THE IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS SCHOOLING: A SYNOPSIS[1]

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Previous studies comparing outcomes of different types of Jewish schools concentrated on short-range effects by sampling students currently enrolled in Jewish schools[2] and, therefore, could not assess the persistence of school effects into adulthood. Two studies[3] of long-range effects focused on the alumni of all-day schools but did not compare their responses to the alumni of other types of Jewish schools. Therefore, it was impossible to assess the relative effectiveness of the day schools compared to available alternative types of Jewish schools. Moreover, both the long-range and short-range impact studies make no attempt to evaluate the relative effectiveness of schools compared to other agents of religious socialization. That is, they make no attempt to assess the extent to which religious adults are religious because of their Jewish schooling, their family background or some other influences. In contrast, this study assessed the independent

1. This is a synopsis of the author's study, *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education Upon Adult Religious Involvement.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (The University of Chicago, 1974). Some brief after-thoughts have been added to the end of this synopsis to update these earlier considerations.

2. For a review of these studies see Paul E. Weinberger. "The Effects of Jewish Education." *American Jewish Yearbook*, (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1971).

3. Irving I. Pinsky. *A Follow-Up Study of the Graduates of One of the Oldest Existing American Jewish Day Schools: The Rabbi Jacob Joseph School.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1961); George Pollack, *Graduates of Jewish Day Schools: A Follow-Up Study.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Yeshiva University, 1961).

effects of such agents of religious socialization as: schools, parents, adolescent friends, spouse, youth groups, and summer camps, upon adult religious involvement. Also assessed was the relative influence of other background characteristics such as: secular education, income, age, sex, generation American, parental socio-economic status, social mobility, and military service.

Theoretical Background. Most studies of the effects of schools upon attitude and behavior have been conducted at the college level. Nevertheless, their findings can be applied to lower levels of schooling. The literature indicates three views about the impact of schools upon their students. The *temporary effects theory*, represented by the work of Phillip Jacob,[4] argues that students who seem to change their attitudes and beliefs while in school are typically exhibiting temporary conformity rather than the beginnings of long-term effects. The *accentuation effects theory* — represented by the work of Kenneth Feldman and Theodore Newcomb[5] — argues that the main effect of schools is to "accentuate" or amplify certain personality predispositions, many of which are presumably the products of prior socialization. Thus, religious schools are likely to make students from religious homes more religious, but have little impact on those from non-religious homes. The *social support theory* — represented by the work of Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi[6] on Catholic school graduates — specifies the conditions under which temporary and accentuation effects occur. Basically, the social support theory maintains that the impact of schools is merely to accentuate personality predispositions rather than to change people. However, even accentuation effects are only temporary if not supported by post-school environments, in particular, support from one's spouse. Few studies find that schools are able to influence students to change very much from the way in which they were

4. Phillip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

5. Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb, *The Impact of College on Students*. Vol. I. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970).

6. Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

raised. However, most of the studies deal with schools which are not specifically designed to indoctrinate individuals in an intensive manner as is the case with some types of Jewish education. Therefore, this study had to explore the possibility of a fourth type of effect, *conversion effects*, in which individuals from non-religious homes who attended religious schools became religiously involved adults.

In short, a review of relevant literature suggests that the long range effectiveness of a socializing agent depends upon several factors: the prior socialization of its "clients," the extent of client exposure to the institution, and the amount of post-institutional support received. Accordingly, Jewish education should be most effective for those from religiously involved homes, who get the large amounts of Jewish schooling, and who marry a religiously involved spouse. The type of effects produced by the interaction of these factors is likely to be some sort of additive — yet not wholly linear — effect.

The Sample. A sample of Jewish adults having "distinctively Jewish" names were chosen from the Chicago, Illinois and North Surburban phone directories, and supplemented with a sample of alumni from two Chicago Jewish schools — a high school and a college. Only alumni residing in the Chicago area were included. The purpose of the alumni sample was to ensure enough cases with higher level Jewish education. The sample population was surveyed by means of a mail questionnaire. An adjusted total of 4,665 questionnaires was mailed and 1,418 were returned, yielding a return rate of 30.4 percent. All respondents who were unmarried, foreign born, offspring of an interfaith marriage, or not raised as Jews were eliminated from the sample. Therefore, the study was based on 1,009 cases. This was not a representative sample of the Chicago Jewish Community. In particular, it contained more young, educated and Orthodox persons than the population at-large. Nevertheless, results of other studies indicate that the relationships between variables, particularly between Jewish schooling and adult religious involvement, are probably in the same direction and within a similar range of magnitude as would appear in a more representative sample.

Measuring Religious Involvement: The Dependent Variables. This study reviewed the literature in the sociology of religion on multidimensional approaches to measuring religiosity. The review

showed that existing typologies suffered from problems of definition and classification. There is often a lack of clear focus on what is being measured, a lack of mutual exclusiveness and exhaustiveness between categories, a mixture of temporally unrelated phenomena, and an inclusion of phenomena at different levels of abstraction. However, there are many useful elements in existing typologies and these were synthesized to create a new typology.

Religious involvement can be oriented toward four objects: God (*Supernatural*), one's co-religionists (*communal*), the religious system (*cultural*), and one's fellows (*interpersonal*). Each orientation can be manifested in a behavioral and/or ideational (attitudes and beliefs) manner. Thus, the dimensions of religious involvement can be identified by the object to which they are oriented and by whether the involvement is behavioral or ideational.

Figure 1

Dimensions of Religious Involvement

Object of Orientation	Type of Orientation: Behavioral	Ideational
Supernatural:	devotional	doctrinal-experiential
	affiliational: associational	
Communal:	fraternal parental	ideological
Cultural:	intellectual-aesthetic	affectional
Interpersonal:	ethical	moral

As portrayed in Figure 1, the available literature suggests the existence of nine dimensions and three subdimensions of religious involvement (or the possibility of 11 separate scales). However, a factor analysis of forty-one separate items measuring these dimensions yielded only six dimensions and three subdimensions (or eight separate scales): SUPERNATURAL ORIENTATIONS — (1) ritual observance (*devotional*); (2) doctrinal belief and experiencing God's presence (*doctrinal-experiential*); COMMUNAL ORIENTATIONS — (3) three types of affiliation with other Jews: (a) formal organizational participation (*associational*), (b) concentration of residence, friendships and courtships among Jews (*fraternal*), and (c) encouraging one's own children to be involved in Jewish life in a variety of ways (*parental*), (4) having attitudes in favor of Israel (*ideological*); CULTURAL ORIENTATIONS — (5) reading, studying and collecting books, artwork and music on Jewish topics (*intellectual-aesthetic*); INTERPERSONAL ORIENTATIONS — (6) *ethical* and *moral* behavior and attitudes which are peculiarly religious in character such as charitable contributions to Jewish causes. Thus, in terms of the hypothesized typology, the doctrinal and experiential dimensions were not found to be independent (i.e., they formed a single scale). Similarly, the ethical and moral dimensions were not independent. The items designed to measure an affectional attachment to the Jewish people loaded on many different scales and did not form an independent cluster.[7] The scales measuring the six dimensions and the three subdimensions were combined into a single summary scale — *total religiosity*.[8]

