

THE FUNCTIONS OF JEWISH SCHOOLING IN AMERICA¹

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This paper will assess the functions of Jewish schooling in terms of the overall process of Jewish identification in American society. Using a random sample of all American Jews (the National Jewish Population Study), I shall describe the role of Jewish schooling in America. While Jewish schooling is an important aspect in the identification process, I do not consider it to be the most determining factor. Moreover, the relative impact of Jewish schooling, compared to the relative importance of other factors, depends on the forms of identification in question. Jewish schooling has a relatively greater impact on promoting *public* expression of Jewishness — synagogue attendance, support for Israel, participation in Jewish organizations, than on promoting *personal* expressions of Jewishness — home ritual observances, participating in Jewish social networks, appreciating Jewish culture. By comparison, family background and generation have a relatively greater impact on promoting personal Jewishness than public Jewishness. Finally, the effects of schooling vary between the type of identification in question. Although schooling has a greater impact on public Jewishness than personal Jewishness, the critical threshold beyond which

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instruction begins to exert this effect is higher — roughly 1,000 hours of instruction for public Jewishness, compared to about 500 hours of instruction for personal Jewishness.

I. Jewish Identification and Socialization

Diversity is the central aspect of Jewish identification.² Not only do American Jews vary in the extent of their Jewishness, but they are more or less identified in a number of different ways. Contemporary research on Jewish identification utilizes multiple measures to capture varied dimensions of the American Jewish experience.³ Identification is traditionally defined and measured in terms of religious, associational, and/or ethnic behaviors, attitudes or beliefs.

That is to say, contemporary research seeks to explain American Jewish life in terms of religious behaviors and beliefs; participation in formal and informal associations; cultural expressions and affiliation. These religious, associational, and ethnic paradigms serve both to document degrees of Jewishness among Jews, and to index differences between Jews and non-Jews; yet focusing on outcomes to index inter-group and intra-group differences does not directly address the underlying process of Jew-

2. By identification, I mean the actual, observable and measurable behaviors and attitudes, what *Webster's Third International Dictionary* defines as "the act or action of being linked in an unseparable fashion." "Identification" is distinct from "identity," the innate personality of characteristics of an individual or group (Simon N. Herman. *Israelis and Jews: The Continuity of an Identity* (New York: Random House, 1970).

3. Harold Himmelfarb. *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education upon Adult Religious Involvement*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Chicago, 1974).

Bernard Lazerwitz. "Religious Identification and its Ethnic Correlates: A Multivariate Model," *Social Forces*, LII (December 1973), pp. 204–220.

Steven M. Cohen. "The Impact of Jewish Education on Religious Identification and Practice," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXXVI (July–October, 1974), pp. 316–326.

Marshall Sklare and Joseph Greenblum. *Jewish Identity on the Suburban Frontier* (New York: Basic Books, 1967).

ish socialization. One must consider the relative impact of key social factors — such as Jewishness of home background, generation and formal Jewish schooling — on the transmission of identification from generation to generation.

It seems to me that specific conceptions of Jewish identification derive from one of two clusters of factors. In some instances Jewish identification is the product of *internalized, personalized norms which individuals inherit largely from their parents*. Whether Jews feel that Jewishness is personally important, and whether they integrate Jewish behavior and beliefs into their everyday lives, depends mainly on the Jewishness of the home environment in which they were raised, and only to a lesser degree on their Jewish schooling during childhood. I shall term this a general process of *personal Jewishness*.

In other instances, Jewishness is the *product of externalized social norms, fostered by the larger social milieu*. Whether Jews formally interact with one another, and whether they participate in activities on behalf of the Jewish group, depend not only on their Jewish home background, but also on their Jewish school experiences and on more general social forces such as the nature of Jewish communal life or the differences between generations of American Jews. I shall term this a general process of *public Jewishness*.

As I shall show below, formal Jewish schooling has a greater impact on public Jewishness than personal Jewishness. Its impact, however, is mitigated by other key factors in the socialization process, most notably Jewishness of home background and generation of American birth.

II. The NJPS Identification Study

My doctoral research is based on a disproportionately stratified, multi-staged clustered sample of 4,275 Jewish respondents drawn from the National Jewish Population Survey. Collected between 1969 and 1973 (with 1971 as the approximate date) the sample is composed of all Jewish individuals age 18 and above who answered a special section on behavioral and attitude items about their Jewishness. Jewish individuals are those who said they were Jewish, who had at least one Jewish parent or who had converted

to Judaism. Assuming that the average Jewish child completed his/her Jewish schooling by age 15, all respondents were enrolled before 1968. A detailed analysis of survey and sampling criteria, including comparisons with available community-level studies, reveal that the Identification Sample is basically representative of the American Jewish population as a whole; for purposes of this study, possible sources of sampling and response bias are minimal.⁴

III. Defining Jewishness: The Measurement of Jewish Identification

How American Jews indicate their Jewishness is a critical part of the problem. Some may be more religious than others. Some may have more extensive "organizational" ties than others. Some may be more "ethnic" than others. I have used a variety of scaling techniques to construct nine identification scales based on items in the Identification Sample. A description of the items in each scale is presented in Table One.

