Jewish Involvement of The Baby Boom Generation

Interrogating The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey

Executive Summary

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- "Jewish day schools are the best vehicle for implementing Jewish involvement and are the only type of Jewish education that stands against the very rapidly growing rate of intermarriage."

The Louis Guttman Israel Institute of Applied Social Research



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Executive Summary

Two groups of young adults (ages 26-35 and 35-46) were chosen for special study from among the six age groups identified in the 1990 CJF National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) (Kosmin et al. 1991). The two groups number some two million individuals, and constitute almost half of the "core Jewish population" defined by the NJPS.

The purpose of this study is to characterize the Jewish involvement of these groups as a function of demographic and socio-economic factors, variations in Jewish affiliation, and types of Jewish education. Special chapters are devoted to the interrelations among the indicators of involvement, the causal influence of Jewish education on Jewish involvement, and to the characteristics of those who have lately increased their Jewish commitment: the newly Orthodox, the newly Conservative and the newly Reform.

This Executive Summary offers the reader a brief overview of the main findings, along with two chapters from the study, focussing on Jewish education and Jewish involvement. The full report is available upon request from AVI CHAI - A Philanthropic Foundation.

The Structure of Jewish Involvement

Jewish involvement is not a uni-dimensional concept, but rather consists of several independent clusters of involvement. Thus, households can practice one type of involvement and not another. That is, it is more correct to view households not on one single scale of Jewishness, but on different scales; it is more meaningful to say that "X is a different Jew from Y," than to say that "X is more Jewish than Y."

The gamut of indicators of Jewish involvement stems from five dimensions. In order of importance for "explaining" the structure of Jewish involvement, the first dimension is the factor we call civil or communal Judaism. It consists of behaviors such as giving and volunteering to Jewish causes, subscribing to Jewish papers, organizational membership and the like.

The second factor relates to general religious practices. It consists of behaviors such as lighting Hanukkah candles, participating in the Seder, fasting on Yom Kippur, attending synagogue, not having a Christmas tree at home, denominational identification, and lewish education.

The third factor relates to perhaps more private and more strictly religious practices, such as buying kosher meat for home use, having separate dishes at home, or refraining from handling money on Shabbat. The fourth factor relates to Jewish milieu: living in a Jewish neighborhood, having Jewish friends, and acknowledging the importance of the neighborhood's Jewishness for the household.

The fifth factor is difficult to name. It is a cluster of behaviors that includes visiting Israel and participation in JCC activities.

If the current lewish involvement behaviors investigated in the survey are a fair sample of the active participation of Jews in Judaism, our data show that 96% of the households participate in-and are connected with-at least one behavior. The average number of behaviors from among the 25 major "involvements" is about 7. Four percent of the Jewish households are not sociologically tied to Judaism at all. None of the households are tied to all 25 connections. About a third of the population belong to each of the three categories of low, medium, and high involvement.

Demographic Profile

The household characteristics of the target population are similar to those of the upper middle class of the general national population in the United States. The target population is characterized by a large population of single persons, small number of persons in households, and a birthrate that hardly exceeds replacement level. Income, secular education and occupation level are high. The population, consisting mostly of fourth-generation Americans, is highly mobile and does not put much emphasis on the Jewish character of its neighborhoods.

More Jews consider themselves as belonging to an ethnic group than to a religion. Most perceive themselves as politically liberal.

A majority of the target population have some background in Jewish education, mostly in part-time or Sunday schools. Most of the households that have children enroll them in Jewish education to a greater extent than their parents' generation. The children are divided about equally among day schools (30%, compared to 10% in earlier generations), part-time schooling, or Sunday schools.

The Reform movement is the largest current denomination, followed by the Conservative movement, "just Jews," and the Orthodox movement, in that order.

Overview of Jewish Involvement

Involvement with synagogue is low, as expressed through either membership or attendance. Practice of some religious rituals is very widespread (Seder, Hanukkah), while others are part of the lives of only small minorities.

Volunteering and contributing to Jewish causes are practiced by less than half of the population, while organizational or ICC membership, turning to Jewish agencies for help, and subscribing to Jewish papers are infrequent. Involvement with Israel—both visiting and attachment—is lukewarm.

The Jewish profiles of the households indicate strong underlying assimilatory processes. Intermarriage rates are accelerating, and attitudes toward intermarriage are basically positive.

Sociological Background and Jewish Involvement

The general relationship between the major background variables and indicators of Jewish involvement might be stated as follows: Jewish involvement is directly related to (1) "higher" denominational affiliation of the household; (2) longer years of Jewish education of the individual; (3) fewer generations since immigration to the United States; (4) higher income level of the household; (5) older age of the individual; and (6) longer duration of residence in one place. This is the order of importance of the effects of the six major background variables.

Each of these six background variables has an effect, independent of the effect of the others, on the following eight major indicators of Jewish involvement: communal behaviors of synagogue membership and contribution to Jewish causes, social milieu behavior such as having Jewish friends, the two general religious practices of occasional synagogue attendance and lighting Hanukkah candles, the two specific religious practices of lighting Shabbat candles and buying kosher meat for home use, and the behavior of visiting Israel.

These eight indicators of Jewish behavior represent the five basic factors of lewish involvement. Each is affected by the six background variables in the above-mentioned order, from most to least; this is also the order of their accessibility, from most to least. Contributions to Jewish causes, synagogue membership, having Jewish friends, synagogue attendance, and lighting Hanukkah candles are affected by all of the six background variables. On the other hand, lighting Shabbat candles, buying kosher meat, and, especially, visiting Israel are affected by only a few specific background variables.

Denominational affiliation is a strong factor in predicting lewish involvement. The difference in lewish involvement between the Orthodox households and the other two denominations is much wider than between the Conservative and the Reform movements. Moreover, considering other lewish background factors, being raised in an Orthodox home shows the lowest rate of intermarriage. However, the Orthodox population reported in the NJPS is relatively small. The Jewish involvement of the Conservative movement is higher than that of the Reform movement. Our data do not confirm the view that lewish involvement of the Reform movement is markedly high in some special areas of involvement. The so-called "just Jews" are very low in their lewish involvement.

The difference in Jewish involvement between firstand second-generation American Jews and fourth-generation Jews is very wide. Attrition in involvement begins in the second generation. Fourth-generation Americans—who are the majority of the 1990 Jewish individuals—exhibit strong assimilatory behaviors.

Jewish Education and Jewish Involvement

The data show that lewish education is a potent factor in Jewish involvement. Nine years of Jewish education (by implication, into high school) appears to be a turning point in connecting lewish education with Jewish involvement. Personal interaction between teachers and students is also an important factor in implementing lewish involvement.

While the question of direct causality remains unsolved, the data show that years of Jewish education relate significantly to (1) adult enrollment in Jewish education; (2) synagogue attendance and membership; (3) a wide spectrum of religious practices (attending a Seder, lighting Hanukkah candles, fasting on Yom Kippur, lighting Shabbat candles, celebrating Purim, buying kosher meat for home use, using separate dishes at home, and refraining from handling money on Shabbat); (4) relationship with Israel (visiting Israel and celebrating Independence Day); (5) intermarriage and attitudes toward intermarriage; (6) not having a Christmas tree at home and not being a church member; (7) beliefs such as perceiving the Bible as an actual word of God; (8) giving to Jewish causes; (9) having Jewish friends; (10) living in and valuing lewish neighborhoods; and (11) Jewish denominational identification.

The data also show that type of Jewish schooling relates significantly to all the above indicators of Jewish involvement. Jewish day schools are clearly the best vehicle for implementing lewish involvement. Their effects far surpass part-time and Sunday schools. Private tutors have a strong effect as well, albeit less than day schools. Sunday schools have a very low and sporadic effect on lewish involvement.

Day school education is strongly associated with current enrollment in Jewish education, involvement with the synagogue, religious practices, relationship with Israel, relations with the non-Jewish milieu, feelings about the Bible, patterns of giving, Jewish friendship patterns, and denominational identification. Jewish day schools are associated mostly with the Orthodox movement, while Sunday schools are associated mostly with the Reform movement. The Reform temples attract mostly those Jews who have no lewish education in their past.

It is important to stress in this context that day school education is the only type of Jewish schooling that stands against the very rapidly growing rate of intermarriage.

Considering the upward jump in involvement after nine years of Jewish education, the combination of those years (into high school) spent in a day school environment would certainly effect the greatest positive impact on Jewish involvement and the lowest rate of intermarriage.

Special emphasis should be placed on the fact that parents tend to enroll their children in the same type of school which they attended, and this is especially true for lewish day schools, as well as for Sunday schools.

Examining the relationship between parents' and their children's current Jewish education suggests a tendency of parents who have had no Jewish education to give their children some Jewish education. More parents who had no Jewish education send their children to Sunday schools than parents who had Jewish education.

Having studied in a Jewish day school or with private tutors has more effect on giving Jewish education to one's offspring than having been enrolled in part-time or Sunday schools. Parents who have had Jewish education themselves tend to send their offspring to day schools more than parents who had no Jewish education.

The Newly Committed Jews

Comparing the newly committed Jews-Jews who moved to a "higher" denominational affiliation—with the static members of their new denominations reveals the special characteristics of these three groups—newly Orthodox, newly Conservative, and newly Reform Jews. (For the purpose of research analysis, an order of denominations was assigned, high to low: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform.) The general trend shows that newly defined Jews are more committed to most aspects of

Judaism than others in their respective denominations. However, the trend shows that newly Orthodox Jews show a somewhat different pattern of commitment, relative to the Orthodox denomination, than the newly Conservative or Reform Jews relative to their denominations.

Counting all major indicators of Jewish involvement on a four-stage scale—low, medium, high, and very high intensity of involvement—the data show different patterns of intensity for the three groups of newly defined Jews, as compared to their respective denominations. While newly Conservative and Reform Jews were found to be very highly involved relative to their denominations, newly Orthodox Jews were not found to differ much from other Orthodox Jews.