Religious Socialization: The Independent Variables. In comparison to previous studies of religious socialization, this study examined an expanded number of theoretically important variables. Thus, relationships between numerous independent variables and the different types of religious involvement described above

7. Later attempts with other data sets have yielded an independent affectional factor.

8. See appendix for listing of items in scales. For complete details about how religious involvement was measured in this study and for a critical review of the literature in this area see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "Measuring Religious Involvement," *Social Forces* LIII (June, 1975), pp. 606–618.

were analyzed: A. *Agents of Socialization* — parents; spouse; religious schooling; peer influences of high school and college friends; participation in Jewish and non-sectarian organizations between the ages of 9–11, 12–14, 15–18 and 19–22; day and overnight camping experiences in Jewish and non-sectarian camps; and participation in the armed services. B. *Social Psychological Variables* — relationship with parents (support and control), and social mobility. C. *Demographic Characteristics* of the respondents — age, sex, generation-American, years of secular education, father's secular education, respondent's income and childhood family income.

Data Analysis. The first stages of the data analysis involved data reduction, i.e. finding those variables which were the most important predictors of adult religious involvement. All of those variables that were not correlated by at least ±.20 with one of the religious involvement scales were eliminated from further analysis. On this basis the following variables were eliminated: sex, childhood family income, father's education, social mobility, perceived parental support and/or control, months in the army, weeks spent in non-sectarian day and overnight camps, weeks spent in Jewish day camps, participation in general organizations during all ages of adolescence, and spouse's participation in Jewish organizations before marriage. Three measures of Jewish schooling were looked at: latest age of attendance, total years of attendance and total hours of Jewish studies in the schools attended. While all of the measures of Jewish schooling were fairly highly correlated with at least some of the religious involvement scales, the one most highly correlated overall (i.e., hours) was the only one used in the next steps of the analysis.

The next step involved finding the most important predictors of adult religious involvement. From the variables left, those that did not account for at least 2% of the total variance explained in at least one of the religious involvement scales were also eliminated from further analysis. This was accomplished by means of a stepwise multiple regression analysis the results of which appear in Table 1.

This part of the analysis yielded several interesting findings:

1) Peer influences, as measured by the activeness of one's closest friends in Jewish organizations, has its greatest impact during the college age years (19–22) rather than earlier in adoles-

Table 1
Amount of Variance (Change in R^2) in Dimensions or Religious Involvement Accounted for by Independent Variables in Stepwise Multiple-Regression

	DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT																	
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	Devotional		Doctrinal-Experiental		Associational		Fraternal		Parental		Ideological		Intellectual Esthetical		Ethical-Moral		Total Religiosity	
Hours of Jewish Schooling	.087	(2)[a]	.010	(5)	.006	(7)	.005	(9)	.013	(5)	.001	(12)	.253	(1)	.080	(4)	.023	(6)
Parent's Ritual Observance	.040	(3)	.034	(3)	.018	(4)	.000	(14)	.049	(2)	.033	(2)	.002	(9)	.003	(7)	.062	(3)
Parent's participation in Jewish Organizations	.001	(14)	.000	(15)	[b]	[b]	.000	(15)	.000	(14)	.000	(14)	[b]	[b]	.001	(11)	.000	(16)
Spouse's Ritual Observance	.341	(1)	.152	(1)	.040	(2)	.052	(1)	.207	(1)	.101	(1)	.042	(3)	.125	(2)	.337	(1)
Spouse's Participation in Jewish Organizations	.001	(11)	.002	(9)	.008	(6)	.003	(6)	.002	(11)	.004	(7)	.007	(5)	.001	(13)	.003	(9)
Activities of closest friends in Jewish Organizations:																		
High School Friends	.004	(10)	.002	(12)	.003	(11)	.003	(7)	.004	(10)	.000	(16)	.004	(8)	.000	(14)	.002	(12)
College Friends	.001	(9)	.003	(5)	.002	(10)	.004	(8)	.003	(9)	.007	(6)	.004	(6)	.017	(5)	.007	(8)
Respondent's Jewish Organizational Participation																		
at ages 12–14	.002	(8)	.002	(8)	.007	(9)	.001	(13)	.001	(12)	.000	(13)	[b]	[b]	.001	(12)	.001	(13)
at ages 15–18	.020	(4)	.001	(11)	.004	(8)	.000	(16)	.005	(7)	.003	(10)	.003	(7)	.000	(15)	.003	(11)
at ages 19–22	.007	(5)	.023	(4)	.113	(1)	.014	(3)	.022	(3)	.019	(3)	.072	(2)	.006	(6)	.089	(2)
Jewish overnight camping	.001	(13)	.003	(7)	.001	(13)	.001	(10)	.000	(15)	.000	(15)	.000	(13)	.003	(8)	.001	(15)
Non-sectarian day and overnight camping	.000	(16)	.000	(16)	[b]	[b]	.004	(5)	.000	(16)	.003	(11)	.000	(14)	[b]	[b]	.001	(14)
Respondent's secular education	.004	(7)	.061	(2)	.001	(12)	.036	(2)	.007	(6)	.005	(9)	.001	(11)	.003	(9)	.001	(7)
Respondent's Income	.001	(15)	.002	(10)	.022	(3)	.012	(4)	.001	(13)	.010	(4)	.002	(10)	.127	(1)	.022	(4)
Age	.003	(6)	.000	(13)	.011	(5)	.001	(11)	.003	(8)	.004	(8)	.001	(12)	.059	(3)	.003	(10)
Generation American	.001	(12)	.000	(14)	.000	(14)	.002	(12)	.011	(4)	.010	(5)	.025	(4)	.001	(10)	.019	(5)
Total R^2 with all variables in the equation	.511[c]		.294		.237		.139		.328		.200		.415		.426		.583	

[a] Numbers in ( ) indicate the order in which the variable was entered into the equation

[b] Variable did not add enough to R^2 to be added to the equation

[c] differences between total R^2 and sum of column above it due to rounding errors

cence. The same is true for Jewish organizational participation. However, peer influences become nonsignificant when the respondent's own organizational participation is held constant and was therefore dropped from further analysis.

2) Jewish overnight camping has a low relationship with adult religious involvement and becomes negligible when hours of Jewish schooling is held constant.

