

**COMMITTED ZIONISTS AND CURIOUS TOURISTS:
TRAVEL TO ISRAEL AMONG CANADIAN JEWISH YOUTH**

Submitted to:

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I. BACKGROUND: WHY IS ISRAEL TRAVEL IMPORTANT?

How can the organized Jewish community successfully promote educationally effective travel to Israel on the part of Canadian Jewish teen-agers and young adults? This is the central policy question addressed in this report on recent random sample surveys of Canadian Jewish families sponsored by the CRB Foundation of Montreal.

The interest of the Jewish community in maintaining and expanding youth travel to Israel is almost self-evident. Such travel engenders numerous benefits for Jewish life. Among these are the following:

1) First and foremost, travel to Israel is thought to be associated with positive influences upon young Jews' relationships with Israel. Such an experience gives young people a memorable encounter with the land and people of Israel; it often stimulates or enhances ties with Israeli family and friends; and it may provoke subsequent interest in learning Hebrew or other Israel-related matters.

2) Travel to Israel may well enhance other aspects of Jewish identity, that is, those not specifically related to Israel as such. As a result of young Jews' experience in Israel, they may become more involved in ritual activities, philanthropic causes, or other aspects of Jewish life, either as youngsters now or even many years later as mature adults.

3) Travel to Israel provides an opportunity to build relationships with other Jewish travelers in ways and with an intensity that are unlikely to be experienced in any other context.

In light of these and other likely benefits of Israel travel, many policy makers in Jewish life are understandably keen on sustaining and elevating the number of young Jews traveling to Israel. Some observers believe that several years of violence in and around the State of Israel, the weak economy in North America, and possible disaffection with Israeli foreign policies might be draining the traditional enthusiasm of Canadian Jewry for traveling to Israel. Even if these fears are largely unfounded, policy makers generally, and the CRB Foundation in particular, share a broad interest in elevating the number of Canadian Jews (especially teen-agers and young adults) who are traveling to Israel.

II. PURPOSE AND METHOD:

This report draws upon a survey of 972 Canadian Jewish households conducted by Goldfarb Consultants of Toronto in the end of 1990.

This period was one of considerable anxiety about the security of Israel. Coalition forces led by the Americans had massed in Saudi Arabia and were poised to begin military action against Iraq. North American Jews were understandably more focused upon Israel than they were before or would be afterwards. Clearly, as the temporary fall-off in tourism to Israel demonstrated, they were very anxious about the safety of traveling to the Middle East. In addition, this period followed soon upon a tragic incident in the summer of 1990 when a young Jewish woman from Toronto was killed by a terrorist bomb in Israel. She was the second Canadian youth killed in Israel in the last three years.

The quantitative data used for this report derive from two surveys. One consists of 972 adult household heads. The other survey was completed by their children, 352 individuals age 13-24 who were living at home. The analysis of the adult sample below is restricted to these children's parents, that is, those who reported they have a 13-24 year old child. The analysis of the youth sample includes the entire data set.

This particular report is meant to supplement the comprehensive presentation of key findings that has already been prepared by Goldfarb Consultants for the CRB Foundation. Rather than duplicating the work Goldfarb has already conducted, this report seeks to build upon the Goldfarb analyses and suggest additional perspectives and insights. To be clear, nothing presented below contradicts the findings provided by Goldfarb Consultants. Moreover, this report presumes that its readers are already familiar with the Goldfarb report.

III. RESULTS

A) FOCUS ON YOUTH

(1) How Do Youngsters Who Have Visited Israel Differ From Those Who Have Never Gone?

About half the young people in the sample have never been to Israel, about a quarter have been there once, and the remaining quarter visited Israel at least twice. As we shall see, these groups differ in several key respects. Understanding those differences can help us assess how and to what extent travel to Israel influences the feelings and beliefs of young people. In addition, such an understanding helps us learn which sorts of people are now being reached by formal and informal efforts to promote Israel travel.

Those who have been to Israel should differ from those who have never gone for two sorts of reasons:

- 1) Prior Selection: Certain factors distinguish those who are eager and able to visit Israel from those who have not visited.
- 2) Impact of Visiting Israel: The experience of having been to Israel should influence what visitors think, feel, know, and believe about Israel and related matters.

In examining these differences, we need to recall that the data derive from a survey conducted at just one point in time. As such, they do not allow us to easily disentangle the impact of prior selection from the impact of visiting Israel. A simple example illustrates this methodological problem. Those who have been to Israel are, in many ways, more passionately pro-Israel than those who have not been there. To what extent is that relationship due to the fact that those youngsters who initially feel more committed to Israel are more likely to visit Israel, and to what extent is it due to the learning experience that takes place once one travels to Israel? Without pre-trip and post-trip interviews with the same youngsters, we simply cannot know for sure.

**TABLE 1: Israel-Related Measures by Number of Trips to Israel
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Number of Trips to Israel</u>			
	<u>None</u>	<u>Once or More</u>	<u>One or More Visits Just Once</u>	<u>Twice or More</u>
Very Interested	43	72	68	77
Often Talk	39	70	62	79
Zionist	15	32	23	42
Know Friends	16	49	44	56
Attracted to Visit	67	82	77	86
Safety Concern	31	17	22	12
Cost Concern	38	31	31	30
Will Visit	71	82	75	88
Will Visit in 3 years	30	57	43	72
May Live in Israel	4	23	13	34
Have Encouraged	20	57	46	69

(2) Israel Attachment

Table 1 reports some of the many ways in which those who have never visited Israel differ from those who have been there (first two columns, respectively). Those young Canadian Jews who have already been to Israel differ from those who have not been there in the following ways:

1) The visitors are far more likely to be "interested ... in what goes on in Israel" (a composite score of 72 versus 43). [Note: Multiple-answer questions have been re-coded on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 represents the lowest point in the scale -- such as "not interested at all" -- and 100 signifies the highest point -- e.g., "very interested."]

