



Building Jewish Connexions

**A study of Jewish educational
experiences of Sixth Form students
attending mainstream Jewish schools**

**Dr. Rona Hart
School of Education
Tel-Aviv University**

**Rabbi Chananya Silverman
Chief Executive
SAJE - Strategic Alliance for Jewish Education**

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ABOUT SAJE

In 2005, the Strategic Alliance for Jewish Education (SAJE) was established. Its mission is to deal with the problem of a declining UK Jewish population through strategic planning and investment that will strengthen Jewish identity, thus helping to secure the Jewish future of the community.

Working in partnership with existing organisations, SAJE has helped to develop projects that will impact across schools, youth groups, campus workers and synagogues. These range from enhancing professional development and assessing organisational effectiveness to advancing parental, family and student informal Jewish educational programming.

One of the key factors for success is to be able to measure impact and progress. This research into the interim outcomes of Jewish education experiences on Sixth Form students attending Jewish schools forms an important part in helping SAJE, schools and relevant organisations measure their success and formulate strategies that will work towards strengthening Jewish identity, thus reversing the demographic decline of the Jewish community.

SAJE
152 – 154 Coles Green Road
London NW2 7HD
England
E-mail: enquiries@saje.org.uk
Website: www.saje.org.uk

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I. Executive summary

Jewish communal leaders, policymakers, practitioners and researchers have long been concerned with the question of 'impact' of Jewish education: does Jewish education make a difference? Does Jewish education influence the identity, the choices and the Jewish way of life of its students? And importantly: does Jewish education reduce intermarriage? Can it decelerate and perhaps even halt the demographic decline of the Jewish community?

In a recent study of in-marriage and intermarriage among American Jewry, Cohen (2006) asserts: 'Jewish education works!' (p. 13). Over the years many studies of Jewish education in the USA (Cohen 2000; Cohen and Kotler Berkowitz 2004; Dashefsky and Lebson 2002; Sales and Saxe 2003) have demonstrated the impact of Jewish education on students' lives in terms of identity, observance, communal affiliation, beliefs and social networks, as well as dating and marriage patterns, and these effects were measured both in the short term and in the long term. However, only a few studies of similar scope were conducted in the UK, and their findings were less conclusive (Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson 2002; Graham 2003; Miller 1998).

Ideally, an evaluation of the impact of Jewish educational programmes would require an examination of the outcomes years after graduation. But such a study would demand that researchers and policy makers wait a decade for definite conclusions. Another possibility, which was adopted in this study, is to examine the outcomes of Jewish education in the short term by studying the identities, knowledge and practices of today's youngsters.

This study of Sixth Form students enrolled in three mainstream Jewish schools in London explores various aspects of the students' Jewish identities, involvement and practice, as well as eliciting the students' views of their Jewish educational experiences in and out of school at the end of their schooling years.

Summary of key points:

- This study was conducted by means of self-completed questionnaires which were handed to all Sixth Form students in three mainstream Jewish schools in London in 2005. In total, 467 students (58% of the entire Sixth Form intake in the surveyed schools) responded and an analysis of their responses is presented in this report.

The students' religious profile:

- The religious orientation of the students and their families varied, and the profile of the sample can be defined as fairly heterogenic, with a strong mainstream majority and a moderate leaning towards secularism.
- The students' accounts as to their Jewish beliefs and practices highlight the pride they take in being Jewish, and the strength of their Jewish beliefs. However, an examination of their observance has demonstrated that most students do not keep those practices that require consistency and commitment, and tend to take part in rituals that interfere least in everyday life. This suggests that the students' connection to Judaism tends to be somewhat ideological rather than practical.
- The analysis of the students' social networks revealed that the vast majority of students socialised mainly with Jews. The tendency to associate with non-Jewish friends was much more prevalent among secular students compared to their religious peers. While students generally socialised across different religious outlooks, it was apparent that the secular and religious students tended to form friendship ties on the basis of similar religious outlook and practices.

The students' schooling experiences:

- Most students were fairly positive about their schooling experiences at their Jewish primary, secondary and Sixth Form schools, although the students' satisfaction seemed to lessen as they progressed from one stage of education to the next.
- The students' accounts regarding Jewish Studies classes at their schools has revealed that while the majority of students found JS teachers approachable, their views of the curriculum and the quality of teaching they were offered were less positive.
- No association was found between the number of years students were enrolled in a Jewish school and most measures of their religiosity.
- The religious students rated the quality of the Jewish Studies classes more positively than their secular peers. This suggests that the observant students seem to appreciate their schools' Jewish environment more than their secular peers, and may have gained more from these classes.

The students' involvement in Jewish youth activities:

- Nearly half of the students were members of youth clubs or movements, but their participation in their clubs was occasional and sporadic and the focus of their participation was more socially inclined than educationally orientated.
- The majority of students participated in an average of three youth activities (such as camps, trips, Shabbatonim etc).
- The religious students displayed higher levels of membership and participation in youth movements and activities compared to secular students.

The place of Israel in students' lives:

- The vast majority of students have visited Israel more than once and approximately half of the students participated in an Israel educational scheme.
- The majority of students felt a strong attachment to Israel and stated that Israel was an important aspect of their Jewish identities. A quarter of students stated that they were likely to go on Aliyah.
- The religious students seem to display a stronger sense of attachment to Israel than their secular peers.
- Multiple visits to Israel, participation in youth movements and various Israel-focused activities were constructive in generating interest and enhancing the students' sense of connection to Israel.

Hebrew proficiency:

- Two thirds of the students felt that they were fairly proficient in Hebrew and were capable of reading and following services competently, while the rest felt less confident about their Hebrew skills.
- The more observant students and those whose synagogue attendance was regular and frequent reported that they were fairly skilled in reading Hebrew texts and following services compared to their secular peers.
- The students who were enrolled in Jewish education for longer periods had better Hebrew skills.

Religious journeys:

- More than 40% of students have experienced religious journeys: a third of the students have become more observant, a minority have become less observant and more than half of the students reported that they did not experience any changes in their observance. Similar

findings were found in their accounts of the changes that occurred in their families' and in their friends' lives.

- The secular students seem to be more set in their ways than their religious peers, as only a minority of them have experienced changes in their religiosity. In contrast, the majority of the religious students stated that they have experienced changes in their religiosity.
- The findings uncovered a tendency to diverge and polarise among students: while the secular students seem to become less observant, the religious students seem to become more observant.
- The occurrence of religious journeys among students did not straightforwardly relate to changes that their parents have experienced, but were associated with the transformations that their friends were experiencing.
- Friendship with others who may be more observant than oneself and with those who were experiencing transformations themselves, seems to encourage a religious journey resulting in heightened levels of observance.
- The number of years spent in Jewish education did not correlate with the students' religious journeys but there were indications that the quality and the relevance of their Jewish education seems to have a lasting impact.

The choice of university:

- The majority of students reported that Jewish factors were central to the choice of university. The most important factor was the presence of other Jewish students.
- The religious students were more likely to list Jewish factors as important considerations in their decision making process than secular students.
- The number of years spent in a Jewish environment was not associated with the significance of Jewish factors in the choice of university; yet the quality of experience at their schools and the JS provision did matter: the students who had positive experiences tended to consider Jewish matters when choosing a university more than others who rated their experience at their schools poorly.
- Students who participated in youth activities seem to consider Jewish factors in the choice of university more than others who were less involved.

Future development:

- Less than half of the students stated that they were likely to continue their Jewish education in the future.
- The religious students and those who were experiencing religious journeys were more likely to continue their Jewish development. This suggests that those who were showing interest in their future Jewish development are those already interested to begin with, while those who may be more in need of development show little interest.
- The quality of the students' Jewish experiences in their Sixth Forms, and particularly the quality of the JS classes, was significant in determining whether the students will continue their Jewish learning in the future.
- The length of time spent in a Jewish school was not associated with their tendency to continue their Jewish development.
- Students who participated in youth activities were more likely to continue their Jewish learning in the future compared to others who were less involved.

Dating and marriage:

- More than three quarters of the students reported that they have dated only or mostly Jews, and nearly 20% stated that nearly half of their dates were with non-Jews. This may mean that

for some students the school does not become an avenue for introduction for dating purposes.

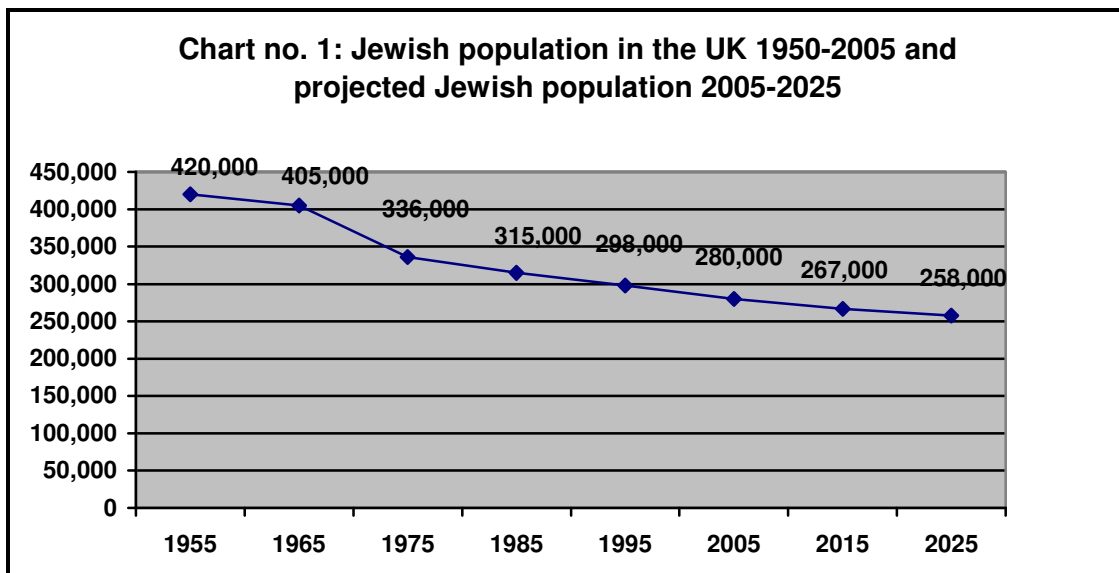
- A minority of students (19%) predicted that they were likely to date non-Jewish partners and the majority stated that they were unlikely to date non-Jews.
- As to intermarriage, 2% felt that they were likely to marry a non-Jewish partner, 10% were unsure, and the vast majority were fairly confident that they will marry in.
- There were striking differences between secular and religious students in their views regarding dating and marriage: the secular students, and specifically those whose Jewish networks were fairly weak, were much more likely to date non-Jews and intermarry than religious students who had strong Jewish networks.
- Students who became more observant were less likely to date non-Jews and intermarry, and those who became less observant have shown a stronger tendency to date non-Jews and marry out.
- The students' educational experiences in and out of school were not strongly associated with their current or future dating patterns, although there were indications that the students who were highly involved and whose schooling experiences were more positive were more inclined to date Jews.

Educating children:

- The majority of students stated they were likely to enrol their children in a Jewish school. This was particularly apparent in their views regarding enrolment in a secondary Jewish school.
- The secular students were as likely as religious students to enrol their children in Jewish schools.
- No significant relationship was found between beliefs about the merit of Jewish education for future generations and the students' personal experiences in Jewish schools.

II. Introduction

British Jewry has been dominated by two looming narratives in the past decade: anti-semitism and the continuity crisis. Anti-semitism has troubled and pained Jewish communities worldwide for many years now, but today it seems to have reached new heights, specifically in Europe, sparking new fears as it disrupts Jewish communal life and injures Jews as individuals. At the same time, the most pressing contemporary Jewish anxiety is that of Jewish continuity. Jewish communities in the Diaspora are declining demographically (JPPPI 2005; DellaPergola 2006), compared to Israel and to the larger societies of which they are a part, and British Jewry is no exception (see Chart no. 1 for UK figures). The Continuity Crisis is often perceived as a consequence of changes in Jewish family patterns: higher rates of out-marriage and non-marriage, late marriage, new cohabitation and divorce patterns, and the ensuing low birth rates. However, research conducted during the past decades (Cohen and Kotler Berkowitz 2004; Cohen 2006; Philips 1997) suggests that these patterns are symptoms of the larger, more ominous predicament of Jewish assimilation, disaffiliation and apathy. Throughout the generations the fittest Jews - those who are highly educated, committed and engaged - seem to survive and thrive Jewishly, while withdrawal, out-marriage and disaffiliation seem to be more prevalent among others who may be less knowledgeable, less interested and uninvolved (Cohen 2005 & 2006; Fishman 2004).