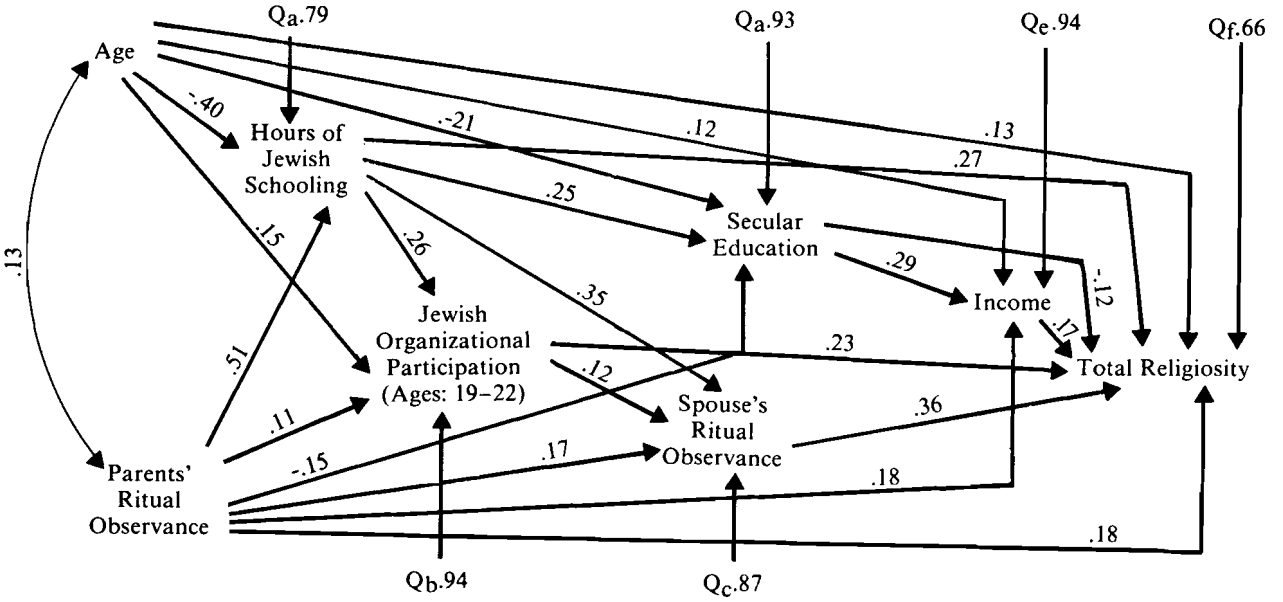
3) From the many independent variables measured, only eight variables were found to be predictor variables on the basis of the statistical criteria described above: age, parental religiosity, total hours of Jewish schooling, participation in Jewish organizations during the college age years (19–22), spouse's religiosity (ritual observance) before marriage, years of secular education and current family income.

The variables were then ordered to form an explanatory model (a path model) of the religious socialization process. This empirical model helps to explain how the independent variables affect each other, as well as their effects upon adult religiosity. Figure 2 illustrates this model. The path coefficients are standardized Beta coefficients and are interpreted as the magnitude of the direct effects of one variable upon another when everything before it is held constant. Some variables also have indirect effects by impacting other variables which in turn affect adult religious involvement. The magnitude of indirect effects can be calculated by multiplying one path by another and by adding the complete indirect paths together.

The model begins with age and parents' religiosity as measured by ritual observance as exogenous (given) variables. They both have substantial direct effects on amount of Jewish schooling received (.40 and .51 respectively), and together account for 37 per cent of the variance in hours of Jewish schooling; however, they have opposite effects. Parental religiosity is positively related to hours of Jewish schooling, but age is negatively related. The latter relationship is probably peculiar to this sample because of the over-representation of day school alumni.

Jewish schooling has a stronger direct effect on Jewish organizational participation during the college age years than does age or parents' religiosity. It also has a stronger direct effect upon the type of spouse one marries than do those variables or Jewish organizational participation. In fact, its direct effect is about

Figure 2
Path Diagram of Variables Leading to Adult Religious Involvement



three times as great as the effect of organizational participation and twice as strong as that of parental religiosity (.35, .12, and .17, respectively). This is theoretically important. Greeley and Rossi argued that the religiosity of parents determined the religiosity of spouse. However, we find that among Jews, religious schooling has a much greater direct influence than parents, on the type of spouse one chooses. By decomposing the correlations (a procedure which Greeley and Rossi could not perform) the discrepancy between the two studies can be partially resolved. The total effects of parents' religiosity on choice of spouse (.36) is mostly indirect (.21), primarily through Jewish schooling; whereas the total effect of Jewish schooling on choice of spouse (.46) is mostly direct (.35). Thus, in this model of the socialization process, the role of religious schooling is not simply to support parental religiosity, but also to channel students into subsequent environments which will support its own teaching.

The amount of secular education a person receives does not depend upon organizational participation or spouse's religiosity, but is influenced by parental religiosity, age, and hours of Jewish schooling. These three variables account for only thirteen per cent of the variance in secular education, a finding indicating that the socialization process has mixed outcomes for religious parents. Religiously observant parents are more likely to provide their children with intensive Jewish education, intensive Jewish education is likely to have a positive effect on the amount of secular education they will receive, and the amount of secular education has a negative effect on adult religiosity, particularly on the doctrinal-experiential and the fraternal dimensions. The positive total effects of Jewish schooling on secular education are direct effects (i.e., R=Beta). This seems to indicate that intensive Jewish schools select those who are most intellectually inclined, and who are the most likely to continue both their Jewish and their secular education.

While Jewish schooling has some direct effect upon secular education, it has no direct effect upon income; spouse's religiosity, or organizational participation. In this model only parental religiosity, age, and secular education have direct effects upon income. Parental religiosity has a negative effect upon income (Beta and R = -.18), and age and secular education are positively related to income (Beta = .12 and .29, respectively). These three

variables account for eleven per cent of the variance in income.

The above discussion has tried to explain how the predictor variables are related to each other (i.e., how those coming earlier affect those coming later). Now it is important to look at how the predictor variables affect adult religious involvement. Figure 2 concentrates on the impact of the predictor variables on total religiosity. Table 2, however, also shows their direct effects on all of the adult religious involvement scales. It also shows the per cent of variance explained in each scale (R^2) by the combination of predictor variables.[9]

Briefly there are a number of noteworthy findings in this regard:

Collectively, there are great differences in how well the predictor variables explain different types of religious involvement. While the model explains fifty-six per cent of the variance in the summary measure of total religiosity, it explains only eleven per cent of the variance in fraternal religious involvement. Thus, the model predicts some types of religious involvement better than others.

Individually, the predictor variables rank differently in predictive power on different dimensions of religious involvement. Among those variables that are not agents of religious socialization, age and income have a considerable positive impact on only one dimension of religious involvement — the ethical-moral dimension. Secular education has a moderate negative effect upon the doctrinal-experiential and the fraternal dimensions of religious involvement.