Comparing the actual religious behaviors and practices of the three newly defined groups, the data show a unique pattern of Jewish involvement for these groups. The newly Reform Jews keep and enlarge the Jewish commitment of their own denomination.

Conservative Jews act similarly, albeit to a lesser degree. The newly Orthodox Jews tend least, among the three groups, to sustain the lewish commitment of their own denomination.

The data concerning the sociological background of the three pairs of groups-newly Orthodox versus Orthodox, newly Conservative versus Conservative, newly Reform versus Reform-show that joining a "higher" denomination is a long process that relates both to position in life cycle and gender. Joiners of the Orthodox movement are younger and predominantly more male than joiners of the other two denominations.

Although the newly Conservative and Reform Jews are higher in social status (income) than "just Jews," they are lower in social status than Jews in their respective denominations. The data show a slight indication for the reverse phenomenon to apply to the newly Orthodox.

The newly Conservative and Reform are "newer" Americans and have more stable residence patterns than others in their denominations; the situation is reversed for the new joiners of Orthodoxy, who are "older" Americans and more residentially mobile.

The family structure of the newly Orthodox is more modern and resembles that of the general population, relative to their denomination, more than that of the newly Conservative or Reform Jews relative to their denominations.

Concerning Jewish involvement, indicators of communal behaviors of the newly Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews, such as synagogue and organizational membership, contributions and volunteering to Jewish causes, or subscribing to Jewish papers, show higher scores than Jews in their respective denominations.

The popular religious practices of newly affiliated Jews, such as synagogue attendance, participation in the Passover Seder, lighting Hanukkah and Shabbat candles, fasting on Yom Kippur, and buying kosher meat, show a higher proportion of involvement than members of their respective denominations. This pattern is somewhat less conclusive in the Conservative movement. Ritual practices are also more likely to characterize the newly Conservative and Reform compared to their counterparts, but this tends not to hold for the newly Orthodox.

Indicators of involvement with Israel show that while the newly Orthodox Jews exhibit the same strong involvement with Israel as do others of their denomination, the involvement of the newly Conservative or Reform Jews with Israel is problematic. There is a tendency for erosion in the involvement of these two newly committed groups with Israel.

The data concerning Jewish social milieu—having Jewish friends, living (and feeling the importance of living) in Jewish neighborhoods, or experiencing discrimination—indicate a change in the traditional role of Jewish residential norms - toward greater diversity, especially among the newly Orthodox Jews. This group, in addition, perceives anti-Semitism as a potent factor that pushes them to more involvement in the Jewish social milieu.

The ethnic definition of being a Jew in America, views concerning the Bible, and attitudes toward intermarriage of newly identified Jews differentiate them from the static members of their new denominations.

While Jewish education played a decisive role in the upbringing of newly Orthodox Jews, it was not a potent factor for the newly Reform or Conservative Jews. Different effects were also found for types of Jewish education—day schools, part-time schooling, Sunday schools or private tutoring.

Jewish Education and Jewish Involvement

lewish education is considered a cornerstone for Jewish identity. The present chapter investigates Jewish involvement in the present as a function of the extent of Jewish education in the past, number of years of Jewish education, and type of Jewish education. It focuses on the relationship between Jewish education and a wide range of indications of Jewish involvement.

The analysis concentrates on the target population as a whole rather than on the two age groups separately, because, generally, no statistically significant differences were found between the effects of Jewish education on the younger (26-35) age group and the older (35-46) age group.

The general trend in the data supports what has been shown in several educational and sociological works dealing with the lewish community—that lewish education does affect Jewish involvement; however, in general its effect works only above a certain 'threshold' of years of Jewish education. Having fewer than the threshold number of nine years of Jewish education has generally a small, null, or sometimes even negative effect on lewish involvement.

The data show clearly that Jewish day schools are the best vehicles for implementing Jewish involvement. Their effect on the various Jewish behaviors is the strongest and far surpasses those of part-time Jewish schooling and especially Sunday schools, which, in fact, have a small effect or none at all.

Interestingly, studying with private tutors has a strong effect on some of the variables of Jewish involvement. This might mean that the factors underlying the effects of Jewish schooling on Jewish involvement are those that have to do with placing the child in a holistic Jewish milieu, as is done in Jewish day schools, as well as developing personal contact with the student, as is characterized in private tutoring. We do not claim, of course, that nine years of lewish education is somehow "the magic number," but the data do show statistically that nine years or more of formal Jewish education mark a turning point in the effect of Jewish education on many of the variables we measured.

Following are the cross-tabulation of the data presenting the detailed effects of Jewish education on each of the variables of Jewish involvement. Percentages in the contingency tables relate to the weighted sample. All tables show strong significant statistical relationships between lewish education and the variables of lewish involvement (P 0.0001 for the unweighted sample), and thus are not mentioned separately for each table.

As stated above, the target population of this analysis consists of persons in the age range of 26-45 of the core lewish population, and the other individuals in their households. Note that when the analysis pertains to individuals, only Jews are counted; these are individuals who report themselves as currently Jewish (including converts), or those who were Jewish by birth and are currently without a religion (but did not convert to another faith). However, when the analysis pertains to households, the analysis might include intermarried households as well (i.e., mixed or converted households), in which one adult is currently or was by birth non-Jewish.

Past and Present Jewish Education

While only about a tenth of the individual Jews in the target population are currently enrolled in adult Jewish education, a quarter of those who had more than nine years of Jewish education are currently enrolled.

Table 1.1 Current Enrollment in Adult Jewish **Education by Years of Jewish Education**

Years of Formal Jewish Education

Currently Enrolled	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Yes	7%	7%	11%	26%
No	93%	93%	89%	74%

The table shows that having fewer than nine years of formal Jewish education in the past is, in fact, virtually like having no Jewish education at all, when measuring the effect of years of Jewish education on current enrollment in adult Jewish education.

When types of Jewish schooling are considered, the data show clearly that day schools and private tutors have the strongest effect on current enrollment in adult Jewish education. While only about a tenth of the target population is currently enrolled in adult Jewish education, about a third of those who studied in day schools or with private tutors are currently enrolled in Jewish education.

Table 1.2 Adult Jewish Education by Type of Jewish Education

Type of Jewish School

Currently	Total	Day	Private	Part-Time	Sunday
Enrolled		School	Tutor	School	School
Yes	13%	30%	35%	11%	7%
No	87%	70%	65%	89%	93%

Jewish Education and Synagogue Involvement

Synagogue membership and synagogue attendance are both strongly affected by Jewish education, as shown below.

Table 1.3 indicates a sharp rise of membership (35%) for the group that has had four to eight years of formal lewish education, and an even sharper rise with nine years or more (58%). Furthermore, 68% of this group attend synagogue at least a few times yearly.

This stands in sharp contrast with those who have had no Jewish education or less than three years. Compared with this group, the group with four to eight years is twice as much involved. Note that the bulk of those who have had less than three years of lewish education tend to attend the synagogue on special occasions only (such as bar/bat mitzvah) or on High Holidays—observances that may relate as much to ethnic, or civic, behaviors as to religious ones.

The type of Jewish schooling also shows a strong relationship with current synagogue involvement. While a third of the households of the target population are currently synagogue members, more than half of those who studied in Jewish day schools or with private tutors are currently members. Their synagogue attendance is relatively high as well. Almost all of them attend synagogue at some point.

Table 1.4 illustrates the effect of Jewish day schools on behaviors related to synagogue involvement. While more than a third of those who attended day schools participate in services weekly or more often, only 6% of those who attended Sunday school do so. Note that lewish day schools also produce past synagogue members. Having studied with a private tutor affects synagogue attendance as well, almost to the same degree as Jewish day schools. Jews who visit the synagogue only on special occasions and High Holidays (41%) are mostly those who studied in Sunday schools.

Jewish Education and Religious Practices

While there are wide differences among households who practice the eight religious rituals investigated in the survey, the data show strong relationships between Jewish education and practicing these religious behaviors.

Table 1.5 presents the practices in a descending order of observance. Wide differences exist between the practices; e.g., while the Seder is attended by 68% of those who had no Jewish education, only 9% of those who had no lewish education refrain from handling money on Shabbat. Additionally, the table shows clearly—for each practice—a sharp rise with additional years of Jewish education. For example, while 95% of those who have had more than nine years of formal Jewish education in their

Synaç	gogue Involvem	ent by Years of Je Years of Jew	wish Education ish Education	
	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Synagogue Membership				
Yes	15%	18%	35%	58%
No	85%	82%	65%	42%
Synagogue Attendance				
Never	38%	30%	17%	8%
Spcl occ & High Holidays	32%	47%	36%	24%
Few times yearly, monthly	24%	16%	36%	43%
Weekly or more often	6%	7%	11%	25%

Table 1.4

Type of Jewish Schooling and Synagogue Involvement

Type of Jewish Schooling

	Total	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-time School	Sunday School	
Synagogue Membership						
Yes	33%	57%	55%	31%	24%	
No	67%	43%	45%	69%	76%	
If "no," ever previously?						
Yes		35%	27%*	21%	27%	
No		65%	73%	79%	73%	
Synagogue Attendance						
Never		6%*	15%	21%	24%	
Special occasions and High Holidays		30%	23%	35%	41%	
Few times yearly, monthly		29%	32%	34%	29%	
Weekly or more often		36%	30%	10%	6%	

^{*} The tables in this chapter present percentages of projected (weighted) numbers, i.e., percentages based on estimation of the actual numbers of the target population within the core Jewish population. When the projected percentages are based on low numbers of respondents (N's smaller than 10), the cell is marked with an asterisk*, and the reader should consider these percentages with caution. This symbol (+) is used throughout the tables in this chapter.

past attend the Passover Seder, only 68% of those who had no Jewish education practice it. Here, the "9+" years do not mark a cutoff point, as there exists an almost linear relationship between years of Jewish education and religious practices.

