line up with how I conceptualized, or was taught to conceptualize, God. God still makes some sort of sense, therefore Judaism is flawed.

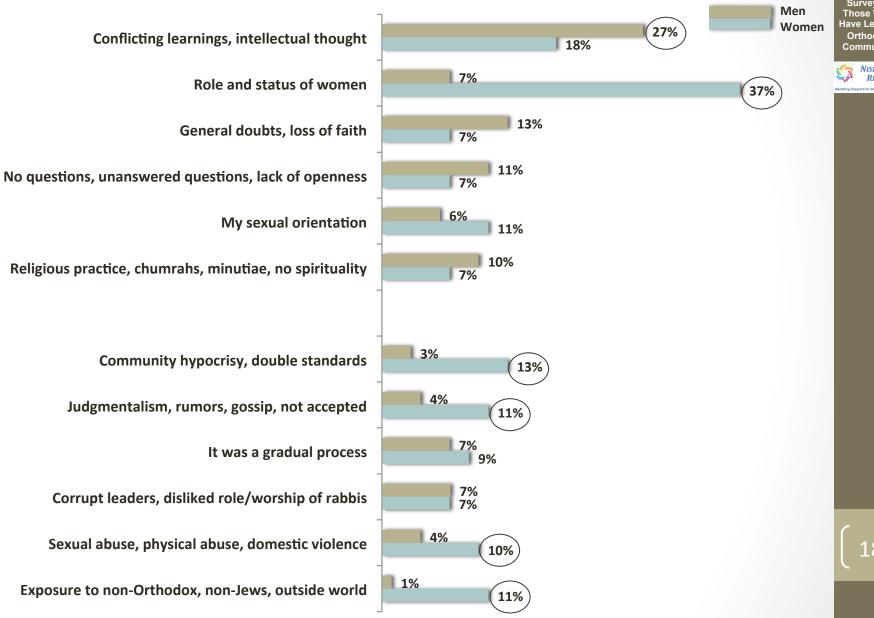


## Why People Left Their Community: Modern Orthodox (Often Similar to Others)





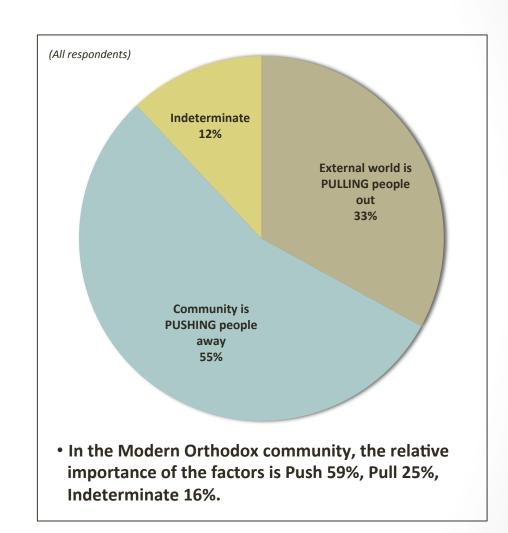
## Why People Left Their Community: Modern Orthodox – Men and Women





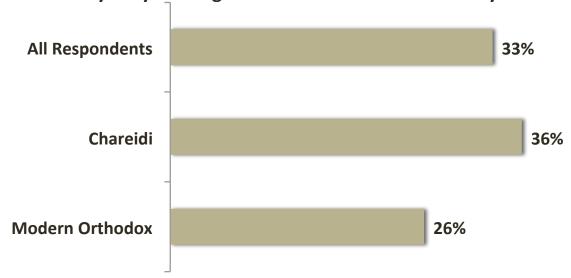
## Were they Pushed Off the Derech? Or Pulled Off the Derech?

- We categorized the reasons as "push" or "pull" factors and tallied them up.
- More people feel they have been "PUSHED Off the Derech," rather than "PULLED Off the Derech." Asked why they left, more people cited internal conditions – such as the status of women, perceptions of hypocrisy – that pushed them out, than cited reasons related to the lure of the outside world.
- This may be good news. We can't change the world, but we can address problems within our community.