Among the agents of religious socialization (parents, Jewish schools, youth organizations, and spouse), spouse is the best predictor of five of the eight religious involvement dimensions: devotional, doctrinal-experiential, fraternal, parental, and ideological. Jewish schooling is the best predictor of the intellectual-aesthetic and the ethical-moral dimensions of religious involvement. Participation in Jewish organizations between ages nineteen

9. For a more detailed description of the decomposition of effects into direct, indirect and total effects (r); for the R^2 on the predictor variables; and for a more detailed discussion of findings; see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "Agents of Religious Socialization Among American Jews," *The Sociological Quarterly*, XX (Autumn, 1979), pp. 477–494.

Table 2
Direct Effects (Beta) of Predictor Variables on Adult Religious Involvement and Total Amount of Variance explained (R^2)

	Predictor Variables							
Religious Involvement	Age	Parents' Ritual Observance	Hours of Jewish Schooling	Jewish Organizational Participation	Spouse's Ritual Observance	Secular Education	Income	R^2
Devotional	-.09	.23	.20	.16	.37	-.06	...[a]	.50
Doctrinal-Experiential	...[a]	.13	.13	.15	.27	-.27	...[a]	.28
Associational	.15	.09	.12	.24	.16	...[c]	.17	.21
Fraternal	...[a]	...[a]	...[a]	.12	.22	-.22	.12	.11
Parental	.11	.12	.21	.13	.29	-.09	...[a]	.31
Ideological	.13	.13	.10	.13	.21	...[a]	.10	.16
Intellectual-Aesthetic	...[a]	.13	.29	.23	.21	...[a]	...[a]	.38
Ethical-Moral	.33	...[a]	.31	.13	.20	...[a]	.40	.41
Total Religiosity	.13	.18	.27	.23	.36	-.12	.17	.56

[a]The beta was statistically non-significant (i.e., $b<2$ (sd)) and, therefore, was omitted from the multiple regression equation.

and twenty-two is the best predictor of associational religious involvement.

Interestingly, parental religiosity is not the best predictor of any of the religious involvement measures. It affects devotional involvement most strongly. The effects of parental religiosity upon general adult religiosity are substantial, but they occur mainly indirectly through other agents of religious socialization, primarily through religious schooling. For example, the indirect path from parents to school to total religiosity (.14) is more than twice as great as the indirect path from parents to spouse to total religiosity (.06).

Compared to previous research, in this study religious schooling plays a surprisingly important role in the religious socialization process, having substantial direct and indirect effects. Religious schooling plays a central role in channeling individuals from religious families-of-origin into other religious environments, such as Jewish youth groups and religious marriages.

The Interacting Influences of Parents, Schools and Spouse. One of the more interesting aspects of the Greeley and Rossi study is the interaction effects they detected between parental religiosity, religious schooling, and spouse's religiosity. For example, one of their more important findings was that Catholic schooling has an impact only at the highest level of parents' religiosity. At that level, they say, it is "quite impressive." For example, the relationship between Catholic schooling and ritual observance was an average .26 (gamma). However, when parental religiosity was controlled, the relationship was much lower (Parents' religiosity: Low = .10, Lower middle = .09, Higher middle = .11). Only among those whose parents were highly religious does Catholic schooling have a substantial impact (.34). In fact, it has a greater than average impact, indicating an accentuation effect. Greeley and Rossi found similar effects for doctrinal belief, organizational participation, and ethical attitudes.[10]

A similar analysis was performed on this sample of Jews which yielded several interesting findings in comparison to the Greeley and Rossi data.

10. Greeley and Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans,* Table 4.3, p. 86.

First, the same kind of interaction between parental religiosity and religious schooling that Greeley and Rossi found for Catholics exists for Jews on the devotional, doctrinal-experiential, associational, and fraternal scales. However, on parental, ideological, intellectual-aesthetic, ethical-moral, and total religiosity, Jewish schooling has at least a low impact where parental religiosity is only moderate. The impact of schooling on religious involvement when parents are low in religiosity is statistically nonsignificant on all but three religious involvement measures: devotional, parental, and intellectual-aesthetic. However, even the impact on one of those measures (parental) is slight.

Second, Jewish schools seem to have a more substantial impact than Catholic schools. In most cases, Jewish schooling begins to have an effect on children from moderately religious homes, whereas Catholic schooling does not have any effect, except on those from highly religious homes. On two of the four measures on which the two types of schools can be compared (devotional and ethical-moral), a high level of Jewish schooling has a considerably greater effect than a high level of Catholic schooling. For example, the average relationship between Jewish schooling and devotional religious involvement is .51 (gamma). For those whose parents were low in religiosity, it is .28, medium .30, and high .72. This is more than twice as high as the relationship between Catholic schooling and ritual observance.[11]

Third, in accord with most studies on the effects of schools, the general effect of religious schooling is an accentuating effect. Among students coming to school predisposed to religious values, religious school accentuates those values; but where students are not predisposed to religious values, schooling has little impact. There are, however, two major exceptions to this general finding. On devotional and intellectual-aesthetic religious involvement Jewish schools seem to have a "conversion" effect on a small, but not negligible, number of people. That is, on those types of religious involvements there is a low association between hours of Jewish schooling and religiosity, even for those from homes low in religiosity. These conversion effects are the exception rather than the rule, but they are important because they

11. Of course, the two studies are not directly comparable due to different samples and different measures.

show that schools can be powerful socializing agents under some circumstances.[12]

If schools have mostly accentuating effects, must those effects be supported by post-school environments in order to be maintained? Greeley and Rossi found that:

> (Catholic) ...schools have no effect when a respondent with religious parents marries an unreligious spouse.
>
> A religious spouse apparently can compensate for a less religious family, but not vice versa.[13]

A similar cross-tabulation to the Catholic school study was performed on this sample of adult Jews for comparison sake. In both groups an irreligious spouse tends to diminish the relationship between parental religiosity and adult ritual observance, and between schooling and adult ritual observance. However, in the Jewish sample, spouse does not completely diminish the other relationships. Indeed, when *both* parents and spouse are low in religiosity, there is a difference of fifteen percentage points in the proportion scoring high in ritual (devotional) observance between those who had above the median amount of hours of Jewish schooling and those who had fewer hours (26% and 11% respectively). Among Catholics the difference was only one percentage point. Of course, the greatest effects are produced when parents, schooling and spouse are all highly religious; then eighty-eight per cent of the Jewish sample and fifty-nine per cent of the Catholic sample appear in the highest category of ritual observance. These findings show a small, but stable *conversion effect* of Jewish schooling. Such conversion effects are evident to a substantial degree on the devotional and intellectual-aesthetic religious involvement scales and more moderately on the parental, ethical-moral, and total religiosity scales.[14]

12. For actual tables and more details about this analysis see Harold S. Himmelfarb, "The Interaction Effects of Parents, Spouse, and Schooling: Comparing the Impact of Jewish and Catholic Schools," *The Sociological Quarterly*, XVIII (Autumn, 1977), pp. 464–477.