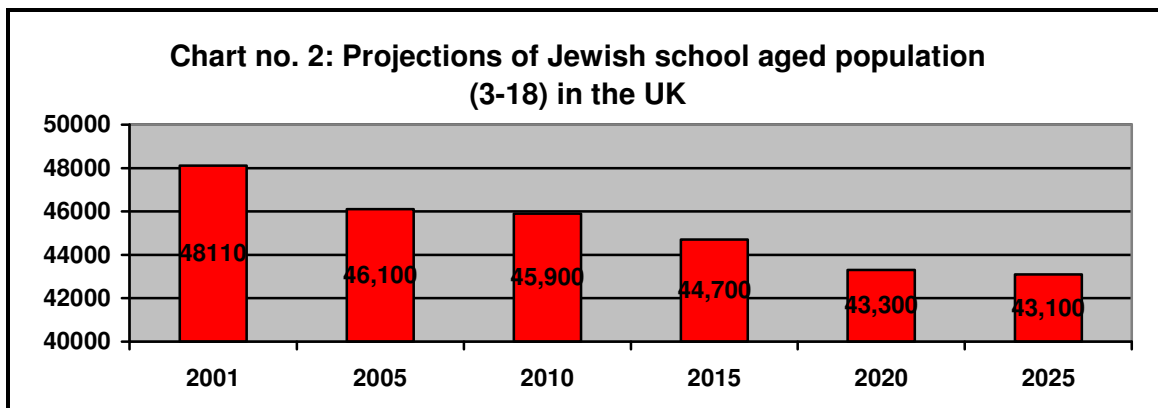
The challenges facing Jews in Britain today are emanating both from outside the community and from within, and the question is, how can Jewish identity be sustained in an open, secular society and under adverse circumstances?

More than a decade ago Chief Rabbi Prof. Sir Jonathan Sacks published a series of articles (Sacks 1993) in which he alerted the community to the pending crisis of Jewish continuity, and issued an inspiring call for collective action to offset these prevailing trends. Together with other leaders who were deeply troubled by the predictions of a demographic descent of the Jewish community and the erosion of Jewish culture, they urged the community to place education at the top of the community's agenda as the main mechanism to address the crisis. The British Jewish community has stated clearly that the main challenge for the next generation is ensuring the future survival and quality of Jewish life. Under the banner of 'Jewish Continuity', and with a firm belief that Jewish full-time education is the most effective means for countering both patterns, communal leaders advanced a transformation of Jewish education; they raised the necessary resources to establish additional day schools and worked to develop, strengthen and support their day-to-day work.

These initiatives were certainly productive, and as studies of Jewish education have shown (Hart, Schmool and Cohen 2003; Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg 2001), Jewish full-time education in the UK has expanded considerably during the past 15 years. It has developed into an extensive enterprise which currently caters for nearly 27,000 children (58% of Jewish children) and consists of 68 primary schools, 42 secondary schools, 4 Special Needs schools and 75 nurseries (altogether 189 facilities). Additionally, many supporting organisations have been established which work to train teachers, to develop curricula, to fund new and existing schools and educational ventures, and to assist schools in other ways. At the same time other changes occurred in Jewish education: while the Cheder, which was once the predominant form of Jewish education has declined (mainly where Jewish schools have been established), adult and family Jewish education and Israel related activities seem to flourish and have experienced expansion and intensification during this period.

Indeed, the development and expansion of Jewish education has been one of the great achievements of this community, and we would like to take this opportunity to praise the community and its leaders for its educational achievements and for its vision, for placing educational goals at the top of the communal agenda and for supporting the rapid expansion that we have witnessed in schools and enrolment.

We stand at a critical moment today. A decade and a half on, and after seeing considerable investment in Jewish education and substantial growth, the demographic patterns that Jewish schools aim to counter are beginning to influence their own development. In most areas in the UK the community's demographic trajectory, together with its distinctive geographic patterns, are already affecting enrolment in Jewish schools as there is a declining number of Jewish school-aged children (see Chart no. 2), and consequently some schools have experienced sharp falls in their intakes. In response, a number of schools have taken non-Jewish children, a change that has implications for the culture, ethos and curriculum, which in turn may affect the decisions of potential parents of these schools. Others may face closure or amalgamation. At the same time, in some areas, particularly in NW London and Hertfordshire, there is continued demand for places in Jewish schools, a demand which has persistently exceeded the availability of places in Jewish schools in these areas.



As the outcomes of the expansion that we have witnessed begin to unfold, it is a particularly opportune time to reflect on some of the major dynamics that Jewish education has experienced during this period, to explore their likely implications, and to turn our attention to the gaps in our provision, and to the impediments that may have emerged as a consequence of the rapid change. It is also essential to find the means and resources to address these. It is particularly important at this point to review, evaluate and rethink our educational and communal goals, assess the outcomes of existing educational programmes, apply strategic thinking as to the means we employ, and consolidate our forces, as we build on our successes, to embark on the next stages of our educational development.

Clearly one of the most fundamental questions that Jewish communal leaders, policymakers, practitioners and researchers may wish to address today is the question of 'impact' of Jewish education, that is: does Jewish education (in its different forms), and the Jewish school in particular, make a difference? Does Jewish education influence the identities, knowledge and practices of its students? And also: what types of Jewish education exert what sort of influence?

Yet, any attempt to examine educational outcomes and assess the impact of educational programmes contends with numerous conceptual and methodological difficulties. Ideally, an evaluation of the outcomes of education programmes would require a thorough examination of the knowledge, practices and identities of participants before and after their participation in educational programmes, and then a re-examination of these outcomes years after graduation, in order to assess their long term influence. Alternatively, the impact of educational programmes could be appraised by comparing groups of students who attended different programmes or had different levels of participation in a given scheme. Yet, these types of evaluation research are exceptionally arduous to conduct because of the time scales involved and the difficulties in accessing some respondents (specifically those who may be uninvolved). Furthermore, it is immensely difficult to isolate the effects of Jewish education from other factors affecting Jewish identity and practice (especially the family and community environments), some of which may in turn influence the choice of educational programmes and levels of involvement as well as the outcomes of these schemes.

Another method which is commonly applied in educational research is to elicit participants' feedback at the end of a programme and examine its outcomes, such as the knowledge, practices or identities of participants. This study of Sixth Form students enrolled in three mainstream Jewish schools in London belongs to this category of educational research. The study explores various aspects of the students' Jewish identities, involvement and practice, as well as eliciting the students' views of their Jewish educational experiences in and out of school at the end of their Sixth Form years.

The report attempts to give the reader a portrait of the students' engagement with the Jewish aspects of their lives, and thus it delineates their families' backgrounds, ponders their identities, Jewish practices, commitment and engagement, examines their experience of religious journeys, and explores their plans after graduation. The other central theme in this study is the students' Jewish educational experiences, and thus the study describes their participation in educational schemes in and out of school, and presents their evaluation of these schemes and their own experiences. Importantly, the report draws together these themes in an attempt to examine the extent to which various aspects of the students' experiences have been associated with, and may have had an impact on, their Jewish identities and practices.

The study provides information which would enable schools and youth organisations to assess the Jewish educational provision these students have access to in and out of school and to identify points of strength as well as opportunities for development. In due course these could be used as base line measures to assess progress.

The findings chapters of this report are structured so that each chapter addresses one topic. The first chapter delineates the religious profile of the students and the second chapter explores their experiences at school. The third chapter looks into the students' involvement in youth organisations and activities, and the fourth addresses the place of Israel in students' lives. Chapter 5 evaluates the students' skills in Hebrew and chapter 6 explores the students' religious journeys. The following chapters look into the future: chapter 7 addresses the students' plans upon graduation and explores their choice of university. Chapter 8 looks into the students' views of their own future Jewish development, and the last chapter examines the students' views on dating, marriage and educating their offspring.

Rona Hart
Chananya Silverman

III. Research methods

This study was conducted by means of a detailed questionnaire which was handed to all Sixth Form students in three of the mainstream Jewish schools in London in 2005. In total, 467 students (58% of the entire Sixth Form intake in the surveyed schools) responded, and an analysis of their responses is presented in this report¹.

The survey included questions on the following topics: 1) the students' background in terms of religiosity and schooling; 2) their current religiosity, religious beliefs and practices; 3) their experiences at school; 4) their participation in Jewish youth movements and activities, 5) their plans upon graduation, and 6) their religious journeys and what may have aided these journeys.

The questionnaires were then coded and analysed by using statistical software (SPSS).

The findings presented below include the following types of statistical analyses:

1. Charts showing the percentages of students who answered different categories in each question. Unless specifically stated, these analyses do not include the missing cases, that is, students who did not provide an answer to the question being presented. Where missing cases are included, this was because the number of students who did not answer the question was significant (more than 10%) and their omission may give a biased picture of the entire sample.
2. Correlation analyses were used to quantify the degree to which two variables are related. Correlation is measured in the range of +1 to -1. A correlation of +1 indicates a perfect positive relationship, i.e. as one goes up, the other goes up by the same amount. A correlation of -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship, i.e. as one goes up, the other goes down by the same amount. A correlation of 0 indicates that the two variables are completely independent of each other. Correlations higher than 0.3 are considered meaningful in social sciences. Most of the correlation analyses below use Pearson, Spearman or Kendall Correlation Coefficients (in accordance with the type of variables: Pearson for interval variables and Spearman or Kendall for ordinal). An additional measure is the statistical significance of the correlation. Statistical significance is based on the concept " $p < 0.05$ ". In an experiment, a meaningful finding is detected by challenging a hypothesis of "no correlation". When p is less than 0.05, then the no-difference hypothesis is rejected – that is, the correlation is considered statistically significant. When p is greater than 0.05, the no-correlation hypothesis is accepted (i.e. the correlation is insignificant). A p value of less than 0.05 means that there is even less than a 5% probability of getting the results observed if the no-correlation hypothesis is true. Standard significance levels are 95% ($p < 0.05$) and 99% ($p < 0.01$) and are marked by star signs (*= 0.05 and **= 0.01).
3. Comparison of means (F-test) were used to compare between answers given by different groups of students. The F test is a technique for comparing average values of two or more sets of numbers. The test assesses whether the answers given by different groups of people to a certain question are statistically different from each other. It does so by comparing the averages of the groups as well as the standard deviations (which is the spread or variability of their answers). Once the value of F is computed, which indicates the differences between groups in their average and spread, it is then possible to determine the statistical significance

¹ Despite the high response rate (58%) the students who answered the questionnaire should not be seen as a representative sample of the entire Sixth Form intake in the three schools. The findings presented here are therefore confined to the sample of students who took part in this study, and should not be generalised.

of the F value (which is measured by alpha). An alpha value of less than 0.05 means that there is less than a 5% probability of getting the differences observed to have occurred by chance, and therefore the differences found are statistically significant.

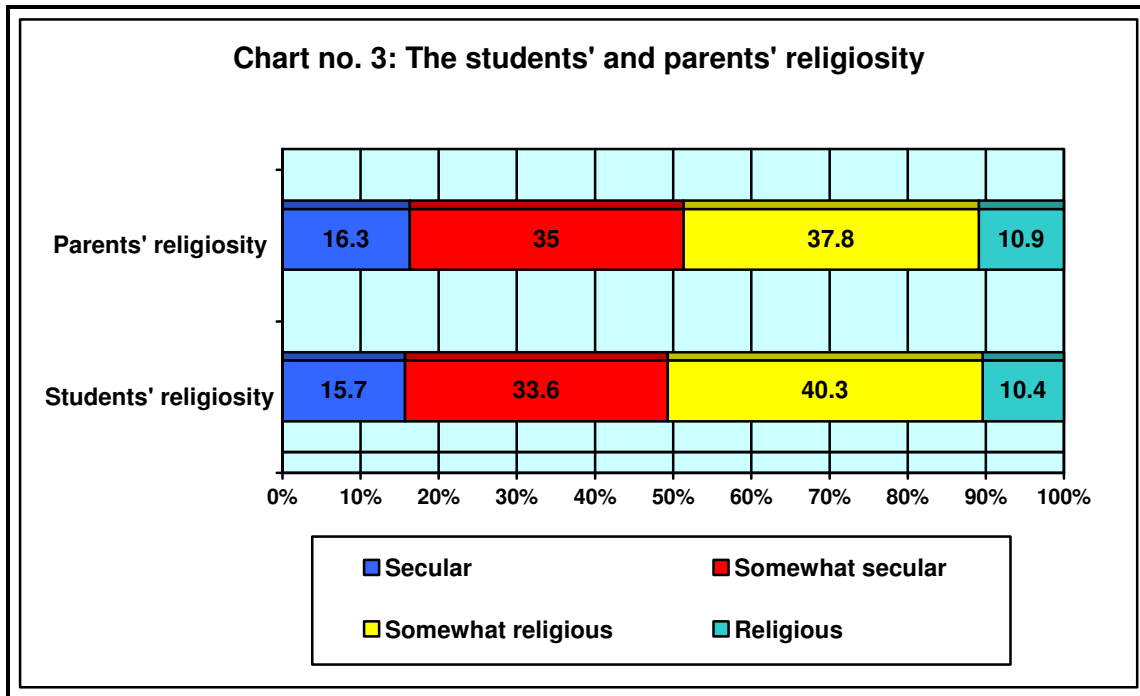
4. Multiple regression: the general purpose of multiple regression is to learn about the relationship between several independent factors (or predictor variables) and a single dependent variable. In general, multiple regression allows the researcher to answer the general question: 'What is the best predictor of ...?' By using multiple regression, a researcher can establish that a set of variables explains a proportion of the variance in a dependent variable at a significant level (through a significance test of R^2), and can establish the relative predictive power or importance of the independent variables (by comparing beta weights).