The eight practices cover a range of "religious" practices that also might serve a "communal" and "ethnic" function, such as participating in the Seder or lighting

Hanukkah candles, and those that are strictly religious, such as having separate dishes for dairy and meat, or refraining from handling money on Shabbat. The results show no differences in the effect of Jewish education on these two types of practices. All are affected to a similar degree by Jewish education. The more years of Jewish education, the more the Jewish behavior is practiced.

Table 1.5

Years of Jewish Education and Religious Behaviors

Years of Jewish Education

			Managed and the Art of the Managed Man		
	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+	
Religious Practices					
Attends Seder	68%	77%	92%	95%	
Lights Hanukkah candles	56%	78%	86%	92%	
Fasts on Yom Kippur	32%	42%	61%	75%	
Lights Shabbat candles	22%	21%	38%	60%	
Attends Purim celebration	17%	19%	31%	49%	
Buys kosher meat for home use	36%	43%	44%	51%	
Uses separate dishes at home	11%	10%	17%	27%	
Refrains from handling money on Shabbat	9%	10%	7%	21%	

Note: The table presents those who answered "yes" (for some practices we added "sometimes" + "usually" + "always"), as opposed to "no" or never"; thus, for each entry (X) in the table, its complementary number (100-X) is the "no" or "never" percentage within the corresponding value of number of years of Jewish education.

Table 1.6

Type of Jewish Education and Religious Practices

Type of Jewish Education

	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-time School	Sunday Schoo
Religious Practices				
Attends Seder	97%	89%	85%	85%
Lights Hanukkah candles	93%	92%	83%	83%
Fasts on Yom Kippur	74%	77%	57%	46%
Lights Shabbat candles	69%	66%	32%	31%
Attends Purim celebration	58%	46%	27%	23%
Buys kosher meat for home use	70%	58%	43%	33%
Uses separate dishes at home	50%	37%	12%	7%
Refrains from handling money on Shabbat	38%	31%	7%	6%

Note: As in the previous table, percentages represent those who answered "yes."

Type of Jewish schooling also has a strong effect on Jewish religious practices.

The table shows that for the whole spectrum of Jewish practices investigated, whether communal or religious, having studied in a Jewish day school is strongly related to current keeping of these *mitzvot* (religious injunctions). This holds for "popular" practices such as attending a Seder, as well as for strictly religious practices, such as using separate dishes for dairy and meat. Studying with private tutors has an effect on religious practices very similar to having studied in a Jewish day school. Sunday schools have small effect or no effect at all on religious practices (as compared to the "none" category in Table 1.5).

Jewish Education and Relationship with Israel

Due to the unique religious, communal, and psychological status of modern Israel within the Jewish identity of American Jews, it is expected that Jewish education will make a mark on behaviors related to Israel. And it does. Celebration of Yom Ha'Atzmaut (Israel's Independence Day) is strongly affected by Jewish education, as are visits to Israel.

Table 1.7 shows a strong relationship between Jewish education and Israel-related behaviors. While less than a tenth of those who had no Jewish education celebrate Israel's Independence Day, about a third of those who had nine years or more of Jewish education celebrate it. In addition, while about a tenth of those who had no Jewish education have ever visited Israel, about half of those who

had nine years or more of Jewish education have visited Israel at least once. The table shows the following linear relationship: the more years the person has of Jewish education, the more times he has visited Israel.

Type of Jewish schooling is strongly related to behaviors related to Israel. While only 17% of the target population celebrate Israel's Independence Day, a third of those who studied in day schools or with private tutors do so (32% and 36% respectively). Seventy-two percent of day schoolers have visited Israel at least once, versus less than a quarter of those who studied in other types of schools. Forty percent of the day schoolers have been to Israel three times or more, versus less then 5% of those who studied in other types of Jewish schools. These robust results show a clear effect of Jewish day schools on relationship with Israel. The data are presented in **Table 1.8**.

The table additionally shows that private tutors have no effect on visiting Israel, and in contrast to religious practices, they have even less effect than either part-time schooling or Sunday school. They do have an effect on celebrating Yom Ha'Atzmaut, which might be considered to follow other religious practices. Day school is the only type of education that is strongly connected to visiting Israel. The other types of schooling have no effect at all.

Table 1.7

Years of Jewish Education and Relationship with Israel

Years of Jewish Education

	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Behaviors Related to Israel (+)				
Celebrates Yom Ha'Atzmaut	9%	11%	17%	30%
Ever visited Israel	12%	17%	25%	45%
(+) "Yes" answers only				
Number of Times Visited Israel				
None	88%	83%	75%	55%
Once	8%	9%	14%	18%
Twice	1%*	4%*	5%	11%
Three or more	3%	4%*	6%	16%

Table 1.8

Type of Jewish Education and Relationship with Israel

Type of Jewish School

	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-Time School	Sunday School		
Behaviors Related to Israel (+)						
Celebrates Yom Ha'Atzmaut	32%	36%	15%	12%		
Ever visited Israel	72%	13%	24%	19%		
(+) "Yes" answers only						
Number of Times Visited Israel						
None	28%	87%	76%	81%		
Once	24%	8%*	14%	11%		
Twice	8%*	5%*	5%	5%		
Three or more	40%	<1%*	5%	3%		

Jewish Education and Relationship to Intermarriage and Assimilation

One of the major aims of Jewish education is to strengthen Jewish identity against the assimilatory forces at work in American society. These forces are indicated first and foremost by intermarriage and its related behaviors. The data show a strong correlation between Jewish education and intermarriage rates. While most of the Jews who have had no Iewish education and are currently married are intermarried, only about a quarter (28%) of the Jews who have had nine years or more of Jewish education have married a non-Jew by birth. This is noteworthy as it is comparable to the general intermarriage rate of the 1970's. Similarly, attitudes toward intermarriage are also strongly affected by Jewish education. While only one in ten of those who had no Jewish education would definitely

oppose their child's marriage to a non-Jew, there is a sharp upward jump to a third of those who had nine years or more who would do so.

The detailed results regarding intermarriage and related behaviors are presented in Table 1.9. The table shows a direct and strong relationship between years of Jewish education and all behaviors related to assimilation. Note that for almost every variable presented, nine years or more of Jewish education marks a clear jump in the general trend of strong relationship.

Further, while 61% of the target population who have had no Jewish education "sometimes" have a Christmas tree in their homes, only 20% of those who had nine years or more of lewish education do so. However, there is no clear pattern in the membership of household members in a non-lewish religious group.

It should not be overlooked that about a quarter of those who have had a relatively strong background in lewish education still show assimilation trends. It will be seen below that other variables that have an effect (such as type of schooling, or parental and current denominational affiliation) might contribute to the explanation of these behaviors.

Type of Jewish education, shown in Table 1.10, also has a strong relationship with counter-assimilatory processes. The strongest effect is exerted by lewish day schools. The other types have almost no effect on intermarriage, attitudes toward intermarriage, having a Christmas tree at home, and belonging to a household with a member in a non-Jewish religious (e.g., church) group.

The table also shows that the great majority of day schoolers are married within the faith (79%), versus less than half of those who studied in the other types of Jewish schools. Attitudes of day schoolers are markedly against intermarriage (conversionary option included) relative to attitudes of those who studied in the other school types. Assimilation symbols, such as having a Christmas tree at home, are used by less than one in five day schoolers, versus more than a third of those who studied in the other school

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		Years of Jew	ish Education	
	None	1 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Household type				
Jew married to a non-Jew	61%	55%	45%	28%
Jew married to a Jew	39%	45%	55%	72%
Attitude Toward Intermarriage of Chi	ld			
Oppose	10%	13%	19%	34%
Neutral	47%	50%	44%	38%
Support	43%	37%	36%	29%
Attitude Toward Intermarriage of Child in Case Spouse is Converted				
Oppose	3%	6%	4%	10%
Neutral	40%	37%	29%	24%
Support	56%	57%	67%	66%
Having a Christmas Tree at Home				
Sometimes or more often	61%	49%	37%	20%
Household Member in a Church or Other Non-Jewish Religious Group				
"yes" answers	19%	24%	13%	16%*

Table 1.10

Type of Jewish Education and Assimilation

Type of Jewish Education

	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-Time School	Sunday School	
Household Type					
Jew married to a non-Jew	21%	46%	45%	46%	
Jew married to a Jew	79%	54%	55%	54%	
Attitude Toward Intermarriage of Child					
Oppose	55%	22%	15%	10%	
Neutral	25%	59%	45%	46%	
Support	20%	19%	41%	44%	
Attitude Toward Intermarriage of Child in					
Case Spouse is Converted					
Oppose	20%	1%*	3%	5%	
Neutral	32%	20%	33%	26%	
Support	48%	79%	64%	69%	
Having a Christmas Tree at Home					
Sometimes or more often	17%	40%	37%	36%	
Household Member in a Church or Other					
Non-Jewish Religious Group					
("yes" answers)	0%	8%	21%	15%	

types. None of the day schoolers share a household with a member in a church, versus proportions ranging from 8% to 21% of those who studied in the other school types.

Jewish day schools are the only schooling that stands against the assimilatory processes indicated by intermarriage and its related behaviors.

Jewish Education and Feelings About the Bible

Jewish education shows an interesting relationship with the feelings that the target population have toward the Bible or the Torah, as seen in Table 1.11.

The table shows a significant relationship between years of formal Jewish education and seeing the Bible as holy. A quarter of those who have had nine years or more of Jewish education believe the Torah to be the actual word of God. It seems that lewish education enhances belief in God. Interestingly, having fewer years of Jewish education is like having no Jewish education at all concerning this issue. Note also that, correspondingly, having nine years or more of Jewish education shelters against a secular perception of the Bible; while the majority (62%) of those who had no Jewish education see the Torah as just a history written by man, only about a

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Years of Jewish Education and Feelings Toward the Bible

		Years of Jew	ish Education	
	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Feelings About the Bible or Torah				
The actual word of God	10%	16%*	8%	25%
The inspired word of God, but not literally	28%	38%	30%	38%
History and moral book recorded by man	62%	46%	61%	38%

Table 1.12

Type of Jewish Education and Feelings Toward the Bible

Type of Jewish School

	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-time School	Sunday School
Feelings About the Bible or Torah				
The actual word of God	38%	21%	13%	6%
The inspired word of God, but not literally	16%*	48%	33%	37%
History and moral book recorded by man	46%	31%	50%	56%

third (38%) of those who had nine years or more believe so. Note again that having fewer years of Jewish education is almost as effective as having no Jewish education at all for this belief as well. The in-between category of belief ("inspired word of God") shows that having Jewish education—irrespective of number of years—has an effect on it: While approximately a quarter of those who had no Jewish education believe the Bible to be an inspired book, over one-third of those who have had at least a year of lewish education believe so.