Items included in the identification scales are: Jewish Self-Esteem Scale, Home Ritual Observance Scale, Social Networks Scale, Cultural Perceptions Scale, Synagogue Attendance Scale, Synagogue Activities Scale, Organizational Activities Scale, Israel Support Scale, and Political Attitudes Scale.

4. For a detailed assessment of possible biases, see: Geoffrey E. Bock. *The Jewish Schooling of American Jews: A Study of Non-cognitive Educational Effects*, Ed.D. dissertation (Harvard University, 1976).

Table One

<i>Scale Name</i>	<i>Summary of Item Contents</i>
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	11 general, global attitudes about the importance of being Jewish.
Home Ritual Observance Scale	11 instances of Jewish rituals performed annually, weekly, or daily in the home.
Social Networks Scale	Extent of and attitudes towards ingroup friendships and Jewish neighborhoods. Attitudes towards intergroup dating and intermarriage.
Cultural Perceptions Scale	7 items about perceived knowledge of or enjoyment of specific aspects of Jewish culture.
Synagogue Attendance Scale	9 instances of when individuals might attend synagogue services during the year.
Synagogue Activities Scale	Membership in one or more synagogues; perceived activity in a synagogue.
Organizational Activities Scale	Membership in '0' to '3 or more' secular Jewish organizations; perceived activity in an organization.
Israel Support Scale	3 attitudes about support of Israel; attitudes towards emigrating to Israel; contributing financially to Israel; having been to Israel; planning to visit or move to Israel within the next three years.
Political Attitudes Scale	Attitudes towards race relations, civil rights and public welfare.

The scales can be arranged in terms of contemporary conceptions of Jewish identification — those which measure religious behaviors, associational Jewishness, and ethnic Jewishness. They can also be arranged in terms of two generalizable clusters — personal Jewishness and public Jewishness — which will account for factors in the socialization process. Table Two provides comparisons between these two general strategies for conceptualizing Jewishness. While most analysts consider three basic conceptions of Jewish identification, I shall consider only two. This table provides a useful guide between personal and public Jewishness on the one hand, and religious, associational and ethnic identification on the other.

Table Two
Identification Scales by Aggregating Criteria

	Religious	Associational	Ethnic
Personal Jewishness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Home Ritual Observances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Informal Social Networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Jewish Self-Esteem •Cultural Perceptions
Public Jewishness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Synagogue Attendance •Synagogue Activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Organizational Activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Support for Israel •Political Activities

IV. The Consequences of Jewish Schooling

Involvement in Jewish schooling is one factor in the overall socialization of Jewish children. The ability of formal institutions to transmit values from parents to children is mitigated by competing factors — home background, generation of American birth, age, sex, and community of residence. Since individuals have had widely varying degrees of exposure to Jewish instruction — ranging all the way from a few hours on a weekend to concentrated study in a day school or *Yeshiva* — one must first assess the basic impact of Jewish schooling and only then consider the relative effects of various other factors.

The relationships between Jewish schooling and Jewish identification can be considered in three different ways. First, Jewish schooling may serve as a cultural emblem. Enrolling in a Jewish school may be an end in itself. *Simply attending* a Jewish school may be an affirmation of Jewish culture. This would be a weak function of schooling. Its importance derives from getting inside the Jewish schoolhouse door, and not from the kinds of experiences individuals have had once enrolled in a school. Second, Jewish schooling may serve as a kind of religious and cultural socialization experience. Perhaps the “hidden curriculum” of Jewish schooling is most important: individuals are more identified because they have repeatedly enrolled in a Jewish school from one year to the next, regardless of the intensity of Jewish instruction they may have received. This means that *years of Jewish schooling* is the best measure. Third, Jewish schooling may be an attempt to transmit values, behaviors and beliefs. Perhaps “intensity of instruction” is most important: individuals are more identified because they have spent more hours in Jewish classrooms. This means that *hours of Jewish instruction* is the best predicting measure. Hours of instruction incorporates both the number of years individuals have spent in Jewish schools and the type of schools they have attended.⁵

5. Intensity of instruction is estimated by the hours of Jewish instruction per week: private tutor — 4 hours; Sunday school — 3 hours; afternoon Hebrew school — 8 hours; all-day Hebrew school — 17 hours; Yeshiva — 20 hours; other — 6 hours (Harold Himmelfarb. *The Impact of Religious Schooling: The Effects of Jewish Education upon Adult Religious Involvement*, Ph.D.