IV. Research findings

The three schools who took part in this study had 805 students enrolled in their Sixth Forms in 2005/6. Of these 467 (58%) students filled the questionnaire: 263 were in Year 12 at the time, 175 in Year 13². Half of the students were males and half females.

1. The students' religious profile

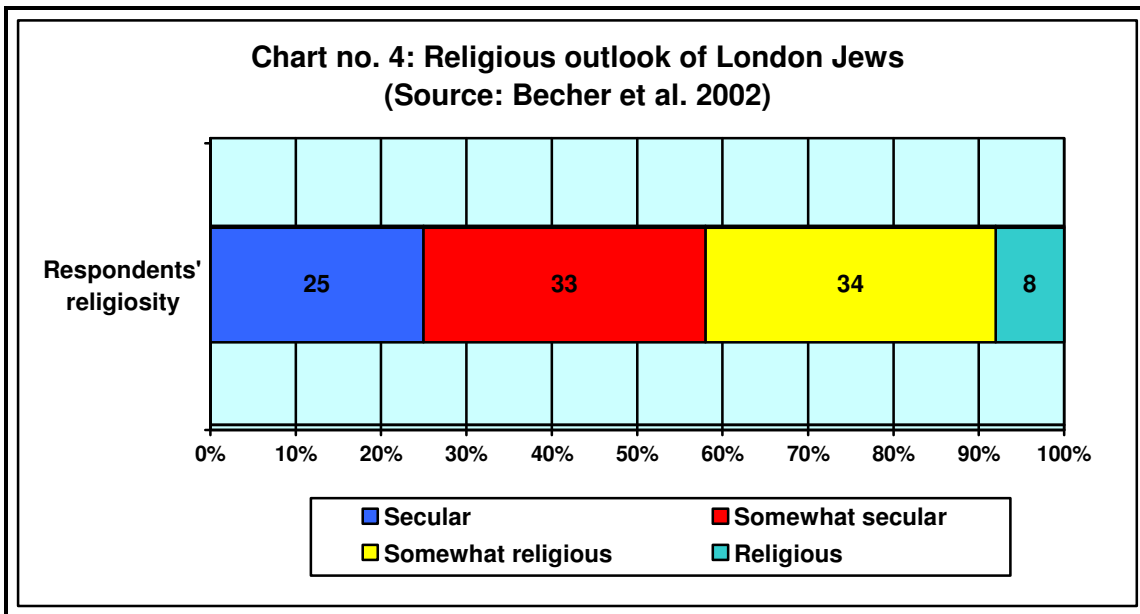
The following analyses present the religious profile of the students who took part in the study. Chart no. 3 describes the students' and parents' religiosity (as defined by the students).



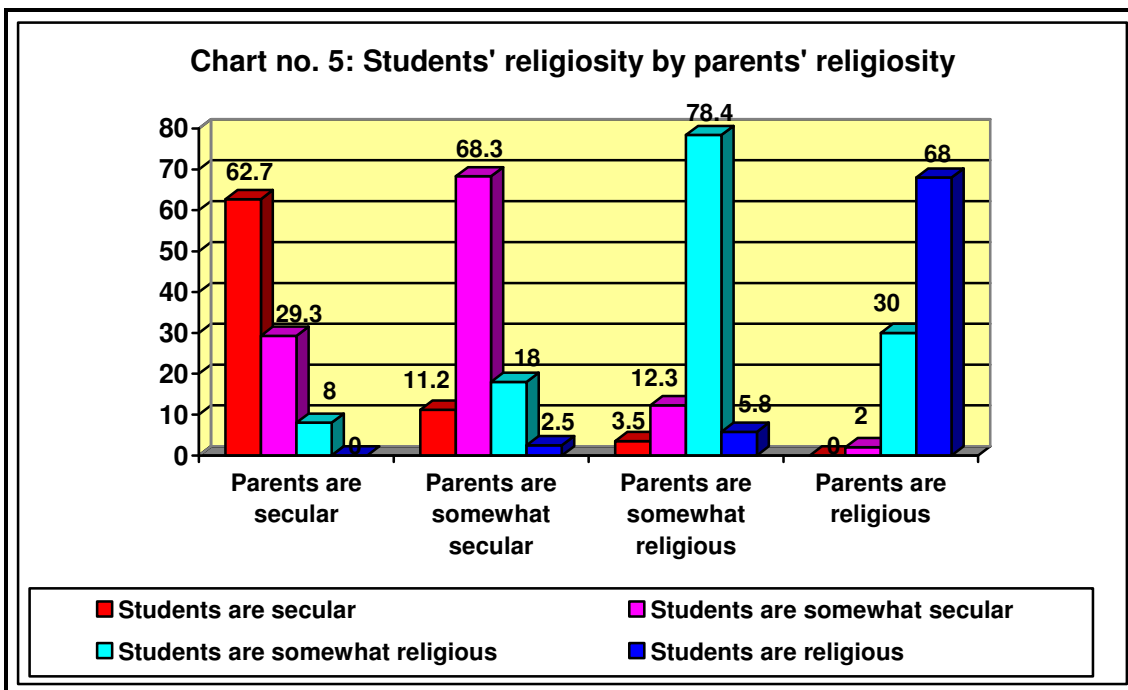
The chart reveals that the students who participated in this study came from a variety of backgrounds: approximately half of the respondents defined themselves as well as their families as being religious or somewhat religious, and the other 50% defined their homes and their own practices as secular or somewhat secular. Most of the students (more than 70%), defined their families' practices as well as their own as 'middle of the road' (somewhat religious and somewhat secular). The proportion of students who classified their families as being religious (10%) was slightly lower than the proportion of those who defined their own practices as secular (16%). Thus, the general profile of the sample can be described as fairly heterogenic, with a mainstream majority, and a moderate leaning towards secularism.

The chart below (no.4) is quoted from JPR's study (Becher, Waterman, Kosmin and Thomson 2002) of London Jews. As can be seen, the level of religiosity of the students who took part in this study seems to be closely aligned with the profile of London Jewry as reported JPR's study, although the proportion of students who defined their practices as secular (16%) was slightly lower than that found in that study (25%).

² 29 students did not supply information as to their year group.

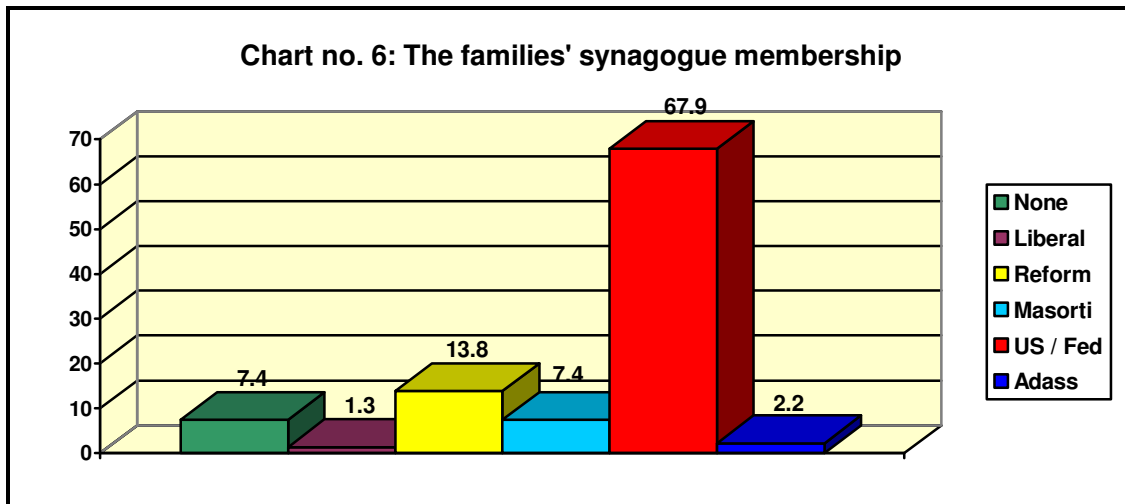


To explore to what extent the students' generation resembled their parents in terms of their religiosity, a correlation analysis was carried out which revealed a strong and positive correlation ($r = .74^{**}$) between the parents' religiosity and their children's. This indicates that the majority of students (71%) followed their parents' orientation in terms of their religious practices, and a minority (29%) deviated from their parents' chosen way of life at this early stage of their lives. Those who deviated from their families' lines seemed to do so in both directions (see chart no. 5)³.

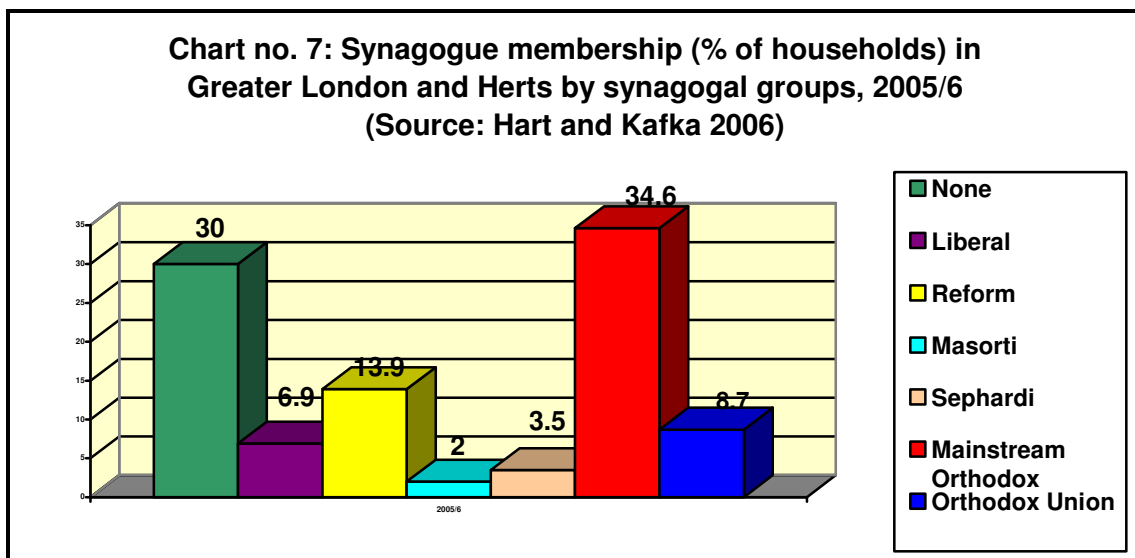


³ The students' religious journeys and the changes that they have experienced in their practices will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 in this report.

The next chart (no. 6) explores the families' synagogue affiliation. The chart reveals that the students' families were members of a variety of synagogues, and only 7% reported that their families were not affiliated. The majority of families (68%) were members of US or Federation synagogues, 15% were members of Liberal or Reform synagogues, 7% were affiliated with Masorti synagogues and 2% were members of Adass synagogues.