2) The visitors are almost twice as likely as those who have never visited Israel to "often talk about Israel with friends and relatives" (70 vs. 39).

3) The visitors are more than twice as likely to call themselves "a Zionist" (32 to 15).

4) The visitors are three times as likely to know personal friends in Israel (49 vs. 16).

5) The visitors are somewhat more likely to "feel attracted to visit Israel" (82 to 67).

The five items in Table 1 all indicate various forms of attachment to Israel. On each of them, the visitors substantially out-score the non-visitors.

NOTE: Respondents in the second column (visited Israel once or more) are divided into the two groups in the third and fourth columns (visited just once; visited twice or more).

**TABLE 1: Israel-Related Measures by Number of Trips to Israel
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Number of Trips to Israel</u>			
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Very Interested	43	72	68	77
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Will Visit in 3 years	30	57	43	72
May Live in Israel	4	23	13	34
Have Encouraged	20	57	46	69

(3) Travel-Related Attitudes

Differences are found in other important areas as well:

6) Visitors express low levels of anxiety about the safety of visiting Israel (an index score of 17 as against a 31 for those who have not been to Israel). [The safety-concern index combined answers to questions on concern for one's safety in traveling to Israel and concern for specific forms of threat such as terrorism, stoning, military attack, and street crime.]

7) In contrast, visitors felt almost as keenly as non-visitors about the financial cost of traveling to Israel (index score of 31 versus 38). [The cost index consists of two items. One asks about the perceived difficulty of the family affording a trip to Israel right now. The other asks youthful respondents whether cost would prevent them from traveling to Israel.]

8) Visitors were a little more likely to say that they would one day (again) visit Israel (82 vs. 71); they were significantly more likely to say they intend to visit within three years (57 versus 30); and they were substantially more likely than non-visitors to say that they "have seriously considered living in Israel" (23 to 4).

9) The two groups differed markedly in their responses to the following question: "Have you ever encouraged a friend to visit Israel?" By a ratio of almost 3:1, past travelers out-scored non-travelers (an average response value of 57 vs. 20 on a scale from 0 to 100).

(4) The Limited Impact Of a Single Trip

There are certainly rather significant differences in Israel attachment between visitors and non-visitors. Yet, for reasons discussed earlier, it would be premature to attribute all of these differences to the intrinsic impact of a trip to Israel alone. Indeed, as the last two columns of Table 1 demonstrate, there are also substantial differences between those who have been to Israel just once and those who have visited twice or more. Thus, the size of the gaps between those who have never been to Israel and those who were there once are substantially smaller than the gaps between the non-visitors and all visitors. In other words, simply comparing all prior travelers to Israel, no matter how often they have visited, with non-travelers yields an exaggerated portrait of the extent to which a single trip to Israel generally affects levels of attachment to Israel.

**TABLE 2: Israel-Related Measures
By Visits to Israel and Intention
To Visit Within 3 Years
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Never Been</u>		<u>Visited Once</u>	<u>Visited Once</u>	
	<u>Intend to Go?</u>			<u>Intend to Return?</u>	
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Interested	34	64	68	56	83
Often Talk	30	59	62	56	70
Zionist	6	33	23	22	25
Know Friends	13	24	44	41	48
Very Attracted	60	85	77	68	90
Safety Concern	37	17	22	24	20
Cost Concern	42	30	31	37	23
May Live in Israel	2	9	13	9	18
Have Encouraged	13	37	46	33	63

In fact, as noted earlier, many of the differences between travelers and non-travelers arise because of processes that have taken place before the first trip to Israel rather than because of the trip itself. How much of the gaps between travelers and non-travelers are attributable to pre-trip socialization and how much to trip impact? We cannot know for sure. However, we can begin to get an idea by comparing two key groups: 1) those who have been to Israel one time; and 2) those who have never been but say they will visit within three years. The latter group's attitudes may approximate those held by one-time travelers before they went to Israel. In other words, those who have never been to Israel but say they intend to visit Israel within three years may provide a reasonably accurate baseline against which to compare the one-time travelers to Israel.

For those attitudes where the "intenders" are no different from the "one-time visitors," we can infer that Israel travel per se probably had little impact. For attitudes where the one-time visitors differ from the intenders, then we have presumptive evidence that these are indeed attitudes where Israel travel exerts a direct influence.

As Table 2 reveals, many of the scores on the Israel-oriented measures for the two groups are quite close (see columns 2 and 3). Those who have never been to Israel but intend to go and those who have once visited Israel report very similar scores with respect to the following characteristics:

- 1) Interest in what goes on in Israel.
- 2) Often talking about Israel.
- 3) Calling oneself a Zionist.
- 4) Feeling attracted to visit Israel.
- 5) Concern over the safety of the trip.
- 6) Concern over the cost of the trip.
- 7) Considering living in Israel.

In fact, the Israel travelers noticeably exceed the intenders in just two areas: knowing friends in Israel and encouraging one's friends to visit Israel.

NOTE: Respondents in the third column (visited once) are divided into two groups in the fourth and fifth columns (visited once and don't intend to return within three years; visited once and do intend to return within three years).