A. The Basic Impact of Schooling

The zero-order correlations among different measures of Jewish schooling and individual measures of Jewish identification imply that schooling and identification are related (Table Three). "Better Jewishly schooled" Jews are "more identified." Moreover, I do not find any negative correlations. This means that "more" Jewish schooling is not related to a decline in different measures of Jewish identification. But the fact that I find differences in the strength of the correlations means that I must pay considerable attention to the measurement of Jewish schooling.

Table Three
Zero Order Correlations of Jewish Identification Measures and Three Measures of Jewish Schooling

	Some Jewish Schooling	Years of Jewish Schooling	Hours of Jewish Instruction
Some Jewish Schooling	--	--	--
Years of Jewish Schooling	.564	--	--
Hours of Jewish Instruction	.453	.780	--
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.201	.138	.256
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.198	.207	.240
Synagogue Activities Scale	.178	.195	.199
Organizational Activities Scale	.139	.165	.137
Social Networks Scale	.093	.030	.142
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.216	.114	.169
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.251	.188	.328
Israel Support Scale	.099	.042	.219
Political Attitude Scale	.116	.102	.032

Dissertation (University of Chicago, 1974). These survey-estimates correspond closely to estimates made by Hillel Hochberg, American Association For Jewish Education, in correspondence (1975). Total hours are then the product of Type of School per week multiplied by 40 weeks per School Year multiplied by Number of Years.

In this table, I find that “hours of Jewish instruction” is most highly correlated with six of the measures — the Home Ritual Observance Scale, the Synagogue Attendance Scale, the Synagogue Activities Scale, the Social Networks Scale, the Cultural Perceptions Scale, and the Israel Support Scale. This means that intensity of Jewish instruction probably has the largest effect on these dimensions of Jewish identification. “Years of Jewish schooling” is most highly correlated with the Organizational Activities Scale. This suggests that the socialization experiences of attending a Jewish school over a number of years is probably most important. “Simply attending a Jewish school” is most highly correlated with the Jewish Self-Esteem Scale and the Political Attitudes Scale. For these two forms of Jewish identification, Jewish schooling probably best serves as a cultural emblem. In these cases, the greatest effect of Jewish schooling derives from getting through the Jewish schoolhouse door.

However, for each of the nine conceptions of Jewish identification, I can select the “best predicting” measure of Jewish schooling compared to other background factors. This leads to my “best estimate” of the effects of Jewish schooling and other factors in explaining differences in Jewish identification.

B. The Effects of Schooling in the Socialization Process

I believe the above has established that Jewish schooling is important to some extent. But other salient background characteristics — Jewishness of family background, generation of American birth, sex, chronological age, and present community of residence — also affect identification. It may be argued that even the best predicting measure of Jewish schooling may have little effect on particular conceptions of Jewish identification; Jewish family background or other factors may be much more important. For example, individuals may be much more likely to have a high sense of Jewish self-esteem when they are raised in more identified families, regardless of whether they have ever attended a Jewish school. Alternatively, simply attending a Jewish school may be the critical factor. In other words, by comparing the relative influence of Jewish schooling to other background factors, I can describe some of the complex social forces which influence various forms of Jewish identification.

1. The Determinants of Personal Jewishness

Personal, non-institutional factors are particularly likely to affect certain kinds of Jewishness. The varied effects of the salient social background factors are found in Table Four. First, the more personally identified are raised in more Jewish home environments. Jewishness of family background is consistently the single most important factor accounting for variations in various conceptions of personal Jewishness; Jewish schooling and generation of American birth are comparatively less significant. Depending on the identification scale in question, the effects of Jewish home environment are 1.3 to 2.4 times greater than the effects of Jewish schooling, and 1.2 to 2.4 times greater than the effects of generation (when the latter is defined as a continuous variable).⁶

Second, the more personally identified are usually the earlier generations of Jews. All other factors being equal, I find that second and third generation Jews are progressively less personally Jewish than the first. I find little evidence of the "third generation hypothesis." (This hypothesis asserts that since the third generation has not experienced the cultural conflicts of the second generation, it is more likely to accept the values of the immigrant generation.) But I do find some evidence of a cultural reversal in the fourth generation. Nevertheless, this reversal is relatively modest, and the fourth generation is still far less identified than the first.