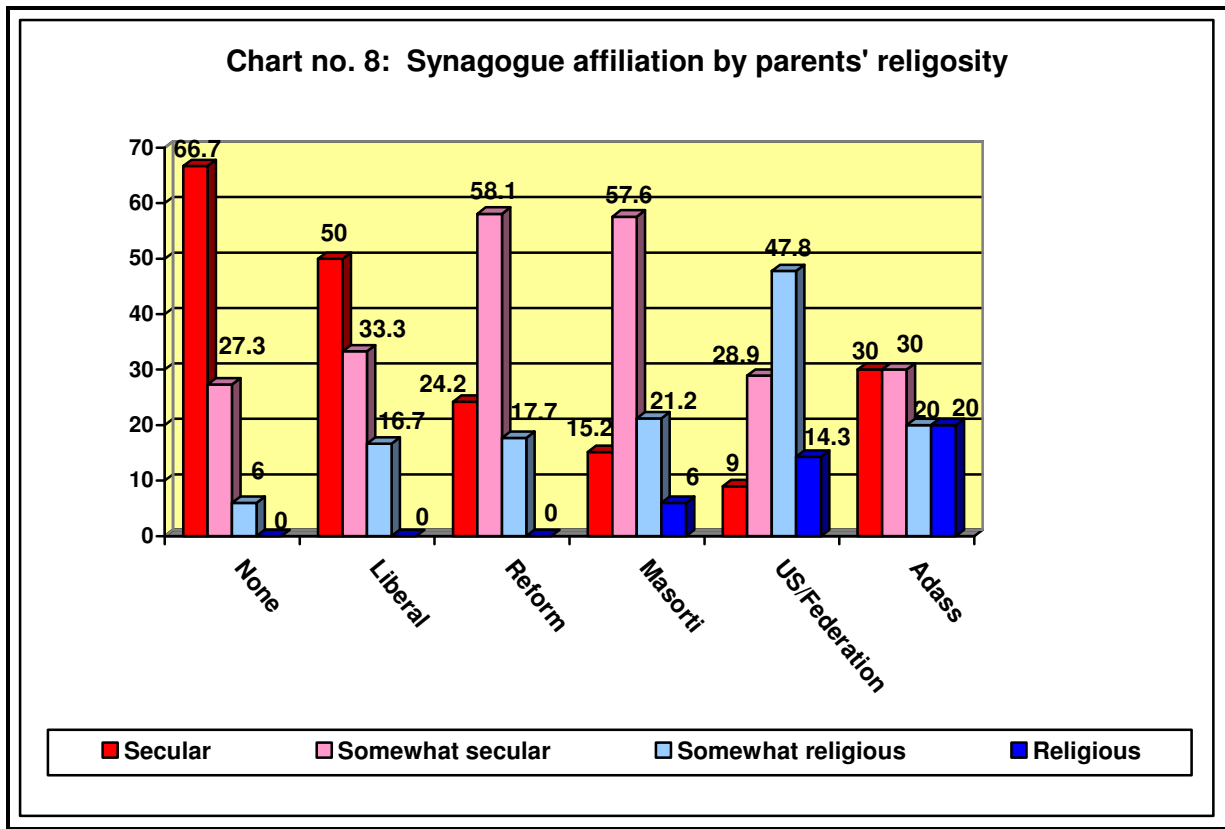


The chart below (no. 7) which details synagogue memberships in the Greater London area (in 2005) is quoted from a recent Board of Deputies study (Hart and Kafka 2006). The comparison between the two charts suggests that the synagogue affiliation of the students who took part in this study differs in some respects from that of London Jewry. The difference in the proportion of non-affiliated households may indicate that the intake of the three Sixth Form schools is more strongly inclined towards the mainstream synagogue affiliated families, while the non-affiliated, the Liberal and Sephardi may be under-represented. Students whose families are members of Union of Orthodox synagogues are likely to attend Charedi schools, Yeshivot and Seminaries.



Further analysis which combined the families' synagogue membership with the parents' religiosity has shown a relatively weak correlation ($r = .28^*$) between the two measures of religiosity. As chart no. 8 indicates, synagogue membership does not straightforwardly relate to its members' levels of religiosity: some students defined their families' practices as secular or somewhat secular despite their families' membership in US, Federation or Adass synagogues. This finding is

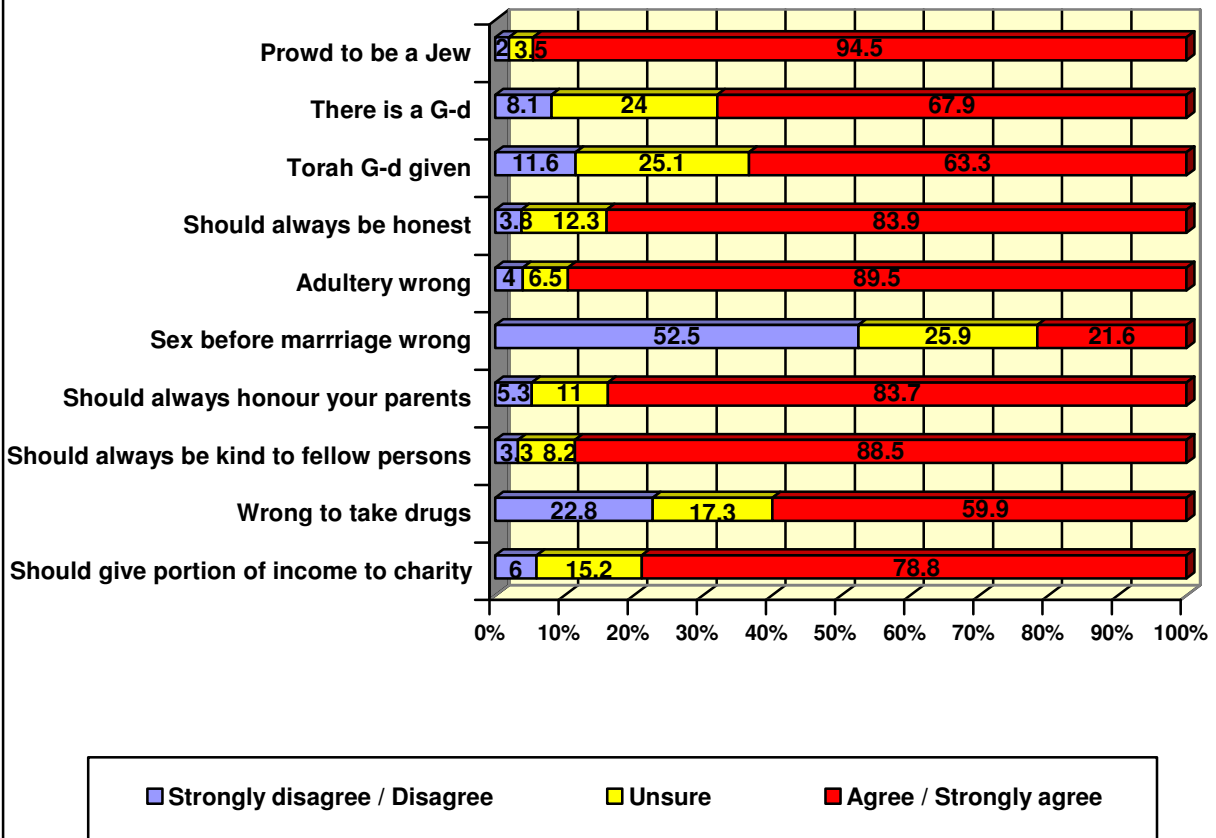
in line with other studies conducted in Britain (Miller 1994; Miller, Schmool and Lerman 1996): as Miller (1994) notes, synagogue affiliation per se is a poor indicator of religious observance.



In order to explore in more detail various aspects of the students' Jewish identities, they were presented with two sets of questions: The first set examined their concurrence with 10 central Jewish beliefs (see chart no. 9), and the second set included 5 questions which addressed their religious practices (see chart no. 10).

The findings presented in chart no. 9 reveal that most students seem to hold relatively strong Jewish beliefs: 95% of the students stated that they were proud to be Jewish, and the majority of the students (between 63-90%) agreed with most Jewish beliefs presented to them. There was only one exception: only 22% of students agreed with the statement 'sex before marriage is wrong'. Notably, only 60% of students felt it was wrong to take drugs.

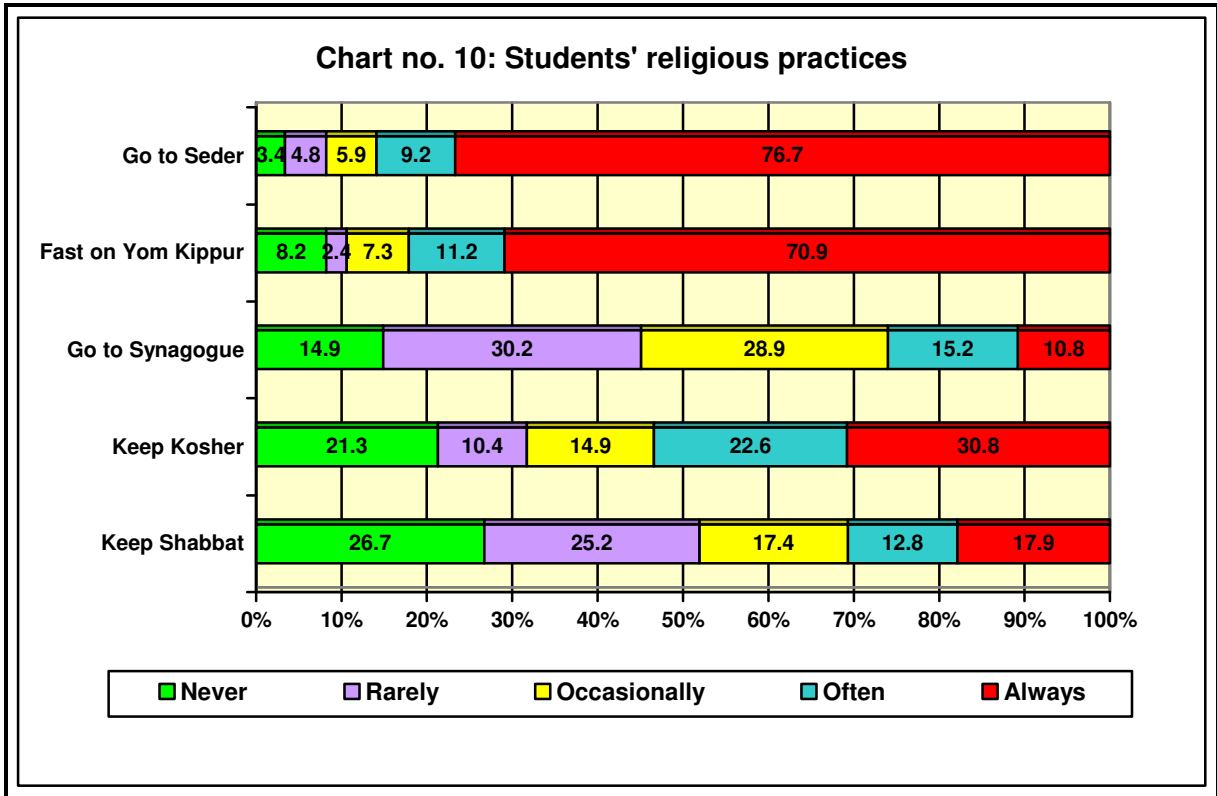
Chart no. 9: Students' Jewish beliefs



The next chart (no. 10) displays the students' religious practices. The chart reveals that most of the students always fast on Yom Kippur and attend a Seder (71% and 77% respectively). However, they were not as committed when other religious practices were addressed, with only 11% attending a synagogue regularly, 18% keeping Shabbat, and 31% observing Kashrut steadily. The findings also suggest that the more common pattern among the students who took part in the survey was in the opposite direction: more than half (52%) never or rarely keep Shabbat, nearly 45% never or rarely visit their synagogues, and a third (32%) never or rarely observe Kashrut. This suggests that most students do not keep those practices that require a consistent demonstration of their commitment (keeping Shabbat, attending a synagogue and keeping Kosher), and seem to engage with rituals that interfere least in daily life (participation in Seder and fasting on Yom Kippur). Similar findings were reported by Miller (1998) in a nationwide survey of British Jewry. Miller argues that the practices that are retained are not likely to be seen as religiously prescribed rituals but, rather loosely-defined ethnically-based ceremonies.

The students' answers to each set of questions were then combined into two measures: one reflecting their concurrence with the Jewish beliefs presented to them, and the other reflecting their observance. An average score was then calculated for each student. On a scale of 1-5 (1-strongly disagree, 5-strongly agree) on the Jewish beliefs scale, the average score for all students was 3.9 (std = .64), that is, a strong tendency to agree with Jewish beliefs. On a scale

of 1-5 (1-never practice, 5-always practice) on the Jewish practices scale, the average score was 3.5 (std = .95), that is, a strong tendency to practice Judaism on an occasional basis. In view of the fairly strong Jewish beliefs the students hold, but the relatively low level of observance, it may be argued that the students' attachment to Judaism tends to be somewhat conceptual rather than concrete, and for the majority of these students, religious practices are not part of their everyday lives. The data presented here cannot indicate whether the current levels of practice are a reflection of the students' views on Judaism, whether they may be an outcome of their stage in life, given that adolescents can be rebellious, or whether they lack the practical knowledge that would enable them to follow these practices more consistently.



As might be expected, a positive correlation was found between the students' Jewish beliefs and their practices as measured by the two scales ($r = .60^{**}$).

The following analysis attempts to quantify the differences between students with different religious outlooks in terms of their concurrence with Jewish beliefs and their observance of religious rituals. The analysis which compared the average score for each group on each scale has produced two interesting findings (see table no. 11). The first shows clearly that the religious students scored higher on both scales compared to the secular students, while the differences between the somewhat secular and somewhat religious were less distinct. The second finding suggests that the difference between the religious and the secular students in terms of their agreement with Jewish beliefs was smaller than the discrepancy found between these groups in their levels of observance. This suggests that the differences between the four groups are more practical than ideological.

Table no. 11: Students' Jewish beliefs and observance by their religious outlook: comparison of means

Respondents' religiosity		Average score on Jewish beliefs (1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-unsure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree)	Average score on Jewish practices (1-never, 2-rarely, 3-occasionally, 4-often, 5-always)
Secular	Mean	3.345	2.214
	Std. Deviation	.7160	.7458
Somewhat secular	Mean	3.827	3.264
	Std. Deviation	.5131	.6260
Somewhat religious	Mean	4.170	3.968
	Std. Deviation	.5063	.6198
Religious	Mean	4.652	4.700
	Std. Deviation	.3346	.3196
All	Mean	3.976	3.532
	Std. Deviation	.6441	.9485

One of the key aspects of Jewish identity is its ethnic aspect: the Jewish social networks which provide young Jews with a sense of collective identity and support their socialisation into Jewish life.