• 33% of respondents said they were leading a "double life." They agreed that they were outwardly still part of their community in terms of appearances and visible actions, but internally they no longer viewed themselves that way.



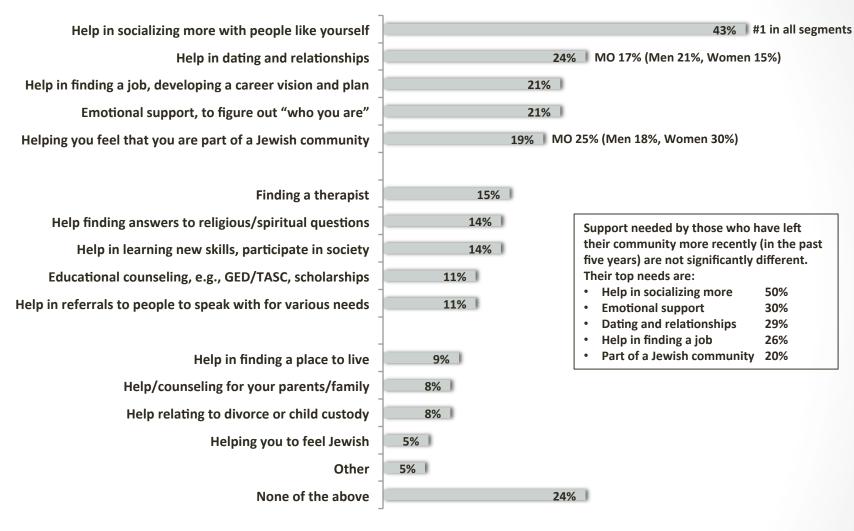
• 37% of Modern Orthodox said it is very likely or somewhat likely they will leave the community at some time in the future.

Q. Would you say that you are leading a "double life" – meaning that you are outwardly still a member of the community (e.g., in terms of appearances and visible actions), but internally you do not view yourself that way? Yes – Why do you say that? How do you see yourself internally?; No. (n=879; Chareidi 532, Modern Orthodox=228)

Q. What is the likelihood that you will fully leave your community at some point in the future, on a scale from 0 (you definitely will never leave) to 10 (you definitely will eventually leave)? (n=265, Chareidi 174; Modern Orthodox=54)

## **Current Support Needs & Sources of Support Used**

### **Current Needs**



Q. In the list below, please check the most important needs you may have at this time (up to 5) – Educational counseling, e.g., getting a GED/TASC high school degree, finding scholarship funding; Help in finding a job and/or developing a career vision and plan; Help in finding a place to live; Help in learning new skills and how to participate in society; Help in relating to dating and relationships; Help relating to divorce or child custody; Help/counseling for your parents/family; Finding a therapist; Helping you feel that you are part of a Jewish community; Help in giving you emotional support, to figure out "who you are"; Help in giving you referrals to people you could speak with for various needs; Help in giving you opportunities to socialize more with people like yourself; Helping you to feel Jewish; Help finding answers to religious and spiritual questions; Other – Please describe; None of the above. (n=812)



## **Final Thoughts and Reflections**

- > Helping Others Understand You
- What You Might Have Done Differently
- > Advice to Those Considering Leaving

The survey objective was to give respondents a voice and a chance to start a conversation with the larger Jewish population. Three concluding questions generated poignant, thoughtful and sometimes lengthy responses. A sample of the verbatim responses follows.

• We're not all abused or mentally ill, and we're not all looking to live a life of hefkerus. A lot of us feel fulfilled without Judaism. I feel much more fulfilled in life now more than ever. In terms of the mental illness and abuse thing: there are, yet, many abuse victims and people with mental illness in the OTD community... if the Jewish community was a safehaven for people with those issues, they would not have left. It's on the Jewish community to change that. (MO Male)

