

**The Question of “Success” in Contemporary Zionist
Education: A Look at the Work of Short-Term
Israeli Shlichim in the Diaspora**

**Chapter Two
The Jewish Identity of Twenty to Thirty Year Old
Israelis: A Comparison between Highly Committed
and Average, Secular and Religious Israeli Jews¹**

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Abstract

Before you is a draft copy of the second chapter of a research report written on behalf of the Research Unit of the Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency. The goal of the research project is to formulate measures of success for the work of the Department of Jewish Zionist Education in the area of Israel-Diaspora relations and Jewish Peoplehood Education. The work focuses on Israeli Jews between 20 and 30 years of age who work as shlichim (emissaries) in the Summer Camp and Zionist Seminar programs sponsored by the Jewish Agency in Diaspora Jewish communities.

This chapter looks at how young Israeli Jews, between 20 and 30 years of age understand Zionism, the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora and their connection to Jewish tradition. This chapter maps the attitudes of the Jewish Agency shlichim and a control group of students at Ruppin College vis-à-vis different aspects of belonging to the Jewish People. An emphasis is placed on comparing between the Jewish identities of the “highly committed” shlichim as opposed to relatively “average” Israeli Jews from Ruppin College.

Along with chapter one, this chapter lays the conceptual basis for the discussion in the following chapters regarding shlichut. Questions addressed by the larger report, include: What is the “desirable” identity profile of the person who the Jewish Agency is sending abroad? What are the “desirable” changes that should take place in the young shaliach’s identity as a result of participating in a training program and then meeting and working with Diaspora Jews? How do understandings that individuals hold of being both Israeli and Jewish, structure their relation to the idea of “belonging to the Jewish People” and influence their educational work, and social and religious experience as shlichim? Finally, how does the work environment within which the shaliach works affect all of the previous questions?

In chapter one, Ezra Kopelowitz draws on the data provided in the other chapters of the report to analyze the ideological aims of “Jewish Peoplehood Education,” looking at two interpretations of the concept “shlichut” that often coexist in an uneasy relationship. One interpretation understands shlichut as the individual representing the State of Israel. The shaliach “brings Israel to the Diaspora,” conceptualizing his or her educational mission as strengthening the commitment of Diaspora Jewry to Israel. The second interpretation argues that the shaliach is responsible for creating a situation in which “Israel meets the Diaspora.” In the second interpretation the success of shlichut occurs when the shaliach connects with the people he or she works with in a one-on-one relationship. As an individual the shaliach needs to understand what Israel means for other Jews, and in so doing, reflect upon his or her own identity as an Israeli and a Jew. As a result the shaliach will most effectively create a

stronger awareness of Israel among those he or she works with, but at the same time the shaliach experiences an identity change as well. Each of the two interpretations of shlichut holds different ideological standards for determining success, including diverging expectations regarding the educational work of the shaliach, the nature of his or her social contact with Diaspora Jews, the effect of the work on the shaliach's Israeli Jewish identity, and the organizational conditions necessary to obtain success.

Chapters three through seven build on the framework offered in the first two chapters. In these chapters, the analysis looks at the way that the shlichim understand the concept of "shlichut" and experience their work abroad. In chapter three, an analysis is given by Lior Rosenberg and Karen Elkayam of open questions that ask the shlichim who worked in the Summer Camp and Zionist Seminar programs to detail how they understand the concept shlichut and identity changes they experience as the result of their work. In chapter four, Eran Neria draws on in depth interviews to write about the experience of the shlichim as educators in the summer camps, focusing on the pedagogic strategies they use and how these intertwine with their understanding of what shlichut is, and their Jewish and Israeli identity. In chapters five and six, Chen Bram and Eran Neria report the results of in depth interviews in order to offer an analysis of the social and religious experiences of the shlichim at the summer camps. In chapter seven, an analysis is given of in depth interviews conducted by Minna Wolff and questionnaires distributed by Ezra Kopelowitz to the directors of summer camps with a focus on the role and experience of the summer shlichim in the summer camps, from the perspective of the summer camp director. Finally, in chapter eight, Keith Harris reports the results of interviews with day school principals in Australia and their perspective on the work of the Zionist Seminar shlichim.

Major Findings in Chapter Two

- **Social and Demographic Profile (Section II)**
 - **The Grandchildren of the Founders of the State** - The respondents in all four groups are far more likely than the national average to be third generation Israelis from European/American background. In three of the four groups third generation Israelis make up the majority of the participants. Likewise, they are far less likely than the national average to be immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. The strong presence of third generation Israelis allows us to claim that shlichut is an example of a contemporary form of ongoing Zionist expression adopted by the grandchildren of the founders of the state.

- The Jewish Agency shlichim are more likely to be female, from highly educated homes and from European/American backgrounds than the national population.
- **Religious Identity (section III)** – In comparison to the national population, a relatively small percentage of the Jewish Agency shlichim are “traditionalist”. In the national sample, 58% describe themselves as either “traditional” or “not-religious, but observe some mitzvot”. Among the Jewish Agency shlichim these groups comprise between 27% and 34%.
- **Dimensions of Israeli -Jewish Identity (section IV)**
 - **Cultural Unity and Division**
 - Given the larger public perception of strong divisions between Israeli Jews, the results in this report are quite remarkable. Only 8% or 5 of the 64 questions touching on ideology evoke a strong division among the groups. That is only in five out of all the questions did a majority of at least 60% in at least half of the four groups move in clear opposite directions (one answered negatively, the other positively). In comparison 20%, or 13 of the 64 questions evoked near universal consensus.
 - Three types of questions evoke universal consensus – (1) Questions touching on the Jewishness of the State – i.e., those evoking the centrality of Israel, the right of Jews to the State of Israel, and the need to imbue state institutions with a Jewish character (like serving kosher food in the Army). (2) Questions touching on the observance of tradition in parochial contexts such as the Passover Seder and Jewish Wedding. (3) A question such as “Are you proud to be a Jew,” that evokes emotional attachment to the Jewish collective.
 - Two categories of divisive questions appear. None of the questions that create division touch on parochial contexts, and all have to do with the individual. The first category of divisive questions touches on the connection between the individual and larger ethical issues having to do with intermarriage and conversion. The second category touches on religious observance in the private realm, such as the observance of kashrut in the home.
 - **Highly Committed vs. Average Israeli Jews** - The attitudes that the Zionist Seminar and Summer Camp shlichim hold in common and that distinguish them from the Ruppin Students touch on general emotional connections to being Jewish and Israeli, opinions on the Jewish and moral character of the state, and the relations of the Diaspora to Israel. Like the Ruppin students the shlichim regard Israel as the center of world Jewish life, but unlike the Ruppin students they are more likely to identify with Diaspora Jews and see Jewish continuity in the Diaspora as important for Israel. Issues of religious observance in the private sphere or the relationship between religion and state do not serve as a means of distinguishing between the highly committed and average Jews covered in the survey.
 - **Religious vs. Secular Jews** – A look at what the mostly secular Summer Camp shlichim and Ruppin students hold in common and what distinguishes them from the mostly religious Zionist Seminar group, shows that issues of religious observance in the private and parochial spheres and the relationship between religion and state serve as measures to distinguish between secular and religious groups. Issues touching on general emotional connections to

being Jewish and Israeli, opinions on the Jewish and moral character of the state, and the relations of the Diaspora do not serve as a means to clearly distinguish between the secular and religious shlichim.

○ **General Ideological Indicators**

- The vast majority in all four groups state they are proud to be Jewish, it is important to serve in the army and that they identify as a Zionists.
- The Jewish Agency shlichim are more likely than the Ruppin students to distinguish between the “Israeli” and “Jewish” components of their identities. For the Ruppin students, “Jewish pride” is one and the same as living in Israel. For the Jewish Agency shlichim, Jewish pride seems associated with both Israeliness, and a sense of Jewishness that is autonomous from the fact of living in Israel.

○ **Israel-Diaspora Relations**

- There is a near universal belief among the respondents in all four groups that Israel is the World Center of Jewish Life and that Jews have special right to a State in the Land of Israel.
- Only among the Jewish Agency shlichim is there a majority who grant the Diaspora autonomy from Israel. The shlichim balance the idea of “Israel as Center” with the idea of Diaspora Jewish life that exists in its own right. The shlichim are far more likely than the Ruppin students to feel close to Diaspora Jews, claim that the existence of the Diaspora is important and that if they were born abroad they would choose to be a Jew.
- A majority of all four groups express interest in meeting Diaspora Jews, but the shlichim show a far greater interest in learning about Diaspora-Israel relations and Jewish communal life in the Diaspora. However, even among the shlichim only between 27% and 39% express a strong interest in learning about Diaspora-Israel relations, and 22% to 32% about Jewish communal life in the Diaspora.

- **Jewish Tradition** - Attitudes to tradition are heavily influenced by social context. Issues having to do with participation in the Passover Seder generate the greatest amount of unity among the respondents. For example, over 70% of the questions having to do with the Seder evoke universal consensus, whereas none of the questions touching on Yom Kippur had the same unifying effect. Rather, 67% of the questions on Yom Kippur don't seem to either unify or division.

I. Introduction

How do young Israeli Jews, between 20 and 30 years of age understand Zionism, the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora and their connection to Jewish tradition? In the past decade, especially since the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the question of the Jewish identity of young Israeli Jews is increasingly a point of concern in public discourse, and in response educators are making efforts to push forward programs to mend the perceived cultural divide between religious and secular Jews, as well as to “strengthen” the Jewish identity of young Israeli Jews.

This chapter and the larger research report, of which the chapter is a part, are written on behalf of the Research Unit of the Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency, an organization charged by the State of Israel with maintaining and strengthening the connection between Israeli and Diaspora Jewry. The Jewish Agency is now joining organizations as diverse such as the Ministry of Education, the Israeli Army, the Community Center Association and others, to pour resources into “Jewish Peoplehood Education.” Within the past five years, the Educational Ministry created an administrative unit devoted to the topic of “Jewish Peoplehood;” and, the Diaspora Museum decided to balance its focus on the “Dead Diaspora” with a focus on living Diaspora communities, with the hope of becoming relevant to the mission of strengthening awareness among Israeli Jews of their connection to the Jewish People. The Community Center Association (*Hevrat HaMatnasim*) is now creating partnerships with Jewish Community Centers in the United States, and the Army is allowing soldiers on active duty to work in Diaspora Jewish communities and participate in meetings with Diaspora Jews who visit Israel. The Jewish Agency is teaming up with these organizations and others to create teacher training programs, college courses, school curriculum and informal educational projects in the area of Jewish Peoplehood education [see chapter one of this report for an expanded discussion].

Given the resources being poured into this new area, “education for Jewish Peoplehood,” there is an urgent need to build criteria by which to measure success in the area. In the other chapters in this report analysis is offered of the educational and organizational dimensions of Jewish Peoplehood Education with a focus on the work of twenty to thirty year old Israelis who are sent out to work as shlichim (emissaries) for several months each year at Jewish summer camps and Jewish Day Schools in the Diaspora.

This chapter focuses on the parameters of the attitudes of the Jewish Agency shlichim and a control group of students at Ruppin College to different aspects of belonging to the Jewish People. If the goal is to formulate measures of success for the work of the Department of Jewish Zionist Education in the area of Israel-Diaspora relations and Jewish Peoplehood Education then it is necessary to ask: “What is the ideal identity profile(s) to which the educator strives?” What areas of Jewish identity do we expect to influence in “Jewish Peoplehood Education?”

Here we lay the basis for the discussion in the other chapters regarding the Jewish identity profile of the young shaliach. What is the “desirable” identity profile of the person the Jewish Agency is sending abroad? What are the “desirable” changes that should take place in the young shaliach’s identity as a result of participating in a training program and then meeting and working with Diaspora Jews? How do understandings that individuals hold of being both Israeli and Jewish, structure their relation to the idea of “belonging to the Jewish People” and influence their educational work, and social and religious experience as shlichim?

These are questions that we take up in greater depth in the other chapters [see abstract above]. Here our aim is to provide the data necessary to begin the discussion and open up the ideological debate regarding the objectives and means of educational programs that deal with Jewish Peoplehood in general and Israel-Diaspora relations in particular.

In the coming pages we paint a picture of the Jewish identity of four groups of young Israelis, with an emphasis on comparing between the Jewish identities of “highly committed” as opposed to “average” Israeli Jews. Three of the groups covered in this survey, worked in the summers of 2001 and/or 2002 as “shlichim” (emissaries) on behalf of the Jewish Agency in Diaspora Jewish summer camps and other institutions. Each year, the Jewish Agency sends several thousand twenty to thirty year old Israeli Jews to work among Diaspora Jews. For the most part, these young Israelis are recently finished with army service and choose to go on shlichut while they are either preparing to enter college or university, or during their studies. The fourth group is composed of students in the Behavioral Science and Business School program at Ruppin College, a small BA granting institution located in the middle of the country. The Ruppin students serve as a control group of “ordinary² Israeli Jews.” In comparison, the Jewish Agency short-term shlichim are self-selected, with a relatively high degree of Jewish identification. They are a self-selected group in that they choose to spend their summer months working among Diaspora Jews, rather than choosing more profitable and/or “exciting” work. Many of them view their time abroad as a substitute to a trip to the Far-East or South America that is a widespread phenomenon among young Israelis.

We will look at what all the Jewish Agency groups and the Ruppin students have in common in order to claim that we have found the “core beliefs and practices” that define the Israeli-Jewish identity of individuals in their twenties who fit the social profile described below. The differences between the Jewish Agency groups allows for a discussion of the character of highly committed vs. average Israeli Jews, and the differences within groups will allow us to discuss cleavages that divide Israeli Jews into conflicting camps. Where appropriate, we will also compare between the four groups covered in this survey, to the

² By the “ordinary” or “average” we mean only the Jewish identity of the Ruppin students in comparison to the shlichim who choose to spend their summer vacation working among Diaspora Jews. As we will see below the four groups share a socio-demographic profile that places them squarely within a particular sub-culture of Israeli society. Thus the term average or ordinary do not apply to the socio-demographic profile of the Ruppin students who cannot be viewed as representative in terms of class and ethnic background of the broader population.

national results produced by the Guttman Institute and Avi Chai Foundation entitled: *Belief, Observances and Social Interaction Among Israeli Jews, 2000* (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 2002).

The contribution of this report is to deepen our knowledge of the Jewish identity of young Israelis.³ From the Guttman Report, which is the only major existing national survey on Israeli-Jewish identity we gain insight into the “average” attitude prevalent in the general population. Here we have an opportunity, through a comparison between highly committed and average Israeli Jews, to begin to distinguish between unifying beliefs and practices, those which divide Israelis into competing cultural groups, as well as those issues that Israeli’s might have an opinion on but are neither unifying or dividing.

We also gain insight into the Jewish identities of highly committed young Israelis. Working on the assumption that those twenty to thirty year olds who are taking time to work for the Jewish Agency among Diaspora Jewry, are highly likely to become the future leaders and shapers of Jewish culture and social life in Israel, this study provides us with a way of gaining insight into the parameters of Jewish life in the Jewish state in the years to come. What is the Jewish identity profile of these “highly committed” young Israelis? Is this the ideal identity profile to which Jewish Peoplehood educators should strive?

In addition, we also look at the social and ideological profile of the young shlichim who the Department of Jewish Zionist Education of the Jewish Agency chooses to send abroad. What do we learn about the contemporary Zionist enterprise, as it is represented by the work of the Jewish Agency, by looking at those who choose to join it?

³ For existing literature that is based on survey research see Herman (1977), Liebman and Cohen (1990), Liebman and Katz (1997), Levy, Levinsohn and Katz (2002), Oran???, also put in Horencyk ???