The following table (no. 12) assesses the composition of the students' social circles and the possibilities it presents for socialising. The table reveals that the vast majority (74%) of the students stated that all or nearly all their friends were Jewish, 20% reported that more than half of their friends were Jewish, nearly 5% of students stated that about half their friends were Jewish and under 1% of students reported that less than half of their friends were Jewish.

Table no 12: Proportion of Jewish friends

Proportion of Jewish friends	Percent
None or very few	.2
Less than half	1.1
About half	4.7
More than half	20.1
All or nearly all	73.9
Total	100.0

The next chart (no. 13) combines the religiosity of students with the composition of their social circles. The findings reveal that the tendency to associate with non-Jewish friends is much more prevalent among secular students compared to their religious peers. Similar findings were quoted in earlier studies (Cohen and Kahn Harris 2004; Graham 2003; Cohen 2006).

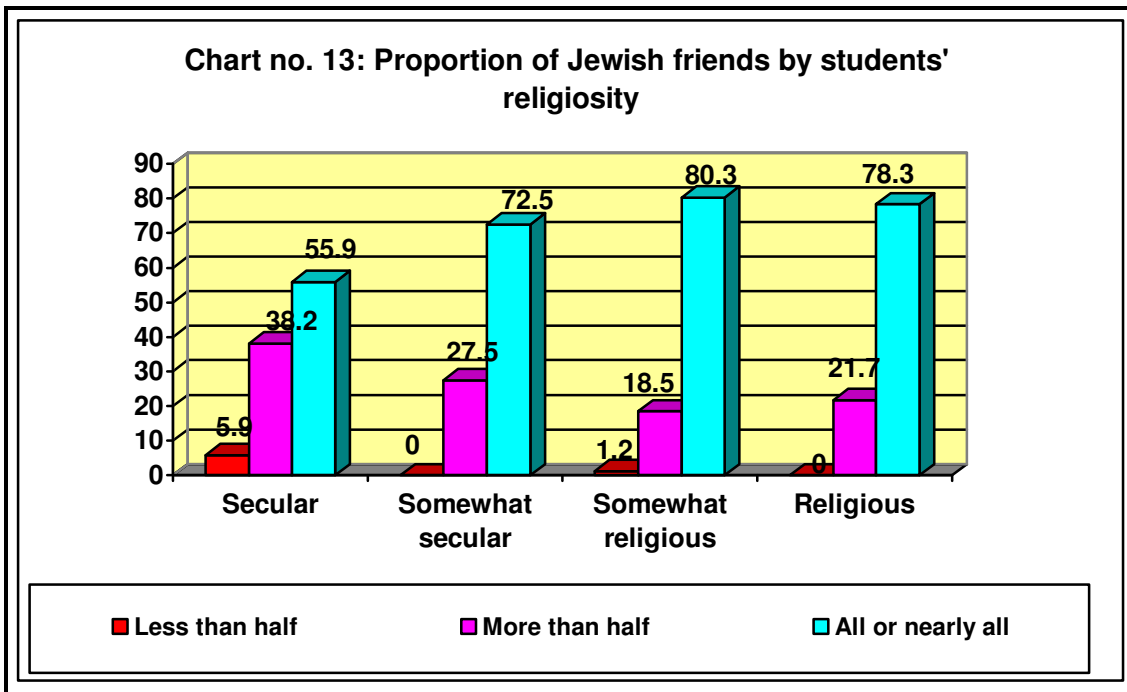
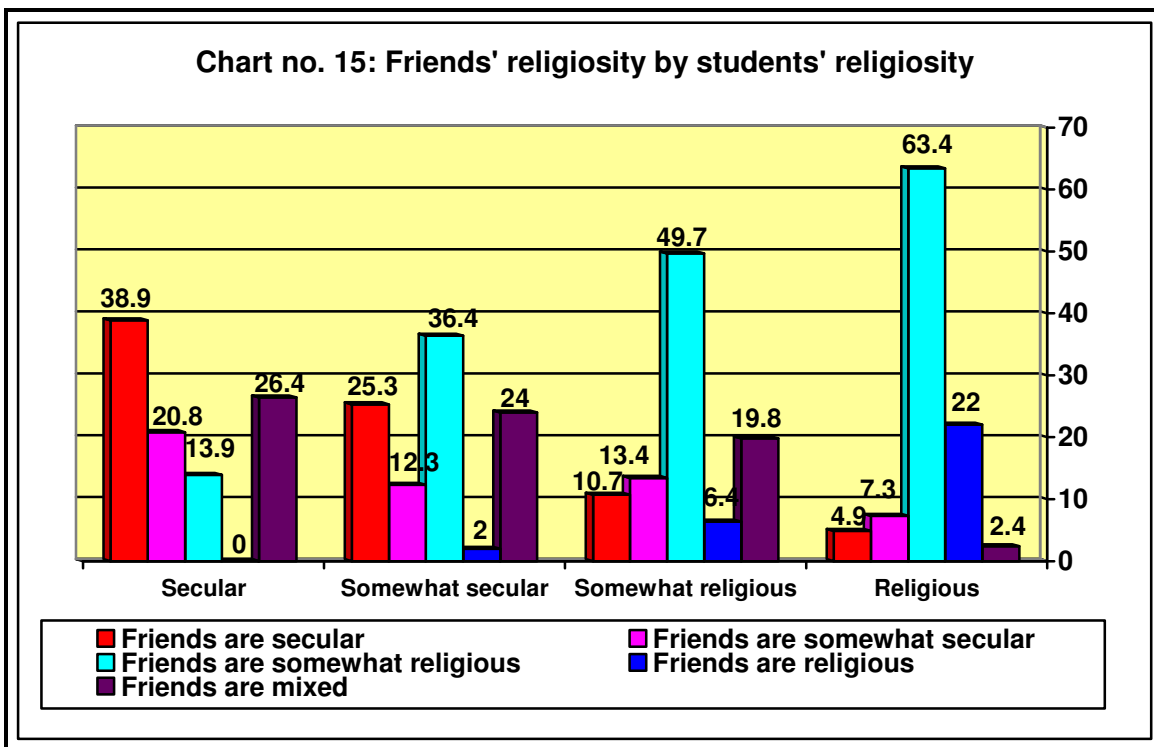


Table no. 14 explores the religiosity of the students' friends. The analysis reveals that 19% of the students defined their friends as secular, 13% described their friends as somewhat secular, 40% stated that their friends were somewhat religious, and the rest (5%) described their friends as religious. In addition, 22% of the students noted that their friends' religiosity varied.

Table no. 14: Religious outlook of students' friends

Outlook of friends	Percent
Secular	19.2
Somewhat secular	13.5
Somewhat religious	40.4
Religious	4.5
Mixed	22.4
Total	100.0

The next chart (no. 15) displays the friends' religiosity by the students' religious outlook. The findings indicate that the students' peers were from a variety backgrounds and outlooks, yet, particularly among the secular and religious groups, it is more evident that friendship ties tend to form on the basis of similar religious outlook and practices.



Summary and conclusions:

This chapter presents several measures of the students' Jewish identity and their religious background. The analyses reveal that the religious orientation of the students and their families varied, and can be defined as fairly heterogenic, with a strong mainstream majority and a moderate leaning towards secularism. Furthermore there were some indications to suggest that the three schools draw their intake mainly from the mainstream, synagogue-affiliated segment of London Jewry, while the Liberal, Sephardi and non-affiliated sections of the community may be under-represented.

The students' accounts as to their Jewish beliefs and practices highlight the pride they take in being Jewish and the strength of their Jewish beliefs. At the same time, an examination of their religious practices has demonstrated that most students do not keep those practices that require consistency and commitment, and tend to take part in rituals that interfere least in everyday life. In view of these contrasting findings on the Jewish beliefs the students hold and on the practices they tend to follow, it may be argued that the students' connection to Judaism tends to be somewhat ideological rather than actual, and for the majority of these students, religious rituals are not integrated into their daily routines. The data cannot specify whether these levels of observance are a manifestation of the students' views on Judaism, whether they may be a result of their phase in life, teenage years sometimes being characterised by defiance, or whether they lack the practical knowledge that would make it possible for them to follow these rituals more steadily.

These findings raise several questions as to the role of school, specifically the Jewish secondary school as a socialisation agent for Jewish life. Should schools endeavour to improve the level of religious practice of their students? Are students possessed of sufficient knowledge on the practice of Jewish rituals? What are the main Jewish beliefs and values that schools should impart? Is the current level of attainment perceived to be satisfactory?

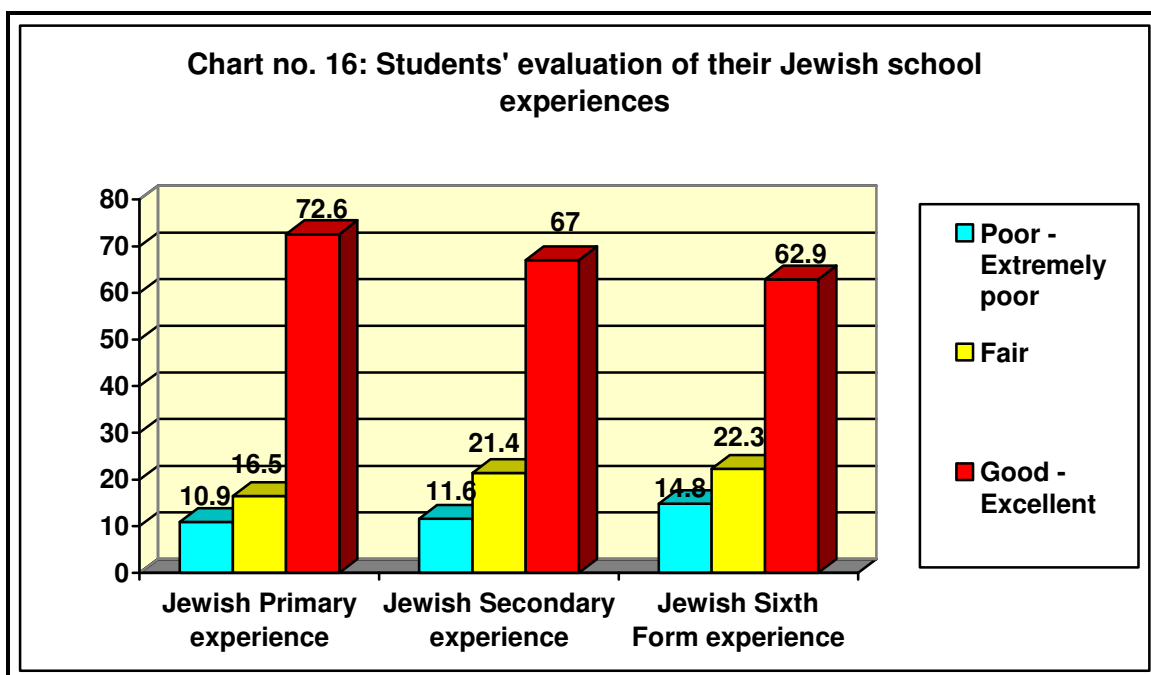
One of the key aspects of Jewish identity is the Jewish social networks within which young Jews can socialise. This is also a central aspect of the Jewish schooling environment. The analysis presented in this chapter reveals that the vast majority (74%) of the students stated that all or nearly all their friends were Jewish, and that the tendency to socialise with non-Jewish friends was much more prevalent among secular students compared to their religious peers. As for the religiosity of the students' friends, the findings suggest that while students generally socialise across different outlooks, it is apparent that secular and religious students tend to form friendship ties on the basis of similar religious outlook and practices.

2. The students' Jewish experience at school

Most of the Sixth Form students who took part in the survey enrolled in the same school at secondary school (86%), and only a minority of them transferred to their current Sixth Form after having completed their GCSEs elsewhere: 4% transferred from Jewish secondary schools and 10% transferred to their current school from non-Jewish schools.

As for their primary schools, nearly half of the students (46%) were enrolled in non-Jewish primary schools, and the rest were enrolled in Jewish primary schools (54%). An analysis of the number of years that the students have had in a Jewish environment (including nursery schools) showed a range of 1 - 16 years, and the average was 10 years (std = 4.5).

The students were asked to evaluate their Jewish experience at their primary, secondary and Sixth Form schools⁴. Their accounts are shown in chart no. 16 below.



The data reveals that the majority of students (72%) who were enrolled in Jewish primary schools rated their Jewish experience there as being good, very good or excellent, 16% evaluated it as fair, and 11% evaluated it as extremely poor, very poor or poor. The average score was 5.3 (std = 1.5), that is: good.