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- The problem is not in us, the problem is in the orthodox community. Yes many people are happy and stay in the community. So why did we leave? Orthodox Judaism allows a very narrow set of variety, if you happen to fall within the confines then your life can be nearly perfect. However if you fall outside, life is pure hell and the only logical thing to do is to leave in order to find a community where being who you are is okay. I love Judaism and appreciate many aspects of Orthodoxy; if they would accept for who I am (gay) I would come back in an instant. (Chabad Female)
- I was abused emotionally and physically, all in the name of religion, I'm still hurting, and my life is pretty messed up because of this. All I want is to have my own life, and make my decisions how I wanna live. (Chasidic Male)
- Both my parents are Baal Teshuvah. They had a right to make their decisions. I have a right to make mine. People need to be true to themselves and live authentic lives. (Chabad Male)
- There must be a separation of halacha and customs if you prevent clever motivated women from pursuing university studies and careers and other such attitudes that have little to do with halacha, there is a high chance ... they will choose to leave the community. (Yeshivish Female)



- I would have established myself in a modern orthodox community with a shul I could enjoy, a rabbi I respect and a feeling of spirituality. (MO Female)
- Might have looked for more support in finding a happy medium rather than just running in the complete opposite direction. There is a part of me that still wishes I was a part of the orthodox community just a less judgmental one. (MO Female)

\_\_\_\_\_

- I would left the community more than a decade ago. (Chasidic Female)
- College when I was younger. It was revolutionary at the time, and I was afraid of the effect it would have on shidduchim and on my relationship with my parents. (Chasidic Male)
- Being clearer with my family where I was changing would have given us more time and gotten us on the path faster towards reconciling our differences and accepting each other. (Chasidic Male)
- I would have left the Hasidic community before getting married and having a family. (Chabad Transgender)
- Left at a much younger age, and pursued an advanced education. (Chabad Male)
- I would have left earlier. I was too scared and didn't know what to do if I left. Instead, I lived a double life learning in yeshiva all day and sneaking out to Wendy's at night. I also would do more to find people with similar situation to my own. (Yeshivish Male)

# "In conclusion, what advice would you give to others who are considering leaving their Orthodox community, for a more modern lifestyle?"

- Follow your star. Judaism, from atheist to hardcore haredi, is a DIY proposition. (MO Male)
- Judaism doesn't have to be an all or nothing. I recently went to an OTD bbq ... and was horrified
  that non kosher meat and pig products were being served. There's a big difference between
  choosing not to be a part of that life and completely disrespecting those who chose to remain.
   For me it was eye opening as it highlighted the great differences between those who leave from a
  place of intellectual/logical reasoning versus those from an emotional place or due a bad
  experience that harbor bad will towards others. (MO Female)

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- Make sure you have legitimate intelligent reasons for leaving, and have a plan. Leaving will require sacrifice, of family, friends, and financial stability. If you have kids you may lose them. It may be isolating until you find your crowd, but there are resources to help. (Chasidic Female)
- Think it over twice and three times and four times before jumping. The change may be worse than the previous condition. (Chabad Male)
- Take it slow. Don't burn bridges. Stay positive. It gets better. Be respectful. Don't bash people on social media. Have some class. (Chabad Female)
- Being part of a community is comfortable, and it's difficult to lose that. I don't think there is any easy path, but the world is a fascinating place when rules are not preventing you from exploring it. (Yeshivish Female)