Third, the more personally identified may be either men or women of any chronological age and may live in many different kinds of Jewish communities. I find that, all other factors being equal, the effects of sex, chronological age, and New York City residence are usually quite small. This means that personal Jewishness depends almost entirely on the individual's personal experiences, and very little on general social characteristics.

2. The Determinants of Public Jewishness

By comparison, public Jewishness is influenced by more complicated and varied patterns of events. Much depends on the particular identification scale in question. Yet there are some fairly general trends. The results of this analysis are displayed in Table Five.

6. These are ratios of the standardized regression coefficients.

Table Four
Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients
of the Determinants of Personal Jewishness

	Jewish Family Background	Generation of American Birth	Chronological Age	Sex (1= male)	N.Y.C. Residence	Some Jewish Schooling	Hours of Jewish Instruction	R ²
<i>Generation as Dummy Variables</i> (Unstandardized Regression Coefficients)								
		Second	Third	Fourth				
		<i>(Relative to First)</i>						
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.220	-.156	-.332	-.281	.004	-.109	-.031	.244
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.751	-.967	-1.747	-1.313	NS	-.446	.413	.0003 .202
Social Networks Scale	.194	-.276	-.459	-.374	.003	-.145	.352	.0001 .174
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.278	-.273	-.356	-.205	.003	-.072		.0001 .259
<i>Generation as Continuous Variable</i> (Standardized Regression Coefficients)								
		(Generation Continuous)						
Jewish Self-Esteem Scale	.315	-.172	.087	-.078	-.023	.133		.234
Home Ritual Observance Scale	.248	-.200	NS	-.075	.066			.180 .199
Social Networks Scale	.205	-.173	.067	-.078	.182			.093 .172
Cultural Perceptions Scale	.303	-.127	.066	-.042	NS			.238 .254

NOTE: NS=Not Significant where p>.01 on F-Test

Table Five
Unstandardized and Standardized Regression Coefficients
of the Determinants of Public Jewishness

	Jewish Family Back- ground	Generation of American Birth	Chrono- logical Age	Sex (= male)	N.Y.C. Resi- dence	Some Jewish School- ing	Years of Jewish School- ing	Hours of Jewish Instruc- tion	R ²
<i>Generation as Dummy Variables</i>									
<i>(Unstandardized Regression Coefficients)</i>									
	Second Third Fourth								
	<i>(Relative to First)</i>								
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.397	-.818	-.826	-.460	NS	-.161	-.642	.0002	.148
Synagogue Activities Scale	.351	-.141	-.134	.793	.003	-.358	-.507	.0002	.100
Organizational Activities Scale	.341	NS	.228	.469	.016	-.491	-.369	.058	.119
Israel Support Scale	.116	-.331	-.471	-.502	.003	-.031	-.128	.0001	.170
Political Attitudes Scale	-.098	.114	.208	.315	-.009	.201	-.062	.207	
<i>Generation as a Continuous Variable:</i>									
<i>(Standardized Regression Coefficients)</i>									
	<i>(Generation Continuous)</i>								
Synagogue Attendance Scale	.177	.119	NS	NS	-.041	-.151		.175	.136
Synagogue Activities Scale	.169	NS	NS	.040	-.088	-.122		.169	.096
Organizational Activities Scale	.189	.055	.145	-.135	-.100		.144	.119	
Israel Support Scale	.148	-.225	.062	NS	.080			.161	.166
Political Attitudes Scale	-.123	.102	-.198	.127	-.038	.117		.139	

Note: NS=Not Significant where p > .01 on F-test

Certainly the Jewish content of the home has an important influence: individuals from more Jewish families are usually more publicly identified. (Identification in terms of secular political attitudes is an important exception.) Nevertheless, home background is no longer the single most important factor. Rather, the more publicly identified also have other underlying social characteristics as well. For instance, in three of the five scales (the Organizational Activities Scale and the Political Attitudes Scale are the exceptions) the effects of Jewish schooling are as important or more important than the effects of Jewish family background. This means that individuals have learned as much or more about public social norms through their experiences in Jewish schools as through their childhood homes.

With the exception of attitudes towards Israel, generation has had relatively modest effects on different forms of public Jewishness. This suggests that, despite the cultural changes within the American Jewish community over time, American Jews continue to be involved in religious and secular communal activities. I suspect, however, that the goals of public identification have changed.

Political attitudes form a distinctive expression of public identification in another respect. Generally speaking, those of later generations from less Jewish home backgrounds are more tolerant in their political and social outlook. In other words, this conception of Jewishness probably represents a form of identification for those individuals who are marginally Jewish in the first place.

