

# **National Jewish Population Study**

# **Does Jewish Education Matter?**

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**One of a series of reports on the study findings**



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DOES JEWISH EDUCATION MATTER?\*

by

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Using data from CJF's National Jewish Population Study, the author explored the impact of Jewish education on three separate conceptions of Jewish identification:

- (1) Jewish self-esteem
- (2) Religious identification
- (3) Support of Israel

He concluded that Jewish education does matter to some extent. It has served as a buffer against the inroads of acculturation and the weaknesses of the Jewish family.

The following is an abbreviated version of the original article. The full text of the article, including footnotes, is available from CJF.

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## DOES JEWISH EDUCATION MATTER?

There are at least two interpretations of any important problem in American Jewish life and the issue of the relationship between Jewish education and 'Jewish identity' is no exception. One analysis finds fault with Jewish schools and advocates a redefinition of Jewish educational policies: when children spend more time in Jewish classrooms and when they take their Jewish studies seriously -- as they now do in day schools and Yeshivot and as they once did in Talmud Torahs -- they are much more likely to be Jewishly identified in later life. Therefore more intensive Jewish schools and college-level programs are needed to replace ineffectual supplemental schools. A second analysis finds fault with the Jewish family and advocates innovative policies to strengthen it. Jewish education begins in the home and only those children raised in Jewishly identified families become identifiably Jewish adults. Since schools cannot be expected to teach values not otherwise reinforced by home environment, any attempt to bolster 'Jewish identity' must first focus on the Jewishness of the family unit.

## BOTH HOME AND SCHOOL IMPORTANT

My findings suggest that both the Jewish home and the Jewish school have had important effects on 'Jewish identity.' Of course, individuals raised in 'more' Jewishly identified homes are usually 'more' Jewishly identified in later life. Furthermore, among individuals raised in comparable kinds of Jewish homes, those who were 'more' Jewishly educated as children are often 'more' Jewishly identified as adults. Yet much depends on one's conception of Jewish identification, and on other social forces. The transmission of identity from generation to generation is a complicated phenomenon which must be understood in the context of the Jewish adjustment to American society.

## THREE FORMS OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

The nature of 'Jewish identity' itself is complex. Consequently, I offer no specific definition of the normative nature of 'Jewish identity'. Nevertheless I do assume that American Jews express their Jewishness through salient identifying behaviors and beliefs. In this paper I shall consider three forms of Jewish identification -- (1) Jewish self-esteem expressed in terms of positive, general attitudes

about the importance of being Jewish;<sup>1</sup> (2) religious identification expressed in terms of frequency of attendance at synagogue services;<sup>2</sup> (3) feelings about Jewish peoplehood, expressed in terms of attitudes towards and activities on behalf of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Certainly these three forms do not encompass all possible conceptions of Jewish identification. But, in the interests of brevity, and in order to illustrate the complex patterns of social influences, I shall consider only these three conceptions of Jewish identification.

The larger question is whether there are any patterns to the observed differences in each of the three conceptions of identification. Using a national sample of all American Jewish adults, from the CJF's National Jewish Population Study, I have examined the patterns of differences in each measure of identification.<sup>4</sup>

## I. JEWISH SELF-ESTEEM

Jewish self-esteem is perhaps the most general criterion of Jewish identification, for in theory those people who feel positively about being Jewish then act in identifiably Jewish ways. In general, American Jews express strong, positive opinions about the importance of being Jewish.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, to the extent that Jewish education has influenced Jewish self-esteem, going to a Jewish school has been more important than spending time in Jewish classrooms.

That is, those individuals who have merely entered the Jewish schoolhouse door have a higher sense of self-esteem than those people who have never been inside a Jewish school. By comparison, those people who differ only in the length of time they have spent in Jewish classrooms are more comparable to one another in their positive attitudes about being Jewish.<sup>6</sup> Since the greatest shift in individuals' attitudes about 'being Jewish' results from enrolling in a Jewish school, more hours of classroom instruction do not lead to a higher sense of self-esteem. Jewish schooling itself is an expression of Jewish culture, regardless of the intensity of instruction offered in Jewish classrooms. Jewish school attendance has served mainly as a cultural symbol.