II: Social and Demographic Overview of the Four Groups

The four groups who answered the Jewish identity survey are:

- Summer Camp Shlichim 2001 - includes 85 summer camp shlichim after their return from working in Conservative and Reform summer camps in the summer of 2001.⁴
- Summer Camp Shlichim 2002 - includes 496 summer shlichim during their training seminar (April 2002) before leaving to work in the entire range of religious (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform) and secular (Community Center, Young Judea etc.) summer camps with whom the Jewish Agency works.⁵
- Zionist Seminar Shlichim 2002 - includes 73 short-term shlichim who run informal educational programs in Diaspora educational institutions in the framework of a program called Zionist Seminars.⁶
- Ruppin College - includes 278 Behavioral Science and Business Administration students in the first and second year of their BA at Ruppin College.⁷

This section provides a basic social-demographic profile of each of the four groups, in comparison to one another and the national population, looking at age, gender, parent's education and ethnic background of the participants in each of the four groups. What types of Israeli Jews are included in each of the four groups, and how are they similar and different from the broader population? The following sections focus on the behavioral and ideological dimensions of their identities. At the end of each section of the report (including this one), we analyze the results and raise questions.

A. Age

The following chart depicts the distribution of ages covered by the survey. We see that in each group the majority are between the ages of 21 and 30, with a significant sub-group of 18 to 20 year olds in each of the Jewish Agency groups. Almost all of those falling in the 18-20 range are twenty years old and at the end of their mandatory army service. The army grants permission to soldiers towards the end of their service to work as shlichim.

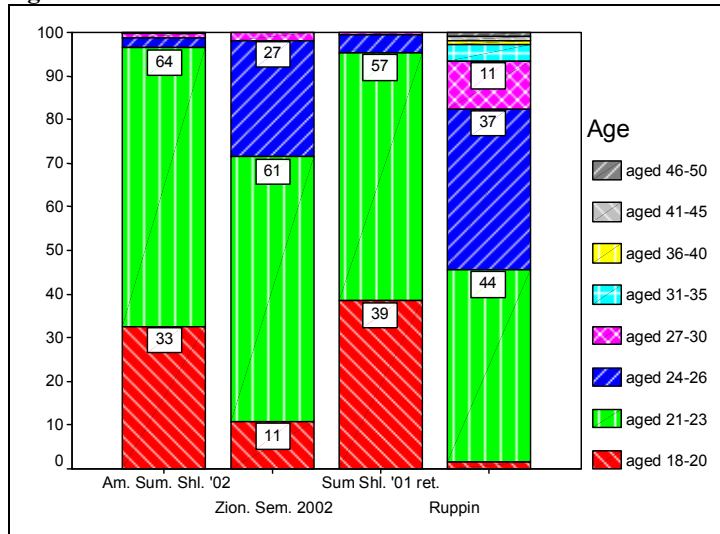
⁴150 filled out a questionnaire at the end of their training session, before leaving to work in the camps, of those 85 responded to the return questionnaire by way of an Internet administered questionnaire.

⁵ The questionnaire was administered during two training programs held for the summer camp shlichim in April 2002.

⁶ The questionnaire was administered during the two training programs, for short and long-term Zionist Seminar shlichim held in March 2002.

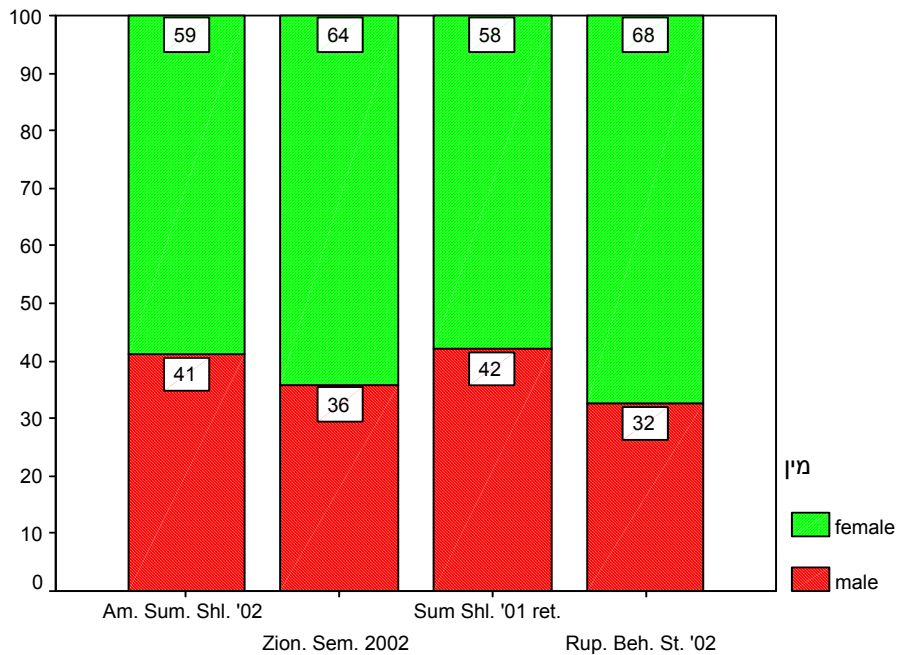
⁷ The questionnaire was administered in class to students at Ruppin College in November 2001.

Age Profile



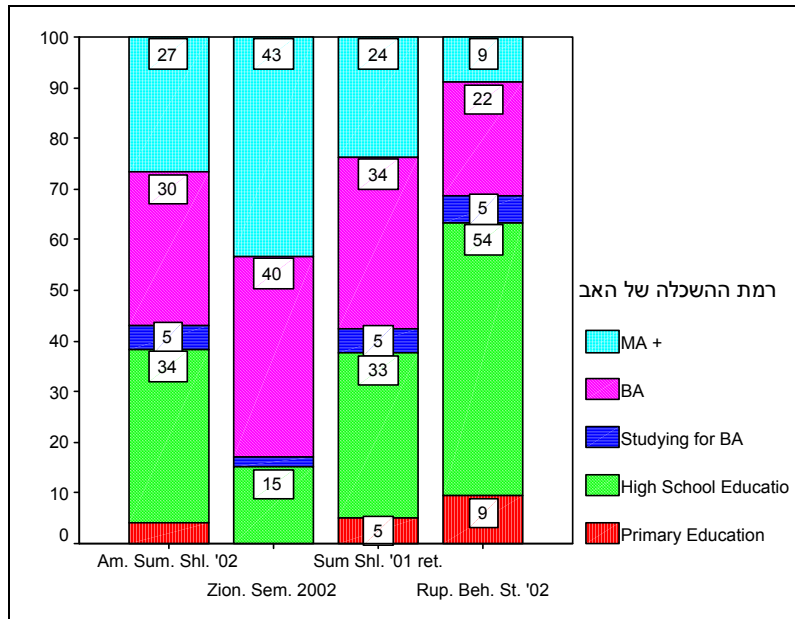
B. Gender

In all four groups the females represent a higher than average proportion of the group members, ranging from 59% to 68% of each group.



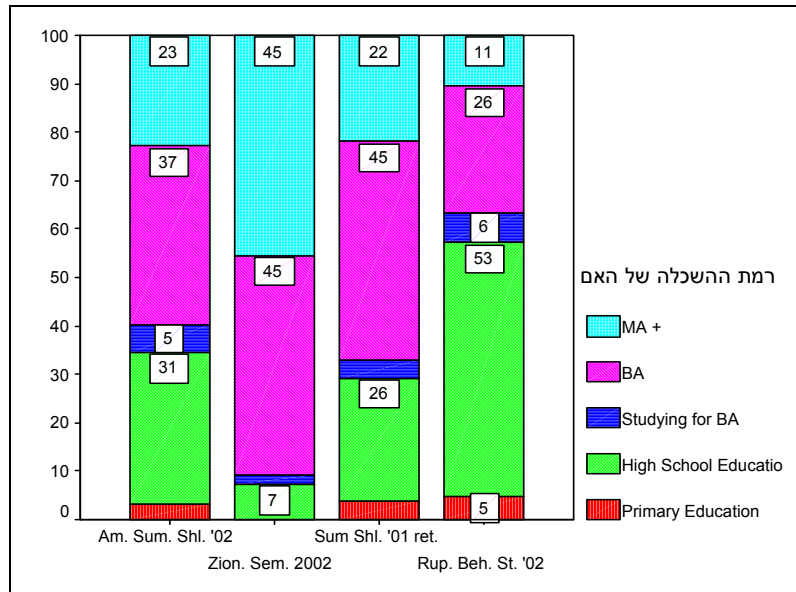
C. Parent's Education

Father's education level



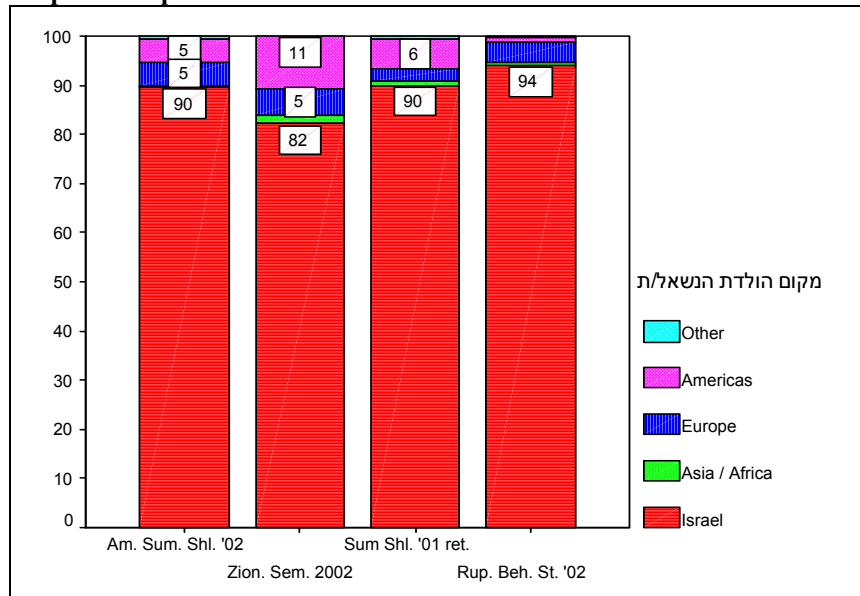
The national average for men and women aged 45-54 with an “academic” education is 31% (Central Bureau for Statistics, <http://www.cbs.gov.il>). In comparison, the members of all four of our groups have parents whose level of education is above the national average. The parents of the Jewish Agency shlichim are high above the national average, while the parents of the Ruppin students are only slightly above. The Zionist Seminar participants have the most highly educated parents, 83% of their fathers, and 91% of their mothers have either a BA or MA+ degree. The Summer Shlichim '01 and '02 respectively report 58% and 57% of their fathers and 77% and 60% of their mothers have either a BA or MA+ degree. 31% of the Ruppin students' fathers and 37% of their mothers fall into the BA or MA+ category.

Mother's education level



D. Ethnic Background

Respondents place of birth



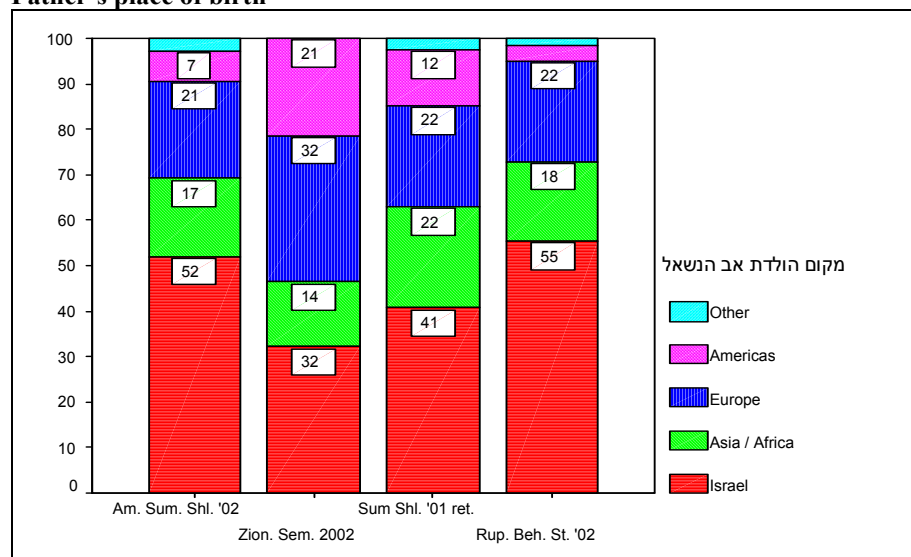
In the above chart we see that the overwhelming majority of all the groups are born in Israel. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in 2001, 77% of 20-24 year olds and 75% of 25-29 year olds nationwide are born in Israel. Thus, we see that the members of our groups are in all cases more likely to be born in Israel than the rest of the Israeli population. If one accounts for the fact that the CBS data does not distinguish between Jews and non-

Jews (who comprise 19% of the population⁸) then the rate of Israeli-born in our samples vis-à-vis the national population is even higher, given the assumption that more non-Jews than Jews are born in Israel.

In the following three charts, we see the place of birth of the respondent's mother, father and paternal grandfather. When placed against the CBS 2001 data the striking findings are the much higher rates of Israeli born among the parents of the respondents in comparison to the national population. Nationwide, 34% of males between 50-54, 28% between 55-59, and 22% between 60-64 years of age are born in Israel. For females the numbers born in Israel are 32%, 27% and 20% respectively. In our sample we see that only among the Zionist Seminar shlichim do the father's approach the national average, with the other groups all significantly above. In the case of mother's place of birth all the groups are significantly higher than the national average, with the Summer Camp shlichim 2002 and Ruppin groups approaching double the national average.

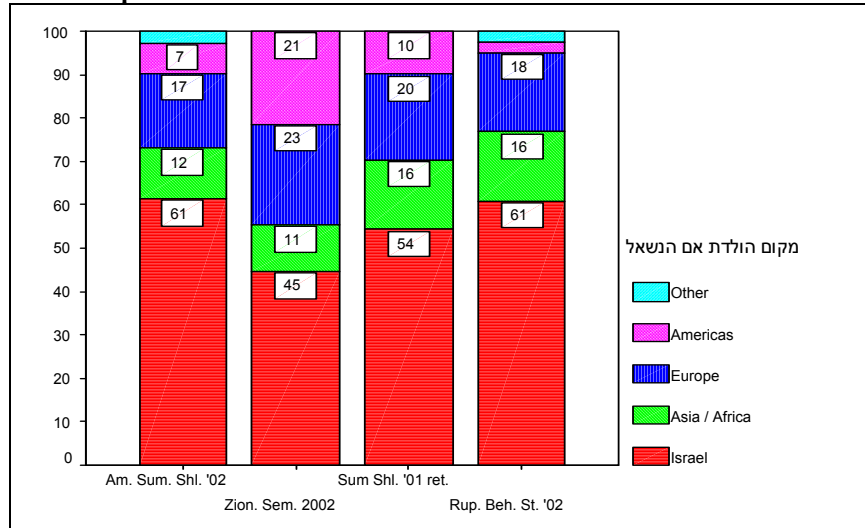
What we learn by looking at the data on the parent's place of birth is that a substantially higher than average percentage of the members of our four groups are second generation Israelis.

Father's place of birth



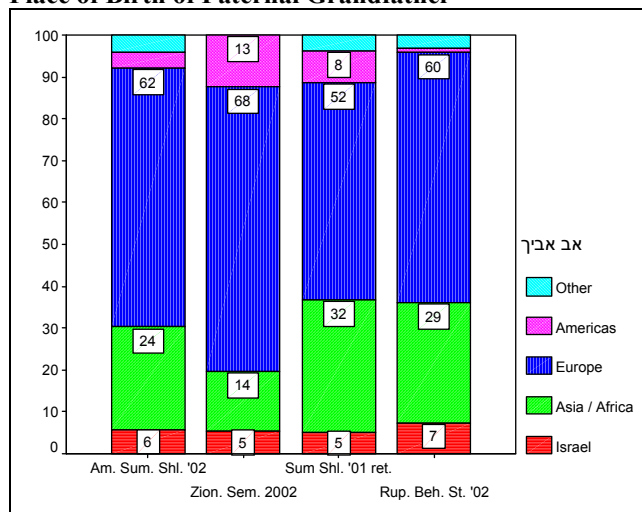
⁸ As August 2002, as reported by the Central Bureau of Statistics (http://www.cbs.gov.il/yarhon/b1_h.htm).