13. Greeley and Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans*, p. 102.

14. Himmelfarb, "The Interaction Effects of Parents, Spouse and Schooling."

Types of Jewish Schools and Adult Religious Involvement. So far it has been shown that hours of Jewish education have a substantial impact upon adult religious involvement. But do increased levels of all types of Jewish education produce greater religious involvement?

A difficult problem in analyzing the effects of different types of Jewish education is categorizing respondents by type of Jewish school attended. Many individuals have attended more than one type of school (over forty per cent of this sample). The respondents were grouped into six school categories ordered by the average number of hours spent on Jewish studies: (1) no Jewish schooling; (2) Sunday schools only; (3) mixed non-day schooling (i.e., some combination of Sunday school, afternoon school, private tutor, and teacher's institute or college of Jewish studies); (4) afternoon school only; (5) some day school (including yeshiva); and (6) day school only (including yeshiva). Since individuals who attend Jewish schools differ not only in the hours of Jewish studies received, but also in the number of years, respondents were categorized further by the total number of years of Jewish schooling received. Table 3 shows the mean hours of Jewish schooling received by respondents in the various school categories.[15] As one looks across the rows or down the columns, the hours of Jewish schooling increase. Thus, it was expected that within the same range of school years religious involvement would increase down the school types; and within school types, religious involvement would increase with number of years of Jewish schooling. Those who had no Jewish schooling can be viewed as a control group.

15. The hour estimate was derived empirically. Respondents were asked about the number of hours per week devoted to Jewish studies in the one school they attended for the longest period of time. Thus, the following averages for each school type was calculated: private teacher — 4 hours; Sunday school — 3 hours; afternoon Hebrew school — 8 hours; day school — 17 hours; yeshiva — 20 hours; teachers institute or college of Jewish studies — 6 hours; other — 6 hours. The total number of hours for each respondent was calculated by multiplying the average number of weekly hours per school type by the number of years and by 40 weeks. The range of total hours was 0 to 13,760.

Table 3
Mean Hours of Jewish Schooling by Type of School and Years Attended

Type of School	Years Attended			
	0	1–6	7–12	13+
None	0	...	...	...
Sunday Only	...	334	1,060	...[a]
Mixed[b]	...	925	2,128	4,143
Afternoon Only	...	1,111	2,780	...[a]
Some Day School[c]	...	2,218	4,890	8,704
Day School Only	...	2,446	7,944	11,024

[a]These schools do not go beyond high school.
[b]This category contains persons with a combination of school types, but no one with any day schooling or yeshiva training.
[c]This category contains persons who had some day school or yeshiva and some other type of Jewish schooling.

Table 4 shows the analysis of covariance table for the total religiosity scale by type and years of Jewish schooling. The actual mean for each cell is adjusted for the effects of other background variables (parents' and spouse's ritual observance, participation in Jewish organizations, generation-American and income). The F test of significance shows a very high level of statistical significance. The grand mean for the entire sample is zero. Thus, scores above the zero are above the mean and vice versa. The statistical differences between adjusted means in each cell were tested as were the linear trends of rows and columns. These results were reported elsewhere.[16] A similar analysis was performed for each type of religious involvement, and those results can be found in detail in the original study.[17] For present purposes, a summary of findings is presented.

Both Sunday schooling and afternoon schooling have almost no effect on any dimension of adult religious involvement. In fact, on several dimensions of religious involvement, higher levels of Sunday school seem to produce less religious involvement (but not significantly less statistically). The major exceptions to this finding are that seven to twelve years of Sunday school produces significantly greater associational involvement than no Jewish schooling, and seven to twelve years of afternoon school produces significantly greater ethical-moral involvement than no Jewish schooling. However, even in the latter case, afternoon schooling produces less than average religiosity.

For both Sunday schools and afternoon schools, the adjusted mean in most cells is higher than the actual mean. This indicates that school influences on religiosity are more positive than other influences that have a combined negative effect on those who attended these types of schools. However, this positive effect is minimal. Apparently, afternoon schools and Sunday schools are not equipped to compensate for the negative effects of parents or

16. Harold S. Himmelfarb, "The Non-Linear Impact of Schooling: Comparing Different Types and Amounts of Jewish Education," *Sociology of Education*, L (April, 1977), pp. 114–129.

17. See note 1.

Table 4
Adjusted Mean[a] Total Religiosity
by Type of Jewish Schooling and Years Attended

Type of School	Years Attended			
	0	1–6	7–12	13+
None	-.082	...	...	...
Sunday Only	...	-.246	-.038	[b] ...
Mixed	...	-.175	.039	.556
Afternoon Only	...	-.137	-.156	[b] ...
Some Day School	...	.204	.179	.290
Day School Only	...	.639	.530	.446

F=12.834 (p<.001)c

[a]The means are adjusted for the following covariates: Parents' Ritual Observance (b=.08), spouse's ritual observance before marriage (b=.22), participation in Jewish organizations between ages 19–22 (b=.14), generation American (b=.12), and income (b=.04).
[b]These schools do not go beyond high school.
[c]Although this analysis is presented as a two-way analysis of covariance, available computer programs necessitated computation as a one-way analysis of covariance. Therefore, only one F value is reported.

spouses that are uninvolved[18] with Jewish life or other secularizing influences.

Day schooling has a substantial impact on several measures of religious involvement: devotional, intellectual-aesthetic, and ethical-moral. Comparing the adjusted and unadjusted means, the data indicate that day school alumni score higher than those who attended other types of schools on ideological involvement. However, it seems that these effects are produced by agents of socialization other than the day schools. A separate analysis showed that when items about support for Israel by immigrating to Israel are used to measure ideological involvement, day schools do have a substantial impact, but on other aspects of support (i.e., sentiments, political and financial support) day schools do not increase the level beyond the combination of other background variables.

Where day schools seem to be effective in producing adult religiosity, the effects are not significantly different from no Jewish schooling, until there have been seven to twelve years of day school.[19] However, more than twelve years of day schooling does not produce greater religious involvement than seven to twelve years.

Analysis of those with mixed schooling indicates that supplementary schooling has no effect until it has lasted more than twelve years.[20] However, there is no significant difference in religiosity between those who had more than twelve years of Jewish education in supplementary schools and those who had more than twelve years of Jewish education in all-day schools. Thus, there is an interaction between years of Jewish education and type of school attended.