### Home Background

However, it is important not to overemphasize the connection between going to a Jewish school and feeling positively about being Jewish. Self-esteem is largely the product of home background.<sup>7</sup> Those people who were raised in 'more' Jewish environments have a higher sense of Jewish self-esteem than those people raised in 'less' Jewish home environments. Thus, compared to Jewish school attendance, Jewishness of home background is approximately twice as important in explaining differences in Jewish self-esteem.

### Generation of Birth

Similarly, generation of American birth also has a notable impact on positive, general attitudes about being Jewish. All other factors being equal, foreign born Jews express stronger attitudes about Jewish self-esteem than their children. In turn, this first American-born generation has a higher sense of self-esteem than their 'more Americanized' children and grandchildren.<sup>8</sup> The fact that acculturation leads to a decline in Jewish self-esteem is hardly a surprising finding: as successive generations of Jews have been born in America, the nature of Jewish culture has changed.

The more interesting finding is that the effects of acculturation, indicated by the changes in Jewish self-esteem from generation to generation, are nearly comparable to the effects of Jewish school attendance. Therefore, much of the decline in Jewish self-esteem due to acculturation is offset by going to a Jewish school.<sup>9</sup>

### New York Residence

Other factors also affect differences in Jewish self-esteem to some extent. Those living outside the New York City metropolitan area have a slightly higher sense of self-esteem than those living in the New York metropolitan area.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that the intensity of Jewish life in New York City, the sheer number of Jews residing in a single area, has a slightly negative effect on attitudes about the importance of being Jewish. Compared to those residing in other parts of the country, New York City Jews have a slightly lower sense of self-esteem. Similarly, among people comparable in every other respect, older individuals express slightly more positive feelings about Jewish self-esteem than younger people.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps pride in being Jewish is due to some slight extent to having experienced important events in Jewish history or to having experienced more of life's traumas.

### Sex Differences

The social forces that influence women's attitudes about Jewish self-esteem are different from those that influence men's attitudes. Among American Jews in general, women have slightly more positive attitudes about self-esteem than men. All other factors being equal, something about the nature of American Jewish life leads women to express slightly more positive feelings about being Jewish.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps this suggests the persistence of a historically important trend in Jewish culture: Jewish women sought to preserve traditional values while men sought secular successes in the modern world.

In short, American Jews do vary in the extent their attitudes about Jewish self-esteem and differences in opinions are due to specific social factors. I have suggested that to some slight extent, Jewish self-esteem is affected by certain traditional influences in Jewish life -- community of residence, sex roles and the wisdom of old age. More important, attitudes about self-esteem are affected by Jewishness of family background, generation of American birth and Jewish school attendance. Individuals raised in more Jewish families have a greater sense of being Jewishly identified. Moreover, the Jewish experiences of those individuals who were raised in comparable kinds of Jewish home environments and who went to Jewish schools, have differed from generation to generation. Regardless of family background or education, each generation has had to face new problems in American society and to adjust to changing historical circumstances. Therefore, the persistence of positive feelings of group pride are due primarily to the critical importance of the Jewish family and only secondarily to the role of the Jewish school. While more acculturated Jews are less Jewishly identified, those who have been inside a Jewish school have been able to maintain a stronger sense of Jewish self-esteem. Jewish schooling, as a fact in itself, serves as a cultural symbol for the maintenance of positive general feelings about group pride.

## II. RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Let me now turn to a second conception of Jewish identification and consider religious identification expressed in terms of synagogue attendance. In theory, those who are 'more' religiously identified attend synagogue services 'more' frequently; those who are 'less' religiously identified attend synagogue services 'less' frequently; and those who are 'unidentified' attend not at all.<sup>13</sup>

### Impact of Hours of Instruction

Have better synagogue-goers received a more intensive Jewish education, or have they simply enrolled in Jewish schools? Those individuals who have spent more hours in Jewish classrooms generally attend synagogue services more frequently than those who have simply enrolled in a Jewish school.<sup>14</sup> Unlike Jewish self-esteem, synagogue attendance requires particular behaviors on specified occasions. Since more intensive Jewish instruction leads to more frequent religious participation, Jewish schooling serves less as a cultural symbol, and more as an institution for the transmission of values and beliefs.