Mother's place of birth



When placed against the CBS 2001 data the striking finding are the much higher rates of Israeli born among the parents of the respondents in comparison to the national population. Nationwide, 34% of males between 50-54, 28% between 55-59, and 22% between 60-64 years of age are born in Israel (again the national statistics include non-Jews). For females the numbers born in Israel are 32%, 27% and 20% respectively. In our sample we see that only among the Zionist Seminar shlichim do the father's approach the national average, with the other groups all significantly above. In the case of mothers place of birth all the groups are significantly higher than the national average, with the Summer Camp shlichim 2002 and Ruppin groups approaching double the national average.

Place of Birth of Paternal Grandfather



What we learn by looking at the data on the parent's place of birth is that a substantially higher than average percentage of the members of our four groups are third generation Israelis. Given the high numbers of third generation Israelis in our samples, we need to look at place of birth of the grandparents in order ascertain the ethnic origins (Ashkenazi, Sepharadi) of the respondents. The above table presents the place of birth of the paternal grandfather. We see that in all groups a minority of between 14% to 32% of paternal grandfathers are born in Africa and/or Asia (Sepharadi background), with the majority born in Europe or the Americas (Ashkenazi background). The CBS 2001 data show that approximately 30% of the national population of those 65 years and older are from African and Asian origin. However, the picture changes if we account for the fact that the national data includes non-Jews (19% of the population) and immigrants from the former Soviet Union. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union account for 18% of the Jewish population (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 2002, pg. ???).

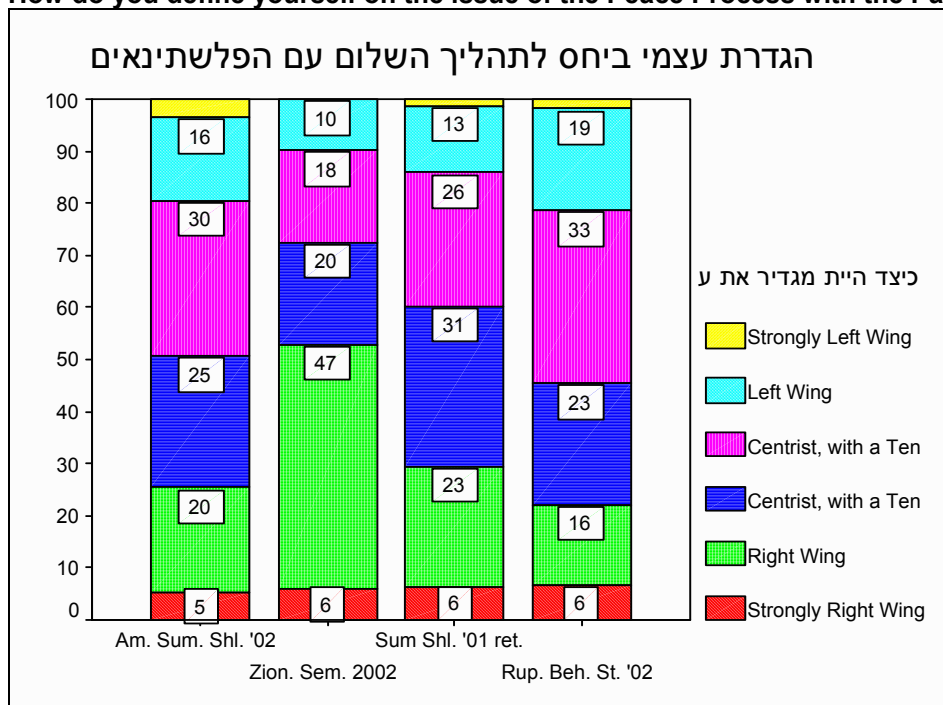
Given that the vast majority of our respondents are Israeli born Jews, and not immigrants, we need to return to the picture of Israeli-Jewish population as it existed before the mass immigration from the Former Soviet Union beginning in 1990. Then there was a near equal divide between Israel Jews originating from Europe and the Americas on one side, and those from Africa and Asia on the other. Thus the data here shows a significant under representation of Jews from African and Asian backgrounds in the four groups covered by the survey.

D. Political Opinions on the Peace Process

We asked the respondents in each of the four groups, "How do you define yourself on the issue of the Peace Process with the Palestinians? In the chart below, we see a very similar picture for each of the summer camp shlichim and the Ruppin students. In each of the three groups, the centrist positions (tendency to left and right) account from 55% to 57% of the

respondents. In contrast, among the Zionist Seminar participants only 38% of the respondents define themselves as political centrist vis-à-vis the peace process. If we divide the groups between those on the right and those on the left of the peace process, we see that the Summer Camp Shlichim '02 group divides evenly at 50% right wing, 50% left wing; the Summer Camp Shlichim '01 group divides at 60% right wing and 40% left wing; and, the Ruppin students divide at 48% left wing and 52% in right wing. All three groups are within 10% a ten percent range of each other. In comparison the Zionist Seminar shlichim have a greater tilt towards the right wing, dividing between 73% right wing and 28% left wing.

How do you define yourself on the issue of the Peace Process with the Palestinians?



E. Analysis

1. Third-Generation Israelis - The Grandchildren of the Founders of the State

We learn from the data that the respondents in all four groups are far more likely than the national average to be third generation Israelis from European/American background. Indeed in three of the four groups third generation Israelis make up the majority of the participants. Likewise, they are far less likely than the national average to be immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants.

The data shows that a very large percentage of those drawn to work as shlichim (as well as the students at Ruppin College) are the descendants of the European immigrants who founded the state of Israel. Baruch Kimmerling (1998; 2001a; 2001b) argues that descendants of the founders of the State are today a distinct sub-culture whose cultural practices and value-system no longer represent the “taken-for-granted” or “hegemonic” subculture that equates “the sabra” and his or her stereotypical European-ethnic features as one and the same as being Israeli. According to Kimmerling, other sub-cultures that compete with the Ashkenazi-“sabarim” for defining the cultural character of the State include Ashkenazi Orthodox, Russian immigrants, Mizrahi/Orthodox and Israeli-Arab sub-groups.

From the perspective of Kimmerling’s thesis it appears that “shlichut” is a “cultural practice” that is particularly meaningful for third generation Israeli’s to a far greater extent than the rest of the population. As such, we are afforded a unique looking glass into the nature of Zionist continuity in contemporary times. Whereas the grandparents of many of the respondents expressed their Zionist commitments in the “state-building” enterprise, their grand-children arriving at the Jewish Agency express their commitment to contemporary Zionism in the form of “shlichut”. Indeed the results on page 31 show that at least 85% of the shlichim regard themselves as Zionists without hesitation, in comparison to 52% of the Ruppin students. Similar findings regarding the ideological framing of shlichut are discussed in chapter 3 of this report, based on the analysis of an open question that asks the shlichim to explain what they understand by the concept of “shlichut.”

2. More women than men, more from educated homes, and more Ashkenazim than Mizrahim (Sephardim).

Beyond the larger than average presence of third-generation Israelis, we also see that there are significantly more women on the programs than men, the participants come from highly educated homes, and that the Jewish Agency shlichim (like the Ruppin students) are more

Ashkenazi (from European background) than the general population. What explains the tendency towards more females, more educated homes and more Ashkenazim?

To assemble an explanation, we need to look at cultural and class variables that are prevalent in the larger society, and affect the desire and ability of different population groups to work as shlichim for the Jewish Agency. A central issue is the fact that “shlichut” falls into a category of Jewish behavior that we can call a “non-traditional means to express Jewish identity.” Examples of contemporary non-traditional Jewish cultural expression include participation by Israeli-Jews in secular bible study groups, new age and liberal Jewish frameworks, Jewish cultural festivals and other current forms of Zionist activity that include territorial settlement activities and shlichut on behalf of the Jewish Agency.

Why would someone choose to express their Jewish identity in any other way than going to synagogue or participating in other forms of activity that touch in some way on traditionalist forms of religion? Who amongst the broader Israeli population are likely to express interest in forms of Jewish expression that do not touch directly on religion? The answer is that we are more likely to find women, the more highly educated and Ashkenazim take part in non-traditional Jewish cultural frameworks that have little or nothing to do with traditionalist forms of religion. What we learn from the previous sub-section, is that we are also more likely to find third-generation Ashkenazim involved in this type of “Jewish cultural expression”.

On the issue of gender, accepted wisdom among educators is that there is a tendency of more women than men to take an interest in “secular Jewish culture” (of which shlichut is an example) or liberal religion. In a research project carried out by the first author on this paper several years ago, on participants in a non-traditional bible study group, the organizers

of the group complained that it is much harder to attract men to the group than women.⁹ Likewise, it is noted in the literature on the sociology of religion that to the degree that general equality is attained in religious settings between men and women (thus signifying a non-traditional approach to religious culture) a process of “feminization” often takes place.¹⁰

On the issue of ethnicity, there is a strong correlation in Israeli society between ethnic background and the willingness to participate in non-traditional Jewish venues. To the best of our knowledge this phenomenon is noted in the literature only in terms of the different entrance of Ashkenazi and Sepharadi into modern society, and the embrace on the part of European Jews of non-traditional political, social and religious movements such as Jewish socialism, Reform and Conservative Judaism and Zionism, as opposed to the tendency among Sepharadi Jews to identify with more traditionalist forms of religious practice.¹¹ There is no academic documentation of the ethnic dimension of “non-traditional forms of Jewish cultural expression” in its contemporary form. However, even without academic research, the fact is that contemporary forms of non-traditional Jewish expressions of cultural identity tend to attract far more Ashkenazi than Sepharadi Jews is common knowledge among those involved in organizing these cultural frameworks. At the informal level, the “problem” of Mizrahi (Sepharadi) participation is often mentioned as a point of frustration on the part of Jewish cultural activists, and thus should not be seen as intentional policy.

In addition to cultural factors touching on the motivation of Mizrahi Jews to participate in non-traditional Jewish frameworks, there are class variables that also affect the socio-demographic profile of the Agency shlichim. For example, to work as a shaliach requires fluency in English – meaning that the shlichim are more likely to come from homes

⁹ See Kopelowitz (2001) or Kopelowitz (2000) for an overview of the research. The gender issue is not discussed in the articles.

¹⁰ See for example, Nesbitt (1997).

¹¹ For example see Goldberg (1996) and Shokeid (1995).

in which parents have a higher level of education.¹² The “language factor” contributes towards explaining the higher than average education of the parents of the shlichim. Likewise, we also know that there is a correlation between education level and ethnicity in Israeli society, with Mizrahim achieving lower levels of educational attainment than Ashkenazim. Thus it is likely that the confluence of education, class and ethnicity further reinforces the tendency of the Jewish Agency to draw more Ashkenazim than Mizrahim to work as shlichim.

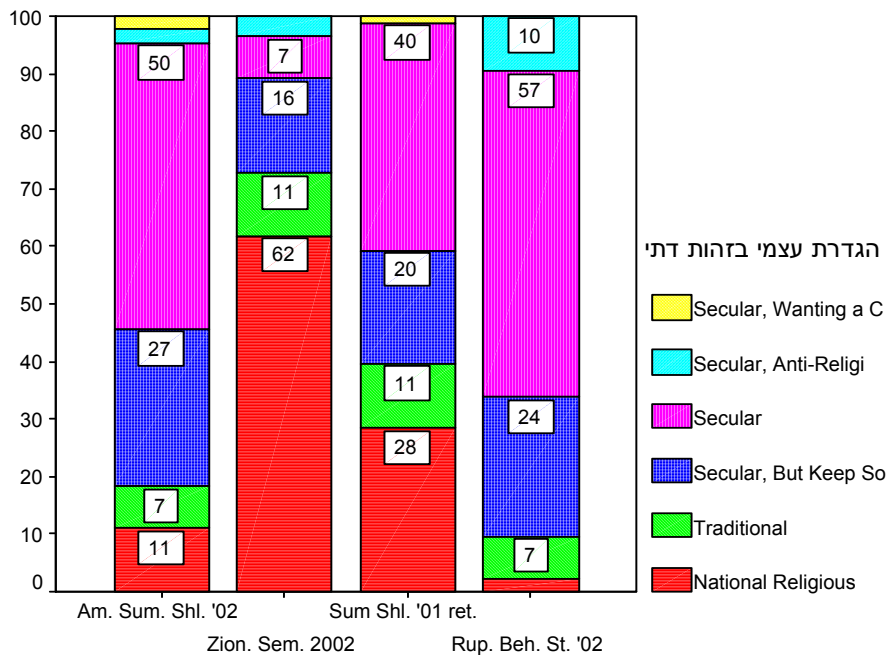
III. Self Reported Religious Identity and Behavior

A. Self-Reported Jewish (Religious) Identity

The Zionist Seminar shlichim are mostly national-religious, while the members of the other three groups tend to identify themselves as secular. We asked the respondents to identify themselves as “Haredi,” “National Religious,” “Traditional,” “Secular, But Keep Some Mitzvot,” “Secular” and “Secular, Anti-Religious.” This scale is often used in surveys to measure “Jewish” identity. In reality, the scale serves only as a measure of “religious identity,” as the category “secular” measures if someone is less religious or opposed to religion. In an attempt to add a positive definition of secular Jewish identity, in the 2002 American Summer Camp Shlichim survey an additional identity option was introduced that reads as “Secular, Who Wants to Change Jewish Culture.”

¹² The authors wish to thank Yehuda Bar Shalom for this insight.

Self Reported Religious Identity



National sample of self reported religious identity for age cohort 20-29 (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 2002, p. 41)

| Haredi | Religious | Traditional | Not Religious – Observe Some Mitzvot | Not Religious (Secular) | Anti-Religious |
|--------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| 6% | 10% | 27% | 31% | 21% | 6% |

The results that appear in the chart and table above show that:

- 1) The clear difference between the groups is in the categories “secular” and “national religious” is that 62% of the Zionist Seminar shlichim identify as national religious Jews with only 7% defining themselves as “secular.” In comparison, all the other groups are far more secular. The Ruppin students are the most clearly secular of the groups (2% define themselves as National Religious, with 57% as Secular). For the Summer Camp Shlichim '02 the ratio is 11% National Religious and 50% Secular. For the Summer Camp Shlichim '01 the ratio is 28% National Religious and 40% Secular.¹³
- 2) The Ruppin group also includes the only significant “secularist” group, with 10% defining themselves as “secular, anti-religious”, whereas in the other groups this number ranged from 1 to 4%. Only a very small group (2%) of the Shlichim '02 chose the “secular, who wants to change Jewish culture” label.
- 3) The “traditional” and “traditional, but keep some mitzvot” categories are roughly equivalent in all four groups, making up between 27% and 34% of each respective group.

¹³ The summer camp shlichim are matched according to their demographic profiles to particular summer camps. Thus shlichim who define themselves as religious (Orthodox) are more likely to be sent to Conservative or Orthodox summer camps where the levels of ritual observance make possible their participation in the life of the camp. Given that the 2001 survey covered only Reform and Conservative summer camps, the number of the religious shlichim is higher than in the 2002 survey which covered the shlichim going to the entire spectrum of summer camps, most of which are secular or Reform.

- 4) In comparison to the national sample of Israeli Jews between the ages of 20 and 29 (see table below), all four of the groups tend either to the National Religious (Zionist Seminars) or the Secular positions on the scale, with the Haredi and traditionalist positions strongly underrepresented. Among the three Jewish Agency populations the anti-religious position is also underrepresented, while among the Ruppin students the anti-religious position is over-represented.