Support for Israel is unique — and troubling — in important respects. Generation of American birth has the largest effect on support for Israel. Among Jews who are comparable in every other respect, those who are foreign-born are the strongest supporters of Israel. All other factors being equal, the intensity of support declines *progressively* and steadily from one American-born generation to another.⁷

7. The second generation, on the average, is .331 points below the first on the Israel Support Scale; the third and fourth are .471 and .502 points respectively, below the first.

However, all other factors are not always equal. Schooling and family background also have a significant — not inconsequential but nevertheless secondary — effect on support for Israel. In fact, Jewishness of family background and hours of Jewish instruction have roughly similar effects. This means that within comparable generations of American Jews, intensity of support for Israel is due both to the length of time individuals have spent in Jewish classrooms and to the Jewishness of their home environments. Weakness in one area may be offset by strength in another area. Within a *limited* sphere, Jewish schooling per se probably has a noticeable (and educationally consequential) impact on this particular conception of public Jewishness. Nevertheless, the effects of generation provide a sobering reminder about the basic state of support for Israel among American Jews — a progressively declining phenomenon.

V. The Role of Jewish Schooling

Jewish schooling affects identification. But the relative impact of schooling, compared to the effects of other factors in the socialization process, depends on the conception of identification in question. This finding, then, raises two additional issues about the Jewish schooling of American Jews.

First, does intensity matter, and, if so, how much schooling is needed? Are there critical thresholds beyond which point schooling begins to exert an independent effect on identification? Or is the impact of schooling a linear phenomenon where the more schooling one has, the more identified one becomes?

Second, how does schooling affect Jewishness? What is the interrelationship between schooling on the one hand, and family background and generation on the other, that leads some Jews to be more identified than others?

To find answers to these questions, further analysis of the data is required.

A. Intensity of Schooling

In my analysis thus far, I have assumed that each and every change in hours of Jewish instruction is related to a constant interval on the different measures of Jewish identification. In

technical terms, I have assumed that the measure of hours of Jewish instruction is a continuous, linear variable. For example, I have assumed that the increment from 200 to 700 hours of Jewish instruction and the increment from 2,200 to 2,700 hours of Jewish instruction have comparable effects on various identification measures. This assumption may be inaccurate. There may be a minimal amount of Jewish schooling required in order to have a lasting effect on Jewish identification. There may be a maximal amount of Jewish schooling, beyond which it has little or no effect. And the critical minimal threshold and maximal ceiling may depend on the particular conception of Jewish identification in question. In this section I shall consider the effects of different amounts of time spent in Jewish classrooms.

The analysis of the effects of varied hours of Jewish instruction is presented in Table Six. After controlling for Jewishness of family background, generation of American birth, chronological age, sex, and New York City residence, this table shows how much more identified are individuals who have spent different time in Jewish classrooms, compared to those with no Jewish schooling. Thus Table Six reports the *relative* changes in Personal and Public Jewishness from one level of Jewish instruction to another. To illustrate the overall effects of varying amounts of Jewish schooling, I have graphed the relative changes of each identification measure due to differences in hours of Jewish instruction in Figures One and Two.

The critical threshold for personal Jewishness is around 500 hours of instruction. I find in Table Six and Figure One that after about 500 hours in Jewish classrooms, Jewish schooling begins to have independent effects on the Index of Personal Jewishness. This is roughly 4.2 years of one-day supplemental schooling, or 1.5 years of afternoon Hebrew schooling or .7 years of day schooling. Moreover, beyond this point, the effects of hours of instruction are not always constant. Between roughly 4,000 and 6,000 hours of instruction, increased schooling leads to a decline in personal Jewishness. And after about 10,000 hours of instruction, the impact of Jewish schooling begins to taper off. This means that Jewish schooling has had a slightly greater influence on personal Jewishness than indicated by the general measure. This also means that after a certain point, more Jewish schooling becomes counter-productive.

Table Six
Unstandardized Regression Coefficients of Varied Hours of Jewish
Background Variables Controlled¹ on Personal and Public

(Dummy Variable Analysis of the Effects of Varied Hours Relative to the Mean)