This raises several larger issues. First, are Jews more religiously identified because of the hours they have spent in Jewish classrooms, or because of their family background? All other factors being equal, those brought up in more Jewishly identified homes are more religiously observant. Similarly, those who have spent more time in Jewish classrooms are also more religiously observant. In addition, the effects

of home background and the effects of hours of Jewish instruction are roughly comparable to one another.<sup>15</sup> This suggests that the Jewish school has been as effective a socializing agent as the Jewish family. Individuals have learned as much about the social norms of public religious practices through their experiences in Jewish classrooms as through their home life.

While there is some truth to both explanations, the importance of other factors suggests a more complicated answer. Community of residence has an important impact on frequency of synagogue attendance. Those who reside outside the New York City metropolitan area attend synagogue services more frequently.<sup>16</sup> Outside the New York City metropolitan area, less Jewishly schooled people have greater incentives to attend synagogue, and thus to identify publicly, if only to have more social contacts with one another. New York City Jews have less pressing socializing needs, so only the more religiously identified attend.

#### Americanization

Second, are more Americanized Jews less religiously observant? Certainly, more Americanized individuals attend synagogue services less frequently. In particular, immigrants are notably more likely to attend synagogue services than their progeny. By comparison, all other factors being equal, the first generation American-born attend synagogue services about as frequently as their children and grandchildren.<sup>17</sup> Evidently the immigrant generation continued the religious observances of their forebears, while their American born descendants quickly adopted less frequent norms of synagogue attendance. However, the effects of acculturation, indicated by the change in frequency of synagogue attendance from generation to generation are less important than the effects of home background, intensity of Jewish education and community residence.

#### Sex Differences

Third, is sex a factor in religious identification? While the differences in the frequency of synagogue attendance between men and women are statistically small, they are theoretically important. All other factors being equal, women attend synagogue services slightly more frequently than men.<sup>18</sup> This may be due to a number of social factors. Perhaps Jewish women are more concerned about the prerequisites of family life

and are slightly more likely to preserve public religious norms in the face of secularizing influences of the larger society. Possibly Jewish women have greater socializing needs: they are less involved in the work-world and have more free time to participate in religious activities. Then again perhaps Jewish women take their religious identification more seriously and, all other factors being equal, are actually more religiously committed than men.

### Age

Finally, chronological age does not influence religious identification. All other factors being equal, older people are not significantly more likely to attend synagogue services more frequently than younger people.<sup>19</sup> To the extent that older people are more frequent synagogue-goers than younger people, they were raised in a more identifiably Jewish family, or were more intensively educated or are part of the immigrant generation.

In short, the Jewish family and the Jewish classroom have been important in the maintenance of religious identification, but their roughly equal effects on synagogue attendance suggest that they are only part of a larger social process -- the need for Jews to interact socially with one another. Coming from a Jewishly identified home or being Jewishly educated is no guarantee of adult religious involvement. Rather, religious identification is influenced by individuals' present and past social realities -- their needs for communal ties, their search for cultural expression and their adaptation of Jewish norms to American values -- as well as by their childhood Jewish experiences.

### III. SUPPORT OF ISRAEL

Many Jews may be infrequent synagogue attenders and yet feel Jewishly identified. Jewish identification, in turn, may also be expressed in terms of support for the Jewish people in Israel. Among American Jews, general feelings of support for Israel run quite high.<sup>20</sup> But people do differ in the extent to which they support the Jewish state. On one level, their support is simply attitudinal. On another level it entails purposeful actions, such as donating money to Israel or having sufficient interest to go there. On a third level support entails advocating emigration of American Jews to Israel.

How does Jewish education affect intensity of support for Israel? If it is simply a further expression of Jewish self-esteem, then those people who have merely entered the Jewish schoolhouse-door would be most different from those who have not attended. If it is a more extensive expression of Jewish



identification, then those people who have had a more intensive Jewish education would be most different from those people who have a less intensive education. In fact, all other factors being equal, those who have spent more time in Jewish classrooms are stronger supporters of Israel. By comparison, those people who have simply enrolled in a Jewish school are more similar to those people who have never been inside a Jewish school.<sup>21</sup> In this case, Jewish schooling is more than a cultural symbol. Perhaps intensity is more than a cultural symbol. Perhaps intensity of support for Israel depends on knowledge of the Jewish past and a sense of commitment to the Jewish future.