**TABLE 2: Israel-Related Measures
By Visits to Israel and Intention
To Visit Within 3 Years
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Never Been</u>		<u>Visited Once</u>	<u>Visited Once</u>	
	<u>Intend to Go?</u>			<u>Intend to Return?</u>	
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
Interested	34	64	68	56	83
Often Talk	30	59	62	56	70
Zionist	6	33	23	22	25
Know Friends	13	24	44	41	48
Very Attracted	60	85	77	68	90
Safety Concern	37	17	22	24	20
Cost Concern	42	30	31	37	23
May Live in Israel	2	9	13	9	18
Have Encouraged	13	37	46	33	63

What do these results mean? They suggest that, for many, good feelings about Israel (items 1-7 above) are developed prior to the first trip rather than as a direct result of the experience of visiting Israel. Apparently, those young people with an interest in Israel and a positive attitude toward the country decide to travel there. The results suggest that, for many, the first trip itself does little to elevate these particular sentiments, at least insofar as they can be measured by our survey questionnaire. In contrast, the trip does seem to provoke people to recommend Israel travel to their friends, and it does seem to lead to or reinforce friendships with Israelis (or so the results suggest).

Some inkling as to the complicated impact of the first trip can be gleaned by comparing two more key groups. Most of those who have been to Israel just once say they do not intend to return in the next three years; under half say they will return. The last two columns of Table 2 report the results for these two disparate groups, those who intend to go back and those who do not intend to do so.

Among those who have been to Israel once, those who intend to return shortly are far more attached to Israel than those who do not intend to visit soon. To take one telling example, those who intend to return report they have encouraged others to travel to Israel twice as often as those who do not intend to visit in the next three years (63 versus 33).

Synthesizing the results thus far, on most measures of pro-Israel sentiments we find the following rank order, from high to low:

- HIGH:**
- 1) Visited Israel twice or more
 - 2) Visited once, intend to return within 3 years
 - 3) Never visited, intend to visit within 3 years
 - 4) Visited once, do not intend to visit within 3 years
- LOW:**
- 5) Never visited, do not intend to visit within 3 years

These results suggest that families and communities, prior to the first trip to Israel, in effect incubate a some number of "hard-core pro-Israel" youth. These are the young people most likely to make a first trip to Israel, but they are no doubt joined by others with a more casual interest in Israel travel.

After this first trip, we have evidence that the travelers divide into two groups. One group is not all that committed to Israel, Zionism, or further travel to Israel. The other consists of those who were deeply moved as Jews by their first visit to Israel. This is the group that emerges out of its first trip to Israel with a very high level of interest in the country. This is the group that most fervently seeks to return within a few years.

It must be presumed that many members of this highly pro-Israel group got to be that way even before their first trip to Israel. Their pre-trip socialization by parents, friends, teachers, and media exposure makes them prime candidates to experience Israel in an intense and Judaically meaningful fashion. They are joined (apparently) by others who are also dramatically affected by that trip, even though not much in their background has primed them in advance for their very positive experience in Israel.

Further support for this view emerges when we consider the percent who intend to visit Israel in the next three years, a finding presented earlier in Table 1. To recall, of those who have never been, 30% intend to visit shortly. This compares with just 43% of those who have visited but once and 72% of those who have been there twice.

The most surprising finding here are all those who do not intend to shortly return among those who have been to Israel once. Obviously, all those in this group had a sufficient initial interest in Israel and a sufficient ability to travel to visit Israel in the first place. However, most one-time visitors (57%), as we see, have no sure intention of returning within three years. In contrast, almost twice as many of those who have been to Israel twice intend to return shortly. It seems that something about the second trip, or something about the types of people who would undertake a second trip during their youth, makes for a sharp elevation in Israel commitment, as measured by intention to return.

The relatively sharp differences between two-time and one-time visitors to Israel suggests an important policy implication. From the perspective of building a deep attachment to Israel (and, by extension, to Jewish life generally), a single trip to Israel is generally a necessary but not a sufficient first step. Widespread and passionate attachment to Israel emerges only after the second trip to Israel. Of course, no one can go on a second trip without first taking a first trip. But, the second trip is key to solidifying the lessons of the first trip.

The apparent importance of the second trip suggests two objectives aimed at two markets. One objective is to promote Israel travel among those who have never been to the country; the other is to promote return travel among those who have visited just once. The techniques, logistics, and incentives associated with these two objectives may, in practice, differ substantially.

**TABLE 3: Index of Israel Attachment
By Number of Visits to Israel
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Number of Times Visited</u>			
	<u>Never</u>	<u>Once</u>	<u>Twicet+</u>	<u>All</u>
Zionists	11	25	55	25
Tourists	49	51	35	46
Indifferent	40	25	11	25
	100	100	100	100

Some inkling as to how the market differs for the first-time and second-time travel can be gleaned by examining the distribution of Israel attachment. The index of Israel attachment presented below draws upon the six survey questions that pertain to the following areas: 1) being very interested in Israel; 2) often talking about Israel; 3) having considered living in Israel; 4) considering oneself a Zionist; 5) feeling that it is very important to visit Israel in the next few years, and; 6) feeling very attracted to visit Israel. Obviously, someone who answers all six questions affirmatively is very attached to Israel; someone who answers none of them can be presumed to be relatively indifferent to Israel.

This index is used to delineate three groups, defined by the number of questions they answered in a pro-Israel fashion. Those answering none in a pro-Israel fashion are called, "Indifferent;" those answering one to three are called, "Tourists." and those answering four or more are called, "Zionists;" The Indifferent care little about Israel; the Tourists have some interest in Israel, perhaps enough to think about visiting the country; the Zionists profess a high level of attachment to the Jewish State. Using the arbitrary boundaries provided by the index, over a quarter of all the youth are classified as Indifferent, almost half are Tourists, and a quarter are Zionists (last column - Table 3).

The distributions of these groups differ markedly by prior visits to Israel. Among those who have never been to Israel, only a small number are Zionists, about half are Tourists, and 40% are Indifferent. Among those who have been to Israel once, about a quarter are Indifferent, half are Tourists, and a quarter are Zionists. Among those who have been to Israel at least twice, hardly any are Indifferent, a third are Tourists, and over half are Zionists.