When asked to evaluate their Jewish experience at their secondary Jewish schools, 67% of the students rated their Jewish experience as being good, very good or excellent. Conversely, 21% rated it as fair, and 11% described it as poor, very poor or extremely poor. The average score was 4.9 (std = 1.4), that is: good.

Similar findings were found in an analysis of their experiences at Sixth Form: 63% rated their Jewish experience as good to excellent, 22% described it as fair, and 15% rated it as poor to extremely poor. The average score was 4.8 (std = 1.5), i.e. good.

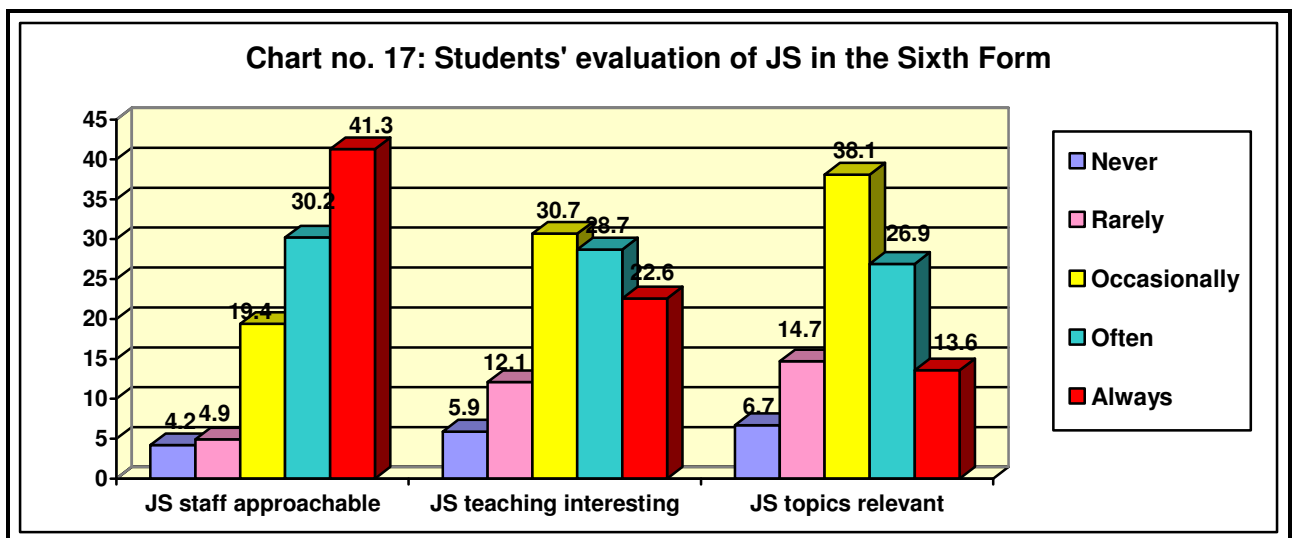
⁴ Only students who were enrolled in Jewish primary and secondary schools were included in these analyses.

As the graph shows, the percentage of students who rated their Jewish experiences positively seems to decline as the students progress from one stage of education to the next, suggesting that they felt that their Jewish experience at the earlier stages of their education (i.e. at primary and secondary schools) was more constructive than their Jewish experiences at their current Sixth Form schools.

The next chart (no. 17) presents the students' accounts as to their experiences of the Jewish Studies classes at their current schools. The questionnaire presented them with three questions relating to these experiences: 1) to what extent they found JS staff approachable; 2) to what extent they found JS classes interesting; and 3) to what extent they found JS topics relevant to their lives.

Their answers suggest that while the majority (71%) found JS teachers often or always approachable, approximately half (51%) found JS classes often or always interesting, and only 40% found JS topics often or always relevant to their lives. On the other hand, 9% found JS staff never or rarely approachable, 18% found JS teaching rarely or never interesting, and 22% reported that JS topics were rarely or never relevant to their lives.

The three questions rating the JS provision at the Sixth Form were combined into one scale (ranging from 1-never to 5-always). The average score on this scale was 3.6 (std=0.94), which indicates that that the students tended to rate JS provision as being occasionally / often satisfactory.



Do school experiences relate to the students' religiosity? Do students from relatively religious backgrounds have more years of Jewish education compared to other students? Are there differences between secular and religious students in their evaluation of their schooling experiences? The next analyses attempt to address these questions.

A correlation analysis between different measures of religiosity, and the number of years of Jewish schooling students have had (see table 1 appendix 1) has shown that students who were raised in relatively religious homes did not have significantly more years of Jewish education compared to students from more relaxed backgrounds⁵. This finding suggests that among this group of fairly mainstream respondents, the inclination to enrol children in a Jewish school is not strongly tied with religiosity.

⁵ This is indicated by the zero-correlation between number of years the students were enrolled in Jewish schools and the parents' religiosity.

One of the most intriguing questions in relation to Jewish education is that of quantity as opposed to quality: do students who have had more years of Jewish education display stronger Jewish beliefs and higher levels of observance? Do students who have had positive experiences in their Jewish schools display stronger Jewish beliefs and higher levels of observance?

A correlation analysis between the number of years of Jewish education students have had and several measures of their religiosity has produced no significant correlation. This implies that among this sample of students, most of whom have had more than nine years of Jewish education, having fewer years or a few more years of Jewish schooling did not seem to have any bearing on their identities or practices. On the other hand, the quality of the students' Jewish experiences (that is, the quality of their experiences at primary, secondary and Sixth Form schools, as well as their experience of their JS classes) correlated positively with most measures of the students' religiosity (see table 1 appendix 1), including their families' outlook. These correlations did not reduce significantly when background features (including the families' religiosity) were controlled.

The findings indicate that the religious students evaluated their Jewish experiences at their schools, including that of their JS classes, more positively than their secular peers. That is, the students who came from relatively religious homes seemed to enjoy their JS classes more than their secular peers, who found their JS teachers less approachable, the curriculum less relevant and the teaching less interesting compared to their religious peers. Furthermore, the findings also imply that the religious students have gained more from the Jewish educational inputs they were offered compared to their secular peers.

One understanding of this is that the religious students may be more inclined and therefore more receptive to the school's Jewish environment and provision than the secular students, and thus they rated the school's provision more positively than their secular peers and, more importantly, they may have gained more from these inputs.

Another interesting finding is the strong and positive correlation ($r = .57^{**}$) found between the students' evaluation of the JS provision at their current school and the students' assessment of their general Jewish experience in the school. This finding suggests that the students who most enjoyed the JS provision also rated their general Jewish experience at the school more positively and vice versa. This may indicate that, from the students' point of view, the Jewish cultural practices of the school and its Jewish atmosphere are seen as closely allied with the JS departments.

To conclude this section on Jewish schooling, a regression analysis was conducted in an attempt to examine whether various schooling experiences can explain the students' religiosity (see table 2 in the Appendix), when their family background is taken into account. The analysis can also determine which, if any, of all the schooling factors (primary, secondary and Sixth Form experiences, quality of JS classes, and number of years of Jewish schooling) can explain the variance in the students' outlook. The analysis revealed that altogether the combination of background variables, friendship ties and schooling factors were capable of explaining 65% of the variance in students' religiosity. As expected, parental religiosity explained 56% of the variance in the students' outlooks, the students' friendship ties accounted for a further 2.5% of the variance in outlook, and 6.5% was explained by school factors, specifically the JS provision and the Sixth Form experience, after parental religiosity and friendship ties were controlled. Other schooling factors did not have any significant contribution in predicting the students' outlook.

Summary and conclusions:

The findings presented in this chapter explored the students' Jewish experiences at their Sixth Form schools, as well as at their Jewish primary and secondary schools, in relation to their religious background and current outlook.

The data revealed that the majority of students rated their Jewish schooling experiences positively, and a minority were dissatisfied with the quality of their Jewish experience in their previous or current Jewish schools. However, a comparison of their assessments across the three stages of their education has indicated that the students rated their earlier experiences more positively than current experiences at their Sixth Form schools.

The students' accounts as to their experiences of the Jewish Studies classes at their Sixth Form schools has revealed that while the majority of students found JS teachers approachable, their views on the curriculum and quality of teaching were less complimentary.

Much of the analyses presented in this chapter explored the association between the students' school experiences and their religiosity. The findings indicate that while no association was found between the number of years students were enrolled in a Jewish school and most measures of religiosity, the quality of their experiences seem to be positively correlated with the students' religiosity. This finding renders some support to the argument that the quality of the students' experiences in a Jewish school is much more important for the students' cultural development than the quantity of Jewish education they had - that is, the amount of time they were enrolled in Jewish schools.

These findings also indicate that students who were raised in relatively religious homes did not have significantly more years of Jewish education compared to students from more relaxed backgrounds, suggesting that among this group of fairly mainstream respondents the tendency to enrol children in a Jewish school is not strongly associated with religiosity.

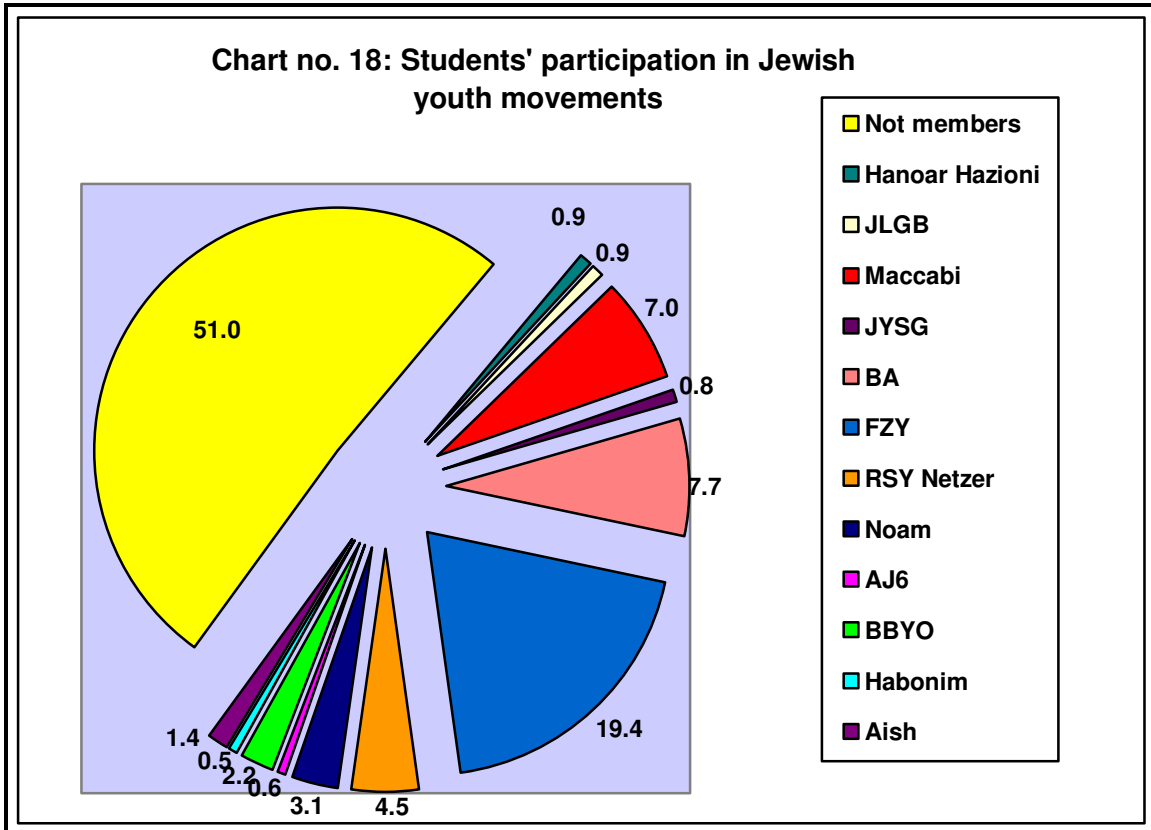
The quality of the students' Jewish experience at their schools and their assessment of the quality of their JS classes seem to be positively associated with some measures of the students' religiosity, indicating that the highly observant students evaluated their Jewish experience at their schools more positively than their secular peers. This suggests that the students who defined themselves as fairly religious seemed to appreciate their schools' Jewish environment more than their secular peers, and also enjoyed their JS classes more than their less observant classmates, who found their JS teachers less approachable, the curriculum less relevant and the teaching less interesting. This may indicate that the religious students are predisposed towards these inputs and therefore more receptive to them, and thus have gained more from the educational facilities and experiences offered to them in their schools.

An additional finding was the high and positive correlation found between the students' evaluation of the JS provision at their current school and their assessment of their general Jewish experience in the school. This finding indicates that students who enjoyed the JS provision most also rated their general Jewish experience at the school more positively and vice versa. It seems that from the students' point of view, the Jewish cultural practices of the school and its Jewish atmosphere are seen as closely linked with that of the JS departments.