There are several factors characteristic of the different types of schooling that might help explain these findings, such as differences in curriculum, faculty, and student bodies. However, one factor seems compelling since it is common to both type of school and years attended, i.e., hours of Jewish studies. If we look at the

18. As measured by observance of rituals.

19. The mean for that category in this sample was 10.1 years.

20. The mean for the 13+ years of mixed schooling was 15.6 years.

average number of hours spent on Jewish studies for each combination of type and years of schooling (see Table 3), and consider the effects partly displayed in Table 4, and partly summarized above, it seems that hours of Jewish schooling has both threshold and plateau effects. Jewish schools have no positive effect on adult religiosity until there are at least approximately 2,000 hours of schooling; they produce their greatest effects at around 4,000 hours. Additional hours of Jewish schooling beyond 4,000 do not produce further increments in religiosity. This can be seen even more graphically in a prior publication[21] which diagrams the relationship between hours of Jewish schooling and total religiosity, plotting the actual means and the adjusted means.

These graphs suggest that Jewish schooling does not have any statistically significant impact[22] on adult religiosity until there are approximately 3,000 hours of Jewish schooling. There is a steady increase in religiosity between 3,000 and 4,000 hours at which point a plateau is reached. Beyond 4,000 hours increased schooling does not increase religiosity unless reinforced by other agents of socialization, particularly spouse. If such reinforcement occurs, there is another significant increase in religiosity when schooling reaches approximately 10,000 hours, but that is the ceiling, and there is no further increase in religiosity with additional hours of schooling.[23]

Conclusions. These data show that Jewish schooling plays an important role in the religious socialization process. It has important direct and indirect effects and seems to be the main avenue by which religious parents socialize their children to adult religiosity.

To discover that schools are effective in doing something is a rare finding in educational research, but this study has gone much further than that. It has shown what kinds of effects (i.e.,

21. See note 16.

22. That is, the level of religiosity is not significantly different (P .01) from the level obtained by those with no Jewish schooling.

23. The plateau and ceiling effects apparent here might be due to the scales that were used. That is, if more items were used that distinguished "very" religious from "extemely" religious persons, perhaps hours of Jewish schooling would predict adult religiosity in a more linear fashion.

kinds of religious involvement) are produced by various types of schools. Jewish schooling tends to accentuate the effects of family; but on a few measures of religiosity, schooling manages to "convert" a few people. Conversion effects are indeed rare in the educational literature. The study has also been able to show what types of schools are most effective and what effective schools have in common; i.e., many hours of Jewish studies. The effect of hours, however, is not completely linear.

There is a threshold below which, and a plateau beyond which, hours of Jewish schooling have no effect, unless supported by other influences on adult religiosity. There are also ceilings on the combined effects of schooling and other influences.

These findings present a harsh indictment of the Jewish educational system in the United States. Supplementary Jewish education has almost no long-range positive effect on Jewish religious involvement unless it is continued for more than twelve years. Thus, the type of Jewish education received by over eighty per cent of all American Jews who have had some type of Jewish education seems to have no independent effect.

Educational reformers are likely to ask for curriculum reform. While curriculum reform is undoubtedly necessary, my guess is that such reform will probably not be sufficient unless joined by an increase in student exposure to the curriculum. Stated very simply, most supplementary Jewish schools do not seem to provide enough hours of schooling to have any substantial long-range effect upon their students, and unless they do, curriculum reform by itself will probably be insufficient to increase adult religious involvement (i.e., Jewish identification) substantially beyond a level that would be produced by other agents of religious socialization.

If Jewish schools want to produce more religiously involved adults, it seems reasonable to conclude from these data that supplementary Jewish schools should expand their programs from an average of six hours per week for four years to an average of ten hours a week for eight years, or eight hours a week for ten years, etc., assuming a forty week school year. The schools should discourage early confirmation, graduation, or whatever else institutionally legitimates the completion of formal Jewish learning at a level of non-accomplishment and religious involvement.

The Jewish community as a whole ought to do whatever it can to encourage longer years of study among Jewish children by such efforts as: increasing support to schools with intensive programs, particularly day schools, by providing stipends to Jewish students who continue their studies beyond Bar Mitzvah and confirmation; and by phasing out support for Sunday schools.[24]

Another recommendation seems warranted by these data. Since the college years were shown to be an important time for the formation of adult religious commitments, it seems reasonable to recommend that the Jewish community ought to extend priorities to programs dealing with this age group.

Clearly, however, educational reforms are likely to be most effective coupled with support from families. Therefore, programs ought to be adopted that will attempt to increase the involvement of parents as well as students.

Afterthoughts

It is now slightly more than ten years since the data for this study were collected. During this period there have been numerous changes in research on American education generally, and Jewish education specifically. There have also been some substantive changes in Jewish schools which have some bearing on the policy implications of the study.

First, it might be useful to note that the study took place at a time when research on both the short-range and long-range

24. These recommendations for contemporary Jewish schools are based upon analysis of data on individuals who last attended a Jewish school from 10 to 50 years prior to the study. It is possible that Jewish schools today are very different from the schools attended by these adults, and perhaps, more effective. However, this possibility seems unlikely for two reasons. First, age is not strongly related to religiosity in these data, and the direction of its influence tends to be positive when other factors related to religiosity are held constant. That is, older individuals tended to be more involved than younger ones when other factors were held constant. Second, the most influential aspect of Jewish schooling is hours of Jewish studies (compared to years, or type, of Jewish schooling). The changes in Jewish schools over the years have been toward fewer hours of Jewish studies. Thus, there is good reason to believe that contemporary Jewish schools might be even *less* effective than their counterparts of years ago.

impact of schooling on cognitive outcomes and on attitude and personality changes had persuaded many scholars that schools have very little impact on their students. Any impact found, furthermore, was attributed primarily to the informal environment of the school (determined by the social composition of the student body), rather than to the characteristics of the formal organization. Thus, to find that some schools do have significant impact on their students under certain conditions was indeed a deviant but encouraging finding. The emphasis upon the quantity of schooling as a key variable affecting student change was even more encouraging because it is a school variable that can be manipulated by school officials (at least in systems of compulsory schooling).

Around the time that this study was being completed and thereafter, numerous studies began to appear which argued that schools do have substantial long-range effects, primarily as a consequence of the length of time individuals stay in school. Thus, quantity of schooling, usually measured in years, seems to correlate positively with political information and involvement, "modern" attitudes and behavior, general knowledge and awareness of current events, and — most importantly (for our purposes) — religious behavior and attitudes.[25] Within the last five years there has also been an increasing and impressive amount of research on the influence of time (measured in hours and minutes) on learning achievement. Most of the evidence indicates that there is a significant positive correlation, but that the variable of time operates in very complex ways. For example, the amount of time needed for learning to take place depends upon the student, the subject, the setting, the number of interruptions and many other factors. Therefore, it is very understandable that increases in time do not always produce increases in learning in a completely linear fashion.[26]

25. For references to studies that do and do not show substantial school effects see Himmelfarb article cited in note 16.

26. Nancy L. Karweit. "Time in School," in Alan C. Kerchoff and Ronald G. Corwin, Eds., *Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization, Vol. 2.* (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1981), pp. 77–110.
Carolyn Denham and Ann Lieberman, Eds., *Time To Learn* (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980).