To re-iterate a point made earlier, both self-selection and the impact of Israel travel are operating here. That is, as visits to Israel accumulate, the level of attachment to Israel rises from Indifference to Tourism and from Tourism to Zionism for two reasons. One is that the more Israel-committed among those who have never been to Israel are the ones most likely to undertake a first trip; and the more committed among those who have visited once, in turn go on to make a second trip. Second, each trip -- the first, the second, and presumably those thereafter -- leaves a positive impression on some unknown number of participants.

**TABLE 4: Intent to Visit Israel
By Attachment to Israel
And Number of Visits
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Number of Times Visited</u>		
	<u>Never</u>	<u>Once</u>	<u>Twice+</u>
Zionists	80	70	91
Tourists	35	44	50
Indifferent	10	13	--

These feelings about Israel are quite consequential. Table - 4 demonstrates that attachment to Israel is more important than prior trips to Israel in influencing whether one intends to visit Israel in the next three years. Earlier we saw that intention to visit is very much a function of number of visits. Each visit generally elevates the intention to return. However, here we see that the intention to return to Israel is also very much a function of attachment to Israel. Of those who are Indifferent, very few intend to visit shortly, even if they have already been to Israel. Of those who are Tourists, between a third and a half plan to visit soon. Of those who are classified as Zionists, between 70% and 90% say they will visit Israel within three years, even if they have never been to Israel before.

In other words, the crucial and proximate predictor of intention to travel to Israel is attachment to Israel. The more attached are more likely to intend to visit. The experience of visiting Israel seems to elevate pro-Israel attachment which in turn elevates the probability of returning. However, when the first trip fails to produce higher levels of Israel attachment, it also fails to engender an intention to return.

Throughout the first four tables we have seen evidence that not all visitors to Israel experience the same impact. Rather large differences in attachment to Israel characterize the group of youngsters who have visited the country just once. Why do some young people come out of their first trip as committed Zionists and others emerge as less committed and less ideological "Tourists" as I have called them, and still others remain relatively indifferent to Israel?

The answer to this crucial question lies beyond the scope of these data or this study, but the evidence we have is consistent with the following speculative explanation. We can reasonably assume that several factors are at work. They fall under three rubrics: the individual, the trip, and the post-trip experience.

It is fair to assume that of all those who go on a trip, those who are initially more Israel-oriented will more readily experience a strengthening of their Israel-attachment than will those who are only moderately interested in Israel, Zionism, and Judaism generally. Pre-trip pro-Israel socialization then affects not only the likelihood of traveling to Israel; it probably also affects the likelihood that the trip will have a positive and enduring impact upon participants' relationships with Israel.

In a metaphoric sense, Israel can be compared to a rich text waiting for interpretation. Not all readers (i.e., travelers) come to the same interpretation of the same text (i.e., Israel). Some arrive in Israel as Zionists (or they quickly become Zionists), seeing Israel as a central part of their strong commitment to Jewish life. Others come as mere tourists, harboring only a moderate interest in Israel and possibly only a moderate interest in their identity as Jews. Like tourists to other exotic destinations or vacation spots, some of the tourists to Israel may regard their first trip to Israel as their last, or, at best, their last trip for a long time. The trip satiates their interests rather than provoking them to new pro-Israel heights. In fact, some visitors (Jews as well as non-Jews) may arrive -- and leave -- feeling downright antagonistic toward Israel and Zionism. Certainly a Palestinian nationalist or anti-Israel intellectual is unlikely to land at Ben-Gurion singing "Hevenu Shalom Aleichem" and is equally unlikely to leave humming the verses to "Hatikva." Their experience in Israel serves only to re-inforce their initial hostility to the Jewish State.

Previous research has demonstrated that the Israel experience varies considerably in quality and impact. Some organized travel programs regularly produce high levels of interest, enthusiasm, and commitment on the part of their young participants. Unfortunately, other programs do not fare as well. The better programs seem to be those characterized by a strong educational ethos. This educational commitment is evident in the careful selection of itinerary and travel experiences; in staff recruitment, training and supervision; and in group dynamics among participants and staff.

Last, the experiences after one's return from Israel may also affect the nature and magnitude of impact of the trip. It stands to reason that young people who can participate in pro-Israel activities or who maintain contact with other participants or with the Israelis they met ought to also more readily maintain a high level of commitment to Israel.

This reasoning argues that a policy objective of increasing young people's travel to Israel alone is insufficient to realizing the larger goal of stimulating commitment to Israel and Judaism. As we have seen, those whose first trip to Israel fails to result in an intention to return are, in most ways, less attached to Israel than those who are planning to go for the first time. The implication is that travel promotion needs to be coupled with Zionist education before, during, and after the first trip to Israel.

**TABLE 5: Israel-Related Measures
By Recency of Trip to Israel
(Youth Sample)**

	Before 1987	1987- 1989	1990
Very Interested	61	75	81
Often Talk	53	77	84
Zionist	26	30	42
Know Friends	26	56	67
Very Attracted	74	81	92
Safety Concern	25	16	9
Cost Concern	32	27	36
Will Visit Yet Again	74	82	93
Will Visit in 3 Years	51	47	82
May Live in Israel	7	25	38
Have Encouraged	40	64	71

(5) The Impact Of Recent Travel
(OR:Out Of Sight, Out Of Mind)

For a variety of reasons, it would be worthwhile knowing how feelings about Israel change as the time between one's last visit and the present moment grows. Table 5 examines the imputed changes in Israel-related attitudes that take place with increasing chronological distance from the last trip to Israel. Those who have traveled to Israel are divided into three groups based upon their most recent trip: before 1987, 1987-89, and 1990.