### Generation Differences

However, neither hours of instruction nor Jewish family background has the largest effect on support for Israel. Rather, it is the generation of American birth that is most important. Among Jews who are comparable in every other respect, those who differ in terms of generation also differ most in the intensity of their support for Israel. Foreign-born Jews are strongest in their support for the Jewish State while the intensity of support declines progressively in the first and second American-born generations.<sup>22</sup>

It is understandable that Jewish immigrants are stronger supporters of Israel. They have probably witnessed some of the traumas of the European-Jewish past. Perhaps their personal experiences with anti-Semitism provide an immediate sense of identification with Jews in Israel. By comparison, successive generations of American-born Jews have only their parents' or grandparents' or great-grandparents' memories to link them to the Jewish people.

### Length of Jewish Education

Differences in the intensity of support for Israel depend not only on the personal experiences of the foreign-born and the waning memories of their descendants but also on the extensiveness of Jewish educational experiences and on the Jewishness of home background. Among people who have the same generational history, those who have spent more time in Jewish classrooms are also stronger supporters of Israel. To some extent, support for the Jewish people is a kind of historical belief that can be transferred from generation to generation through educational efforts. While successive generations of American-born Jews are more removed from the experiences of their immigrant forebears, those who have been intensively educated maintain stronger feelings of support for Israel.

### Influence of the Home

The problem still remains that possibly those people who have received an intensive Jewish education were brought up in more Jewishly identified homes in the first place. Certainly there is some degree of truth to this, for individuals who were brought up in more identified homes are also stronger supporters of Israel. The effects of family background are only slightly less important than the effects of hours of Judaic instruction.

This is an important finding for it suggests that, within comparable generations of American Jews, intensity of support for Israel is due both to the length of time individuals have spent in Jewish classrooms and to the 'Jewishness' of their home environment. Thus, while each contributes to positive feelings about support for Israel, weakness in one area is roughly offset by strengths in the other area.

### Residence and Age

By comparison, all other factors being equal, community of residence and chronological age contribute only slightly to the intensity of support for Israel. New York City Jews are slightly stronger in their support for the Jewish State than Jews residing in other parts of the country.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the importance of Israel is enhanced by a 'critical mass' of Jews residing in one area, where feelings of support are legitimized by the larger community. Similarly, older people are slightly stronger supporters of Israel than younger people.<sup>24</sup> Again this suggests that support for Israel is somehow connected to the personal experiences of life.

### Sex Differences

However, for men and women, support for Israel is not tied to the traditional sex roles of Jewish life. All other factors being equal, women are not necessarily stronger supporters of Israel than men.<sup>25</sup>

In sum, it is hardly surprising that acculturation has the largest effect on intensity of support for Israel. Immigrants would naturally be the strongest supporters of Israel as they have personally experienced the insecurities of the European Jewish past and are therefore most acutely aware of the importance of the Jewish people. What is more striking is how and why some types of people have been able to maintain their support for Israel from one generation to the next. With each passing generation, intensity of support for Israel declines. While immigrants have felt an automatic sense of kinship to the Jewish people, their children, grandchildren and great-

gr grandchildren do not have the same kinds of immediate, experiential ties. Rather, more acculturated Jews have only the fading historical memories of their forebears which in turn are reinforced to some extent by their own cultural milieu. Therefore, they must rely more and more on the Jewishness of their home environment and on the intensity of their Jewish educational experiences for their awareness about the importance of Israel in Jewish life.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, does Jewish education matter? I have compared the effects of Jewish education with the effects of Jewishness of home background, acculturation, community of residence, sex and chronological age as they pertain to three separate conceptions of Jewish identification. In the calculus of all other factors being equal, Jewish education does matter to some extent. Certainly there can be no denying that people raised in more Jewish home environments are more Jewishly identified in later life. And there can be no denying that patterns of Jewish identification have changed perceptively from generation to generation. Having said all this, I must also point out that those individuals who have simply been to a Jewish school have somewhat higher sense of Jewish self-esteem, and that those people who have spent more hours in Jewish classrooms are somewhat better synagogue-goers and are somewhat stronger in their support of Israel. This is not to claim that 'more knowledge' invariably leads to 'greater identification' for there is no simple cause-and-effect relationship. Rather Jewish education serves to enhance certain social processes within American Jewish life -- the reinforcement of waning generational memories in the case of support for Israel, the possibilities of religious identification in the case of synagogue attendance, and the symbolic importance of schooling in the case of self-esteem.