Type of schooling also shows an effect on the feelings of the target population toward the Bible. See Table 1.12.

The table shows clearly an effect of Jewish day schooling on religious belief in the Torah, as well as a negative effect of Sunday schools relative to that belief; 38% of day schoolers believe the Torah to be the actual word of God, versus 6% of Sunday schoolers. Considering that for the whole population 14% believe it (not shown in the table), these results should be emphasized. Note on the other hand that 46% of day schoolers see the Bible as a history and moral book (although less than part-time or Sunday schools). This might indicate that day schools work on both ends, religious and secular, which, of course, may not be contradictory. Private tutoring distributes the bulk of its population (48%) in the in-between

category—believing the Bible to be the inspired word of God. Jewish day schools and private tutoring have the strongest effect on traditional beliefs in the Bible.

Jewish Education and Charitable Contributions

Slightly less than half of the households of the target population (not shown) contributed in the year preceding the survey, or gave gifts, to Jewish philanthropies, charities, causes, or organizations (excluding dues and membership). However, 54% of those who have had lewish education contributed, while only 28% of those who have had no Jewish education gave something. In addition, there is a direct correlation: the more years of lewish education, the more the individual gives.

Table 1.13 shows that for each category of giving (excluding the lowest), more years of Jewish education entail more giving to Jewish causes. This situation is striking in the category that indicates the largest donations—\$1,000 or more. Jews who have had no Jewish education almost never give these amounts (1%); whereas 13% of those who had nine years or more do so. This relationship holds as well when income level was controlled for (not shown in the table). It seems that Tzedakah (giving to others) is a value associated with lewish education.

Table 1.13

Years of Jewish Education and Charitable Giving

Years of Jewish Education

	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Contribute to Jewish Causes				
Nothing	72%	56%	49%	34%
\$100 or less	13%	20%	18%	16%
\$100 - \$500	11%	17%	22%	28%
\$500 - \$1,000	2%	4%	5%	9%
\$1,000 or more	1%	3%	5%	13%

Table 1.14

Type of Jewish Education and Charitable Giving

Type of Jewish Education

Day School	Private Tutor	Part-Time School	Sunday School
25%	39%	54%	55%
12%*	19%*	19%	16%
30%	16%	18%	24%
16%	11%*	3%	2%
17%	14%	5%	3%
	25% 12%* 30% 16%	25% 39% 12%* 19%* 30% 16% 16% 11%*	25% 39% 54% 12%* 19%* 19% 30% 16% 18% 16% 11%* 3%

Type of Jewish schooling affects giving as well. While slightly less than half of the target population contribute or give gifts to Jewish philanthropies, charities, causes, or organizations (excluding dues or memberships), three-fourths of those who studied in day schools, and nearly two-thirds of those who studied with private tutors, give to lewish causes.

Table 1.14 shows wide differences between the effects of part-time or Sunday schooling and day schools. Note especially the wide differences in the higher categories of giving. While only a negligible 3% or 5% of those who had studied in Sunday or part-time schools (respectively) give more that \$1,000, 17% of day schoolers and 14% of those who studied with private tutors give these amounts. Note, again, that this effect holds as well when income level and other socio-economic variables are controlled for (not shown in the table).

Jewish Education and Jewish Friendship Patterns

It is well known that the friendship patterns of the Jewish community have changed during the last two or three decades. While American Jews until the 1960's tended to associate mainly with other Jews and to live in lewish neighborhoods, many more lews of the 1990's tend to disperse. It is less likely now that a Jew's closest friends are Jewish, and fewer Jews live in Jewish neighborhoods. Our data shows that lewish education guards against this pattern, via the values of ethnic and communal friendship.

In Table 1.15 we see a direct relationship between Jewish education and degree of association with Jews. While about one-quarter of those who had no Jewish education say that their closest friends are "mostly" or "all" lewish, half of those who had nine years or more of Jewish education say that most or all of their closest friends are lewish. In addition, while three-fourths of those who have had no lewish education in their past live in a non-Jewish neighborhood, half of those who had nine years or more

		Years of Jew	ish Education	
	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Number of Closest Friends Who are Jewi	ish			
None or few are Jewish	30%	25%	19%	16%
Some are Jewish	47%	49%	43%	34%
Most or all are Jewish	23%	26%	38%	51%
Jewish Character of the Neighborhood				
Little or not Jewish	74%	69%	61%	57%
Somewhat or very Jewish	26%	31%	39%	43%
mportance of Neighborhood Jewishness	S			
Not important	62%	60%	45%	38%
Important	38%	40%	55%	62%

Table 1.16

Type of Jewish Education and Jewish Friendship Patterns

Type of Jewish Education

	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-Time School	Sunday School
Number of Closest Friends Who are Jewish				
None or few are Jewish	10%	22%	25%	32%
Some are Jewish	28%	47%	45%	48%
Most or all are Jewish	62%	31%	30%	31%
The Jewish Character of the Neighborhood				
Little or not Jewish	45%	68%	70%	71%
Somewhat or very Jewish	55%	32%	30%	29%
Importance of the Neighborhood's Jewishness				
Not important	20%	47%	54%	59%
Important	80%	53%	46%	41%

of Jewish education live in such neighborhoods. Correspondingly, most Jews in the target population who have had no Jewish education do not feel the importance of their neighborhood's being Jewish (62%), while exactly the same proportion of those who have had nine years or more of Jewish education feel it is important.

As in most of the previous tables, nine years or more of Jewish education mark a turning point for two of the three variables; having from one to eight years of Jewish education has an effect similar to that of having no years of Jewish education.

Types of Jewish schooling show effects as well (Table 1.16). Day schools have a strong effect on the association of the target population with other Jews, with about two-thirds of day schoolers saying that most or all of their closest friends are lewish. In contrast, only about one-third of those who studied in the other types of Jewish education make this claim. More than half of day schoolers live in Jewish neighborhoods, versus a third of the others. For 80% of those who studied in day schools, living in a Jewish neighborhood is important, versus less than half of those who studied in the other types of Jewish education.

Note that the other three types have almost no effect on these patterns, and this result is almost equivalent to that of no lewish schooling. lewish day schools constitute the only type of schooling that has an effect on Jewish friendship patterns.

Jewish Education and Denominational Affiliation

As might be expected, Jewish education is directly related to denominational affiliation. Orthodox Jews tend, of course, to have more years of Jewish education. It is interesting, however, to probe the relationship of Jewish education with the other denominations, or with no denominational identification. The results are presented in Table 1.17. Note that the analysis assumes Jewish education to be the independent variable (cause) and the current denomination to be the dependent variable (caused by).

The table shows a prevalent background in Jewish education in the Orthodox denomination. The data show (not shown in the table) that almost no Orthodox Jews have less than nine years of Jewish education. However, the "peak" of number of years of lewish education in the Conservative and Reform movements is four to eight years. This is noteworthy, considering the general result that Jewish education seems effective only when it lasts for more than nine years.

For those in the target population who defined their household as "just Jewish," there is a negative relationship with years of Jewish education; the most frequent category is "none." Note also that the Reform synagogues attract mostly those who have had no Jewish education in their past (52%). This means that having no lewish education pushes Jewish households to affiliate mostly with Reform temples. Conservative synagogues attract mostly those

Table 1.17

Years of Jewish Education and Denomination

Years of Jewish Education

	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Denominational Affiliation of the				
Household:				
Orthodox	2%*	2%*	3%	17%
Conservative	13%	18%	30%	25%
Reform	26%	26%	36%	33%
Combinations	2%*	4%*	5%	5%
Just Jewish	19%	16%	12%	10%
Mixed Jewish and non-Jewish	8%	19%	6%	5%
Not Jewish	30%	16%	9%	5%
Denomination of Synagogue				
Affiliated With:				
Orthodox	12%	12%*	9%	25%
Conservative	25%	39%	45%	35%
Reform	52%	36%	34%	30%
Combinations	1%*	4%*	7%	5%
Other	10%*	9%*	5%	5%*

who have had an "in-between" number of years (four to eight) of Jewish education (45%).

Type of Jewish education is strongly associated with the denomination of the household, as well as with the denomination of the synagogue of which the household is a member.

Table 1.18 shows—expectedly—a strong association between Jewish day schools and Orthodox denominational affiliation. The Reform movement is

Table 1.18

Type of Jewish Education and Denomination

Type of Jewish Education

	Type of Jewish Education			
	Day School	Private Tutor	Part-Time School	Sunday School
Denominational Affiliation of the				
Household				The Section in
Orthodox	28%	1%*	2%	<1%*
Conservative	30%	31%	26%	11%
Reform	10%*	40%	29%	43%
Combinations	3%*	2%*	4%	6%
Just Jewish	17%	12%	12%	21%
Mixed Jewish & non-Jewish	11%*	12%*	11%	10%
Not Jewish	2%*	2%*	17%	9%
Denomination of Synagogue the				
Household is Affiliated With				
Orthodox	50%	1%*	7%*	4%*
Conservative	37%	40%	50%	33%
Reform	7%*	54%	29%	53%
Combinations	2%*	3%*	6%	5%*
Other	4%*	2%*	9%	4%*

associated mainly with Sunday schools. Synagogue denominational affiliation shows an even stronger relationship; day schoolers are associated mainly with Orthodox synagogues. The Conservative synagogues are associated mainly with part-time schooling. The Reform temples are associated mainly with private tutors or Sunday schools. In this analysis, no directional effect can be asserted, of course. The effects of both variables—denominational affiliation and type of lewish education—work both ways.