The study reported above was the first study to assess the impact of more than one type of Jewish school while controlling for the impact of other variables which might have contributed to adult Jewish identification. Since then, several studies on this topic have appeared. One finding among this research seems to be universal: In general there is a positive correlation between years spent in Jewish schools and adult Jewish identification, even after controlling for parental religiosity and other background characteristics.[27]

Another finding which appears in all studies is that, in general, day schools tend to be more effective than supplementary schools,[28] but there is no consensus about which dimensions of Jewish identification are most affected by day schooling.[29] It is also not clear whether there is a difference between similar amounts and forms of Jewish schooling received at different ages. For example, is there a difference between four years of elementary level day schooling compared to four years of secondary level day schooling?

27. Bernard Lazerwitz. "Religious Identification and Its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model." *Social Forces* LII (December 1973), pp. 204–220; Bernard Lazerwitz. "An Approach to the Components and Consequences of Jewish Identification," *Contemporary Jewry*, IV (Spring/Summer 1978) pp. 3–8; Arnold Dashefsky and Howard Shapiro. *Ethnic Identification Among American Jews* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974); Geoffrey E. Bock. *The Jewish Schooling of American Jews: A Study of Non-Cognitive Educational Effects.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1976).

28. Bock, *Ibid.*; Barry Chazan, *Jewish Schooling and Jewish Identification in Melbourne* (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, 1980); Sol Ribner *A Study of the Effects of Intensive Jewish Secondary Education on Adult Jewish Lifestyles* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1978). Ribner is less reliable than the others in this regard because he combines day school alumni and supplementary high school alumni into one category of "intensive Jewish education."

29. While my study showed impact upon what might be considered more private types of religious involvement, Bock and Chazan found that day schools have a greater impact on types of religious involvement that are more public in nature. It is interesting that Lazerwitz (in *Contemporary Jewry*, 1978) analyzed the same national Jewish population study data that Bock studied and found higher correlations between Jewish education and what might be considered private dimensions of Jewish identification than between Jewish education and more public dimensions.

The finding that a minimum level of Jewish schooling is necessary before it has an impact and that the effectiveness of increased schooling reaches a plateau is corroborated by Geoffrey Bock and hinted at by Barry Chazan. In fact, the similarity between my study and Bock's in the pattern of threshold and plateau effects is truly remarkable. One big difference between our studies, however, is the level of minimum threshold — 1,000 hours in Bock's study and 3,000 hours in mine. There are many methodological differences that can account for these discrepancies. One important difference is that Bock could not control spouse's religiosity, whereas I was able to.[30] My guess from studying the patterns of the graphs in both studies in that the true minimum threshold is probably closer to 2,000 hours. Of course, true thresholds can be different for individuals with different home backgrounds and different in-school experiences. Even if we accept the 1,000 hour estimate, most Jewish children attending afternoon or Sunday schools actually receive less than that. There is little doubt then that Jewish supplementary schools in the United States need to expand the amount of time required of students in order to produce *minimal* lasting results.

A second point of importance on which the two studies differ is with regard to the interaction effects of parents and Jewish schooling. Bock did not find any interaction effects. That is, unlike my findings, his did not show that the relative impact of Jewish schools is affected differentially by different levels of parental religiosity. Again different methods of analysis might account for the discrepancies between the two studies.[31] The

30. There is a significant theoretical question raised by Ribner as to whether spouse's religiosity ought to be controlled in assessing the impact of Jewish schools. According to my data, the type of spouse one marries is also a product of Jewish schooling, not just a confounding factor in the analysis. That is why it is important to study both the direct and indirect effects of schooling as was done in the path model presented above.

31. Bock explores possible interaction effects with multiple regression analysis. I used cross-tabular analysis. Spady's study of school effects found interaction effects from cross-tabular analyses where few were found in regression analyses. William G. Spady, "The Impact of School Resources on Students," in F. Kerlinger, Ed., *Review of Research in Education* (Ipasca, IL: Peacock, 1973), pp. 135–177.

weight of the evidence at this point seems to me to favor the finding of interaction effects. Besides my study and the Greeley and Rossi study mentioned above, Steven Cohen's study[32] of Jewish college students also found that Jewish schooling had substantial effects only on those from highly religious home backgrounds. This is an important point in terms of educational policy, because the minimum number of hours necessary for Jewish schools to have an impact might in fact be much higher than the average estimate (i.e., 1,000–3,000 hours) for students from home backgrounds that are low in Jewish identification.

Since these findings have been available for more than half a decade, one can legitimately ask whether they have affected Jewish educational policy at all. It is difficult ever to assess what factor or combination of factors affects policy decisions, particularly when decisions are not necessarily institutional, but personal. That is, Sunday schools might be closing because the institutional decision makers decided that they were ineffective, or, more likely, because parents have decided they prefer to enroll their children in more intensive programs. As might be expected, there has been significant resistance to acceptance of the study's findings in Jewish educational circles — particularly in circles with large supplementary school systems and in circles which have dedicated much effort to improving the quality of supplementary forms of Jewish education. Nevertheless, there has been a small, but decided movement away from Sunday schools, a continuing growth of day schools, and a particularly noteworthy expanison of non-Orthodox day schools. There has also been an effort to increase the number of years of required Jewish schooling for Bar and Bat Mitzvah training by one year.

In some instances, the findings of this study aided efforts to intensify Jewish education that were already under way. In some instances, they encouraged actions where previously there had been only thoughts in this direction. In other instances, the findings affected only individual families. The likelihood is that trends toward more intensive Jewish education have been motivated to a much greater extent by the declining quality of the public schools and the rising concern over the future Jewish

32. Steven M. Cohen, "The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice," *Jewish Social Studies* XXXVI (July–October 1974), p. 316.

identification of younger generations. Whatever the causes, during the last ten years, for the first time, a substantial population of children from non-observant families has been receiving intensive Jewish education. The impact of the schools upon these youngsters in contrast to their more traditional counterparts needs to be studied further.

Future research on the impact of Jewish schools should also take note of changes that are occurring in the way school effects are being studied generally.

There has been a determined effort in recent years to look at the processes of schooling. Researchers have become convinced that it is not sufficient merely to look at the types of schools students have gone to (e.g., segregated or desegregated), but that it is also important to know something about the internal characteristics of the schools, their activities, the background of students, teachers and staff, and the interaction of these persons with each other. For example, just because black children and white children are placed in the same school does not necessarily indicate that they have an opportunity or incentive to interact together, or to interact under non-competitive and otherwise non-threatening circumstances. Similarly, not all children who attend day schools (or supplementary schools) are exposed to the same type of Jewish studies or have the same type of encounters with faculty, staff and other students. These are all aspects of schooling in addition to time which are manipulatable, and *might* affect long range outcomes. Chazan's comparison of yeshiva and day school students in Australia is a beginning attempt to understand the details of Jewish school processes in an impact study.