B. Religious Behavior

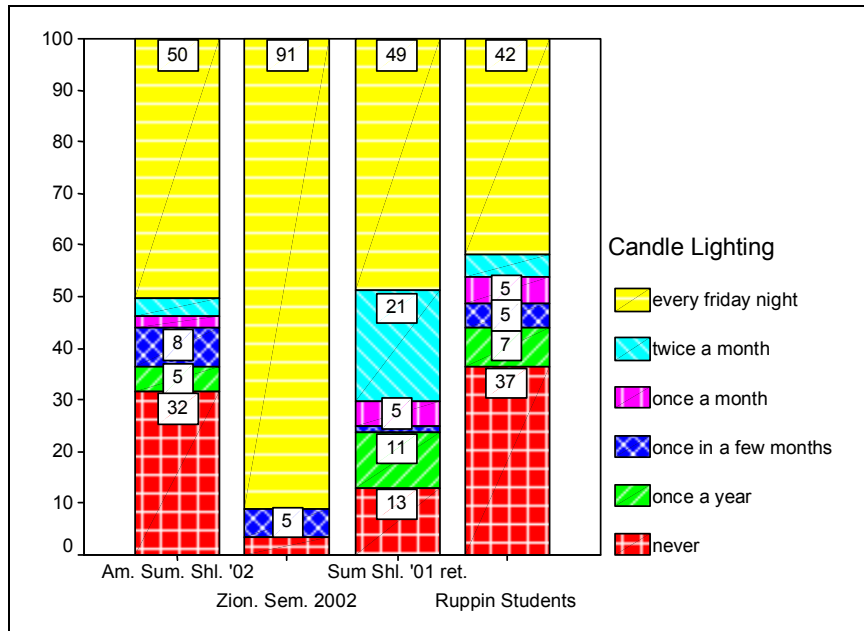
We used the following indicators of religious behavior: attending Passover Seder, lighting Shabbat candles, kashrut observance at home and in restaurants, synagogue attendance and type of synagogue attended. The findings are organized from activities that almost all do, to activities that tend to separate out the more religious from the less religious.

We see that at least 98% of the members of the four groups report participating in a Passover Seder (see page 41 to understand what participation in a Seder means). The participation rate in all the groups is significantly higher, than the already high rate of 85% Seder participation reported in the Guttman national survey (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 2002, p. 16).

| | | | Am. Sum. Shl. '02 | Zion. Sem. 2002 | Rup. Beh. St. '02 | Total |
|---|-----|----------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Do you participate in a Passover Seder? | No | Count | 5 | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| | | Column % | 1.2% | 1.8% | .8% | 1.1% |
| | Yes | Count | 428 | 55 | 255 | 738 |
| | | Column % | 98.8% | 98.2% | 99.2% | 98.9% |
| Total | | Count | 433 | 56 | 257 | 746 |
| | | Column % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

On the question, “Are Shabbat candles lit in your home?” (see chart below) we see a strong difference between the Zionist Seminar and other groups. Indeed, this difference remains for the rest of the questions we look at in this section. The Zionist Seminar participants are by far and away the more religious group of the four groups we are looking at. However, we see that for the other groups, the percentage who light candles in their homes is roughly

equivalent or only slightly under the results reported in the Guttman national survey (see table below).

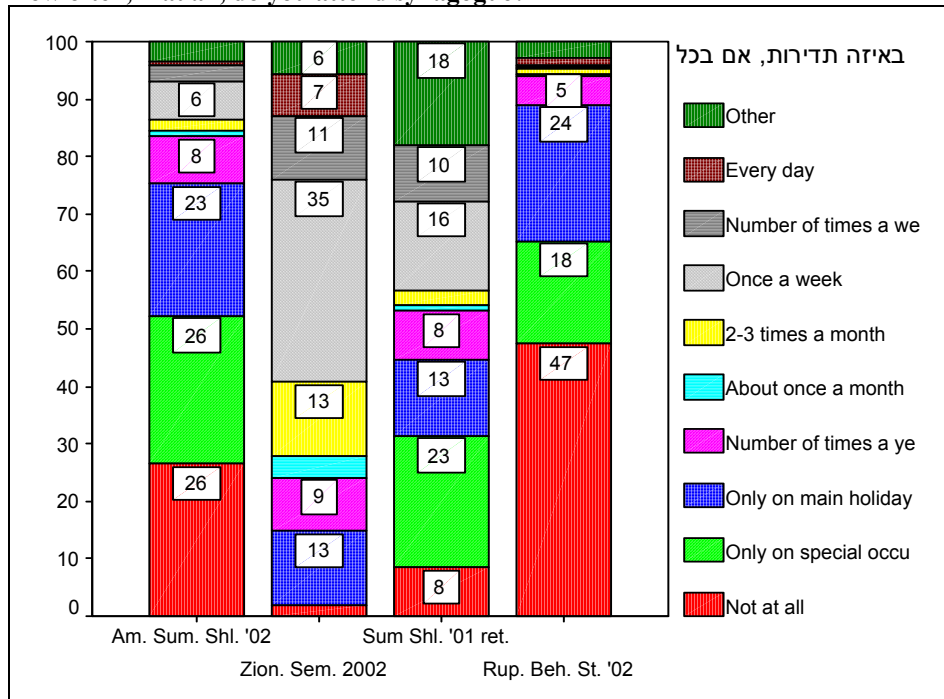


**From Guttman national survey (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 1993, Appendix B-13)
Do you, or does someone in your home light Shabbat candles?**

| Always | Often | Once in a While | Once in a rare while | Never |
|--------|-------|-----------------|----------------------|-------|
| 50% | 8% | 8% | 7% | 27% |

The findings regarding synagogue attendance (see chart and table below) are in line with the participant’s “self-reported” religious identity. We see that roughly the same percentage of those who described themselves as “secular” are covered by the first three categories of synagogue attendance – “Not at all,” “Only on special occasions” and “Only on main holidays.” Likewise, only among the Zionist Seminar participants do we see that the majority of the group attend synagogue on a regular basis (more than once a month).

How often, if at all, do you attend synagogue?



**From Guttman national survey (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 1993, Appendix B-13)
Do you, or does someone in your home pray in synagogue on Shabbat morning?**

| Always | Often | Once in a While | Once in a rare while | Never |
|--------|-------|-----------------|----------------------|-------|
| 24% | 4% | 7% | 10% | 55% |

How often do you attend synagogue?

| Everyday | Once a week | High Holy Days | Special Events | High Holy Days and Special Events | Never |
|----------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| 15% | 10% | 16% | 17% | 20% | 22% |

The following table details the types of synagogues attended by the members of each of the groups (when they do attend synagogue). Between 19% and 35% of the members of four groups report attending a synagogue associated with one of the Israeli-Jewish ethnic groups, this stands in contrast to synagogues that are identified by affiliation with an ideological movement such as the National Religious, Haredi, Conservative or Reform. Of the ideological movement affiliated synagogues, in all four groups, the National Religious synagogues are the most highly attended, with 53% of the Zionist Seminar shlichim reporting attendance at a National Religious synagogue. We also see that among the Jewish Agency shlichim the rates reporting attendance at a Reform or Conservative synagogue are

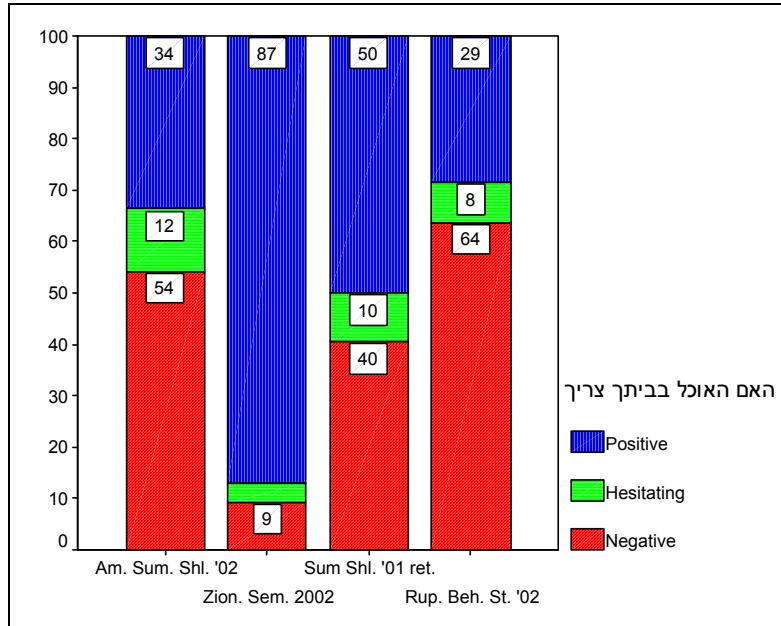
substantially higher than for the Ruppin students, although no more than 10% in anyone group reported going to a Conservative or Reform synagogue.

Among the Zionist Seminar shlichim only 1% of the respondents report that they do not attend synagogue; in comparison, 18% and 19% of the summer shlichim and 35% of the Ruppin students report not attending synagogue.

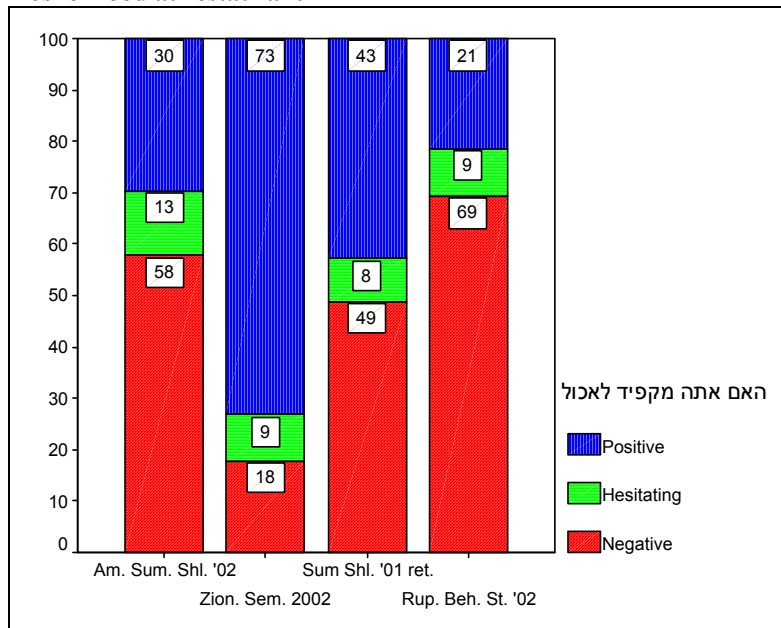
When you go to synagogue, what type of synagogue do you attend?

| | | | Time and group of a survey | | | | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| | | | Am. Sum. Shl. '02 | Zion. Sem. 2002 | Sum Shl. '01 ret. | Rup. Beh. St. '02 | |
| Type of the Synagogue | ל עדה מסויימת (מרוקאי 'אשכנזי וכו | Count | 133 | 15 | 18 | 88 | 254 |
| Respondent Goes to | בית כנסת דתי לאומי | Column % | 29.3% | 19.5% | 21.7% | 34.8% | 29.3% |
| | בית כנסת חרדי | Count | 100 | 41 | 15 | 30 | 186 |
| | בית כנסת קונסרבטיבי | Column % | 22.0% | 53.2% | 18.1% | 11.9% | 21.5% |
| | בית כנסת רפורמי | Count | 7 | 5 | | 2 | 14 |
| | אני לא הולך לבית כנסת | Column % | 1.5% | 6.5% | | .8% | 1.6% |
| | אחר | Count | 31 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 45 |
| | | Column % | 6.8% | 5.2% | 3.6% | 2.8% | 5.2% |
| | | Count | 43 | 5 | 8 | 8 | 64 |
| | | Column % | 9.5% | 6.5% | 9.6% | 3.2% | 7.4% |
| | | Count | 85 | 1 | 15 | 89 | 190 |
| | | Column % | 18.7% | 1.3% | 18.1% | 35.0% | 21.9% |
| | | Count | 55 | 6 | 24 | 29 | 114 |
| | | Column % | 12.1% | 7.8% | 28.9% | 11.5% | 13.1% |
| Total | | Count | 416 | 55 | 83 | 246 | 800 |
| | | Column % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Kosher food at home



Kosher food at restaurant



From Guttman national survey (Levy, Levinsohn and Katz 1993, Appendix B-15)

Do you eat kosher food?

| Always | Often | Once in a While | Once in a rare while | Never |
|--------|-------|-----------------|----------------------|-------|
| 60% | 12% | 11% | 4% | 13% |

Do you refrain from eating non-kosher food (pork, seafood and the like)?

| Always | Often | Once in a While | Once in a rare while | Never |
|--------|-------|-----------------|----------------------|-------|
| 58% | 7% | 8% | 5% | 22% |

Do you keep separate utensils for milk and meat in your home?

| Yes | No |
|-----|-----|
| 44% | 56% |

The respondents were asked two questions regarding kashrut observance, “Does the food in your home need to be kosher?” and “Do you observe kashrut when eating in restaurants?” The results appearing in the charts above show a pattern similar to the answers given above. The Zionist Seminar members are the only group in which most of the members observe kashrut in the home and in restaurants, although we see that 50% of the 2001 summer shlichim state that the food in their homes should be kosher. The more traditional tendency of this group is also evident in the charts above. For all the groups a lower percentage observes kashrut in restaurants than at home.

C. Analysis

For questions touching on the Passover Seder and lighting candles we see that the members of all four groups are more observant or at least as observant as the national population. The differences between our four groups, as well as between the groups and the national population appear on the questions having to do with synagogue attendance and kashrut observance. Here the results are in line with the self-reported religious identity of the shlichim and Ruppin students. The Zionist Seminar shlichim are far more religious than the national average, while the members of the other groups are much less religious.

From the perspective of the Jewish Agency, the significant finding regarding religious identity and behavior is the relatively small “traditionalist” population participating in Jewish Agency programs. In the national sample, 58% describe themselves as either “traditional” or “not-religious, but observe some mitzvot”. Among the Jewish Agency shlichim these groups comprise between 27% and 34%. The reasons for the relatively small traditionalist population are most likely the same as those that lead to fewer Mizrahim than Ashkenazi Jews to work as shlichim, as discussed above on page 16.

The picture regarding the character of the Jewish Agency shlichim is not as clear when we look at the practice related data. More of them attend a Passover Seder than the

national average, and they are only slightly less likely to come from homes in which Shabbat candles are lit. Only on the questions of synagogue attendance and kashrut observance do we see the behavioral and cognitive dimensions of religion line up. On those questions we see that the average character of each of the Jewish Agency groups is either substantially more religious or secular than the broader population.

IV. Dimensions of Israeli-Jewish Identity

The primary goal of this section is to analyze conceptions of “Jewish authenticity” held by members of each group. Our concern is less with what people actually do, but with what they think should ideally be done. The analysis focuses on attitudes towards Jewish traditions and Israel-Diaspora relations with a focus on the character of cultural consensus and division that appears in the data. On what do these young Israelis agree and disagree?

The data is presented in a way that enables us to “map” out the similarities and differences between the groups, as well as consensus or lack of consensus within the groups. The goal of the mapping is to learn the following: (1) what opinions do the vast majority of the participants in all the groups hold in common? The assumption is that an opinion held by most members of all the groups, points to cultural consensus that we can label a “core belief” of these young Israeli Jews. (2) We will also learn about differences between and within the groups, enabling us to map out the nature of Israeli Jewish cultural conflict within this age group. (3) Finally, we will also learn that there are issues on which there is no discernable pattern of either consensus or division. These are issues on which people have opinions, but are not central issues in Israeli Jewish life – that is they don’t unify or divide.

Criteria for Creating Cultural Map of Israeli-Jewish Identity

| Cultural Terrain | Criteria |
|--|--|
| 1. Universal Ethnic Code (Extremely high level of consensus) | At least 75% of the members of all of the groups take a similar position (1, 2 or 3), and there is no minority position equal to or greater than 20% in any of the groups. |
| 2. Strong Ethnic Code | At least 60% of the members of all groups take a similar position (1, 2 or 3) on a given issue. |
| 3. Weak Ethnic Code | At least half of the groups have 60% of members who take a similar position of either 1 or 3, and no other group has a counter-position of either 3 or 1 that covers 60% of their members. |
| 4. Divisive Ethnic Code | At least half of the groups have a position that covers 60% of their members that directly oppose (1 vs. 3) one another. |
| 5. Neutral Ethnic Code (No Consensus or Division) | Less than half the groups have a position that covers more than 60% of their members. |

In order to produce the cultural map, we reduced the six point scale used in the questionnaires, to three points: (1) negative answer, (2) ambivalent answer, (3) positive answer. By looking at the relationship between the three positions we produce five types of “cultural terrain” based on the nature of consensus and division in the four groups of young Israeli-Jews. We refer to each cultural terrain as a type of “ethnic code”. For example we will see below that an overwhelmingly high percentage in all the groups answered affirmatively to the question, “Are you proud to be a Jew?” We label this as a universal ethnic code, as the question seems to evoke a near universal response among the members of the four groups. Each of the following categories describes questions to which less than a universally homogeneous response was given. The first three categories describe weakening degrees of ethnic solidarity, the fourth category (divisive ethnic code) describes a situation in which a particular question evokes clear division within and/or between the various groups, and the fifth category covers those questions upon which people have opinions but the answers do not point to either clear division or consensus.