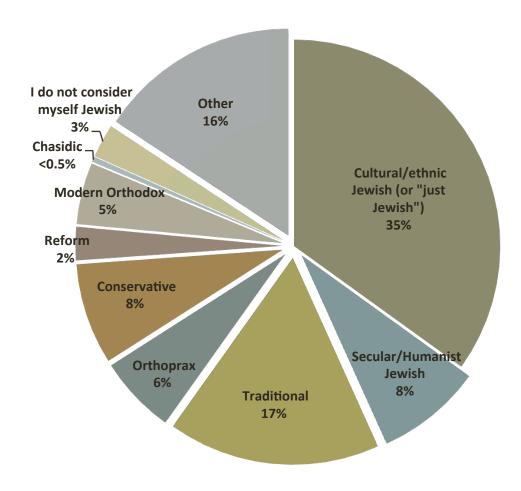


## **Current Religious Practices and Identification**

	All	Chareidi	Modern Orthodox	Double Lifers	Pew Survey *
Believe in God (% Strongly or Somewhat)	33%	32%	<b>36%</b> (Women 42%, Men 30%)	37%	All US Jews 72%; Chareidi 98%; M.O. 96%
Kosher (% Strictly or Mostly)	31%	29%	36%	43%	All US Jews 22%; Chareidi 98%; M.O. 83%
Friday Night Shabbat Meal (% Regularly or Sometimes)	68%	68%	67%	85%	All US Jews 23%; Chareidi 99%; M.O.78%
Shabbat Candles Lit in Home (% Regularly or Sometimes)	53%	53%	52%	75%	
Jewish Learning (% Regularly or Sometimes)	38%	36%	43%	40%	
Listen to Jewish Music (% Regularly or Sometimes)	42%	44%	38%	41%	
Children Religious (% Fully or Mostly)	58%	64%	40%	77%	
Children Attend Religious School (% Attending)	71%	78%	50%	86%	* Source: A Portrait of
Views on Their Child Intermarrying (% Very or Somewhat Upset)	36%	32%	47%	46%	Jewish Americans: Findings from a Pew Research Center Survey
Still Dress the Same Way (% Great or Some Extent)		28%		58%	of U.S. Jews, October 2013

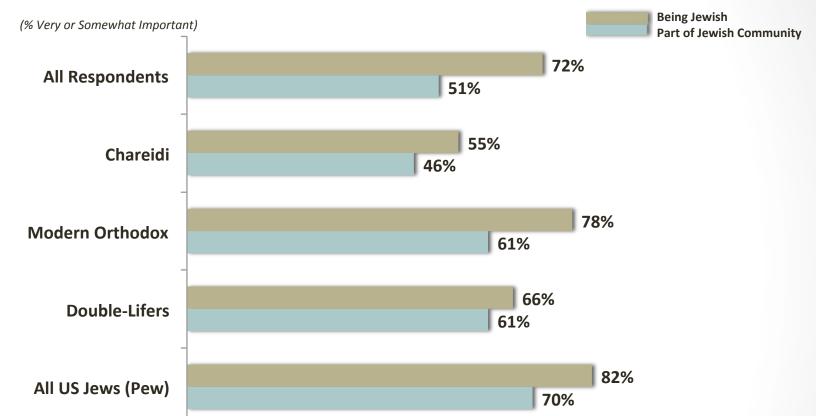
- For many religious practices, there are significant differences between MO and Chareidi.
- For the more "visible" practices, Double-Lifers engage in them more than those who left the community.





- Jewish affiliations were more "self-defined" than fitting the common labels, with 60% saying they were traditional, secular/humanist, cultural/ ethnic or "just Jewish."
- Pew found that 70% of U.S.
   Jews identify with a
   denomination (Reform 35%,
   Conservative 18%, Orthodox
   10%, Other Denominations
   6%, None 30%), a much higher
   percentage than among our
   respondents (21%).
- There were no substantial differences among the Orthodox segments.

## Importance of Being Jewish and Part of a Jewish Community



• Women view being Jewish and part of a Jewish community as more important than do men, by about 10 percentage points.

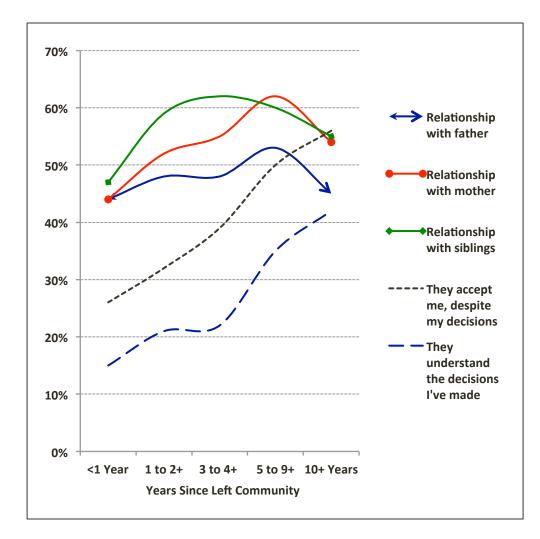


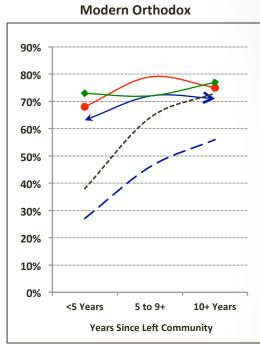
Q. Right now, how important is being Jewish in your life? Very important; Somewhat important; Not very important; Not at all important; I do not consider myself Jewish; Don't know (n=877)