The most fruitful way to assess the impact of school processes is to follow students over time. By doing so we can gather details about students, the schools they attend and extra-school influences with much greater precision than is possible ten to twenty years after they have left school. Moreover, researchers are now finding that such longitudinal studies often show that school variables have a greater impact than they seemed to have from studies taken at only one point in time (cross sectional studies).[33]

33. See Michael Rutter, *et. al. Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

There is no doubt that Jewish educational research is not nearly as advanced as educational research generally, but Jewish educational research can and must take advantage of advancements made elsewhere in the field. Jewish education cannot rely on the possibility of a slow and steady evolvement of knowledge from research on Jewish schools alone, in a manner similar to the development of knowledge in education generally. It also cannot afford to repeat the same mistakes.

Appendix to Scales

Measures of Religious Involvement (Dependent Variables)

Most of the variables listed below appear as Likert items on the questionnaire. Respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with statements in the following areas.

The scores on each item for a scale were standardized, weighted by their factor scores, and then summed.

The items and their corresponding weights appear below:

a) *Devotional* (see below)

b) *Doctrinal-Experiential*

.16154 - Belief in a God who created the universe.
.16904 - Belief in a God who guides the universe.
.16980 - Belief that the Torah was given by God.
.16854 - Belief in the Divinity of Rabbinical Law.
.14186 - Belief that Jews are a Chosen People.
.12366 - Has seen God perform miracles.
.14996 - Trusts God to guard and protect from harm.
.14197 - At times, has had a sense that God was near.

c) *Associational*

.51469 - Proportion of meetings attended last year at the one Jewish organization in which respondent was most active.
.51469 - Whether respondent was an officer in a Jewish organization last year.

d) *Fraternal*

.57303 - Proportion of present neighborhood that is Jewish.
.57303 - Proportion of neighbors who visit home that are Jewish.

e) *Parental*

.15175 - Encourage children to learn about Judaism.
.20116 - Encourage children to attend synagogue frequently.
.20456 - Encourage children to participate in Jewish organizations.
.18471 - Encourage children to associate primarily with Jewish friends.
.20775 - Encourage children to date Jews only.
.19969 - Encourage children to marry within the faith.
.18553 - Encourage children to attend a Jewish school for at least 8 years.

f) *Ideological*

.27379 - Give money to Israel.
.28703 - Raise money for Israel.
.26976 - Seek to influence U.S. foreign policy in favor of Israel.
.23589 - Belong to Zionist organizations.
.22068 - Give Israeli financial needs priority over local Jewish causes.

g) *Intellectual-Aesthetic*

.28797 - Frequency of reading a short story or novel on a Jewish topic or about a Jewish person.
.32563 - Proportion of paintings, decorations, and other objects in home which are Jewish in character.
.33747 - Proportion of books in home which are Jewish in character.
.32612 - Proportion of records in home which are Jewish in character.

h) *Ethical-Moral*

.39351 - Agrees that a person should give some money to poor no matter what his own financial situation is.
.49008 - Amount of money given to charity last year.
.48569 - Percentage of last year's charity given to Jewish causes.

i) *Total Religiosity*
.21349 - Parental.
.20632 - Devotional.
.19510 - Intellectual-Aesthetic.
.17623 - Ethical-Moral.
.17253 - Ideological.
.17032 - Doctrinal-Experiential.
.16099 - Associational.
.11923 - Fraternal.

The following measures of ritual observance were Guttman scales. Respondents were asked whether certain observances are usually practiced in their homes now (Devotional), were usually practiced by their parents during the respondent's childhood (Parents' Ritual Observance) or were practiced by one's spouse before marriage to the respondent (Spouse's Ritual Observance). The scales were scored in the following manner: For practicing the least difficult ritual a score of one was given. For practicing the next more difficult ritual a score of one was added to the previous score and so on through the most difficult item.

Devotional
Least difficult — light Chanukah candles
— attend synagogue on High Holidays
— abstain from bread on Passover
— fast on Yom Kippur
— use two sets of dishes for milk and meat products
Most difficult — abstain from recreational activities on Sabbath
.91 — coefficient of reproducibility
.72 — coefficient of scalability

Independent Variables

Parents' Ritual Observance
Least difficult — Attended synagogue on High Holidays
— Fasted on Yom Kippur
— Used two sets of dishes for milk and meat products
— No meat eaten in non-Kosher restaurants

— Abstained from movies or other recreational activities on the Sabbath
Most difficult — No lights turned on and off on the Sabbath
.94 — coefficient of reproducibility
.78 — coefficient of scalability

Spouse's Ritual Observance (before marriage)
Least difficult — Raised as a Jew
— Fasted on Yom Kippur
— No meat eaten in non-Kosher restaurants
— Abstained from movies or other recreational activities on the Sabbath
Most difficult — No lights turned on and off on the Sabbath
.95 — coefficient of reproducibility
.78 — coefficient of scalability

Participation in Jewish Youth Organizations (Ages: 9–11, 12–14, 15–18, 19–22)
1 — Not a member of any such club or organization at the time
2 — Very inactive
3 — Mostly inactive
4 — Somewhat active
5 — Very active

Activeness of Closest Friends in Jewish Organizations when Respondent was (1) High School age and (2) College Age
1 — Not a member of a Jewish organization at that time
2 — Very inactive
3 — Somewhat inactive
4 — Somewhat active
5 — Very active

Jewish Camps
Total number of weeks attended
a) Jewish day camp
b) Jewish overnight camp
Total Jewish Camping (a+b)

Age
Present age in years

Sex
1 — Male
2 — Female

Generation American
1 — Respondent is foreign born, but arrived in U.S. by 12 years of age
2 — Respondent is born in America, but parents were foreign born
3 — Respondent is American born and only one parent was foreign born
4 — Respondent is American born and both parents are American born, but grandparents were foreign born
5 — Respondent is American born, both parents are American born, but some grandparents were foreign born
6 — Respondent, both parents and all grandparents were born in U.S.

Income
1. Under $4,000
2. $4,000 — $5,999
3. $6,000 — $7,999
4. $8,000 — $9,999
5. $10,000 — $11,999
6. $12,000 — $13,999
7. $14,000 — $15,999
8. $16,000 — $17,999
9. $18,000 — $19,999
10. $20,000 — $24,999
11. $25,000 — $29,999
12. $30,000 — $34,999

Secular Education
0—Less than 8 grades
1—Finished elementary school
2—Some high school
3—Graduated high school

4—Some college
5—Graduated college
6—Some graduate work
7—Master's degree or equivalent
8—Professional degree (e.g., M.D., L.L.B., D.D.S., etc.)
9—Ph.D.