A. General Ideological Indicators of Israeli-Jewish Identity: The Connection Between Israeliness and Jewishness

The following table draws on seven questions that touch on Israeli and Jewish identity in order to gain a comparative picture of the strength and nature of the connection that the members of our four groups express towards being Israeli and Jewish. Of particular interest

is the connection between being “Israeli” and being “Jewish” as it appears in the data displayed in the table below.

Results

We see confirmation of the claim made in the introduction regarding the “highly committed” nature of the Israeli-Jewish identity of the Jewish Agency shlichim. On all questions the shlichim give a stronger affirmative response than the Ruppin students. The question “Are you proud to be Jewish?” is the only one evoking a universal ethnic code - that is over 75% of the Ruppin students joined their Jewish Agency counterparts in giving an affirmative response. Thus, we can conclude that among young Israelis of the social profile seen in section II above, “Jewish pride” is simply not up for debate. The question is what are the implications of the term “Jewish pride” for the way they live and their opinions on more specific issues of Jewish life? We begin to get a sense of the answer to this question, by looking at the other questions in the table.

Three questions with responses labeled as evoking a “strong ethnic code” are: “Is service in the Israeli Army (IDF) of utmost importance?”, “Is the fact that you are Israeli a main factor in your choice of life style?”, and “If you had the opportunity to be born again, would you want to be born Jewish?” On these questions, the Jewish Agency participants consistently gave answers over the 75% mark, but the Ruppin students consistently fell below that point, even though a strong majority in the group still gave an affirmative response.

As we move from the areas in which the ethnic code is strong to weak, we see that on one question, “Do you consider yourself a Zionist?,” only the Ruppin students express a significantly¹⁴ ambivalent position - 52% gave an affirmative response, with 32% expressing an ambivalent position. In comparison the 85% of the members of the summer shlichim and 100% of the Zionist seminar shlichim gave an affirmative response. Only on the question, “If

¹⁴ Any position that less than 20% of the members of one the groups chose is deemed as insignificant and does not appear in the mapping table.

you were born abroad, would you choose to be a Jew?” do we see the first sign among the Jewish Agency shlichim of less than hegemonic consensus. Here we see in all three Jewish Agency groups that a significant number of shlichim choose an ambivalent position. While among the Ruppim students for the first time we see that less than 50% of the group chooses a positive answer, and also for the first time we see that over 20% give a negative answer.

General Indicators of Israeli-Jewish Identity

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | Shlikhim to American Summer Camps in 2002 | Zionist Seminars Participants in 2002 | Shlikhim to American Summer Camps in 2001 | Ruppim Students |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you proud to be a Jew? | 3 (93.4%) | 3 (98.1%) | 3 (93.9%) | 3 (77.4%) |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Is service in the Israeli Army (IDF) of utmost importance? | 3 (89.7%) | 3 (88.7%) | 3 (94%) | 3 (73%) |
| Is the fact that you are Israeli a main factor in your choice of life style? | 3 (92.4%) | 3 (96.4%) | 3 (92.6%) | 3 (66.4%) |
| If you had the opportunity to be born again, would you want to be Jewish? | 3 (86.3%) | 3 (92.2%) | 3 (83.3%) | 2 (21.8%), 3 (69.8%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Do you consider yourself a Zionist? | 3 (86.1%) | 3 (100%) | 3 (86.6%) | 2 (32%), 3 (52.3%) |
| If you were born abroad, would you choose to be a Jew? | 2 (32.6%), 3 (59.2%) | 2 (22.2%), 3 (75.6%) | 2 (28.6%), 3 (59.7%) | 1 (23.7%), 2 (38.9%), 3 (37.4%) |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Is the fact that you are Jewish a main factor in your choice of life style? | 2 (38.6%), 3 (42.4%) | 3 (87.3%) | 2 (25.3%), 3 (57.8%) | 1 (45.4%), 2 (34.2%), 3 (20.4%) |
| Are Jews the Chosen People? | 1 (35.1%), 2 (29.6%), 3 (35.4%) | 2 (30.8%), 3 (67.3%) | 1 (28.9%), 2 (26.5%), 3 (44.6%) | 1 (48.7%), 2 (30.7%), 3 (20.6%) |

Finally, on the question, “Is the fact that you are Jewish a main factor in your choice of life style?” we see that the summer shlichim emissaries join the Ruppim students in offering a response in which less than 60% of the members of the group choose the affirmative answer. Only the Zionist Seminar shlichim give a strong affirmative response to this question. In contrast to all three Jewish Agency groups, whose members choose either the affirmative or ambivalent positions, among the Ruppim students the largest sub-group of

45% gave a negative answer. For 45% of the Ruppin students, the fact that they are Jewish does not play an important role in their choice of life-style.

Analysis

The following picture emerges of the ties between “Israeliness” and “Jewishness”. For the Jewish Agency shlichim, “Israeliness” and “Jewishness” are not one and the same - to be Israeli is to be Jewish, but one can also be Jewish outside of Israel. For many of the Ruppin students, Jewishness is clearly tied up with living in Israel, a fact that emerges when we compare the two questions that ask if “you were born again....” To the question, “If you had the opportunity to be born again, would you want to be Jewish?” 70% of the Ruppin students gave an affirmative response and 22% an ambivalent response. Yet, when asked, “If you were born abroad, would you choose to be a Jew?” 64% offered either a negative or ambivalent response. The near mirror image between the two questions along with the similar difference between the questions that inquire into the role of being Israeli and Jewish as factors in their lifestyle, clearly show that it for the majority of the Ruppin students Jewish pride (which they all agree on) is one and the same as being Israeli, serving in the army and identifying as a Zionist. Jewish pride has little to do with a conception of Jewishness that stretches beyond the borders of the State of Israel.

The conflation among the Ruppin students between living in Israel and being Jewish, stands in stark contrast to the Jewish Agency shlichim, the majority of whom clearly distinguish the two dimensions. For the Jewish Agency shlichim, Jewish pride seems associated with both Israeliness, and a sense of Jewishness that is autonomous from the fact of living in Israel. Although, we should note that among a significant minority of the summer camp shlichim the conflation between Jewishness and living in Israel is also apparent.

In the following sections, we explore the relationship of living in Israel to the Israeli Jewish identity of the members of our four groups. In the coming section we look at this

question of Diaspora-Israel relations. In the following sections we look at the attitudes of these young Israelis to the private vs. public nature of Jewish traditions.

B. Diaspora-Israel Relations

How do the members of our four groups understand the relationship between Israel and the Jewish Diaspora?

Results

The young Israelis evoke a “universal ethnic code” in their reaction to two statements, which read: “Jews do not have a special right to the State of Israel!” and “Israel is the world center of Jewish life!” With the first statement they disagree and with the second statement they agree. What are the implications of the view of that Jews have a special right to the State of Israel, and that Israel is the world center of Jewish life? To answer this question we continue to look at the difference between questions that enjoy less than universal consensus.

A “strong ethnic code” is evoked by the statement, “The right of Jews to a State in the Land of Israel derives from anti-Semitism and the need for self defense!” Among the 2002 Summer Shlichim and Ruppin groups a significant minority of 23% gives an ambivalent response.

The reaction to the statement, “The continued existence of the Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel!” evokes a “weak ethnic code”. A similar weak affirmative response appears for questions, “Do you feel close to other Jews?”, “If you were born abroad, would you choose to be a Jew?” and “Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue abroad?” For both the statement and the three questions, between 50% and 66% the Ruppin students gave a negative or ambivalent response. In contrast, none of the Jewish Agency shlichim gave negative responses, but a significant minority group answered that they are ambivalent.

Diaspora-Israel Relations

Coding (Depending on question): 1 = Definitely Not, Not or Strongly Disagree, Agree. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation, or Agree/Disagree with hesitation, 3= Yes, Definitely Yes, or Strong Agree, Agree

| | Shlikhim to American Summer Camps in Year 2002 | Zionist Seminars Participants in Year 2002 | Shlikhim to American Summer Camps in Year 2001 | Ruppin Behavioral Students of the Year 2001-2 |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Jews do not have a special right to the State of Israel! | 1 (86.4%) | 1 (94.5%) | 1 (85.2%) | 1 (77%) |
| Israel is the world center of Jewish Life! | 3 (81.7%) | 3 (84.9%) | 3 (81.7%) | 3 (73.9%) |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | | |
| The right of Jews to a State in the Land of Israel derives from anti-Semitism and the need for self-defense! | 2 (22.9%), 3 (61.3%) | 3 (69.1%) | 3 (62.7%) | 2 (22.7%), 3 (63.1%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | | |
| The continued existence of the Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel! | 2 (32.8%), 3 (59.7%) | 2 (36.4%), 3 (63.6%) | 2 (44%), 3 (44%) | 1 (27.4%), 2 (35.8%), 3 (36.7%) |
| Do you feel close to Jews who are not Israeli? | 2 (35.4%), 3 (58.8%) | 3 (85.5%) | 2 (29.3%), 3 (61%) | 1 (25.1%), 2 (41.2%), 3 (33.7%) |
| If you were born abroad, would you choose to be a Jew? | 2 (32.6%), 3 (59.2%) | 2 (22.2%), 3 (75.6%) | 2 (28.6%), 3 (59.7%) | 1 (23.7%), 2 (38.9%), 3 (37.4%) |
| Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue abroad? | 3 (73.5%) | 2 (27.8%), 3 (57.4%) | 3 (78%) | 1 (30.2%), 2 (19.8%), 3 (50%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue in Israel? | 2 (20.3%), 3 (65.3%) | 1 (32.7%), 2 (25%), 3 (42.3%) | 2 (27.4%), 3 (54.8%) | 1 (37.1%), 2 (22.1%), 3 (40.8%) |
| The right of Jews to a State in the Land of Israel derives from Divine commandment! | 1 (36.6%), 2 (41.3%), 3 (22.1%) | 2 (22.2%), 3 (68.5%) | 1 (30.1%), 2 (30.1%), 3 (39.8%) | 1 (53.1%), 2 (26.5%), 3 (20.4%) |
| The right of the Jews to a State in the Land of Israel depends on moral behavior towards non-Jewish populations! | 1 (30.4%), 2 (36.2%), 3 (33.5%) | 1 (28.8%), 2 (46.2%), 3 (25%) | 1 (41.3%), 2 (31.3%), 3 (27.5%) | 1 (51.7%), 2 (30.9%) |
| Diaspora Jewish life does not depend on the existence of Israel! | 1 (53.3%), 2 (32.7%) | 1 (52.7%), 2 (43.6%) | 1 (36.8%), 2 (40.8%), 3 (22.4%) | 1 (39.3%), 2 (32.4%), 3 (28.3%) |
| Does the IDF have a special responsibility to take care of Jews all over the world? | 1 (34.3%), 2 (36.5%), 3 (29.2%) | 2 (26.9%), 3 (59.6%) | 1 (40.5%), 2 (28.6%), 3 (31%) | 1 (50.9%), 2 (28.8%), 3 (20.2%) |

*Questions that refer to issues of behavior or cognition, rather than conceptions of authenticity.

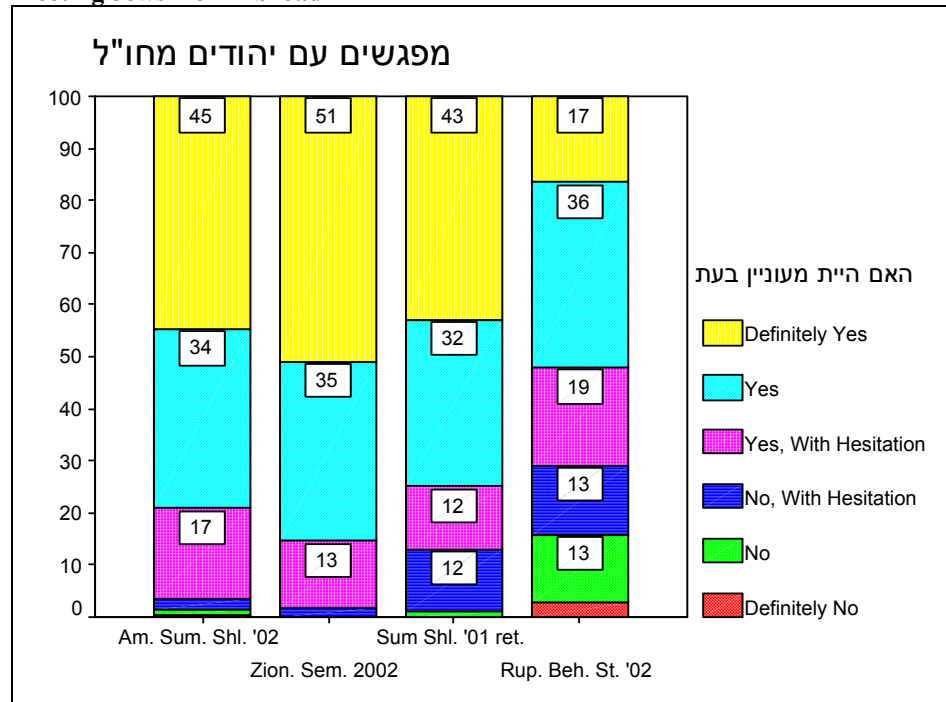
None of the questions or statements evoked a “divisive ethnic code,” (see following sections for examples of cultural division and conflict). Finally, there were three statements and two questions that evoke a “neutral ethnic code”. These were the statements, “The right

of Jews to a State in the Land of Israel derives from Divine commandment!” “The right of the Jews to a State in the Land of Israel depends on moral behavior towards non-Jewish populations!” and “Diaspora Jewish life does not depend on the existence of Israel!” and, the questions, “Does the IDF have a special responsibility to take care of Jews all over the world?” and “Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue in Israel?” Of interest here is that there is relatively little difference between the Summer Shlichim and Ruppin students in their reactions to these statements and questions. Only the Zionist Seminar shlichim have relatively large percentages giving a positive response to “Divine Commandment” statement and “IDF responsibility” question; and among the Summer Camp shlichim we see a majority willing to pray in a Reform or Conservative synagogue in Israeli. For no other statement or question is there a positive majority in the responses of any of the groups.

In addition to questions that inquired into ideological positions on the issue of Diaspora-Israel relations, we also inquired into the interest of the respondents to participate in educational frameworks having to do with Diaspora-Israel relations.

The chart below shows the results to the question: “In the future, are you interested in participating in meetings (mifgashim) with Jews from abroad?” Between 43% and 51% of the Jewish Agency shlichim, but only 17% of the Ruppin students answered definitely yes. Although if we add on the answers of “Yes with hesitation,” and “Yes” to “Definitely Yes” a majority appears in all the groups, from 72% among the Ruppin students to 99% of the Zionist Seminar shlichim express an interest in participating in meetings with Jews from abroad.