The differences in pro-Israel sentiments among these three groups are truly startling. For some attitudes, a large gap separates those who traveled only last year from those who traveled just 2-4 years ago; for other attitudes, the larger gaps distinguish those who last visited Israel prior to 1987 and those who went during 1987-9. But, for almost every single attitude, the more recent the trip, the greater the feeling of attachment to Israel and to return travel to Israel.

A few specific illustrations will suffice. Of those who went to Israel in 1990, 84% often talk about Israel; among those who went in 1987-9, the figure drops slightly to 77%; but then, among those who last visited before 1987, it drops much further to 53%. This pattern recurs for such measures as: interest in what goes on in Israel, for knowing friends in Israel, and encouraging others to travel to Israel.

Clearly, some sentiments seem to last a number of years before they decay. However, other pro-Israel attitudes erode far more rapidly. Of those who visited just last year, fully 82% intend to return within three years. This compares with only half of those who last traveled between 1987 and 1989 and half of those who visited before 1987. Apparently, many people come back from a visit to Israel prepared to return very shortly. However, one year later, a large number of these people have decided to put off their intended return to Israel.

One policy implication to emerge from these results is that promoters of repeat Israel travel among young people need to capitalize upon the enthusiasm of travelers either while they are in Israel or shortly after their return to North America. They need to strike while the Zionist iron is still hot.

**TABLE 6: Israel-Related Measures
By Whether Respondent Has Been To Israel
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>Never Been</u>	<u>Been to Israel</u>
Parents Would Encourage	39	53
Very Interested in Israel	22	56
Most Friends Visited Israel	23	58
Safety Concerned	31	17
Cost Concerned	38	31

(6) Which Youngsters Intend To Visit Israel?

Which sorts of young people are planning to visit (or return to) Israel? What sorts of attitudes, incentives, and inhibitions affect their intention to visit Israel? Understanding these questions certainly has implications for planning how best to promote Israel travel both among those who have never gone and among those who have already visited Israel.

Earlier we saw that visiting Israel in the past is directly related to intention to visit in the future. More past travelers than non-travelers plan to visit Israel soon. Those who have been to Israel at least twice are more likely to return than those who have been there only once. Obviously, aside from visiting Israel in the past, other factors affect whether one intends to travel there. After analyzing and synthesizing the data, I was able to isolate five measures from distinctive issue domains that seem to influence intention to travel to Israel within three years. These are (in order of influence, from most to least important):

- 1) Parental Encouragement ("Would your parents encourage you to travel to Israel within the next 3 years?").
- 2) Interest in Israel ("How interested would you say you are in what goes on in Israel?").
- 3) Friends' Travel ("Of your closest friends who are Jewish, about how many have been to Israel?").
- 4) Safety Concern (the index of five questions on perceived physical danger of a visit to Israel).
- 5) Cost Concern (the two-item index).

As one would expect, those who have been to Israel differ substantially from those who have not visited in each of these areas. As Table 6 reports, 39% of those who have never been say their parents would encourage them to go and 53% of those who have visited report the likelihood of parental encouragement. Just 22% of those who have never been to Israel say that they are "very interested" in Israeli affairs as compared with 56% of those who have been there already. While 58% of previous visitors say that most of their closest Jewish friends have been to Israel, just 23% of those who have not been report likewise. As one might expect, those who have been to Israel report significant safety concerns far less than those who have never visited (17% versus 31%). The gap in level of concern over the financial expense of travel to Israel is far smaller: 38% among those who have never visited versus 31% among those who have been to Israel previously.

**TABLE 7: Impact Of Selected Israel-Related Measures
Upon Intention Of Visiting Israel In 3 Years
(Youth Sample)**

	<u>All</u>	<u>Never Been</u>	<u>Been to Israel</u>
Parents Would Encourage Adjusted	40 31	40 33	37 30
Very Interested in Israel Adjusted	39 28	32 26	33 25
Most Friends Visited Adjusted	32 19	28 18	22 16
Safety Concerns Adjusted	19 7	20 12	11 2
Cost Concerns Adjusted	11 7	11 9	8 5

Clearly, on the face of it, these factors appear to relate to Israel travel. Both common sense and the relationships with prior travel so indicate. But to get a better sense of the importance of each factor we need to examine how these measures relate to intention of traveling to Israel (do you "intend to visit Israel in the next 3 years?"). Through a multivariate analysis, we can determine the effect upon intention for each factor by itself, and for each factor controlling for all the other factors. Moreover, we can do so separately for those who have never been to Israel and for those who are contemplating a repeat visit. Very conceivably, a factor that may be important for one group may not be as important among the other group.

NOTE: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients - statistical measures of the impact of each variable upon whether the respondent intends to visit Israel. Thus, within the entire sample (labeled "All"), those whose parents encouraged them to travel to Israel are 40% more likely to intend to travel to Israel than those whose parents have not encouraged them to do so. The lower right hand numbers are adjusted for all other variables in the table. Thus, taking into account that youngsters whose parents encourage them to travel are different from those who received no such encouragement (i.e., accounting for the fact that they are more interested in Israel, have more friends who have visited Israel, are less concerned over safety and over cost), the impact of parental encouragement net of all other factors is reduced to 31% for the entire sample. The results are calculated separately for all respondents, those who have never been to Israel, and those who have visited Israel.

In broad terms, parents' encouragement and one's own interest in Israel stand out as the two most important factors influencing the intent of young people to travel to Israel (Table 7). Friends' travel experience exerts an influence of intermediate magnitude, while the influences of concerns about safety and cost are noticeable but less important. Moreover, among young people who have been to Israel, concerns about safety and about cost play an insignificant role in determining who intends to visit Israel in the next three years.