Jewish education has served as a buffer against the changes of acculturation and the inherent weaknesses of the Jewish family. After all, no one can really imagine how uneducated Jews would remain identifiably Jewish. Having said all this, American Jewry must ultimately contend with the social context of Jewish education. No 'Better' Jewish education can hardly replace a dynamic Jewish community.

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TABLE ONE

The Effects of Social and Cultural Background Characteristics  
and Extent of Jewish Schooling  
On Selected Measures of Jewish Identification  
(Beta Weights of Multiple Regression Equations)

Identification Measure	Jewish Family Background	Generation	Sex (1=Male)	Chronological Age	New York City Residence	Some Jewish Education	Hours Jewish Classroom Instruction	R <sup>2</sup>
1. Jewish Self-Esteem	.315	-.172	-.078	.087	-.023	.133		.243
2. Synagogue Attendance Scale	.177	-.119	-.041	N.S.	-.151		.175	.136
3. Israel Support	.148	-.225	N.S.	.062	.080		.161	.166

Source: Analysis of the National Jewish Population Survey.

Note: N.S. = Not Significant  
where  $p \rightarrow .01$

## FOOTNOTES

1. Jewish self-esteem is measured by a nine item scale based on the following items: (a) 'I believe in the Jewish religion'; (b) 'I live in a very Jewish home'; (c) 'I am happy to be Jewish'; (d) 'Being Jewish means something very definite to me'; (e) 'Jewish people everywhere have some important things in common'; (f) 'It is important that there should always be a Jewish people'; (g) 'Jewish children must have a Jewish education'; (h) 'In my opinion, being Jewish is \_\_\_\_\_ importance'; (i) 'If a Jew marries a non-Jew, his children must be brought up Jewish.' Each item was scored by a five-point Likert response (ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree').
2. The frequency of synagogue attendance measure includes attending synagogue on the following nine occasions during the year: (a) Some weekdays; (b) Most Saturdays; (c) Purim; (d) Shavuoth; (e) Succoth; (f) Simchat Torah; (g) Passover; (h) Rosh Hashonah; (i) Yom Kippur. These nine occasions form a Guttman Scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .956.
3. Intensity of support for Israel is measured by a combination of seven attitudinal and behavioral items. The attitudinal items, each scored by a five-point Likert response include: (a) 'Jews in the United States must do all they can to help Israel survive'; (b) 'If official United States policy were opposed to Israel's interest, I would...' (responses range from 'almost certainly support United States policy' to 'almost certainly support Israel's interests'); (c) 'The Six-Day War created more problems for Jewish people in the United States than it solved'; (d) 'Jews in the United States should move to Israel.' Behavioral items included (a) giving money to the United Jewish Appeal to specifically help Israel; (b) having been to Israel in the past, either as a tourist or a resident; (c) planning to go to Israel within the next three years, either as a tourist or as a resident.
4. The data reported in this paper are based on an analysis of the National Jewish Population Survey. This is a large, random sample of all American Jewish adults, aged 21 and above and a few heads of households under 21. In the Survey, a 'Jew' was defined as anyone who claimed to be Jewish, who had converted to Judaism or who had at least one Jewish parent. Admittedly this strictly sociological definition may not meet the criteria of some communal leaders, for being born to at least one Jewish parent is the most liberal of possible definitions of 'being Jewish.' This was an intentional part of the survey as one important sociological question is how 'assimilated' and how 'unassimilated' Jews differ.
5. On a five-interval Likert Scale, where '3' represents 'agree' and '4' represents 'strongly agree' the mean for the Jewish self-esteem measure is 3.17.