The Relationship Between Parents' and Children's Jewish Education

This section investigates the important issue concerning the relationship between parents' past lewish education and the Jewish education they give their children. More specifically, we ask whether the factor of more years of parental Jewish education has an effect on their children's Jewish education, and on the type of Jewish schooling of their children, and whether the type of Jewish schooling parents were involved in affects the type of Jewish schools in which their children are enrolled.

In general, there is no statistically significant relationship between parents' lewish education and their children's Jewish education. However, probing into the

specific relationship does reveal a pattern, which is shown below. The only significant relationship found was between parents' and children's type of Jewish schooling.

The following three tables present the effect of parental Jewish education, parental years of Jewish education, and parental type of Jewish education on their children's having Jewish education (yes/no).

Table 1.19 presents the general relationship between parents' formal Jewish education and that of their children.

The table shows, interestingly, that there is a slight tendency of parents who have had no Jewish education in their past to enroll their children in formal lewish education. Although this negative relationship is not statistically significant, this result should be emphasized. for the tendency also appears in other variables in this section. This result might indicate that the three-fourths or so of parents who did not have Jewish education and do enroll their children in Jewish education are the "natural limit" of the target population for giving lewish education to children. The technical term used in social psychology for similar phenomena is "the ceiling effect." However, this result might indicate as well that the experience parents had during their years of Jewish education was not

Having Jewish Educa	tion: Parents and Child	dren
	Parents Were Enrolle	d in Jewish Education
	Yes	No
Children (at least one) are Currently Enrolled in Jewish Education		
Yes	65%	73%
No	35%	26%

NO	357	•	20	70
Table 1.20				
Years of Jewish Education of	f Parents and The	ir Children's	Jewish Educa	ition
	Number of Years of Jewish Education of Parents			
	None	0 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Children Are Enrolled in Jewish Education				
Yes	73%	70%	53%	72%
	26%	30%*	47%	28%

Table 1.21

Type of Parents' Jewish Education and Children's Jewish Education

Type of Jewish School Parents Were Enrolled in

	Day School	Part-Time School	Sunday School	Private Tutor
Children enrolled in Jewish Education				
Yes	74%	59%	57%	85%
No	26%*	41%	43%	15%*

Table 1.22

Parental Jewish Education and the Type of Jewish School Their Children Are Enrolled In

	Parents Had Jewish Education		
	Yes	No	
ype of Jewish School of Their Children Day school	26%	5%*	
Part-time school	34%	29%*	
Sunday school	36%	54%	
Private tutor	5%*	11%	

rewarding, and thus had a negative effect on their motivation to enroll their own children in formal Jewish education. This implication is noteworthy in spite of the direct and strong effects Jewish education has on the current lewish involvement of the person, as was shown above. Day schools are the only exception—as is shown below.

Furthermore, Table 1.20 shows that the number of years of parents' Jewish education does not correlate significantly to the chances that they will enroll their children in lewish education.

The table also presents the relationship between parents' years of Jewish education and their children's Jewish education - having no Jewish education in the past has the same effect as having even nine years or more of Jewish education. Note the negative effect that four to eight years of parents' Jewish education has on their children's Jewish education relative to the other categories. This result corresponds to the general result shown in the previous table.

Table 1.21 presents the effect of the type of Jewish schooling parents had on the enrollment of their children in Jewish education.

The table shows that private tutoring or Jewish day schools have more effect on giving Jewish education to children than being enrolled in part-time schools or in Sunday schools. Eighty-five percent of those parents who studied with private tutors give their children Jewish education; 74% of those who studied in Jewish day schools give their children Jewish education, versus 59% and 57% of those who studied in part-time and Sunday schools respectively.

Three tables present the effect of parents' having Jewish education, parents' years of Jewish education, and parents' type of Jewish education on the type of Jewish education they give their children.

Table 1.22 shows that parents' Jewish education relates differently to the type of Jewish schools in which they enroll their children.

The table shows that parents who had Jewish education are much more likely to send their children to Jewish day schools and less likely to send them to Sunday schools than parents who did not have Jewish education. This might mean that parents who themselves had Jewish education tend to devalue the Sunday schools. The general relationship between Jewish education of parents and type of school of their children is nevertheless not statistically significant.

Table 1.23 shows that increased years of parents' Jewish education has an effect on sending their children to day schools, but does not affect the other types of Jewish schooling of the children.

We see that parents who had nine years or more of formal Jewish education do tend to send their children to day schools more than parents who had fewer years of Jewish education. Parents who had no Jewish education tend to send their children to Sunday schools more than those who had more years of Jewish education. Corresponding to our previous remark, Sunday schools are probably considered by parents with no Jewish education as the "last chance" for their children to get Jewish education; this might indicate as well an assimilatory process—an imitation of the churches' Sunday schools.

Table 1.24 reveals, however, an interesting pattern: Parents do significantly tend to enroll their children in the same type of school in which they were enrolled.

The table shows that products of day schools and Sunday schools tend strongly to send their children to similar schools. Part-time schoolers, although they tend predominantly to send their children to part-time schools (49%), tend also to enroll their children in Sunday schools (33%). Sunday schoolers tend, as mentioned, to enroll their children in Sunday schools (64%). Parents who studied with private tutors tend not to send their children to private tutors but to Sunday schools (34%) or to part-time schools (35%). This might mean that private tutoring is not a widely available current educational option.

A Note of Caution

Most of our results in this chapter indicate associations between the variables, more than cause and effect. We thus advise the reader to perceive our terminology "effect" and "affected by" used in this chapter with caution. We used it more as an assumption—because of the obvious fact that Jewish education chronologically preceded Jewish involvement. We did not probe joint effects, or "controlled for" effects. The following chapter fills this gap.

		rish Education a rpe of Schooling		
		Parental Years of	Jewish Education	
	None	1 to 3	4 to 8	9+
Type of Jewish School of the Children				
Day school	5%	23%*	13%*	37%
Part-time school	29%*	35%*	43%	27%
Sunday school	54%	38%*	35%	33%
Private tutor	11%*	3%*	8%*	3%*

Table 1.24				
Type of Jewish Edu	ication of Pare	ents and Child	ren	
		Type of Jewish Ed	ucation of Parent	s
	Day School	Part-Time School	Sunday School	Private Tutor
Type of Jewish Education of Their Children Day school	72%	7%*	10%*	24%*
Part-time school	17%*	49%	26%	35%
Sunday school	19%*	33%	64%	34%
Private tutor	2%*	10%*		6%*

The Effect of Jewish Education on Jewish Involvement: A Causal Analysis

Foreword

This chapter is a complement to the previous chapter, which described the basic data concerning Jewish education and lewish involvement. It investigates the directional relationships existing between Jewish education, background, and Jewish involvement indicators.

A description of the method of statistical analysis, "multiple regression," along with technical notes, can be found at the end of the chapter (pp. 27-28).

In the present case, we study and compare first the effects of background indicators, such as denomination in which the respondent was raised, generation, gender, age of respondent, and income level of the household on number of years and types of Jewish education.

Then we study and compare the effects of past Jewish education, types of Jewish education, denomination in which raised, Jewishness of parents, and major background indicators on the current Jewish involvement of the respondent, his/her communal behaviors, religious practices, visiting Israel, intermarriage and others.

The Relative Effects of Jewish and Socio-**Economic Backgrounds on Jewish Education**

Assuming home background of the respondent to have an effect on the Jewish education he or she has received, the present analysis investigates the relative effects of the denominational affiliation of the home in which he/she was raised and some major socio-economic and demographic indicators on the duration and type of Jewish education received.

The analysis focuses on the joint effects of nine background indicators on five different indicators of lewish education. The nine background indicators—the independent variables-include each of the four denominations of the respondent's childhood household (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform and "secular"), extent of secular education, generation in the United States, gender, age, and income level. The five Jewish education indicators—the dependent variables—include number of years of Jewish education irrespective of type, number of years of Jewish education in day school, number of years in part-time schooling, number of years in Sunday school, and number of years in private tutoring.

Table 2.1 Analyses of the Effects of Nine Independent Variables on Five Dependent Variables

	Total Number of Years of Jewish Education	Number of Years at Day Schools	Number of Years in Part-Time Schooling	Number of Years in Sunday School	Number of Years Studied with Private Tutors
Raised Orthodox	.18 ***	.36 ***	.08	.06	14
Raised Conservative	.13 *	11	.26 **	.19 *	-0.25 *
Raised Reform	.11	17 *	.04	.48 ***	29 *
Raised Secular	24 ***	24 **	30 ***	16 *	11
Generation Level	09 **	32 ***	.04	.02	.07
Gender	.05	.18 ***	.13 *	.00	.02
Age	05	08 *	02	.01	.05
Secular Education	.13 ***	.01	.21 ***	.17 ***	.12 *
Income Level	.04	.02	.05	.03	.12*
(Constant)	NS	***			NS
(Percent Explained)	20	47	31	31	7

Considering total number of years of Jewish education as an outcome of the four denominational background indicators (first column), Table 2.1 shows that being raised in a secular home has a significant negative effect on the number of years of Jewish education. This negative effect on years of Jewish education is greater even than the positive effect of being raised in an Orthodox home. The results in the first column also show that being raised in a Conservative home exerts a significant positive effect on years of Jewish education. Relative to these two household affiliations, being raised in a Reform home has no significant effect.

Of the five demographic and socio-economic indicators, generation in the United States and years of secular education have significant effects on years of Jewish education. Higher secular education has a significantly positive effect on the number of years of Jewish education; higher generation level exerts a significantly negative effect on the number of years of lewish education. Gender, age of respondent, and income level of the household have no further effect on years of Jewish education, after the effects of generation and secular education are taken into account.