Q. Right now, how important is it to you to be part of a Jewish community? Very important; Somewhat important; Not very important; Not at all important; Don't know (n=876)

## **Family Relationships & Acceptance**

## **Family Relationships and Acceptance Over Time**



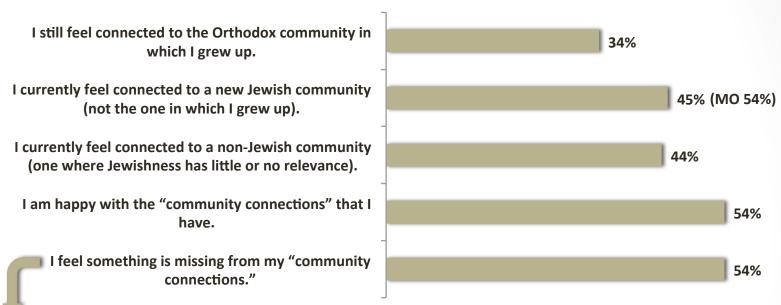




## **Community Connections**



(% Strongly or Somewhat Agree)



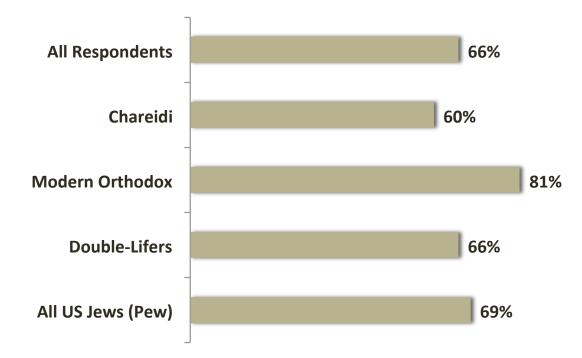
- I haven't found a community of likeminded individuals, and don't feel as connected as I would like in terms of socializing, being seen as part of a community, etc.
- I don't feel part of any community not the Orthodox one I grew up in, not the one of people who left the community, and not any non-Jewish community. Becoming part of a community is something I'm working on.
- I still strongly feel the pain of having lost my community of origin and biological family.
- I miss the good times when they were good. I miss having a busy schedule in the community and being helpful to them. I miss talking to people. ... Now I feel like a very little person and not important to anyone.

## **Attachment to Israel**

Survey of Those Who Have Left the Orthodox Community



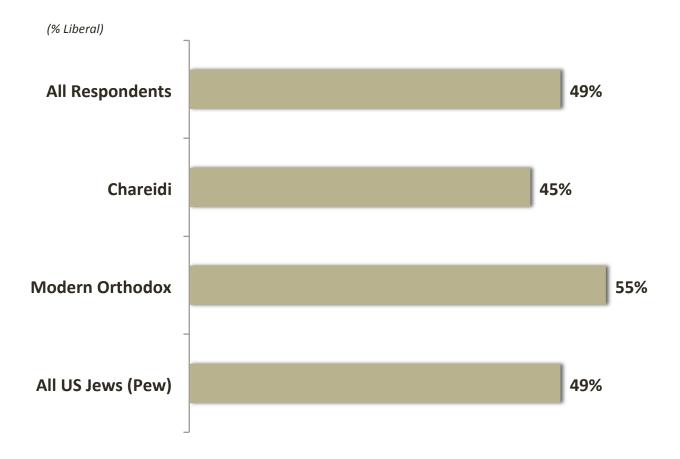
(% Very or Somewhat Attached)



## **Political Leanings**







Q. In general, how would you describe your political views? Very conservative; Conservative; Moderate; Liberal; Very liberal; I am not political; Other – Please Describe (n=851)