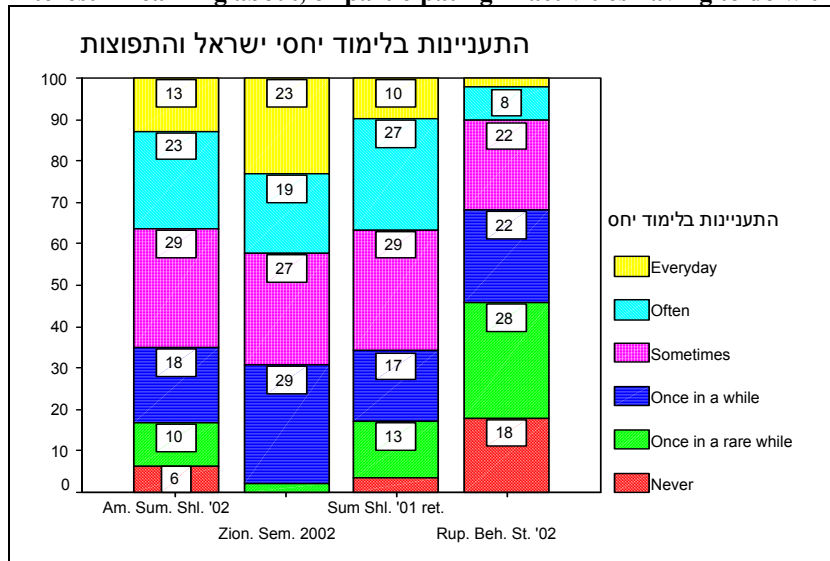
Meeting Jews from Abroad



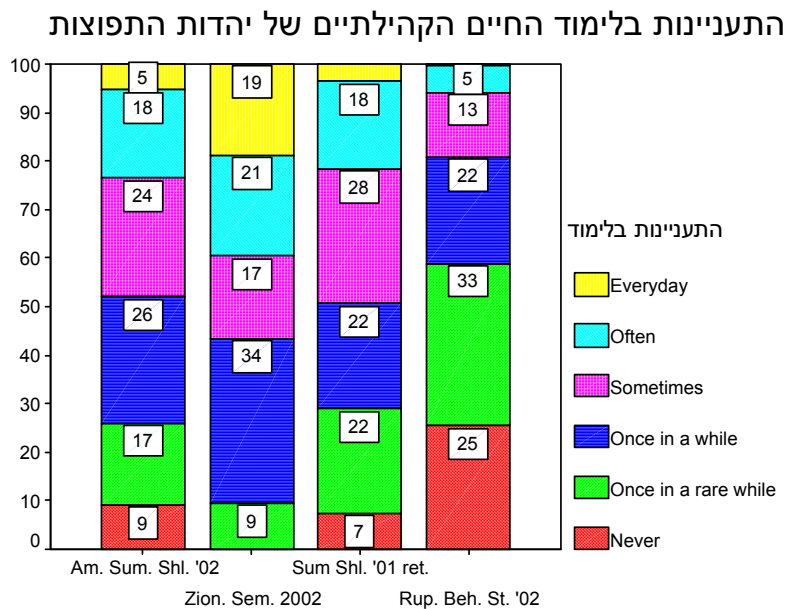
The respondents were also asked a number of questions regarding their interest in learning a variety of topics having to do with Jewish life. Two of the questions¹⁵ touched on Diaspora Jewry. These were: “In the coming year, are you interested in participating in an activity or course having to do with Israel-Diaspora relations?,” and “In the coming year, are you interested in participating in an activity or course having to do with the communal life of Diaspora Jews?” We see that for both questions, only a small group of 1% to 23% expresses a very strong interest in learning either of the topics. However, if we add those who state that they are willing to sometimes, and often study the topic or participate in an activity having to do with the topic then the numbers of those who express interest rise significantly to 32% and 18% among the Ruppin students, and to a clear majority among each of the three Jewish Agency groups on the Israel-Diaspora relations topic and from 43% to 57% on the Diaspora communities topic among the shlichim.

¹⁵ These are two of a number of questions inquiring into the “learning interests” of the respondents. A separate report to be published in January 2003, will examine the learning interests of the different groups.

Interest in learning about, or participating in activities having to do with Israel-Diaspora Relations



Interest in learning about, or participating in activities having to do with Jewish Communal Life in the Diaspora



Analysis

What do we learn from the answers on Israel-Diaspora relations? We learn that there is a core belief among Israelis of this age-group and social profile that Israel is the World Center of Jewish Life, and that Jews have special right to a State in the Land of Israel. To discern the implications of the core belief for the topic of Diaspora-Israel relations, it is useful to look at the statement and two questions that fell into the weak consensus category. These were: “The continued existence of the Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel!” “Do you feel close to Jews who are not Israeli?” and “If you were born abroad, would you choose to

be a Jew?” Using these three questions, we see that there are three basic interpretations of the significance of the claim that Israel is the World Center of Jewish life.

The first interpretation is that Israel is the World Center of Jewish life, but the continued existence of the Diaspora is not important for the existence of Israel, as seen in the combination of two statements to the effect that “I do not feel close to Jews who are not Israeli,” and that “if I were born abroad they would not want to be born Jewish.” Only among the Ruppin students do we see a steady minority of around 25% of the respondents who consistently take each of these three positions. In contrast, among the Jewish Agency shlichim there is a fairly consistent majority that states “Israel is the World center of Jewish life” and “the continued existence of the Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel,” and that they “feel close to Jews who are not Israeli, and if “if they ere born abroad they would choose to be Jewish.”

Finally, in all four groups there is a third position, encompassing between 22 and 42% of the participants that states that “Israel is the World Center of Jewish life,” but they express ambivalence regarding the “importance of the Diaspora for Israel,” “feeling close to other Jews” and “being born abroad as a Jew.”

In the previous section we saw that only among the “highly committed” Jewish Agency shlichim was there a majority for whom being Jewish is not predicated on living in Israel. Here we see that only among the Jewish Agency shlichim is there a majority who consistently give the “Diaspora” autonomy from Israel. In other words, the Jewish Agency shlichim are able to balance the idea of “Israel as Center” with the idea that the *continued* existence of the Diaspora is important, along with the fact that they also identify with Jews who live abroad.

The questions that inquired into the respondents interest in learning about Diaspora-Israel relations and community life in the Diaspora, confirm the difference between the

Ruppin students and Jewish Agency shlichim. The shlichim have a far greater interest in learning about issues touching on Diaspora Jewry. The only area in which a strong majority of Ruppin students expressed a degree of interest in Diaspora Jewry, was the question asking if they are interested in meeting Diaspora Jews.

C. Jewish Tradition – The Importance of Context

In which social contexts, and what actions within those contexts, is a connection to Jewish tradition relevant for the members of our four groups? The following questions on the use of “food” to express Jewish identity help illustrate the importance of context. We see that for many secular Jews food in the home or restaurant is not a means to express Jewish identity. Yet, many of the same secular Jews will state that there needs to be kosher food in army, university cafeteria or at a Jewish wedding.

1. Food and Jewish Identity

In the table below we see that with the exception of the Zionist Seminar shlichim (the vast majority of whom identify as National-Religious Jews), large percentages of all the other groups do not deem it necessary to maintain kashrut in home or at a restaurant. Yet, the question “Should the food in Army continue to be Kosher?” evokes a “universal ethnic code” among all four groups. Likewise, a “strong ethnic code” is voiced by all four groups in the positive answer they give to two questions/statements: “Should the food in University cafeterias continue to be Kosher?” and “At a Jewish Wedding I’d like to see Kosher food!” What is striking is the gap between public and private identity, among those who think it important to have kosher food in the army, university or wedding, but not in their home or when they eat in a restaurant.

The example of food as a means of expressing Jewish identity illustrates a larger principle of the importance of context in the analysis of Jewish identity. We need to

look at the way individuals express their connection to Jewish identity in a variety of contexts in order to gain an understanding of when and how they deem it necessary to act as Jews.

Food and Jewish Identity

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | Shlichim to American Summer Camps in Year 2002 | Zionist Seminars Participants in Year 2002 | Shlichim to American Summer Camps in Year 2001 | Ruppin Behavioral Students of the Year 2001-2 |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Should the food in Army continue to be Kosher? | 3 (87.6%) | 3 (100%) | 3 (90.5%) | 3 (75.1%) |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Should the food in University cafeterias continue to be Kosher? | 2 (21.9%), 3 (64%) | 3 (96.3%) | 2 (20.2%), 3 (70.2%) | 1 (24.4%), 3 (60.5%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | | |
| At a Jewish Wedding I'd like to see Kosher food! | 1 (20.1%), 2 (23.8%), 3 (56%) | 3 (86.8%) | 3 (66%) | 1 (48.3%), 3 (39.6%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Does the food in your home need to be Kosher* | 1 (54.2%), 3 (33.6%) | 3 (87%) | 1 (40.5%), 3 (50%) | 1 (63.7%), 3 (28.5%) |
| Do you maintain Kashrut when eating in a Restaurant* | 1 (57.8%), 3 (29.7%) | 3 (73.2%) | 1 (48.8%), 3 (42.9%) | 1 (69.4%), 3 (21.4%) |

*These two questions inquire into actual behavior, rather than conceptions of authentic Jewish behavior.

In the example above, we see that the religious shlichim from the Zionist Seminar programs tend to call for consistent practice of kashrut observance in the private sphere (the home), in a parochial setting (the wedding) and in public (restaurant, university and army). To what degree do religious Jews maintain consistent observance across settings, or are there social contexts and/or particular types of practices in which they are not consistent?

As we would expect, we see that self-identifying secular Jews don't keep kashrut in private, but we also see that there are large percentages who still claim the need for the availability of kosher food in public. This leads us to inquire into the contexts in which individuals use tradition to express a sense of Jewish identity. In which private and public contexts will an individual deem it necessary to use Jewish tradition to express a sense of Jewish identity?

In the coming sections we look at three “traditional” Jewish social contexts including the Passover Seder, Yom Kippur Day and the Jewish Wedding.

2. Passover

Passover and Jewish Identity

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | Shlichim to American Summer Camps in Year 2002 | Zionist Seminars Participants in Year 2002 | Ruppin Behavioral Students of the Year 2001-2 |
|---|--|--|---|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | |
| Haggadah reading by all of the Participants ¹⁶ | 3 (90.5%) | 3 (94.2%) | 3 (72.9%) |
| Custom of Four Cups Drinking | 3 (84.5%) | 3 (96.2%) | 3 (79.5%) |
| Yekhetz (Afikoman) Custom | 3 (92.1%) | 3 (92.3%) | 3 (85.6%) |
| Singing of “Mah Nishtanah” by the Youngest in the Family | 3 (85.5%) | 3 (90.0%) | 3 (79.2%) |
| Matzot | 3 (90.9%) | 3 (100%) | 3 (85.3%) |
| Participation of all Family Members | 3 (96.0%) | 3 (98.1%) | 3 (92.8%) |
| Bread | 1 (82.8%) | 1 (98.1%) | 1 (76%) |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | |
| Telling of the Exodus (from Egypt) story to the younger members of the family | 2 (23.9%), 3 (68.5%) | 3 (92.3%) | 1 (23.4%), 2 (25.7%), 3 (50.9%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | |
| Traveling Abroad | 1 (56.5%), 2 (31.6%) | 1 (77.1%) | 1 (45.1%), 2 (22.7%), 3 (32.2%) |

* The 2001 Summer Camp shlichim did not receive the Passover Seder questions.

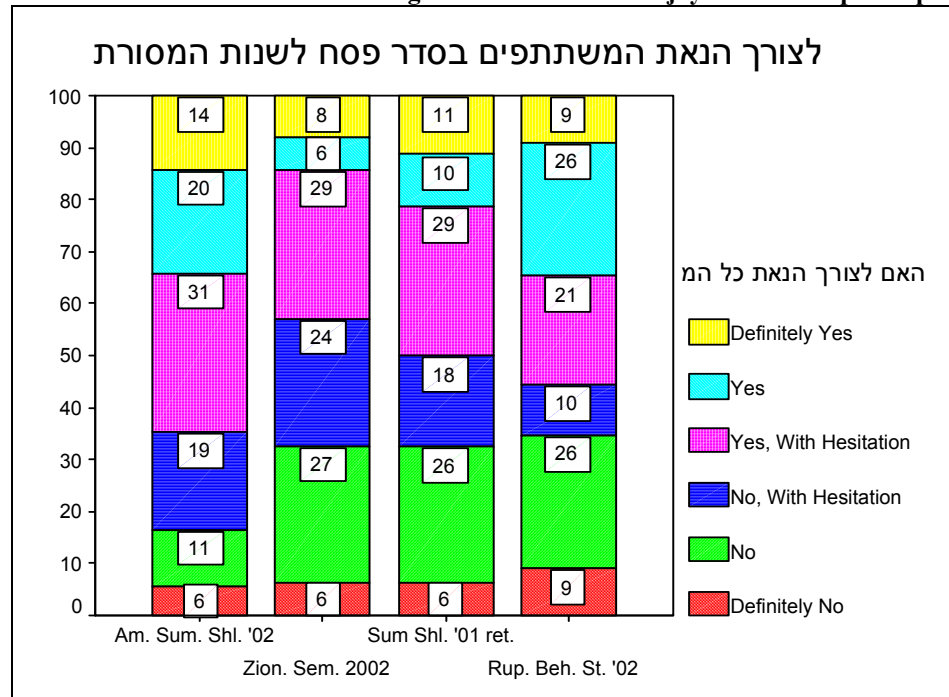
The striking result appearing in the table below is the large number of questions that evoke a “universal ethnic code” among the members of all four groups. Seven of the nine questions garner like response rates of over 75% percent. The vast majority of all the groups agree that at the Seder table all the participants should read from the Haggadah, partake in the customs of the drinking the four cups of wine, hiding the Afikoman, singing Mah Nishtanah, eating Mazta and not eating bread, and that the Seder is an occasion in which all members of the

¹⁶ For all the seder table questions the full question read: “Please complete the following sentence. At the Seder table I’d want there to be.....”.

family participate. The statement, “At the Passover Seder I’d like to see the telling of the Exodus (from Egypt) story to the younger members of the family” evoked a weaker ethnic code, with the drop seen among the primarily secular Ruppin students and Summer Camp Shlichim. A majority of 51% of the Ruppin Students, 69% of the Summer Shlichim and 98% of the Zionist Seminar Shlichim still thought it important to tell the Exodus story.

There were no statements regarding the Passover Seder that evoked a “divisive ethnic code” among the members of the groups. The statement regarding traveling abroad during the Seder evoked a “neutral ethnic code” in that the answers did not evoke a particular strong negative or positive response in any of the groups.

Should the Passover Seder be changed to make it more enjoyable for the participants?



In addition to the questions above that ask the respondents their opinions on particular components of the Seder, we also asked a general question: “Should the Passover Seder be changed to make it more enjoyable for the participants?” The results in the chart above show that the largest percentage for each of the shlichim groups gave a hesitant response (between 47% and 53%), while the Ruppin students were equally divided between the negative, hesitant and affirmative responses.

3. Yom Kippur

The comparison between the Passover Seder and Yom Kippur is striking. Whereas in the Seder table (above) we see the majority of statements evoking a “universal ethnic code” among the respondents, here we see not a single response falling into the universal category. An explanation for the difference is given in the analysis section below (see page 48).

Yom Kippur

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | American Summer Camps 2002 | Zionist Seminars 2002 | Ruppin |
|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | |
| Travel Abroad | 1 (75.7%), 2 (20.2%) | 1 (91.5%) | 1 (69.9%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | |
| Spend Time with Family | 3 (67.9%) | 1 (43.8%), 2 (29.2%), 3 (27.1%) | 3 (66.3%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | |
| Repent before God | 1 (20.0%), 2 (32.7%), 3 (47.3%) | 3 (83.3%) | 1 (35.2%), 3 (47.8%) |
| Fast | 1 (19.5%), 2 (31.6%), 3 (48.9%) | 3 (90%) | 1 (31.2%), 3 (50.6%) |
| Trying to fast at least part of the Day | 1 (31.5%), 2 (24.9%), 3 (43.6%) | 3 (81.8%) | 1 (40.7%), 3 (45.2%) |
| Spend time with Friends | 1 (26.2%), 2 (29.7%), 3 (44.1%) | 1 (63.8%), 2 (23.4%) | 1 (28%), 2 (27.2%), 3 (44.8%) |

One statement, “On Yom Kippur a Jew should travel abroad” evoked a “strong ethnic code,” in that over 60% of each group gave a negative response. A “weak ethnic code” was evoked by the statement, “On Yom Kippur a Jew should spend time with Family.” Of interest, is the fact that 66% and 68% of the Ruppin students and American summer camp shlichim felt that Yom Kippur is a time to spend with family, whereas 73% of the more religious Zionist Seminar shlichim gave either a negative or ambivalent response.

Four statements evoked a “neutral ethnic code”: “On Yom Kippur a Jew should Repent before God!” “On Yom Kippur a Jew should Fast!” “On Yom Kippur a Jew should try to fast at least part of the Day!” and “On Yom Kippur a Jew should spend time with

Friends!” Only the religious group of Zionist Seminar shlichim had a consistent majority response to these four statements, while in each of the other two groups we see a spread across the negative, ambivalent and positive positions.