When number of years enrolled at day school, rather than total of number of years of Jewish education, is considered as an outcome, the table shows (second column) that being raised in an Orthodox home has a strong positive effect. Being raised in a secular home, or in a Reform home, has a negative effect on day school attendance. In addition, both generation level and age have negative effects on being enrolled in day schools. Gender also exerts a significant effect on being enrolled in day schools; boys are more likely to be enrolled in day schools. Being raised in a Conservative home, secular education level, and income level exert no effect on enrollment in day school.

The extent to which number of years in part-time schooling is affected by the nine background indicators is represented in the third column of the table. The data show that being raised in a Conservative home exerts a significantly strong influence on enrollment in part-time schooling, while a secular upbringing exerts a strong negative effect on this type of schooling. Like its influence on overall years of Jewish education, secular education has a strong influence on part-time schooling. Similar to its effect on enrollment in day school, gender has a significant effect on part-time schooling; boys tend to enroll more than girls. Being raised in an Orthodox or a Reform home, generation level, age, and income level exert no influence on part-time schooling, as compared to the other background indicators.

Number of years in Sunday school is affected primarily by being raised in a Reform home, and to a much lower extent in a Conservative home. A secular home exerts a negative effect on enrollment in Sunday schooling. Years of secular education and household income level have a significant influence as well. Orthodox home, generation, age, and gender have no effect.

Enrollment in private tutoring is positively influenced only by secular education. It is negatively influenced by being raised in a Conservative or a Reform home. The other variables exert no effect on enrollment in private tutoring. The reader should note, however, that this model (fifth column) is not a "good" model-percent explained is very low (7%); this means that other variables, not presented here, probably do better in "explaining" this type of Jewish education. Prior research on the data for the entire Jewish population shows that private tutoring is a main vehicle of Jewish education for Jews by choice; thus it is of less importance for our major analyses, which focus on the core Jewish population.

To summarize the table's results concerning the four types of Jewish education:

1. DENOMINATION

- (a) Being raised in a secular home exerts a strong negative effect on years of Jewish education, on enrollment in day schools, and on part-time schooling. It has no effect on the other two types of Jewish schooling, although the data show negative (but not statistically significant) tendencies.
- (b) Being raised in an Orthodox home exerts strong influence on years of Jewish education. Its effect is concentrated mainly on enrollment in day schools.
- (c) Being raised in a Conservative home exerts strong influence on part-time and Sunday schooling, and a negative effect on private tutoring.
- (d) Being raised in a Reform home has a positive effect on enrollment in Sunday school, and a strong negative effect on enrollment in day school or private tutoring.

2. OTHER BACKGROUND INDICATORS

While number of years of secular education does affect years of Jewish education, income level does not. More specifically, secular education exerts a positive effect on part-time, Sunday, and private schooling, but no effect on enrollment in day school. Generation level, age, and gender have a strong effect on enrollment in day schools. Gender has a significant effect on enrollment in part-time schooling as well.

The Relative Effects of Years and Type of Jewish **Education on Jewish Commitment**

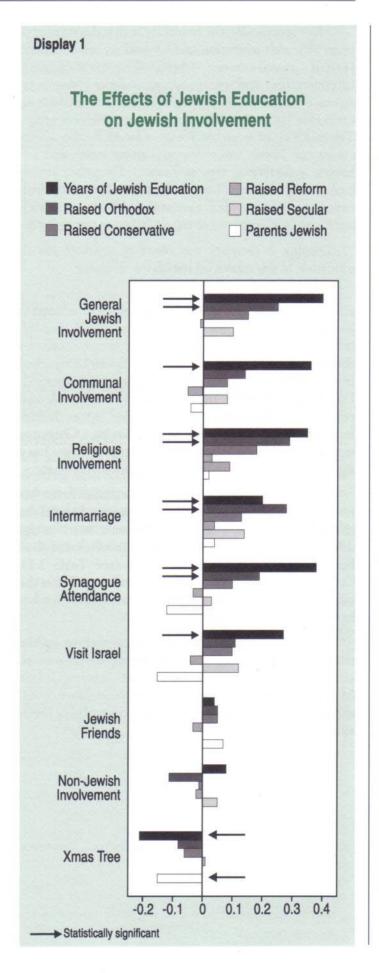
The aim of the present section is to establish the relative causal weights of past Jewish education, denomination raised, and parental Jewishness, in their relationship with Jewish involvement. Parental Jewishness is an ordinal variable of four values: both parents Jewish, mother Jewish, father Jewish, both parents non-Jewish. Jewish involvement was measured by eight indicators: general involvement, communal involvement, religious involvement, intermarriage, synagogue attendance, visiting Israel, having Jewish friends, contributing time or money to non-lewish causes, and having a Christmas tree at home. These are the prominent indicators that emerged from factor analysis; the scales are cumulative and consist of the leading indicators of each of the factors.

The results in the present section reinforce strongly the tendencies shown in the cross-tabulations in the previous chapter, in which the relationship between Jewish education and Jewish involvement were presented separately for each variable of Jewish education—duration and type—with each of the different indicators of Jewish involvement.

Five analyses are presented: the effect on Jewish involvement of years of Jewish education, years at day school, part-time schooling, Sunday school and private tutoring, relative to the four denominations in which the respondent was raised and parental Jewishness.

Display 1 presents the effect of years of Jewish education, irrespective of type, on Jewish involvement. It asks about (1) the extent of Jewish involvement "explained" ("caused") by years of Jewish education, and (2) the extent to which other variables contribute to Jewish involvement after years of Jewish education is taken into account.

The results presented in the display show clearly that Jewish education is the most important influence on lewish involvement, followed by being raised in an Orthodox home. The other Jewish background indicators have no additional effect on lewish involvement. The reader should note that this does not mean that the relationships of these other Jewish background variables with lewish involvement are null. They may be robust, and they are (not shown in the table); but while the effect of Jewish education and Orthodoxy on Jewish involvement is direct, the effect of these other possible influences on Jewish involvement is probably mediated by other variables.



More specifically, the results show that the number of years of Jewish education and Orthodoxy affect general lewish involvement, religious involvement, intermarriage, and synagogue attendance. Moreover, among other lewish background factors, being raised in an Orthodox home shows the lowest rate of intermarriage. The number of years of Jewish education also affects communal lewish involvement, visiting Israel, and not having a Christmas tree at home. The other Jewish background variables have no unique effect on Jewish involvement, besides parental Jewishness, which significantly affects not having a Christmas tree at home.

Display 2 presents the effect of years of Jewish education in day school on Jewish involvement.

When years of enrollment in day school are considered, rather than the total years of Jewish education irrespective of type, the display shows clearly that the influence of day school is not augmented by denominational affiliations, except partly, by being raised in a Conservative home, and by the Jewishness of parents. Day school strongly affects general, communal, and religious involvement, synagogue attendance, intermarriage, visiting Israel, and not having a Christmas tree at home. Being raised in a Conservative home has a significant effect on general and religious involvement.

Interestingly, being raised in an Orthodox home has no augmented effect on Jewish involvement, beyond the effect of day school. This means that enrollment in day school is more important for Jewish involvement than being raised in an Orthodox home (see Table 2.1); Orthodox upbringing continues to be influential after the effect of number of years of general Jewish education has been accounted for.

Jewishness of parent has a significant effect on the three major indicators of lewish involvement: general, communal, and religious involvement. Having lewish friends and involvement in non-Jewish causes are not well explained by our models; other indicators probably better explain these behaviors.

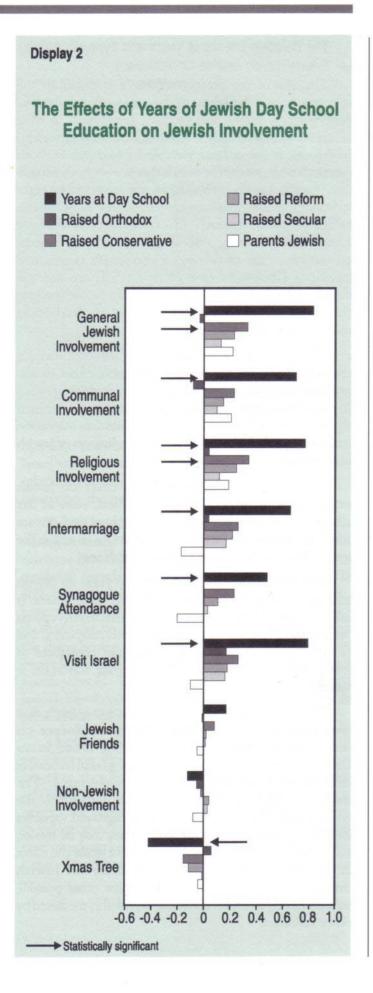


Table 2.2 shows that part-time schooling has a strong effect on Jewish involvement, similar but less strong than that of day school. Being raised in an Orthodox home does have a significant further effect on Jewish involvement, over and above part-time schooling. Part-time schooling and being raised in an Orthodox home together affect general and religious involvement. Part-time schooling also affects synagogue attendance, visiting Israel, non-Jewish involvement, and not having a Christmas tree at home. Being raised in an Orthodox home also affects intermarriage. Parental Jewishness significantly affects visiting Israel.

Table 2.3

Table 2.3 shows that the effects of Sunday school on Jewish involvement are significant, although less strong than that of day school or part-time schooling. Sunday school, together with being raised in an Orthodox home, affects general and religious involvement. Sunday school affects, in addition, communal involvement, synagogue attendance, visiting Israel, and not having a Christmas tree at home. Orthodox background affects, in addition, intermarriage. Parental Jewishness affects visiting Israel and not having a Christmas tree at home.