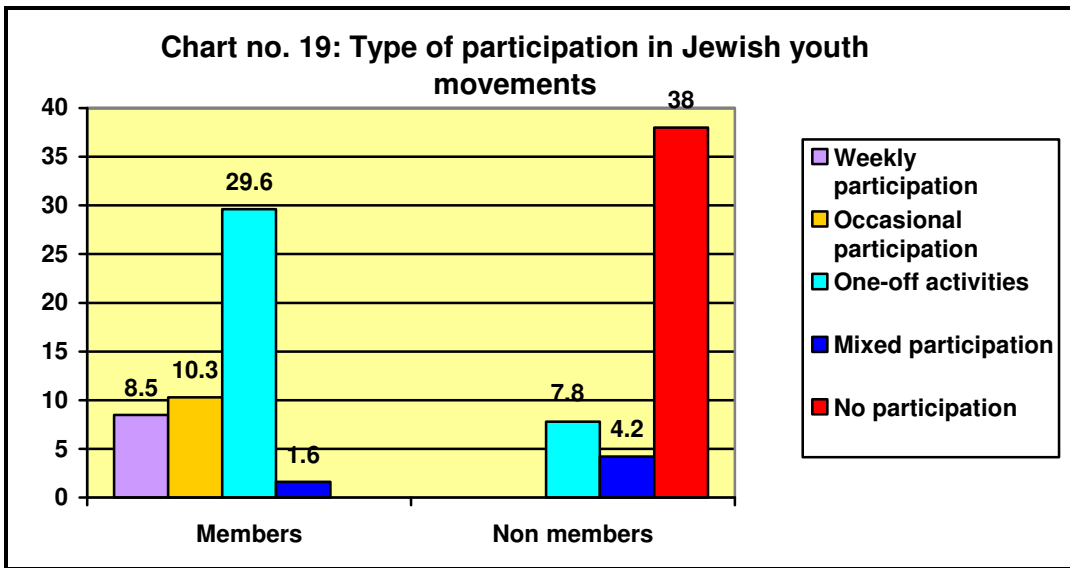
The findings presented in this chapter highlight the significance of the JS department and its key role in generating the Jewish environment and culture of the entire school. The findings also indicate that the quality of the Jewish environment of the school is an essential component in socialising the students into Jewish life. The findings draw attention to the importance of a meaningful curriculum, inspirational teaching and a closer student-teacher connection as a method for drawing students closer to their cultural and religious traditions.

3. The students' Involvement in Jewish youth organisations and activities

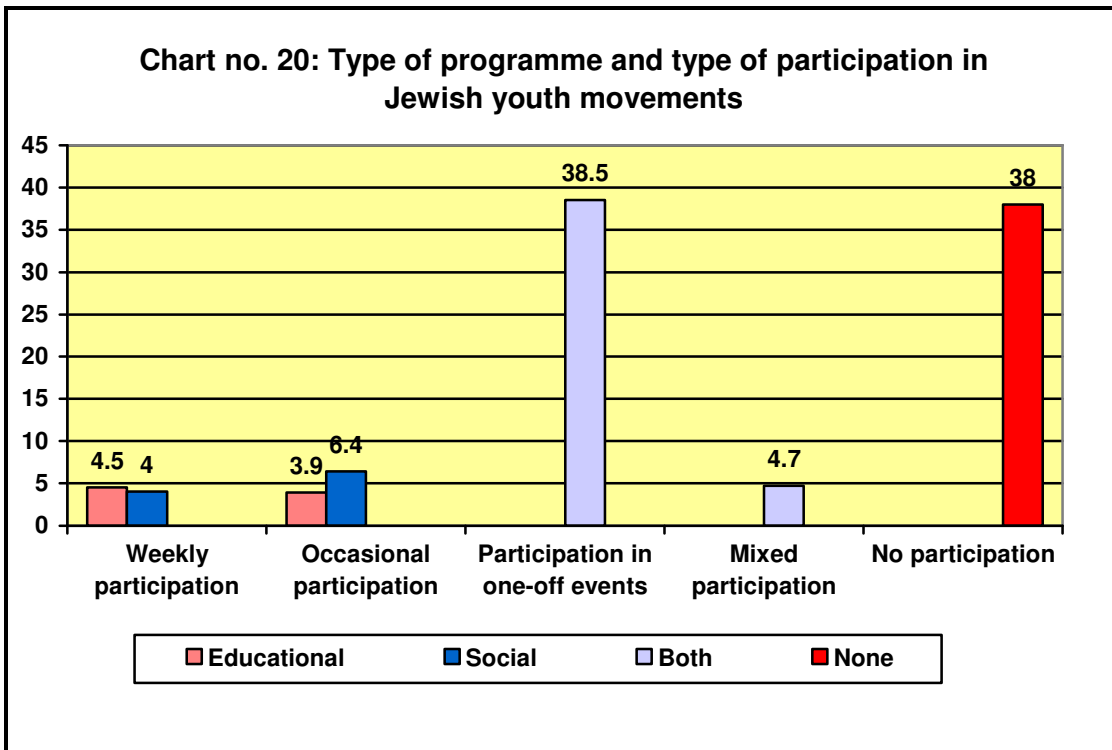
The following analyses focus on the students' participation in Jewish youth movements and various Jewish educational activities (such as: Israel trips, Shabbatonim, Lunch and Learn, Poland trips, etc.). Generally, the Sixth Form students who participated in this survey seem to be fairly involved both in youth movements and educational programmes: nearly half (49%) of the students reported that they were members of Jewish youth movements, and just over half (51%) were not. Chart no. 18 shows all the youth movements the students were affiliated with. As seen in the chart, the most popular movements among the students were FZY, BA, Maccabi, and RSY.



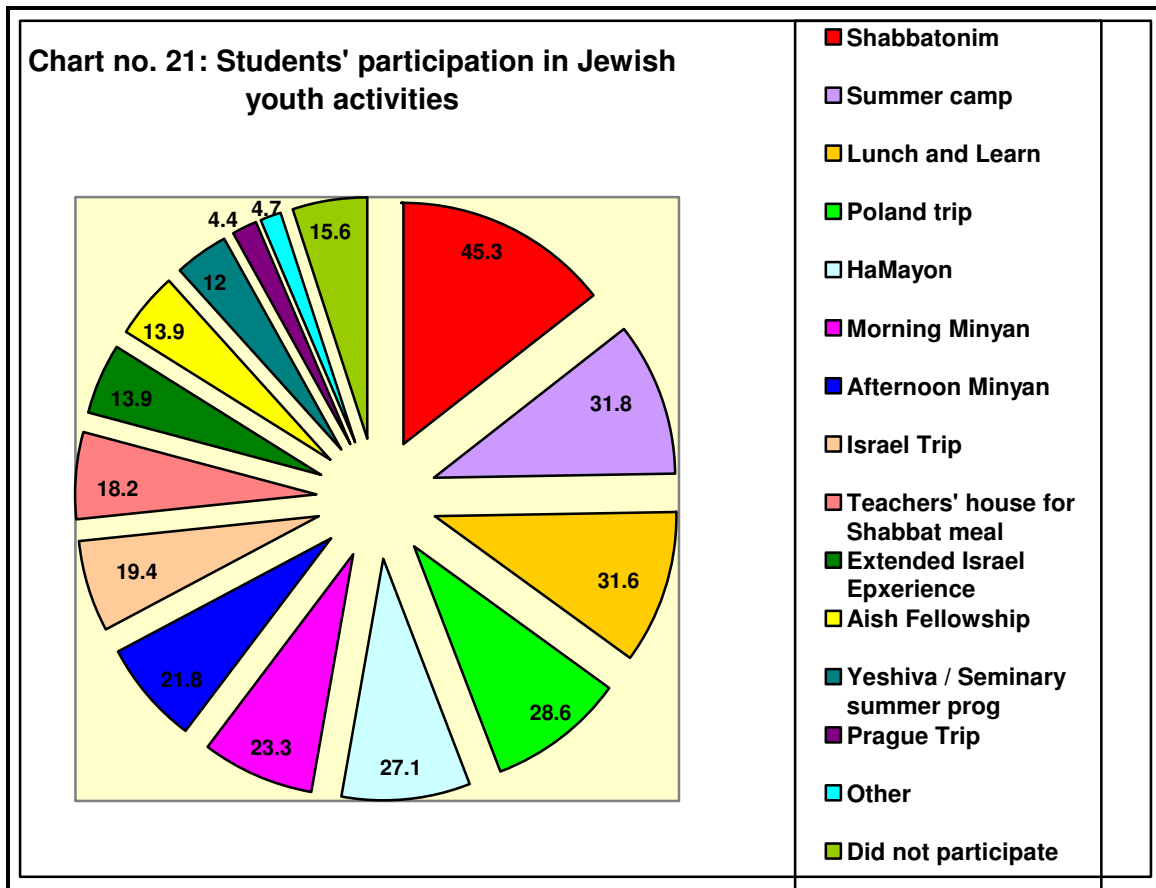
Further analysis of the type of participation the students displayed in youth movements and its regularity has shown that among those who were members of youth movements, there was a strong tendency to participate on an occasional basis (such as: summer or winter camps, tours and trips, sports events, Shabbatonim, etc.) rather than on a regular weekly basis (see chart no. 19): less than 10% of the students were engaged with their youth movements on a regular weekly basis. The chart also reveals that sporadic participation in activities offered by Jewish youth movements also occurred among non-members. Nonetheless, those who participated in these activities (202 students, 43% of the sample) did so more than once: on average each student participated in two activities offered by the youth movement and up to four activities. The most popular of these activities were camps, Shabbatonim and Israel tours.



Further examination of the contents of youth movements' gatherings in relation to the regularity of these activities (see chart 20) has revealed that there was a stronger tendency among those who participated occasionally to enrol in social events, while for those who participated more regularly the focus was both educationally and socially orientated.



The pattern of participation in youth movements delineated here suggests that the Sixth Formers prefer to enrol in occasional events rather than in regular weekly events. While this tendency may be explained by burdens and stresses presented to these students at this stage of their lives by their A-Level exams, it is clear from their replies that participation on an irregular basis may steer the students away not only from the commitment, attachment and development into leadership roles that are brought by regular attendance, but also away from educational inputs.

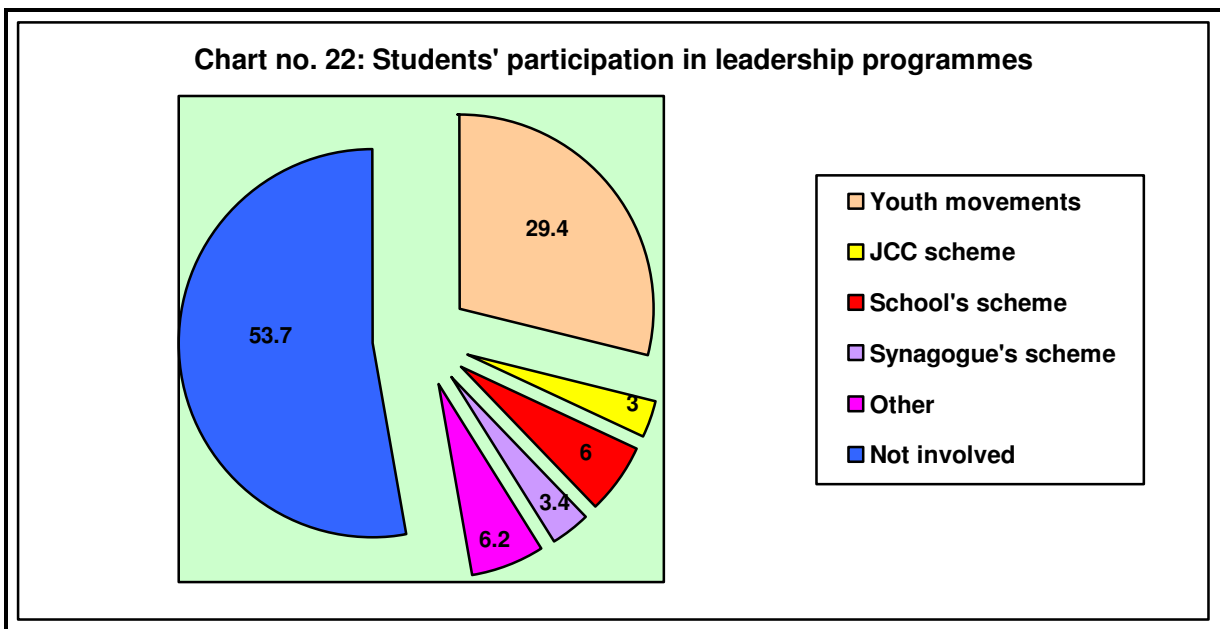


*Note that the total is more than 100% since students named more than one scheme they joined

Chart no. 21 examines **all** youth activities (such as Israel trip, Poland trip, Shabbatonim, Lunch and Learn, camps etc) the students participated in during their schooling years, including those offered to them by their youth movements (reported above).