From these findings we can begin to address the question, "What sells Israel to younger Jews?" In part, ISRAEL SELLS ITSELF. Those who have been to Israel intend to go back far more often than those who have never been there. And a second visit is associated with a greater interest in returning than a single visit. Moreover, inherent interest in Israel (some would call it Zionist commitment) is a powerful motivator for getting young people to consider visiting Israel.

Second, PARENTS SELL ISRAEL. Parents can and do encourage (or, in a few cases, discourage) their children's trips to Israel. Quite obviously, they are the major source of financial support for such trips and, in most cases, have it in their power to deny their children the wherewithal to travel to Israel.

Third, FRIENDS SELL ISRAEL. Friends who have been to Israel are a major source of information on how to best visit the country. Friends encourage other friends to visit Israel. And, as the Goldfarb report documented, those age 13-24 are especially eager to go to Israel with friends, or short of that, with people they know of their own age. (Only university age youngsters who have already been to Israel have some interest in returning by themselves).

What are the major obstacles to Israel travel? Concerns over one's physical safety and over the financial expense stand out as the most significant. However, among young people at any given point in time, these are not especially powerful inhibitions, especially among those who have already visited Israel. Those who are very concerned over danger or expense are not much less likely to refrain from intending to visit Israel than those who are relatively untroubled by these issues.

But concluding that safety and cost concerns are only marginally important seems to fly in the face of the well-documented over-time variations in the travel behavior of North American adult Jews and their children. Outbreaks of violence or the threat of violence seem to sharply depress rates of travel to Israel. The provision of subsidies and scholarships seem to stimulate many parents to underwrite their children's trips to Israel. How can these observations be reconciled with the apparent minor impact of safety and cost concerns on the part of the children? The answer may lie in the parents. After all, teen-age children may be relatively oblivious to such anxieties. Parents, on the other hand, are notorious for worrying about their children's safety and assessing the value of major financial expenditures. Thus, it is to the parents that we must look to determine the impact of concerns over physical danger and financial cost.

**TABLE 8: Percent Who Have Sent a Child
To Visit Israel By Selected Variables
And By Whether Respondent Has Visited Israel
(Adult Sample)**

		All	<u>Has Respondent Visited?</u>	
			No	Yes
<u>Parent Has Visited?</u>				
	Yes	68	--	--
	No	25	--	--
<u>Israel Attachment</u>				
	High	77	--	82
	Low	41	24	56
<u>Denomination</u>				
	Orthodox	59	--	72
	Conservative	62	38	73
	Reform	27	--	32
	Other	48	16	73
<u>Safety Concerns</u>				
	High	43	16	60
	Low	61	36	74
<u>Cost Concerns</u>				
	High	43	21	61
	Low	61	34	72
Total		54		

B) FOCUS ON PARENTS

(1) Which Parents Have Sent Their Children To Israel?

How are the families of young people who have been to Israel different from those who have not visited the country? In other words, are there certain types of homes that organically nurture and develop young visitors to Israel? To what extent is Jewish involvement generally or Israel involvement specifically at the root of inspiring young people's travel to Israel? To what extent do concerns about safety and finances impede travel to Israel? These are some of the questions addressed in this section.

Of families with 13-24 year old children at home, about half (54%) have sent at least one of these children to Israel. (In some families with more than one child, not all have been to Israel. As a result, of all the children 13-24, somewhat less than half have visited Israel).

The analysis of the parents' sub-sample distinguished five critical variables that are associated with the families whose children have visited Israel. These measures, in order of importance from most to least consequential, are:

- 1) A previous visit to Israel by the respondent-parent.
- 2) Parent's attachment to Israel.
- 3) Parent's denomination (of the small number of Reform families' children, fewer have visited Israel than among Conservative or Orthodox families).
- 4) Parent's concerns about safety.
- 5) Parent's concerns about cost.

In other words, the highest rates of travel among youngsters are found in families where the parents share the following characteristics: they have been to Israel themselves; they are Zionist or otherwise highly attached to Israel; they identify as Orthodox or Conservative; they are less worried about physical danger in visiting Israel; and they are less concerned about the expense of visiting Israel.

Table 8 presents the results for each of these variables. It reports the percentage of families who have sent at least one child to Israel (provided that child is 13-24 and living at home) for each variable, as well as for each variable broken down by whether the respondent-parent has been to Israel.

In families where the parent has been to Israel, 68% have sent a child to Israel as compared with just 25% of those where the respondent has never visited Israel (first column, Table 8). Obviously, a trip to Israel both reflects and stimulates those characteristics associated with encouraging one's children to travel to Israel. The policy implication here is that adult travelers to Israel offer a prime market for advertising and promoting Israel travel on the part of their children or grandchildren.

**TABLE 8: Percent Who Have Sent a Child
To Visit Israel By Selected Variables
And By Whether Respondent Has Visited Israel
(Adult Sample)**

	All	<u>Has Respondent Visited?</u>	
		No	Yes
<u>Parent Has Visited?</u>			
Yes	68	--	--
No	25	--	--
<u>Israel Attachment</u>			
High	77	--	82
Low	41	24	56
<u>Denomination</u>			
Orthodox	59	--	72
Conservative	62	38	73
Reform	27	--	32
Other	48	16	73
<u>Safety Concerns</u>			
High	43	16	60
Low	61	36	74
<u>Cost Concerns</u>			
High	43	21	61
Low	61	34	72
Total	54		

Why are visitors so pre-disposed to sending their children to Israel? One explanation is that those parents who have been to Israel are more often highly attached to Israel, religiously traditional, less concerned about safety, and less anxious about the financial costs of travel. The extent to which these characteristics pre-date or follow upon a trip to Israel cannot be determined with these data.