		Analyses of Jewish I		on on Jew			,		
	General Jewish Involv.	Communal Involv.	Relig. Involv.	Inter- Marriage	Synag. Attend.	Visit Israel	Jewish Friends	Non- Jewish Involv.	Xmas Tree
Years at Part-Time School	.46***	.48***	.37***	.11	.43***	.22**	.05	.22*	26**
Raised Orthodox	.29**	.18	.34***	.31**	.18	.15	.06	11	10
Raised Conserv.	.08	.00	.12	.13	.04	.08	.04	05	01
Raised Reform	.00	04	.04	.05	02	03	02	02	.00
Raised Secular	.13	.10	.10	.13	.05	.13	.00	.07	01
Parents Jewish	.03	09	.01	.07	15	.16*	.06	05	13
(Const)		NS		NS	NS	NS	***	**	***
(Percent Explained)	26	21	23	10	18	12	2	4	13

	General Jewish Involv.	Involv.	Relig. Involv.	Inter- Marriage	Synag. Attend.	Visit Israel	Jewish Friends	Non- Jewish Involv.	Xmas Tree
Years at Sunday School	.36***	.32**	.25**	.10	.31**	.24*	02	.11	20**
Raised Orthodox	.31*	.20	.35**	.32*	.19	.15	.06	10	11
Raised Conserv.	.13	.06	.16	.14	.09	.09	.06	02	04
Raised Reform	.15	18	09	.01	15	13	01	06	.09
Raised Secular	.08	.06	.07	.12	.01	.11	02	.04	.01
Parents Jewish	.05	.02	.08	.09	06	.19*	.09	.00	18*
(Const)	**			NS	NS	NS	***	***	***
(Percent Explained)	21	13	20	10	12	13	1	2	11

Analyses of the Effects of Years of Jewish Education

Table 2.4 shows that the effects of private tutoring are similar to the effects of Sunday schooling. Together with Orthodoxy, it affects general and religious involvement. In addition, it affects communal involvement, synagogue attendance, and not having a Christmas tree at home. Orthodoxy also affects intermarriage. Parental Jewishness affects religious involvement, visiting Israel, and not having a Christmas tree at home.

Finally, as a summarizing investigation, it is interesting to analyze the effect of number of years of Jewish education of any kind on lewish involvement as compared to the

effect of the major Jewish and socio-economic background variables.

Table 2.5 demonstrates that the causal weight of number of years of Jewish education on Jewish involvement, relative to the other major background variables, is the most important factor in Jewish involvement. As the table shows, the beta scores of Jewish education are the highest. It strongly affects general Jewish involvement, communal involvement, religious involvement, and intermarriage.

Table 2.4 Analyses of the Effects of Years of Jewish Education in Private Tutoring on Jewish Involvement

	General Jewish Involv.	Communal Involv.	Relig. Involv.	Inter- Marriage	Synag. Attend.	Visit Israel	Jewish Friends	Non- Jewish Involv.	Xmas Tree
Years at Private Tutoring	.32**	.26**	.33**	.14	.19*	.10	.07	.10	23*
Raised Orthodox	.37*	.25	.41**	.35*	.23	.18	.07	08	16
Raised Conserv.	.26	.17	.28	.19	.19	.15	.07	.02	13
Raised Reform	.10	.03	.13	.09	.04	.00	.00	.01	06
Raised Secular	.14	.10	.13	.15	.04	.12	.01	.06	03
Parents Jewish	.20	.14	.22*	.14	.05	.27*	.09	.05	27*
(Const) (Percent)		NS		NS	NS	NS	***	**	**
(Percent Explained)	22	13	25	11	9	10	2	2	14

Table 2.5 Analyses of the Effects of Years of Jewish Education and **Background Variables on Jewish Involvement**

	General Jewish Involv.	Communal Involv.	Relig. Involv.	Inter- Marriage	Non- Jewish Involv.
Years of Jew. Educat.	.37***	.34***	.33***	.20***	.05
Raised Orthodox	.24***	.15*	.29***	.26***	07
Raised Conserv.	.16*	.07	.18**	.13*	02
Raised Reform	01	06	.04	.06	04
Raised Secular	.11*	.09	.09	.13*	.03
Age	.01	.07*	05	.07*	.06
Generation	11**	04	11**	14***	.09*
Gender	10**	11**	07*	04	06*
Income	.12***	.12***	.06	.16***	.12**
Secular Education	.08*	.08*	.05	01	.17***
(Constant)	NS	NS	**	NS	NS
(Percent Explained)	29	20	26	17	8

Being raised in an Orthodox home also has a strong effect on lewish involvement—next in line to years of Jewish education, and even after the effects of years of lewish education have been taken into account.

Conservative home upbringing exerts an effect as well, though less strong. Once the number of years of lewish education has been accounted for, Reform upbringing exerts no effect at all, even less than being raised in a secular home.

Of the socio-economic indicators, generation and income level are the strongest. Being of a younger generation (i.e., being further away from immigration to the United States) exerts a strong negative effect on Jewish involvement: general, religious, and intermarriage; it has a positive effect on involvement (i.e., assimilation) in non-lewish causes, even if number of years of lewish education is held constant. (Nevertheless, note that this model, fifth column, is not a good model.) Income level also exerts a strong positive effect, relative to the effects of the other variables. It affects general and communal involvement, as well as intermarriage and involvement in non-Jewish affairs.

The effects of gender (women showing more involvement), secular education, and age are strong as well, though less than generation and income. Gender affects general, communal, and religious involvement, as well as involvement in non-Jewish causes. Secular education affects general and communal involvement, and involvement in non-Jewish affairs. Age affects communal involvement and intermarriage. Note that the model for explaining involvement with non-lewish affairs is also not a good model.

The effect of generation, gender, income, and secular education on giving and contributing to non-Jewish causes are noteworthy; it might indicate underlying assimilatory processes within the Jewish community. Further investigation of this point is beyond the scope of the present report and implies an independent line of research.

The Effect of Nine Years or More of Jewish **Education on Jewish Involvement**

This final analysis deals with the incremental value of additional years of lewish education, where we predict, based on cues indicated in the cross-tabulations, that a significant rise occurs after nine years or more in Jewish education.

We analyzed the mean scores of the general scale of lewish involvement, based on 20 major indicators, for each additional year of Jewish education. The results are presented in Table 2.6.

The table shows several cutoff points that mark upward "jumps" in the mean score of Jewish involvement: at the first year, the fifth year, the ninth year, the eleventh year, the fourteenth year, the fifteenth year, the seventeenth year, and the nineteenth year as well. The Mann-Whitney U-Test for Differences Between Independent Samples—a test that considers the effects of various cutoff points in an ordered distribution—shows that although several different points are associated with a rise in mean scores of general Jewish involvement, the cutoff points of nine years or more of Jewish education and eleven years or more of Jewish education are the most significant ones (p..0001, U=0, for n1=9, n2=12 and U=5, for n1=12, n2=9, respectively), the former being more significant than the latter.

Mean Scores of Jewish Involvement by Years of Jewish Education					
Years of Jewish Education	Mean Score of Jewish Involvement				
0	3.5				
1	5.7				
2	4.8				
3	4.8				
4	4.7				
5	6.1				
6	6.0				
7	6.3				
8	6.3				
9	7.0				
10	7.3				
11	9.3				
12	8.7				
13	7.2				
14	12.5				
15	14.7				
16	11.2				
17	16.1				
18	13.9				
19	19.0				
20	16.0				

Summary and Conclusions

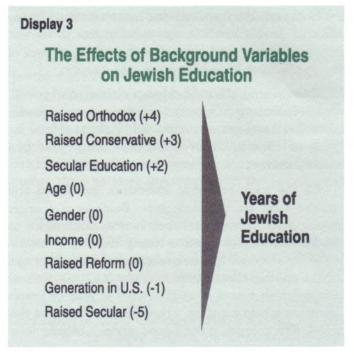
To summarize the major results of the present chapter, the following diagrams are presented. The diagrams summarize the positive or negative effects of the major indicators of lewish education and lewish involvement. according to their relative strength, as found above in the multiple regression analyses.

The values adjoining each indicator represent the strength of its effect; "0" means no significant effect. Positive and negative effects are indicated by "+" or "-" signs respectively. For clarity's sake, not all the indicators are presented, but only those that show statistically significant effects, or those that seem to us theoretically important (e.g., Reform upbringing).

Displays 3-6 present graphically the main results. The following statements summarize the main tendencies shown in these displays and might serve as the highlights of the whole chapter.

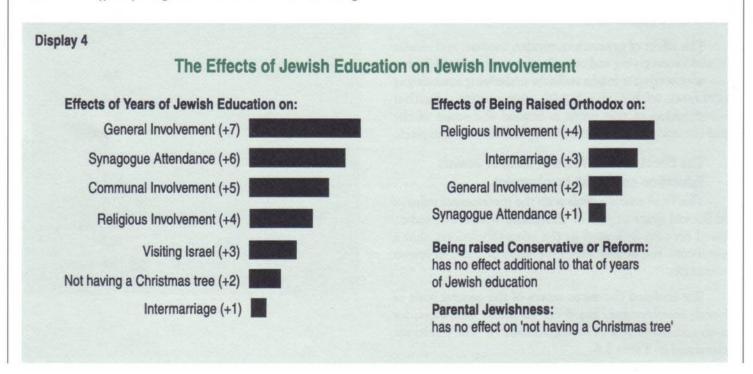
(a) When number of years of Jewish education is considered as the consequence, being raised in a secular home exerts the most negative effect, while being raised in an Orthodox home exerts the most positive effect. The reader should recall that being raised in an Orthodox home shows the lowest rate of intermarriage (see Display 1). Being raised in a Conservative home exerts strong influence as well. The Reform affiliation exhibits no effect at all. Generation exerts negative effect and secular education a positive effect.