4. A Jewish Wedding and Intermarriage

Jewish Wedding and Intermarriage

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | American Summer Camp Shlichim 2002 | Zionist Seminar Shlichim 2002 | American Summer Camp Shlichim 2001 | Ruppin Students |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Chupah | 3 (94.3%) | 3 (100%) | 3 (95.2%) | 3 (90%) |
| Ketubah | 3 (82.1%) | 3 (94.5%) | 3 (80.7%) | 3 (72.9%) |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Either Bride or Bridegroom is Jewish | 1 (60.4%), 2 (33.5%) | 1 (90.4%) | 1 (66.3%), 2 (22.5%) | 1 (62%), 2 (27.2%) |
| Ring Exchange Ceremony | 3 (86.3%) | 2 (22.4%), 3 (65.3%) | 3 (85.4%) | 3 (84.5%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Jewish Music | 2 (31.3%), 3 (51%) | 3 (80%) | 2 (21.7%), 3 (61.4%) | 1 (52.8%), 2 (28.3%) |
| Kosher Food | 1 (20.1%), 2 (23.8%), 3 (56%) | 3 (86.8%) | 3 (66.3%) | 1 (48.3%), 3 (39.6%) |
| Both Bride and Bridegroom are Jewish | 2 (24.9%), 3 (61%) | 3 (96.2%) | 3 (74.1%) | 1 (36.2%), 2 (21.9%), 3 (41.9%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you opposed to intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in the Diaspora? | 1 (38%), 2 (36%), 3 (26%) | 3 (78%) | 1 (29%), 2 (30%), 3 (42%) | 1 (61%), 2 (25%) |
| Are you opposed to a member of your family marrying a Swedish volunteer? | 1 (44%), 2 (37%), 3 (19%) | 2 (19%), 3 (77%) | 1 (37%), 2 (24%), 3 (39%) | 1 (64%), 2 (24%) |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you opposed to intermarriage between Israeli Jews and Arabs? | 1 (26%), 2 (34%), 3 (40%) | 3 (82%) | 1 (23%), 2 (24%), 3 (53%) | 1 (33%), 2 (25%), 3 (41%) |
| Witnesses that Keep Shabbat | 1 (40.9%), 2 (32.2%), 3 (26.9%) | 1 (19.6%), 2 (27.5%), 3 (52.9%) | 1 (40.2%), 2 (19.5%), 3 (40.2%) | 1 (57.4%), 2 (27.8%) |
| Orthodox Rabbi Only | 1 (51%), 2 (22.8%), 3 (26.2%) | 1 (22.6%), 3 (64.2%) | 1 (47.6%), 2 (21.4%), 3 (31%) | 1 (59%), 2 (23.7%) |
| Any Rabbi | 2 (20.4%), 3 (62.4%) | 1 (30.2%), 2 (22.6%), 3 (47.2%) | 2 (23.5%), 3 (59.3%) | 2 (20.8%), 3 (64.5%) |
| Female Rabbi | 1 (35.9%), 2 (31.6%), 3 (32.5%) | 1 (60%), 2 (26%) | N/A | 1 (29.7%), 2 (26.6%), 3 (43.8%) |

The respondents were asked to respond to eleven statements regarding practices potentially found at a Jewish wedding and three questions concerning intermarriage. Of these statements and questions, two evoked a universal ethnic code: “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see a

Chupah!” and “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see a Ketubah!” A strong ethnic code was evoked by the following statements. A negative response was given across the groups to the statement “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see that either the Bride or Bridegroom is Jewish!” while a positive response was given to the statement: “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see a ring exchange ceremony!”

Of importance is that both the statements evoked a strong ethnic code, test for the liberal vs. conservative tendencies of the respondents. The ring exchange ceremony is an innovation to the traditional wedding ceremony, and we might expect Orthodox Jews or traditionalist Jews to oppose the innovation. We see that among our four groups, that the expectation of opposition is only partly correct in that, as predicted, the significant group of ambivalent responses comes from the religious Zionist Seminar shlichim; however, even among them the rate of support for the exchange ceremony is 65% of the group. As we will also see below, this points to the fact that the religious Jews covered by our survey are a particularly liberal group on many issues than we would expect to find in the larger Israeli Orthodox population.

The statement regarding the presence of a non-Jew as either the bride or bride-groom is usefully contrasted to the statement, “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see that both the Bride and Bridegroom Jewish!” In the “either/or” formulation we see a majority of over 60% respond negatively in each group. In the “both” formulation the three Jewish Agency groups are consistent, with a majority of over 60% responding affirmatively. In contrast the Ruppin students are not consistent. In the “both” formulation of the statement we see that only 42% think that both the bride and bridegroom should be Jewish.

Beside the statement regarding the presence of both a Jewish bride and bridegroom, two other statements evoked a weak ethnic code: “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see Jewish music!” and “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want Kosher food!” A majority (although

slight in the case of the 2002 summer shlichim) of all the Jewish Agency groups gave affirmative answers to the three statements that evoke a weak ethnic code. In contrast, a majority of Ruppin students gave either ambivalent and/or negative responses. The difference between the Ruppin students and Jewish Agency shlichim was especially marked on the Jewish music and Kosher food statements.

Two questions inquired into the respondents opinions on intermarriage among Diaspora Jews, and between a member of the respondent's family and a Swedish volunteer. Both questions evoked a divisive ethnic code. Only the Zionist Seminar shlichim had a consistent majority answering the "do you oppose intermarriage" in its various forms. Of the Summer Camp Shlichim a minority of between 19% and 42% unequivocally oppose intermarriage, and among Ruppin students group there was no significant minority of 20% or over opposed to these two types of intermarriage.

Of interest is the comparison between the two questions directly asking if you oppose intermarriage and the statement regarding the presence of a non-Jew as either bride or bridegroom. In the context of the actual wedding ceremony, the Jewish Agency shlichim were far more like to oppose intermarriage, than when asked directly, "Do you oppose intermarriage?"

In contrast, to the two questions regarding intermarriage between a member of the respondent's family and among Diaspora Jews, the question, "Are you opposed to intermarriage between Israeli Jews and Arabs?" only evoked a neutral ethnic code. We see a shift towards opposition to intermarriage between Jews and Israeli Arabs, which was not present in either of the other questions on intermarriage.

While the two questions on intermarriage evoked a divisive ethnic code, none of the statements regarding the aspects of the Jewish Wedding had a similar divisive effect. Two statements that come close to creating division are, "At a Jewish Wedding I'd want to see

Jewish music!,” and “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want Kosher food!”. The criteria for a divisive ethnic code are that, “at least half of the groups have a position that covers 60% of their members that directly oppose (1 vs. 3) one another (see table on pg. 29). In the response of the Ruppin students to the Jewish music and Kosher food questions we see a situation in which a large minority or small minority move in the directly opposite direction of the tendency found among the Jewish Agency shlichim.

Besides the intermarriage between Arabs and Jews question, four statements evoked a neutral ethnic codes among the respondents: “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want to see witnesses that keep Shabbat!” ”At a Jewish Wedding I’d want an Orthodox rabbi only!” “At a Jewish Wedding I’d want any rabbi!” and “At a Jewish Wedding I’d a female rabbi!” All four statements evoked responses that stretch across the range of possible answers. The slight exception is the statement regarding the presence of a female rabbi, where we see that 60% of the Zionist seminar shlichim give a negative and none give a positive response, while 44% of the Ruppin students give a positive response. What we do see is that none of these statements evoke a consensus either for or against.

D. Issues of Religion and Religion and State in Israel

The following table shows the results of ten questions touching on areas of religion and religion and state in Israel. Prior to analyzing the results we expected that issues of religion and religion and state are divisive in nature, and that we are likely to find these questions evoking divisive ethnic codes. Instead, we see that among the four groups covered by the survey only one question, “In your opinion, is a Reform conversion into Judaism is equal to the Orthodox one?” evokes a divisive ethnic code.

In comparison to the other areas covered in this report, with the exception of Yom Kippur, it is interesting to note that not one of the questions evoked a universal ethnic code, and only one, “Can a Jew be religious even if he/she does not always observe Mitzvot?,”

evoked a strong ethnic code. In addition, only one question, “In your opinion, is a Reform conversion into Judaism is equal to the Orthodox one?” evoked a divisive ethnic code.

Issues of Religion and Religion and State in Israel

Coding: 1 = Definitely Not, Not. 2=No or Yes, with hesitation. 3= Yes, Definitely Yes

| | American Summer Camp Shlichim 2002 | Zionist Seminar Shlichim 2002 | American Summer Camp Shlichim 2001 | Ruppin Students |
|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Universal Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Strong Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Can a Jew be religious even if he/she does not always keep mitzvot? | 2 (28.6%), 3 (63.1%) | 2 (25.9%), 3 (66.7%) | 2 (31%), 3 (60.7%) | 2 (23.5%), 3 (65.4%) |
| Weak Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you in favor of opening places of entertainment on Friday evenings? | 3 (83.5%) | 2 (42.3%), 3 (38.5%) | 3 (69%) | 3 (93.4%) |
| Should the Orthodox receive more rights as opposed to other Movements? | 1 (80%) | 1 (53.8%), 2 (30.8%) | 1 (80.7%) | 1 (81.6%) |
| Is it legitimate for a Jew to work on Shabbat? | 2 (29.9%), 3 (61.5%) | 1 (35.3%), 2 (41.2%), 3 (23.5%) | 1 (21.4%), 2 (33.3%), 3 (45.2%) | 2 (23.9%), 3 (68.7%) |
| Divisive Ethnic Code | | | | |
| In your opinion, is a Reform conversion into Judaism is equal to the Orthodox one? | 3 (65.7%) | 1 (60.8%), 2 (27.5%) | N/A | 1 (23.2%), 2 (24.8%), 3 (52%) |
| Neutral Ethnic Code | | | | |
| Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue in Israel? | 2 (20.3%), 3 (65.3%) | 1 (32.7%), 2 (25%), 3 (42.3%) | 2 (27.4%), 3 (54.8%) | 1 (37.1%), 2 (22.1%), 3 (40.8%) |
| Are you in favor of allowing commercial activity on Shabbat? | 2 (28%), 3 (56.3%) | 1 (52.7%), 2 (30.9%) | 1 (26.5%), 2 (30.1%), 3 (43.4%) | 2 (21%), 3 (68.3%) |
| Should a person wishing to be a Jew undergo a formal process of conversion? | 2 (31.4%), 3 (59.1%) | 3 (88.5%) | N/A | 1 (26.5%), 2 (33.5%), 3 (40%) |
| Do you accept the concept of “secular conversion” to Judaism?” | 2 (35.2%), 3 (47.2%) | 1 (66.7%), 2 (27.1%) | 1 (34.9%), 2 (32.5%), 3 (32.5%) | 2 (28.1%), 3 (52.6%) |

Several questions do reveal division, although not in a clean cut manner, between the Zionist Seminar shlichim and the National Religious shlichim who worked in Conservative Summer camps and the secular Summer Camp shlichim and Ruppin students, these include: “Are you in favor of allowing commercial activity on Shabbat?” “Are you in favor of allowing commercial activity on Shabbat?” and “Do you accept the concept of “secular conversion” to Judaism?” On all these questions, we see a clear parting of ways between the

religious and secular groups, but there enough of a sub-group in all the groups who answer in an ambivalent manner, to prevent a clear-cut culture conflict to emerge from the data.

We also learn from the many of the questions, that the religious respondents in the Zionist Seminar group tend to be relatively liberal, and the secular respondents in the other groups tend to be relatively conservative (than expected) thereby reducing expected picture of conflict. The liberal religious tendency is seen on questions such as, “Can a Jew be religious even if he/she does not always keep mitzvot?” “Are you in favor of opening places of entertainment on Friday evenings?” “Should the Orthodox receive more rights as opposed to other Movements?” “Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue in Israel?” “Is it legitimate for a Jew to work on Shabbat?” and “Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue in Israel?” The conservative secular tendency is seen on questions such as: Should a person wishing to be a Jew undergo a formal process of conversion?

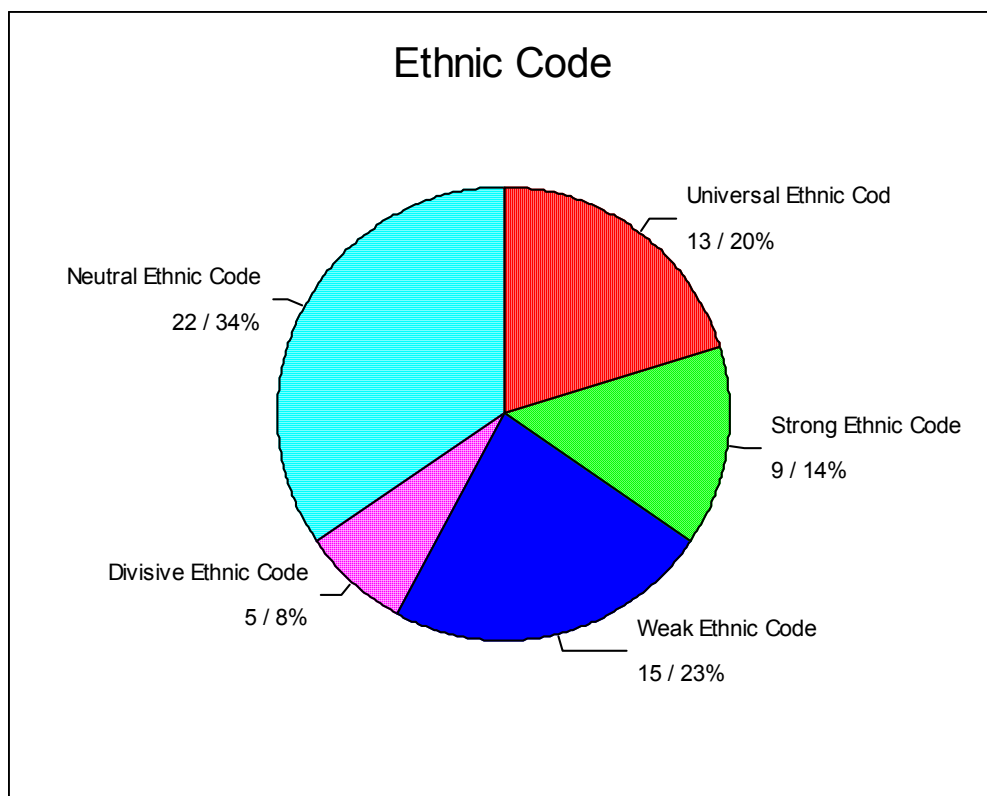
E. Analysis of Questions touching on Dimensions of Israeli-Jewish Identity

We are interested in three questions having to do with the various dimensions of Israeli Jewish identity covered in this survey: (1) What are the core values that unite the members of our four groups? Our assumption is that if a particular question evokes a universal ethnic code then we learn about broader cultural values that are likely held by all Israeli Jews of the socio-demographic profile covered in this survey. Likewise, we are interested in the questions that evoke a divisive ethnic code. What is the difference between the questions that unite and the questions that divide our groups from one another? (2) In the introduction to this section on Israeli-Jewish identity we claimed that “social context” is extremely important for understanding the manner in which an individual expresses his or her identity. In one context a person might not express him or herself as a Jew at all, while in another context the same person will express him or herself quite strongly. Here we will look at the effect of

social context on the nature of unity and division among Israeli-Jews as it appears in the populations covered by the survey. In which social contexts do we see the highest levels of unity, in which contexts do we see the highest level of division? (3) Finally, we will inquire into the differences between the shlichim who we define as “highly committed” Israeli Jews, and the Ruppin students who we define as “average” Israeli Jews.

1. Cultural Consensus and Division Among Israeli-Jews

In the following chart we see the relative weight that each of five ethnic codes among the 64 questions that provide our measurement for Israeli-Jewish ideology. Given the larger public perception of strong divisions between Israeli Jews, the results in the chart are quite remarkable, as only 8%, or 5 of the 64 questions evoked a divisive ethnic code. That is on only five of all the questions did a majority of at least 60% in at least half of the four groups move in clear opposite directions (one answered negatively, the other positively). In comparison 20%, or 13 of the 64 questions evoked a universal ethnic code – that is a majority of at least 75% of all the members of all the groups answered the question in a similar way. An additional 14% or 9 of the 64 questions evoked a strong ethnic code, in which at 60% of all the members of all the groups answered the question in a similar way. The questions that evoke a neutral ethnic code, comprise the largest category covering 34% or 22 questions. Under the neutral ethnic code category there are many questions that also evidence divisions within and among the groups; however, the divisions are not clear cut. There is not a clear pattern of one of our groups moving in same or different direction from one or more of the other groups.