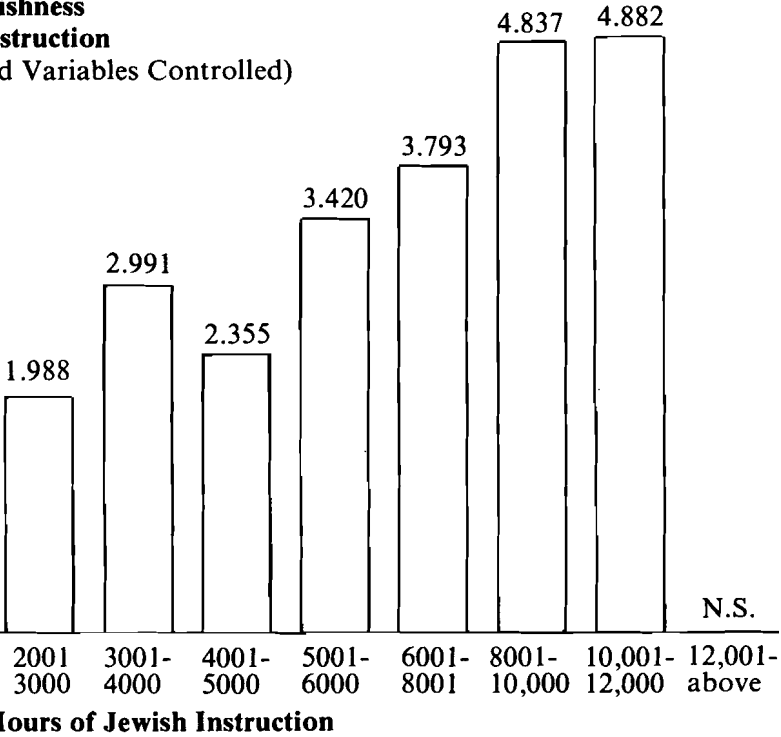
Identification Scales	1-500 Hours	501- 1,000 Hours	1,001- 2,000 Hours	2,001- 3,000 Hours	3,001- 4,000 Hours	4,001- 5,000 Hours	5,001- 6,000 Hours	6,001- 8,000 Hours
Index of Personal Jewishness	(.221)	.864	1.225	1.988	2.991	2.355	3.420	3.793
Index of Public Jewishness	1.309	(.157)	2.426	2.537	3.540	2.166	2.814	4.612
Percent of Sample in Each Group	11.7	15.0	24.5	9.0	3.2	1.6	1.0	1.3

Notes: ¹ Five background variables are (a) Jewishness of family background birth; (c) Chronological age; (d) Sex; (e) New York City residence.

() Coefficient not significant: $p > .01$ on F-test.

Figure 1

**ishness
struction
(d Variables Controlled)**



Scale Points Above the No Jewish Schooling Group

The critical threshold for public Jewishness is around 1,000 classroom hours. I find in Table Six and Figure Two that after about 1,000 hours in Jewish classrooms, Jewish schooling begins to have an independent effect on the Index of Public Jewishness. This means that those individuals who have spent less than 1,000 hours in Jewish classrooms are no more publicly identified than if they had never attended a Jewish school. One thousand hours are equivalent to about 8.5 years of one-day supplemental schooling, 3 years of afternoon Hebrew schooling or 1.5 years of day schooling. Moreover, from 1,000 to 4,000 classroom hours and after 6,000 classroom hours, public Jewishness increases. But between 4,000 and 6,000 classroom hours increased schooling is related to a decline in public Jewishness. The extent of this decline is relative. People with this much Jewish schooling are still more identified than if they had never attended a Jewish school. This means that beyond 1,000 classroom hours, better schooled Jews are more publicly involved in Jewish life. This also means that between 4,000 and 6,000 classroom hours, individuals find their school experiences counter-productive.