6. The zero order correlation between Jewish self-esteem and going to a Jewish school is .216. The zero order correlation between Jewish self-esteem and hours of Jewish classroom instruction is .169. Therefore, I conclude that self-esteem depends more on going to a Jewish school and less on spending time in Jewish classrooms. One plausible explanation for the lower correlation between self-esteem and hours of instruction is a 'ceiling effect' in the measurement of self-esteem. That is, the present measure of self-esteem is unable to discriminate at the very high end of the scale. In other words, people who have spent a lot of time in Jewish classrooms might 'very strongly agree' or 'very very strongly agree' with particular items of feeling positively Jewish. A more sophisticated measure, of course, requires much further research in the design and selection of appropriate scale items.
7. As can be observed in table one, line 1, the beta weight for Jewish family background, .315, is larger than the beta weight for Jewish school attendance, .133.
8. The beta weight for the first American born generation, relative to the immigrant generation is -.112. The beta weight for the second American born generation, relative to the immigrant generation is -.223. In other words, the decline in Jewish self-esteem between the immigrant and the first American born generation is almost comparable to the interval of the decline between the first and the second American born generation. There are too few cases in the data to permit analysis into the third American born generation, but I suspect this trend continues.
9. Of course the extent to which enrolling in a Jewish school is able to offset the effects of acculturation depends on the generation of American birth. Going to a Jewish school has been particularly effective for the first American born generation and less effective for the second American born generation.
10. As can be observed in table one, line 1, the beta weight for community of residence, -.023, implies that non-New York City residents have a slightly higher sense of Jewish self-esteem.
11. As can be observed in table one, line 1, the beta weight for age, .087, implies that older people have a slightly higher sense of Jewish self-esteem than younger people.
12. As can be observed in table one, line 1, the beta weight for sex, -.078, implies that women have a slightly higher sense of Jewish self-esteem than men.

13. 59 percent of the Jews in the sample attend services at least on Yom Kippur while 3 percent attend 'some weekdays' and 5 percent attend 'most Saturdays.' As instances of synagogue attendance form a Guttman Scale, there is an internal order of consistency in this pattern of religious identification: those who attend on 'most Saturdays' also attend on Yom Kippur, while most of those who attend on Yom Kippur do not attend on 'most Saturdays.'
14. The zero order correlation between synagogue attendance and hours of Jewish classroom instruction is .240. The zero order correlation between synagogue attendance and going to a Jewish school is .198. Therefore I conclude that synagogue attendance depends more on spending time in Jewish classrooms than on merely entering a Jewish school.
15. As can be observed in table one, line 2, the beta weight for Jewish family background, .177, is almost identical to the beta weight for hours of Jewish classroom instruction, .175.
16. As can be observed in table one, line 2, the beta weight for community of residence is  $-.151$ . The negative sign indicates that non-New York City residents are more likely to attend synagogue services.
17. The beta weight for the first generation American born, relative to the immigrant generation is  $-.190$ . The beta weight for the second generation American born, relative to the immigrant generation is  $-.179$ . The slight change between the first and second American born generation indicates that they are roughly comparable in their patterns of synagogue attendance. Hence the largest changes in frequency of synagogue attendance took place between the immigrant generation and their children.
18. As can be observed in table one, line 2, the direct effects of sex have a beta weight of  $-.041$ . The negative sign indicates that women are slightly more religiously identified than men.
19. As can be observed in table one, line 2, older people are not significantly different from younger people in their frequency of synagogue attendance.
20. For example, 80 percent of the Jewish adults in the National Jewish Population Study 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the proposition that 'Jews in the United States must do all they can to help Israel survive.'

21. The zero order correlation between intensity of support for Israel and attending a Jewish school is .099. The zero order correlation between intensity of support for Israel and hours of Jewish classroom instruction is .219. This larger second correlation suggests that the strongest relationship is between intensity of support and hours of classroom instruction.
22. The beta weight for the first American born generation, relative to the immigrant generation is  $-.220$ . The beta weight for the second American born generation relative to the immigrant generation is  $-.292$ . Hence the greatest change in intensity of support for Israel is between the immigrant generation and their children. By comparison, intensity of support for Israel declines less precipitously between the first American born generation and their children.
23. As can be observed in table one, line 3, the beta weight for community of residence is .080. The positive sign indicates that New York City residents are favored.
24. As can be observed in table one, line 3, the beta weight for chronological age is .062. The positive sign indicates that older people are slightly stronger supporters of Israel than younger people.
25. As can be observed in table one, line 3, among people in general, sex is not significantly related to intensity of support for Israel as the beta weight is statistically not significant. However, since men have spent many more hours in Jewish classrooms than women, men who have been well educated are slightly stronger supporters of Israel than women. The indirect effect of sex, .040 indicates that men are slightly more favored than women.

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