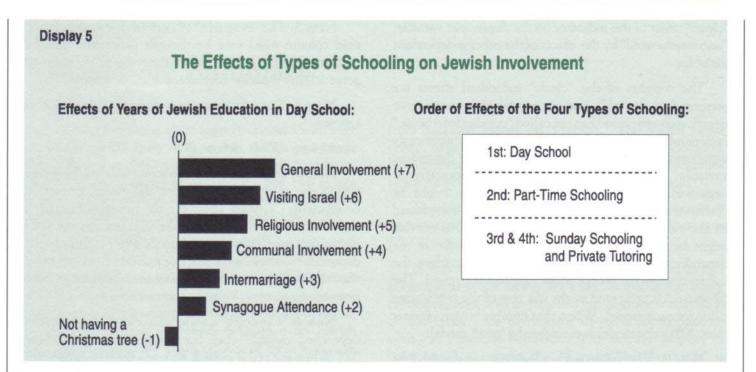
(b) Years of Jewish education affect the whole gamut of Jewish involvement, much more than any other major Jewish background variable investigated in the study, even more than the additional effect of being raised in an Orthodox home. Being



raised in a Conservative or a Reform home has no effect on Jewish involvement additional to the effect of years of Jewish education.

(c) Of the four types of Jewish schooling, years of Jewish education in day school is by far the strongest effector of Jewish involvement. Considering the "upward jump" in involvement after nine years of Jewish education, the combination of those years (into high school) in a day school environment would certainly effect the greatest impact on Jewish involvement and the lowest rate of intermarriage.





(d) Of all the major Jewish (denominational affiliations) and socio-economic background (age, generation, gender, income, and secular education) indicators, number of years of Jewish education is the strongest factor in predicting Jewish involvement.

Technical Notes Concerning the Method of Statistical Analysis

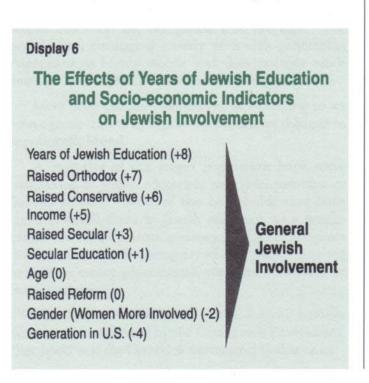
The Method of Multiple Regression Analysis

The following description of our method of analysis aims only to familiarize the layman with its general features. For a fuller mathematical and statistical description, the interested reader may refer to Chapter Two of the SPSS-X Advanced Statistical Guide (1992): Multiple Linear Regression Analysis, or to one of the many statistical textbooks used in the behavioral sciences.

The technique of multiple regression is used here to investigate the causal relationships assumed to exist between Jewish education and Jewish involvement. The technique is one of the most versatile data-analysis procedures used in the behavioral sciences. Such techniques are highly reliable, and are also used as prima facie evidence in lawsuits that depend heavily on statistical methods, e.g., those showing the effects of gender and race on employees' salaries.

The method studies the degree, significance, and weight of the relationships existing between a set of indicators assumed to be the effectors, or causes, and another indicator, assumed to be affected by, or caused by, the set of indicators. The causes are termed "independent

variables," while the outcome is termed the "dependent variable." The relationships studied are not those that link each independent variable and the dependent variable separately. The separate relationships were presented in the previous chapter in each of the cross-tabulations. The relationships studied here are rather those that link the joint effects of the set of causal indicators and the outcome. The "weight" of the effect of each indicator on the dependent variable is computed, when the effects of the other indicators in the set are simultaneously controlled for. This weight presents the



"clean" effect of the indicator on the dependent variable, "uncontaminated" by the effects of the other independent variables.

The weights of the "clean" individual effects are presented in the table and are expressed by positive or negative co-efficients that are called "standardized betas." Independent variables whose betas are statistically significant have a non-random effect on the dependent variable. Higher numbers mean larger (positive or negative) effect. The analysis as a whole might be characterized as "fitting" or not. That "fitting" is expressed by the value of the so-called "R square." This number might be thought of as the percent of variance in the dependent variable explained by the model, when the influence of all the independent variables is assessed. The "R square" is presented in the last row of the table-one value for each model. When that number is high (greater than 20%), the model is considered a 'good' model.

Note 1: The values within the cells are standardized betas, which facilitate comparisons among variables; their direction is explained in the text.

Note 2: The table should be read first and foremost column-wise, as each column represents one separate model of multiple regression. Subsequently, comparisons may be done row-wise.

Note 3: The "R square" of each of the models (to be read column-wise) may be thought of as the "percent explained" by the model. When these values are high (20 percent), the model is considered a 'good' model.

Note 4: Starred values are statistically significant, as follows:

Note 5: The reader should be reminded that the values within the cells do not represent the direct correlation co-efficients ("0-order") between the variables, but rather the weighted effects of each of the independent variables on the dependent variables, when their joint effect on the dependent variable is considered, and when the effects of the other independent variables are controlled for, or have been removed.

Note 6: "Constant" is an indicator for the value of the dependent variable when the independent variables are "0". When the cell is starred, it means that the dependent variable has a non-zero value when the independent variables have no value. When the table indicates "NS" in the constant's cell, it means that the dependent variable is "0" when the independent variables are null. This indicator is of less importance for our aims, and should not concern us here.

About the Full Report: "Jewish Involvement of the Baby Boom Generation"

The basis for this interrogation and analysis of the CIF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) is the desire of AVI CHAI - A Philanthropic Foundation to construct program initiatives in the United States that address one of the objectives of the Foundation; namely, "to encourage those of the lewish faith towards greater commitment to Jewish observance and lifestyle by increasing their understanding, appreciation, and practice of lewish traditions, customs, and laws."

The report is based on the initial proposal solicited by AVI CHAI, submitted in February, 1991 by the Guttman Institute, the various memos distributed thereafter by AVI CHAI staff members concerning the study, and discussions between the AVI CHAI staff and the two authors. For complete documentation and details, see the AVI CHAI Research File at the Guttman Institute.

We proposed to analyze those aspects of the data in which AVI CHAI has indicated most interest. These include those areas of American Jewish life having to do with affiliation, beliefs, practices, social interactions, Jewish education, and socio-demographic characteristics. What the NIPS calls the "core lewish population" - rather than the "extended Jewish population" - constitutes the target population of the analysis (see Kosmin et al. 1991 and below (p.30) for definitions).

Following a series of discussions, the study was focused on two age groups of the core lewish population: 26-35 and 36-45 years of age. The rationale for this decision is that "the adults in this age range are the ones, with and without children, who will be making decisions about the future Jewish commitment of their households." The reader should note that the analysis does not deal with the college-age population. Our target population is generally either too old for this age, or their children are mostly too young.

Profiles of individuals in these two age groups are presented according to clusters of variables, which include socio-economic and demographic background, residence and mobility, attitudes toward Judaism, denominational affiliation, synagogue involvement, religious practices, JCC and YMHA participation, volunteering and contributing to Jewish causes, use of services in the Jewish community, Israel-related behaviors, attitudes toward intermarriage, Jewish education, and increased Jewish involvement (e.g., the "newly Orthodox"). The report deals with these and related profiles.

Three reports preceded the final report and are not included in it. The first presented the frequency distributions (in percentages) of the replies of the "extended Jewish population" to almost all of the questions in the NJPS. The second report presented a comparison of the frequency distributions of the replies to these questions by the extended Jewish population with the replies of the "core Jewish population." The third report (Rimor and Katz 1992) presented a basic analysis of the relationship between major background variables and variables that indicate lewish involvement. The correlations were reported of socio-economic factors and Jewish background factors, such as denomination, age, gender, secular education, income, generation, length of residency, and Jewish education, on the one hand, with lewish involvement factors, such as synagogue attendance, religious practices, volunteering, contributions, organizational membership, visiting Israel, and Jewish social milieu, on the other.

The final report, available upon request from AVI CHAI, consists of an Executive Summary (as presented herein) and six chapters. The first chapter presents a profile of the socio-economic and Jewish involvement of the target population. The second chapter presents major trends in the relationship between background variables and lewish involvement. Fuller results concerning this issue were presented in the intermediate report (Rimor and Katz, 1991). Chapters Three and Four on Jewish Education and Jewish Involvement are as presented herein with the Executive Summary. The third chapter presents a detailed analysis of Jewish education-its effects and determinants. The fourth chapter, a complement to Chapter Three, shows the effects of Jewish education on Jewish involvement. The fifth chapter deals with Jewish involvement-its constructs, effects, and determinants. The final chapter deals with increased Jewish involvement.

The CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS)

A recommendation of the 1987 World Conference of Jewish Demography held in Jerusalem initiated the NJPS. Following comprehensive preparations, the survey was conducted three years later by the Council of Jewish Federations (CJF). Following the first stage of screening for a lewish member of the household, based on a national random sample of 125,813 adult Americans, about 2,500 households were found to qualify; that is, they contained "at least one person identified as currently or previously Jewish."

Altogether, 2,441 intensive interviews were completed. The 2,441 households represent about 3,200,000 Jewish American households nationally. The interviews gave information concerning 6,514 individuals living in these households, representing about 8,100,000 individuals who live in Jewish households. This is the so-called "extended Jewish population."

Within these households, a "core Jewish population" was identified. These households contained at least one person who was born Jewish and is currently Jewish, or who converted to Judaism, or who was born Jewish but declared himself/herself as currently having no religion. A target population of adult Jews who belong to the 26-45 age cohort—together with their household members—was chosen by AVI CHAI (from the core Jewish population). That population was extracted by the Guttman Institute from the complete file of the NJPS and analyzed for the present report.

The questionnaire used in the intensive interviews consists of more than 250 questions, which cover demographic and socio-economic variables as well as a wide spectrum of variables that pertain to Jewish background, Jewish identity, communal and religious involvement, attitudes, values, needs, and service delivery in the Jewish community. In fact, the variables cover the major factors that are investigated in contemporary sociological research of American Jews. The present report presents data concerning all the major components of these factors. For details, raw frequencies, data concerning the relationship between socio-economic background and Jewish involvement, and major highlights, see our three previous reports (on file at the Guttman Institute). For comprehensive background, methodology, and highlights concerning the NJPS and its major findings, see report of Kosmin et al. (1991).

For additional reading about the general, core, and extended Jewish populations, the reader might refer to monographs, reprints, and publications of the North American Jewish Data Bank in New York, which deal both with general and specific issues concerning the results of the 1990 NJPS.

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