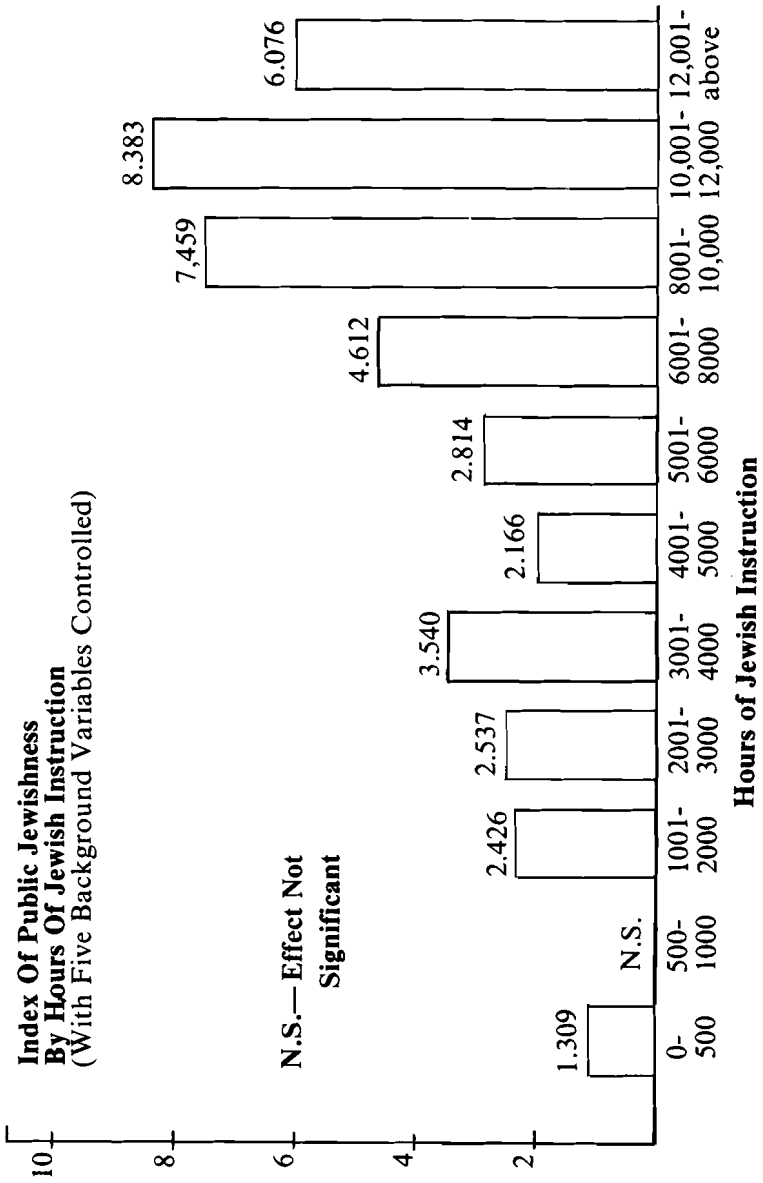
I estimate that only 56.6 percent of all American Jews receive more than 500 hours of Jewish instruction, and only 41.6 percent receive more than 1,000 hours of Jewish instruction during childhood. This means that slightly less than half on one hand, and more than half on the other have not spent enough time in Jewish schools to reach the respective critical thresholds for Personal and Public Jewishness. I estimate that only 4.9 percent of all American Jews receive more than 4,000 hours of Jewish instruction during childhood. This means that less than 5 percent have spent sufficient time in Jewish schools to reach the possible plateau. All in all, Jewish schooling has affected only 40 to 55 percent of American Jewry, depending on the definition of Jewish identification in question.

B. The Interrelationship of Personal and Public Jewishness

Jewish schooling, hence background and generation, have varied effects on Personal and Public Jewishness. In fact, these three factors are basic components of an overall socialization process. Personal Jewishness also affects Public Jewishness; what one believes and does in one's personal life affects one's public activities. A model of Jewish socialization is presented in Figure Three.

Scale Points Above the No Jewish Schooling Group

Figure 2



Using path analysis techniques, I can then estimate the relative effects of each factor. By sociological standards, this is a fairly complete model; 32 percent of the variance in Public Jewishness is explained by the antecedent factors.

Jewish schooling fulfills a particular role in the socialization process: it most directly affects Public Jewishness. Family background has another kind of effect in socialization: it most directly affects Personal Jewishness. That is, compared to schooling, Jewish family background has about one-half the direct effect on Public Jewishness. Compared to schooling, family background has about two times greater direct effect on Personal Jewishness.