In the table below, we see the questions that evoke unity next to questions that evoke division. Comparing the questions provides insight into the nature of cultural unity among Israeli Jews, as well as the sources of cultural division. There seem to be three types of unifying questions: 1) The reaction to statements such as “Israel is the world center of Jewish Life!” “Jews do not have a special right to the State of Israel!” and the question, “Should the food in Army continue to be Kosher?” These questions touch on the Jewish nature of the state. The respondents all felt that Jews have a special right to the State of Israel and that Israel is the world center of Jewish life. Following the same logic, the army as an emissary or agent of the state of Israel should have a Jewish character – that is kosher food must be served to enable Jews of different types to serve in the army together.¹⁷

¹⁷ An open question appeared on the questionnaire asking the respondent to explain his answers regarding kosher food. An analysis of the open questions supports the interpretation that most of the respondents feel it necessary to provide the conditions for religious Jews to be able to serve in the army.

Questions that Unify and Divide

| Questions that Unite | Questions that Divide |
|---|--|
| Diaspora - Israel is the world center of Jewish Life! | Food - Do you maintain Kashrut when eating in a Restaurant* |
| Diaspora - Jews do not have a special right to the State of Israel! | Food - Does the food in your home need to be Kosher? |
| Food - Should the food in Army continue to be Kosher? | Religion - In your opinion, is a Reform conversion into Judaism equal to the Orthodox one? |
| General - Are you proud to be a Jew? | Wedding - Are you opposed to a member of your family marrying a Swedish volunteer? |
| Seder – Bread | Wedding - Are you opposed to intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in the Diaspora? |
| Seder - Custom of Four Cups Drinking | |
| Seder – Matzot | |
| Seder - Participation of all Family Members | |
| Seder - Singing of "Mah Nishtanah" by the Youngest in the Family | |
| Seder -Haggadah reading by all of the Participants | |
| Seder -Yekhetz (Afikoman) Custom | |
| Wedding – Chupah | |
| Wedding – Ketubah | |

2) The second type of unifying question are those that touch on “parochial” contexts such as the Passover Seder and the Jewish Wedding. By parochial context we mean a family or communal (extended family, associates and friends) context in which informal types of social obligations are very important. For example, if one does not have a Chupah at one’s wedding it is likely that parents, grandparents and others will get upset. “It is simply obvious that at a Jewish wedding one needs a Chupah.” In the parochial context, symbols and rituals serve as a means for individuals to unite with their family, associates and friends and as such these elements of tradition are normally regarded in a very positive manner.¹⁸

3) Finally, the question, “Are you proud to be a Jew?” is different from the others in that it is not dependent on context – it simply refers to an emotional statement, that is less obligating either on the private or on the public levels. The respondents simply find it

¹⁸ For explanations regarding why this phenomenon occur see, Deshen (1997) and Sklare (1979).

obvious that one should be proud to be Jewish. The meaning of the claim of Jewish pride was analyzed above.

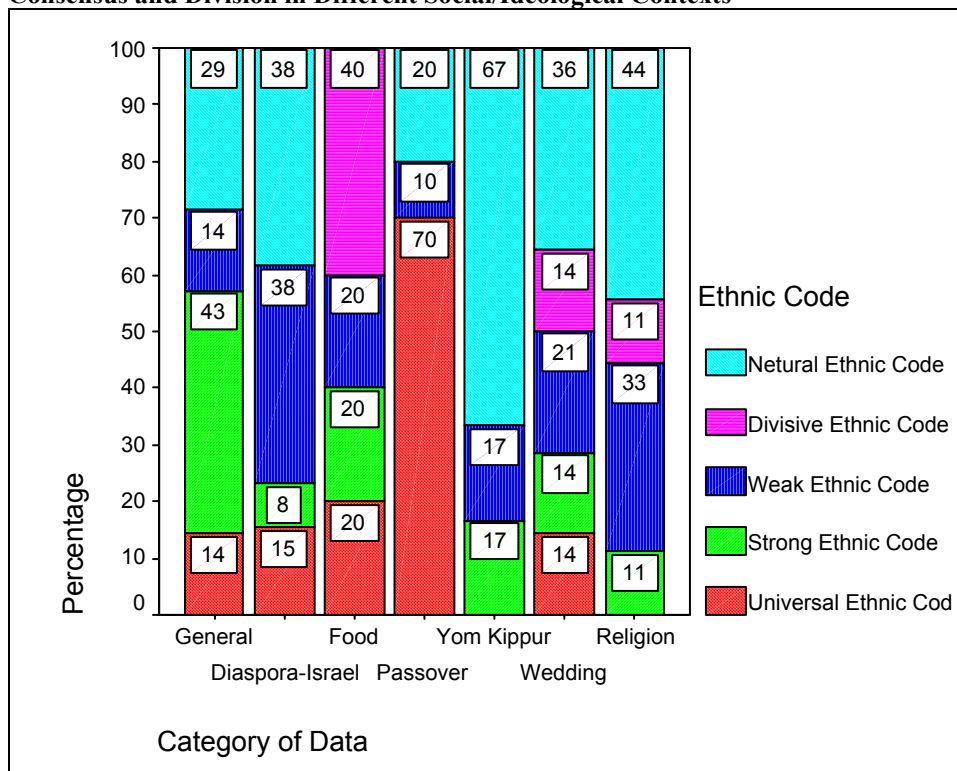
While the unifying questions tend to touch either on issues of the “Jewishness of the state” or its institutions (i.e., the army), or parochial contexts, we see above that the dividing questions have a different character. None of the dividing questions touch on parochial contexts, and all touch on issues having to do with the individual. Three of the questions touch on the connection between the individual and larger ethical principles. These were: “In your opinion, is a Reform conversion into Judaism is equal to the Orthodox one?”, “Are you opposed to a member of your family marrying a Swedish volunteer?”, and “Are you opposed to intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews in the Diaspora?” Whereas the statements regarding the necessity of a Chupah or Ketubah touch on concrete social contexts, the questions inquiring into intermarriage evoke larger ideological issues that are not dependent on a particular context such as a wedding ceremony. Support for this conclusion is seen on page 44, where we see that the intermarriage questions evoke division, while statements inquiring into the presence of an intermarried couple in the wedding ceremony evoked less division. When we locate the concept of “intermarriage” in a parochial context such as the wedding ceremony we see that it is less likely to engender a divisive response, than the same concept when it is not embedded in a parochial context. Likewise, the question on the validity of Reform conversions posed as a general ideological issue that is not rooted in a particular social context also has a divisive effect.

The other two questions that evoke division touch only on the private realm (decision to eat kosher food) and do not evoke the parochial or national dimensions of Jewish expression. In contrast, we see on page 40 that when the issue of kosher food is placed in the social contexts of the army, the university and the wedding ceremony the act of keeping kosher is less divisive.

2. The Effect of Social Context on Cultural Unity and Division

In the following chart we see the ethnic codes evoked in each of the seven contexts covered by the survey questions. The importance of context for ascertaining how individuals express their Jewishness and its implications for questions of Jewish unity and division are clear. The most striking difference is between the statements and questions touching on the Passover Seder and Yom Kippur. In the former over 70% of the questions evoked universal consensus, whereas no questions touching on Yom Kippur had the same unifying affect.¹⁹ Rather, 67% of the questions on Yom Kippur don't seem to either unity or division, but rather a pattern of "neutrality" which we defined as issues on which people have opinions, but they don't shape public or parochial life in either a unifying or divisive way.

Consensus and Division in Different Social/Ideological Contexts



In no other category did we find a majority of questions evoking a neutral ethnic code. In the category of religion, the neutral ethnic code covered 44% of the questions making it the dominant response to these questions. We noted earlier that the lack of cultural division

¹⁹ For a discussion of the difference between Yom Kippur and the Passover Seder see Deshen (1998).

as evidenced in the response to questions touching on religion was surprising. In general, Diaspora-Israeli, Food and Passover categories the tendency is towards cultural consensus, although the strength of that consensus differs from context to context.

3. On the Difference between Highly Committed and Average, Religious and Secular Israeli Jews

The three pie charts appearing on page 57 offer a comparison between three of the sub-groups covered in our survey. In order to assess the difference between the “highly committed” and “average” Jewish identities, we compare the shlichim to the Ruppin Students. In order to ascertain the affect of religion on identity, we compare the mostly religious Zionist seminar group to the other two mostly secular groups. The reader should note that we have combined the two summer shlichim groups into a single group for the purpose of the following analysis (as their responses were fairly uniform) in order to ask if the summer camp shlichim are different from either of the other two groups in any discernible way.

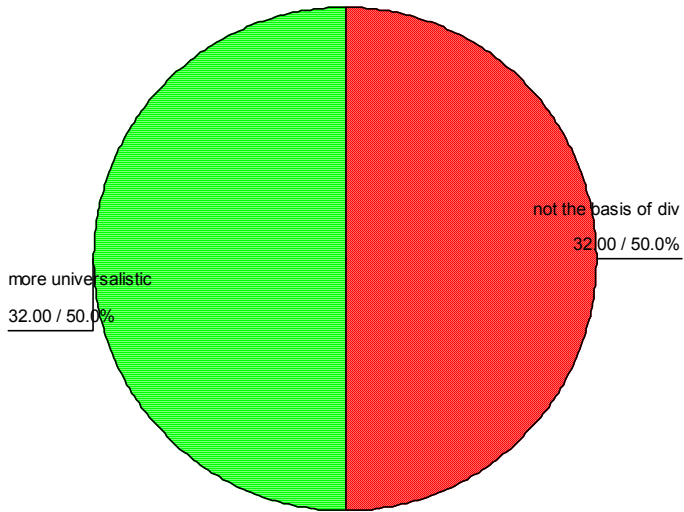
The pie charts on page 57 show the existence of two cross-cutting cultural fields at work among our groups. One field distinguishes between the highly committed from the average Israeli Jew, while the other field separates religious from secular Jews. On some questions the predominantly secular summer shlichim react in the same way as the Ruppin students - that is they both react in a way that identifies them as secular Jews and as different from the religious Zionist seminar shlichim. In contrast, on other questions, the summer shlichim move in the same direction as the Zionist seminar shlichim – that is religion is not a dividing factor, rather both the religious and secular shlichim identify as highly committed and more particularistic Jews in comparison to the Ruppin students. The question is, in which social and ideological contexts covered by our survey does the highly committed vs.

average distinction come into play, and in which contexts is the religious vs. secular division more relevant?

Each of the three pie charts offers the following information. We coded the responses to the questions to tell us if a group on a particular question was either 10 percentage points “more universalistic,” “more hesitant” or “more particularistic” than the other two groups covered in the survey; or alternatively, that the group “cannot be distinguished” from at least one of the other groups in a clear manner. We see below that on half of the 64 questions, the Ruppin students answered in a more universalistic manner than the two Jewish Agency groups. On the other half of the questions the answers were similar to one or both of the other groups.

The Zionist Seminar shlichim answered 40 (63%) of the 64 questions in a more particularistic way than the other two groups, and on only two questions (3%) do they appear as more hesitant. On none of the questions were they more universalistic, while on 22 (34%) of the questions there was no difference between them and at least one of the other groups. In sharp contrast to the other two groups, the Summer Shlichim were similar to at least one of the other groups on 58 (91%) of the questions. They were more particularistic on two (3%), and more hesitant on four (6%) of the questions.

Ruppin Students vs. Shlichim



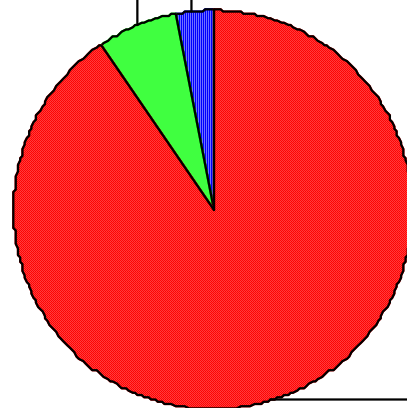
Summer Shlichim vs. Others

more universalistic

2.00 / 3.1%

more hesitant

4.00 / 6.3%



Zionist Seminars vs. Others

more hesitant

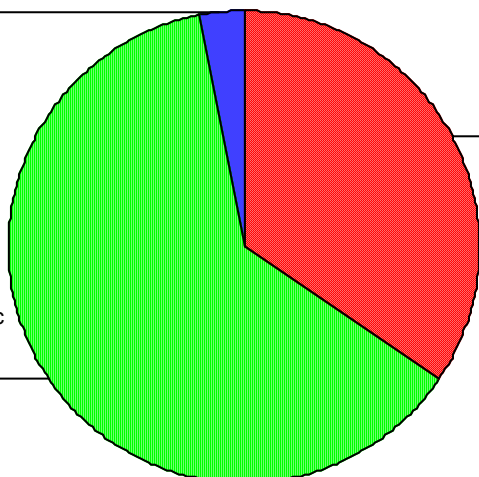
2.00 / 3.1%

not the basis of div

22.00 / 34.4%

more particularistic

40.00 / 62.5%



| Questions on which | |
|--|---|
| Average Jews [Ruppin students] are at least 10% more universalistic or particularistic than the Highly Committed [shlichim] | Religious Jews [Zionist Seminars] are at least 10% more hesitant or particularistic than the Secular [Ruppin, Summer Shlichim] |
| General - Are you proud to be a Jew? | Food – Does the food in your home need to be Kosher? |
| General - If you had the opportunity to be born again, would you want to be Jewish? | Religion - Are you in favor of opening places of entertainment on Friday evenings? |
| General - Is service in the Israeli Army (IDF) of utmost importance? | Religion - Do you accept the concept of "secular conversion" to Judaism? |
| Food - Should the food in the Army continue to be Kosher? | Religion – Is it legitimate for a Jew to work on Shabbat? |
| Diaspora - Are you prepared to pray in a Reform or Conservative Synagogue abroad? | Religion - Should the Orthodox receive more rights as opposed to other Movements? |
| Diaspora - The continued existence of the Diaspora is important for the existence of Israel! | Seder – Bread |
| Diaspora - The right of the Jews to a State in the Land of Israel depends on moral behavior towards non-Jewish populations! | Seder - Custom of Four Cups Drinking |
| | Wedding - Any Rabbi |
| | Wedding - Are you opposed to intermarriage between Israeli Jews and Arabs? |
| | Wedding - Either Bride or Bridegroom is Jewish |
| | Wedding - Female Rabbi |
| | Wedding – Ketubah |
| | Wedding - Orthodox Rabbi Only |
| | Wedding - Ring Exchange Ceremony |
| | Yom Kippur - Spend Time with Family |
| | Yom Kippur - Spend time with Friends |

In the first column of the above table we see seven questions or statements for which the answers of the Summer Shlichim and Zionist Seminar participants were indistinguishable from one another and for which the Ruppin Students were more universalistic or particularistic. In the second column we see the 16 questions or statements for which the answers of the Summer Shlichim and Ruppin students were indistinguishable from one another and the Zionist Seminar shlichim were either more particularistic or more hesitant.

[need to rework the following paragraph] A comparison between the two columns shows that the questions that divide religious from secular Israeli Jews, are different from those which divide highly committed from average Jews. Not surprisingly we see that the questions in the second column all distinguish the shlichim from the Ruppin students touch on issues of religious observance and the relation of religion and state. However, what is

surprising is that the common points between the two groups of secular and religious shlichim don't touch on personal issues of religious observance or the relationship between religion and state, but rather touch on general emotional connections to being Jewish and Israeli, opinions on the Jewish and moral character of the state, and the relations of the Diaspora to Israel.

V. Concluding Discussion

**This discussion will be written in order to enable the reader to make the transition between the data presented in this chapter, the previous chapter and the analysis in the coming chapters ... to be written later.

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