To assess the impact of Israel attachment, I constructed an index that combines the answers from eight survey questions that measure commitment to Israel. Those labeled "high" in attachment answered most of these in a pro-Israel fashion. Of those scoring high in attachment, 77% have sent a child to Israel; of those scoring low, just 41% have done so (first column, Table 8). Since attachment to Israel and having been to Israel are themselves related, it is useful to see whether each is independently related to sending one's children to Israel. Indeed, hardly any adults who have not been to Israel report a high level of Israel attachment. This circumstance leaves just three groups of parents: 1) those who have not been to Israel with low attachment to Israel; 2) prior visitors who score low on attachment; and, 3) visitors who score high on attachment.

Of those scoring low on Israel attachment, parents who have been to Israel have sent (or taken) their children more than twice as often as those who have not been to Israel. And of those who have been to Israel, parents who are strongly attached to Israel have sent their children to Israel far more often than those who have visited Israel but do not feel highly attached to Israel (82% versus 56%). In other words, both prior parental visits to Israel and parental pro-Israel feelings stimulate young people's travel to Israel.

The policy implications here are straightforward. Stimulating attachment to Israel on the part of parents and stimulating their travel to Israel ought to eventually translate into travel to Israel on the part of their children.

About three fifths of Orthodox and Conservative families with children 13-24 have sent one of their children to Israel, as compared with just over a quarter of Reform homes. Even where the parent has been to Israel, the Reform rate of travel by young people is less than one half that among the other two major denominations.

Concerns about safety are associated with significantly lower rates of youth travel. Even when we divide the families according to whether the parent has traveled to Israel, parents with safety anxieties report having sent their children to Israel far less than those with few such concerns. Of parents who have never been to Israel, just 16% of those with high levels of safety concerns have sent their children to Israel as compared to 36% with low levels of concern.

**TABLE 9: Index Of Favoring Child Visiting Israel
(Mean Scores) By Selected Variables
And By Whether A Child Has Already Visited Israel**

		<u>Has A Child Already Visited Israel?</u>		
		<u>All</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
<u>Has A Child Already</u>				
<u>Visited Israel?</u>	Yes	49	--	--
	No	30	--	--
<u>Has The Respondent</u>				
<u>(Parent) Visited</u>				
<u>Israel?</u>	Yes	47	37	50
	No	28	25	--
<u>Denomination</u>				
	Orthodox	48	--	50
	Conservative	42	31	49
	Reform	48	38	--
	Other	30	17	44
<u>Israel Attachment</u>				
	High	57	48	59
	Low	30	26	37
<u>Safety Concerns</u>				
	High	32	21	43
	Low	47	39	53
<u>Cost Concerns</u>				
	High	34	28	42
	Low	45	32	53

Of course, we cannot tease out the answer to the chicken-and-egg question here. Do parents with high safety concerns refrain from sending their children? Alternatively, do these results tell us that those who have sent their children afterwards feel less insecure about the putative dangers of visiting Israel? Obviously, both processes are at work.

We find a similar pattern of results (with the same problems of interpretation) for the measure of concern over the costs of sending one's child to Israel. To a noticeable extent, the cost-concerned parents report lower rates of travel to Israel on the part of their children than those who are less concerned. This pattern holds both for parents who have visited Israel (where the rates of children's travel are quite high) and for parents who themselves have not visited Israel (where the rates of children's travel are substantially lower).

(2) Which Parents Want Their Children To Visit Israel?

Several inter-related factors are associated with an interest on the part of the parents in their children visiting Israel. (In the analysis below, interest in children visiting Israel is measured by an index consisting of several items, ranging in value from 0 -- for no interest -- to 100.)

On the most fundamental level, parents are more interested in their children going to Israel if they themselves have been to Israel or, more critically, if one of their children already has visited Israel. Where both the parent and one child already has been in Israel, the level of interest in children traveling to Israel is twice as high as among families where neither parent nor any children have ever visited Israel (Table 9).

Earlier we saw that Reform parents report low rates of children's travel to Israel. However, here we learn that Reform parents are, in fact, quite eager for their children to visit Israel. Their proclaimed interest equals that of the Orthodox and exceeds that of Conservative parents.

As we might well expect, those more emotionally attached to Israel are twice as likely as others to express interest in their children going to Israel. The impact of this factor is just as great among those whose children have not gone to Israel as among those with a child who has been to Israel. Again we see the powerful impact of pro-Israel sentiments on travel-related attitudes and behavior.

Concerns about safety and cost do depress interest in children visiting Israel. The impact of safety concerns is greater for those whose children have not been to Israel; the impact of cost concerns is greater for those whose children have already visited Israel. The implication here is that addressing the anxieties about physical security is especially important for parents who have not yet sent any of their children to Israel.

**TABLE 10: Percent Of Parents With High Safety Concerns
By Selected Variables And By Whether
Respondent (Parent) Has Visited Israel**

		All	Has A Child Already Visited Israel?	
			No	Yes
<u>Has A Child Already</u>				
<u>Visited Israel?</u>	Yes	33	--	--
	No	51	--	--
<u>Has Respondent (Parent)</u>				
<u>Visited Israel?</u>	Yes	40	51	35
	No	44	51	25
<u>Israel Attachment</u>				
	High	35	52	29
	Low	45	51	38
<u>Denomination</u>				
	Orthodox	30	25	32
	Conservative	43	48	38
	Reform	42	52	--
	Other	49	63	34

(3) Which Parents Are More Concerned About The Safety Of Visiting Israel?

As we have seen throughout this report, concerns about safety constitute a noticeable inhibition to young people's travel to Israel, especially by way of making parents less enthusiastic about sending their youngsters several thousand miles away. Which sorts of parents especially harbor fears for their children's safety?