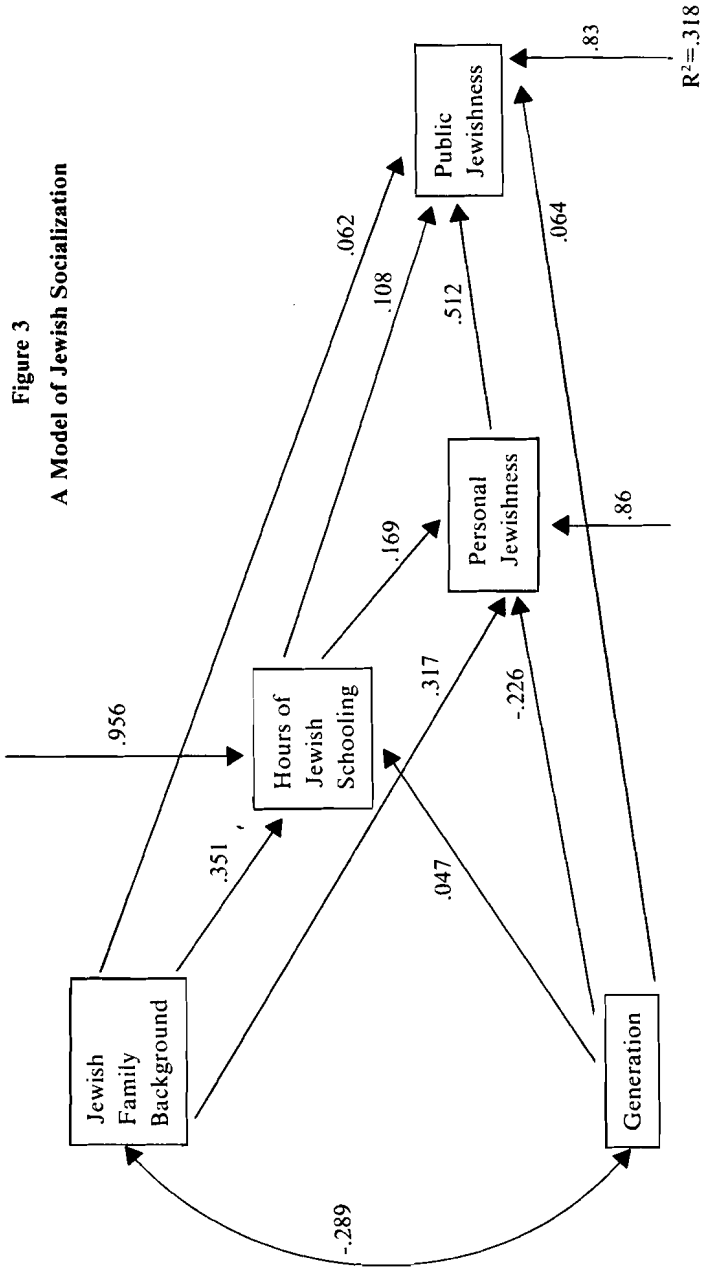
This means the effect of Jewish family background on Public Jewishness is *indirect* and operates through schooling and Personal Jewishness. Those who were raised in more identified homes as children are more publicly identified as adults because they have had more Jewish schooling and because they learned from their families to be more personally identified.

This model of Jewish socialization also implies that the effects of Jewish schooling on Public Jewishness are direct and relatively substantial, particularly when compared to the effects of schooling on Personal Jewishness. Family background plays a key role in Personal Jewishness; its role is more modest for Public Jewishness. Thus spending more time in Jewish schools serves to increase one's Public Jewishness more than one's Personal Jewishness. Schools are much better at training people how to identify publicly as Jews; families are much better at teaching how to behave personally.

VI. How Does Jewish Schooling Matter?

Jewish schooling affects Jewish identification to some extent. *But* the relative effects of school experiences, compared to the relative impact of other factors affecting socialization, depend on the form of identification in question. Jewish schooling has relatively greater impact on public Jewishness than Jewishness of family background, all other factors being equal. Jewishness of family background has a relatively greater impact on personal Jewishness than schooling, all other factors being equal. One suspects that public behaviors of being Jewishly identified — such as

Figure 3
A Model of Jewish Socialization



contributing to a Jewish organization or attending synagogue services — are more easily taught in the formal curricula of Jewish schools than personal practices, attitudes, and beliefs. It comes as little surprise that the home environment has the greatest effect on personal Jewishness, as feeling good about being Jewish or having Jewish friends, or practising Judaism in one's daily life are more private kinds of concerns, which one learns primarily from one's family.

Support for Israel is a special aspect of public Jewishness. Intensive Jewish schooling, *per se*, has a positive effect on support for Israel; people who have spent more time in Jewish schools, all factors being equal, are stronger supporters of Israel. Nevertheless, a critical factor — more important even than either schooling or family background — is generation of American birth. All other factors being equal, foreign-born Jews are much stronger supporters of Israel than either their children or their grandchildren. Yet all other factors do not remain constant. Realizing that among American Jews both Jewishness of family background and intensity of schooling are waning, overall group support for Israel is inexorably declining. Where one goes from here is difficult to say.

Finally, a certain minimum amount of Jewish schooling is necessary before school experiences begin to affect identification. I estimate this critical threshold at 1,000 hours for public Jewishness and 500 hours for personal Jewishness. That is, roughly 8.2 years of one-day Hebrew school, 3 years of afternoon Hebrew school, and 1.5 years of day school for public Jewishness, and half these numbers for personal Jewishness. Since schooling has its greatest impact on public Jewishness, 1,000 hours is perhaps the more crucial threshold. This suggests that, while day schools are a more efficient educational method — due to the concentration of time for Jewish instruction — intensive supplemental schools can also be effective. This also suggests that one must consider further research into the organization, structure, and functioning of Jewish schools, to understand fully what happens during the 1,000 hours.