Table 10 reports, first of all, that those who have never sent a child to Israel feel far more anxious than those who have done so. In fact, visiting Israel oneself does not diminish fears for one's children. It is the experience of sending one's child that is associated with reduced concerns (again, whether as cause or result or both is unclear and cannot be ascertained with these data).

Among those who have not yet sent their children to Israel, those more committed to Israel are not less anxious than those less attached to Israel. Moreover, only the Orthodox differ markedly from the other denominations in reporting lower levels of anxiety about their children traveling to Israel. (Perhaps this greater sense of security derives from the higher rates of Orthodox travel to Israel, or else from their greater faith in a Divine Presence to watch over their children in the Holy Land).

Earlier we saw that security concerns are especially important in determining parental interest in children's travel to Israel among those parents whose children have never gone. Here we see that only the experience of sending one's child to Israel serves to substantially mitigate concern about their physical safety. The implication here is that parents of children who have visited Israel may best be able to credibly re-assure worried parents who are contemplating sending their children to Israel.

**TABLE 11: Percent Of Parents With High Cost Concerns
By Selected Variables
And By Whether Respondent (Parent) Has Visited Israel**

		All	<u>Has A Child Visited Israel?</u>	
			No	Yes
<u>Has A Child Already</u>				
<u>Visited Israel?</u>	Yes	33	--	--
	No	51	--	--
<u>Has Respondent (Parent)</u>				
<u>Visited Israel?</u>	Yes	34	42	31
	No	53	58	41
<u>Denomination</u>				
	Orthodox	45	54	39
	Conservative	32	42	25
	Reform	48	56	--
	Other	49	54	45
<u>Israel Attachment</u>				
	High	32	44	29
	Low	48	52	37
<u>Income</u>				
	\$100,000+	25	40	15
	\$60,000-\$99,000	38	45	29
	\$40,000-\$59,000	56	59	52
	Under \$40,000	60	67	53

(4) Which Parents Are More Concerned About The Cost Of Visiting Israel?

Not surprisingly, the key factor underlying concerns over cost is income (Table 11). Lower-income parents express greater anxieties about the financial expense of a trip to Israel than do upper income parents.

The key threshold occurs at roughly \$60,000 (Canadian) in annual household income. Among those earning less than this amount, about three fifths express high levels of concern about financing their children's trip(s) to Israel. Of those making more than \$100,000, just a quarter express such concerns, as do 38% of those earning \$60,000-99,000.

Those families with greater prior visits to Israel are also those with the fewest financial concerns. Where neither the parent nor a child has visited Israel, financial concerns are the highest. Where either parent or child has been to Israel, concerns are somewhat less frequent. Where both have been to Israel, fewer respondents express concerns about the cost of a trip to Israel.

Neither denomination nor attachment to Israel are significantly associated with financial concerns. It is true that those more attached to Israel are less concerned about the expense of a trip to Israel. But the more attached are also more likely to have already sent their children to Israel, in part because they could afford the trip. Once we control for which families have sent a child to Israel, Israel attachment has only a minor relationship with level of financial concern. Accordingly, sparking interest in Israel would not relieve individuals of the feeling that they would be hard-pressed financially to pay for their children's travel to Israel.

One of the curious patterns in these data entails the responses of those earning over \$100,000. Of those who have sent their children to Israel, just 15% say they would have trouble financing more visits. Of those who have sent none of their children, the comparable figure rises to 40%. The discrepancy within this most affluent group may tell us something important about the wealthier Canadian Jewish families. Perhaps many in this group are genuinely ignorant of the true cost of sending children to Israel, one that often compares quite favorably with such alternatives as summer camping. If so, then advertising the cost of trips among affluent Canadian Jews may relieve one inhibition to Israel travel.

13. Implication: Parents who have been to Israel offer and ideal target audience for marketing and for recruiting others.
14. For the youngsters, four factors especially influence their chances of going to Israel: prior trips to Israel, parental encouragement, interest in Israel, and having friends who have been to Israel.
15. Implication: Israel sells itself; parents sell Israel; friends sell Israel.
16. Parents are concerned about safety and safety concerns impede encouraging children to visit Israel. Safety concerns are highest among parents who have never visited.
17. Cost concerns are highest among households earning under \$60,000 combined income a year. They are also high among affluent families who have not sent any children to Israel.
18. Implication: For lower income homes, lowering costs is useful. Upper income homes may imagine exaggerated costs of travel.

IV. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. Young people who have been to Israel ("visitors") score much higher than those who have never been to Israel ("non- visitors") on several measures of Israel attachment.
2. Two-time visitors are much more attached to Israel than one-time visitors.
3. Moreover, one-time visitors are not much different in their attitudes toward Israel than non-visitors who intend to go.
4. Tentative conclusion: One trip is not "enough." Strong Israel attachment is developed for most only in the second trip.
5. Implication: We need to develop stage-two programs and to market return travel to Israel for those who have already visited.
6. Inference: Israel attachment is fostered by the home, school, peer group and community prior to travel, as well as by the experience of being in Israel.
7. Most one-time visitors do not intend to return within three years. Many are not passionately committed to Israel.
8. Inference: Some programs "work" better for some people; some people are more readily influenced by a trip to Israel.
9. Implication: We need to understand what makes a good trip to Israel for which participants, and what makes for a good participant.
10. Attachment to Israel decays rapidly after the visitor returns to Canada.
11. Implication: Return trips should be marketed at the end of the first visit, in Israel, or soon after the participant returns.
12. Parents who send their children to Israel or encourage them to go are those parents who have been to Israel before, who are highly attached to Israel, are Orthodox or Conservative, are less concerned about physical danger, and are less concerned about cost.