Of the 467 students who took part in this study, 16% did not participate in any activity, but the others (395 students, 84%) took part in 1459 ventures (as noted above, of those 212 (15%) were offered by their youth movements). Approximately 16% participated in one scheme, a further 40% took part in 2-4 activities and 27% participated in 5-10 schemes. The average was three activities (std = 2.3). As can be seen in the chart, the favourite activities were Shabbatonim, summer camps, Lunch and Learn, Poland trips and HaMayon.

The following analysis refers to leadership programmes, in which the students participated. Among the students who took part in the study, less than half (46%) stated that they had been involved in leadership programmes. The next chart (no.22) shows the types of programmes the students were involved with. The data indicates that nearly a third (29%) of the students were involved in leadership programmes offered by their youth movements, and the others (19%) participated in youth leadership schemes through their schools, synagogues or other organisations.



Do participation and involvement in youth movements and activities relate to religiosity? Are the students who are more religious also the more highly involved? A correlation analysis between participation in various types of schemes and religiosity (see table no. 3, Appendix) has revealed that the more observant students were, the more likely they were to participate in various occasional youth activities. Similar findings were reported in several studies conducted both in Britain and in the USA (Miller 1998; Cohen and Kotler Berkowitz 2004; Cohen 2006). The correlations between different measures of religiosity and membership in youth movements were positive but fairly weak, and no relationship was found between religiosity and participation in leadership schemes.

A more detailed analysis conducted on each of the activities and movements the students have joined has shown that students who took part in Shabbatonim, Lunch and Learn, and Minyanim, and those who were members of BA, were likely to be more observant than their peers. No correlation was found between other activities or movements and the students' religiosity.

How does enrolment in Jewish education and the students' Jewish experiences in their schools impact the tendency to participate in youth activities? To address this question a correlation analysis was carried out which found no correlation between enrolment in Jewish schools, the number of years spent in Jewish education or the quality of the students' Jewish experiences in their secondary or Sixth Form schools and their inclination to become members of youth movements or take part in youth activities. On the other hand, a positive correlation ($r = .33^{**}$) was found between the quality of their JS experience in the Sixth Form and their participation in youth activities. This correlation was reduced significantly when the students' religiosity was controlled, which suggests that the association between satisfaction from JS classes and participation in youth activities is mainly explained by the students' religiosity - that is, students who were more observant seemed to enjoy their JS more than their less observant peers, and were also more inclined to take part in youth activities.

To conclude this section, a regression analysis was conducted in an attempt to examine whether various youth experiences can explain the students' religiosity (see table no. 4, Appendix), when the students' family background is taken into account. The analysis can also determine which of all the youth programmes (youth movements, number of youth activities, Israeli schemes and leadership schemes) can explain the variance in the students' outlook. The analysis revealed that altogether the combination of background variables, friendship ties and youth activities, was capable of explaining 66% of the variance in students' religiosity. Parental religiosity accounted for 56% of the variance in the students' outlooks, the students' friendship ties accounted for a

further 3% of the variance in outlook, and 7% was explained by involvement in youth schemes, specifically the number of youth activities the students joined. Other youth activities did not have any significant contribution in predicting the students' outlook.

Summary and conclusions:

This chapter explored the students' participation in youth movements and Jewish youth activities in relation to the students' background, religiosity and schooling experiences.

The findings revealed that although nearly half of the students were members of youth clubs or movements, their participation in their clubs was occasional and sporadic and the focus of their participation was more socially inclined than educationally orientated. In view of these findings it may be argued that the general tendency among the young people who took part in the study was to adopt a consumerist 'boutique' approach to the opportunities offered to them. While this tendency may be explained by burdens and pressures presented to these students at this stage of their lives by their A-Level exams, it is clear from their replies that participation on an irregular basis may steer the students away not only from the commitment, attachment and development into leadership roles that are brought about by regular attendance, but also away from educational inputs.

The analyses of the students' participation in youth activities showed that a minority of students (16%) did not participate in any form of informal activity, but the rest participated in three activities on average. This appears to be a fairly low figure, considering that the students have been in Jewish education for an average of 10 years and thus should have had easy access to these opportunities.

In terms of the profile of students who were highly involved in youth activities, the data demonstrated that the more observant students tended to become members of and participate in Jewish youth movements as well as in other activities, while the secular students displayed lower rates of participation. Similar to the schools' Jewish provision, this may indicate that Jewish youth provision may be geared towards the more religiously committed students, and that the needs and interests of the secular students are perhaps not being fully addressed.

4. The place of Israel in students' lives

How do these students perceive Israel and what is Israel's place in their lives?

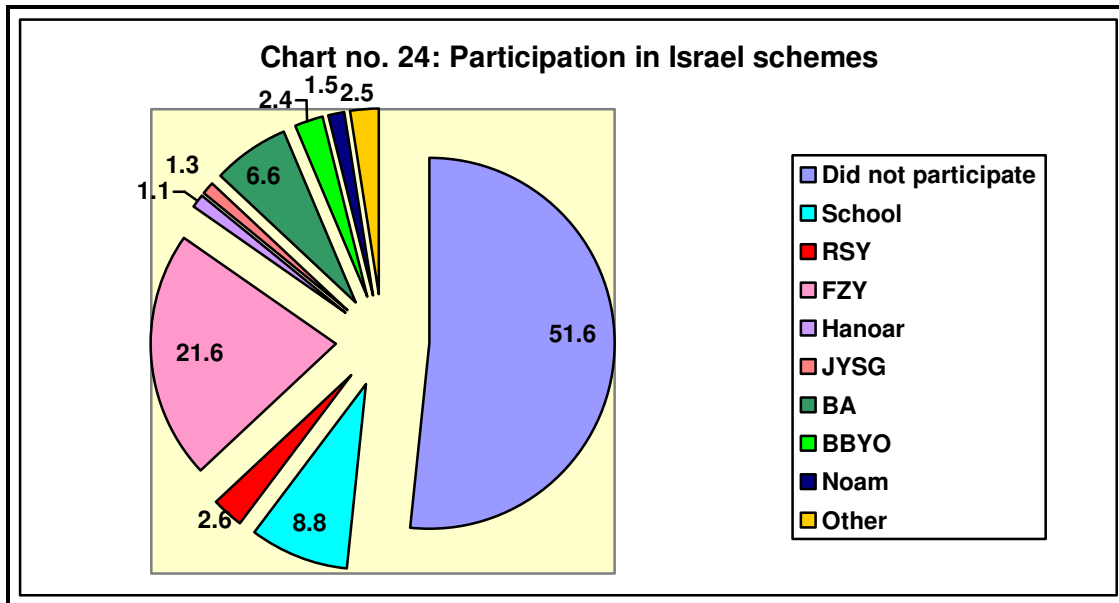
The questionnaire included a set of five questions on this topic: 1) How many times did they visit Israel? 2) Did they enrol in an Israel educational scheme? If they did, which one? 3) How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit? 4) How important is Israel as part of their identities? 5) How likely are they to live in Israel in the future?

The analyses below show the students' responses to these questions. Table no. 23 presents the number of visits made by students to Israel. The table shows that while a minority (13%) of the students have never been to Israel, the majority have visited Israel more than once and up to 10 times. Among those who visited Israel, the average number of visits was 6.1 (std = 4.3). As seen in the table, 7% of students were Israeli citizens (either born in Israel or children of Israeli parents). These students tend to visit Israel at least once a year.

Table no. 23: Visits to Israel

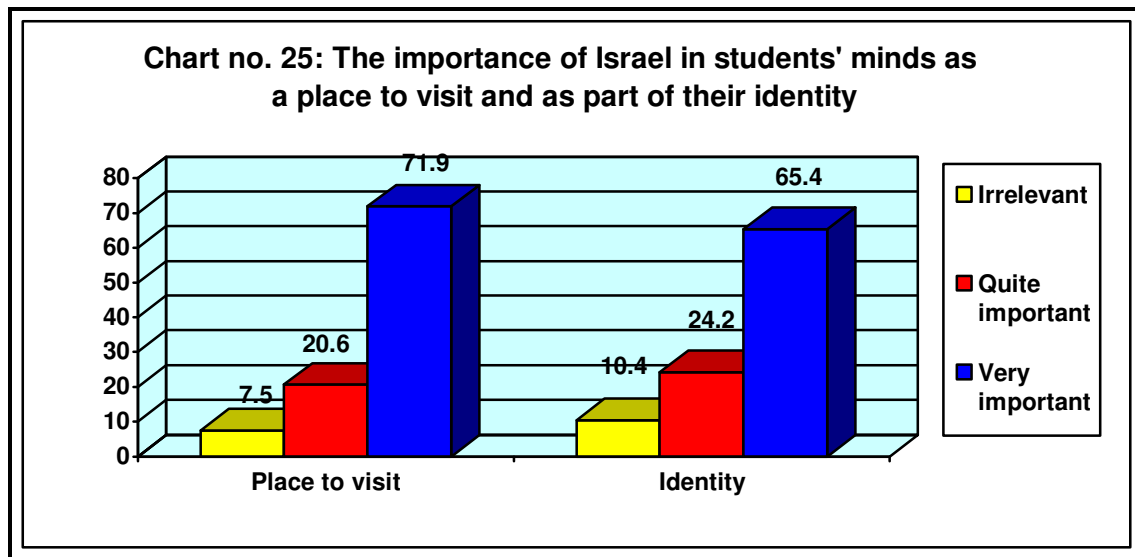
Visits to Israel	Percent
Never	13.5
1-4	40.2
5-9	16.3
more than 10 times	23.0
Israeli citizen	7.0
Total	100.0

Nearly half (48%) of the students participated in Israel-focused educational schemes. Chart no. 24 shows which schemes the students joined. As can be seen, FZY, the schools' schemes, and BA were the preferred schemes among students.



The next chart (no. 25) presents the students' responses as to how important is it for them to have Israel as a place to visit, and as part of their identity. The data indicates that while a

minority (10%) did not see Israel as relevant to their lives, most students (90%) felt it was quite important or very important to have Israel as a place to visit and as part of their identities.



How likely were the students to live in Israel in the future? As can be seen in table no. 26, 25% felt they were likely to go on Aliyah, a third (33%) were unsure, and 42% stated that they were unlikely or definitely not going to live in Israel.

Table no. 26: Likelihood of living in Israel

Living in Israel	Percent
Definitely not	14.4
Unlikely	27.9
Unsure	32.4
Most probably	14.6
Definitely	10.6
Total	100.0

How do visits to Israel and participation in Israel schemes relate to the students' views regarding Israel and its importance in their lives? A correlation analysis between the number of visits the students have so far, their participation in Israel educational schemes, and their views of Israel (see table no. 5, Appendix) has shown that the students who displayed a stronger sense of attachment to Israel visited Israel numerous times ($r = .37^{**}$). The number of visits was also positively linked with the prospects of going on Aliyah ($r = .42^{**}$). While participation in Israel schemes was also correlated with the students' sense of attachment to Israel ($r = .33^{**}$), no correlation was found between participation in these schemes and prospects for Aliyah.

How do perceptions of Israel relate to the students' religiosity? Are the religious students more attached to Israel compared to their secular peers? The correlation analysis (presented in table no. 6, Appendix) revealed that the religious students displayed stronger feelings of attachment to Israel compared to their secular peers ($r = .40^{**}$). Similar findings were reported in other studies both in Britain and in the USA (Kosmin, Lerman and Goldberg 1997; Cohen 2006).

Do perceptions of Israel correlate with enrolment in Jewish education and participation in youth activities? A correlation analysis between the students' Jewish schooling and their views regarding Israel produced no significant correlations. On the other hand, students who were

members of youth movements, and those who participated in many youth activities seemed to display more positive views towards Israel than their less involved peers ($r = .33^{**}$) (see table no. 7, Appendix).

The two sets of analyses (one on the formal education and the other on informal) indicate that views regarding Israel are less affected by Jewish schooling, but much more positively affected by participation in Jewish youth movements and in various activities. This may not be surprising however, since, as seen earlier in the students' accounts of the activities they participated in, many of these were Israel-orientated.

Summary and conclusions:

The findings presented in this chapter explored the place of Israel in students' lives. The analyses revealed that the vast majority of students have visited Israel at least once, and that the average number of visits among the students was six, with only a small minority (13%) reporting that they have not had not visited Israel. Nearly half of the students participated in an Israel educational scheme.

The analysis of the students' sense of attachment to Israel has shown that the majority of students felt a strong attachment to Israel and stated that Israel was an important aspect of their Jewish identities. The data also indicated that multiple visits to Israel are immensely important in generating a stronger sense of connection with Israel.

As to the likelihood of going on Aliyah, a quarter of students stated that they were likely to go on Aliyah and the rest were unsure or felt that this was not a realistic prospect for them. As might be expected, the students who considered going on Aliyah visited Israel many times, participated in Israel schemes and displayed the strong sense of attachment to Israel.

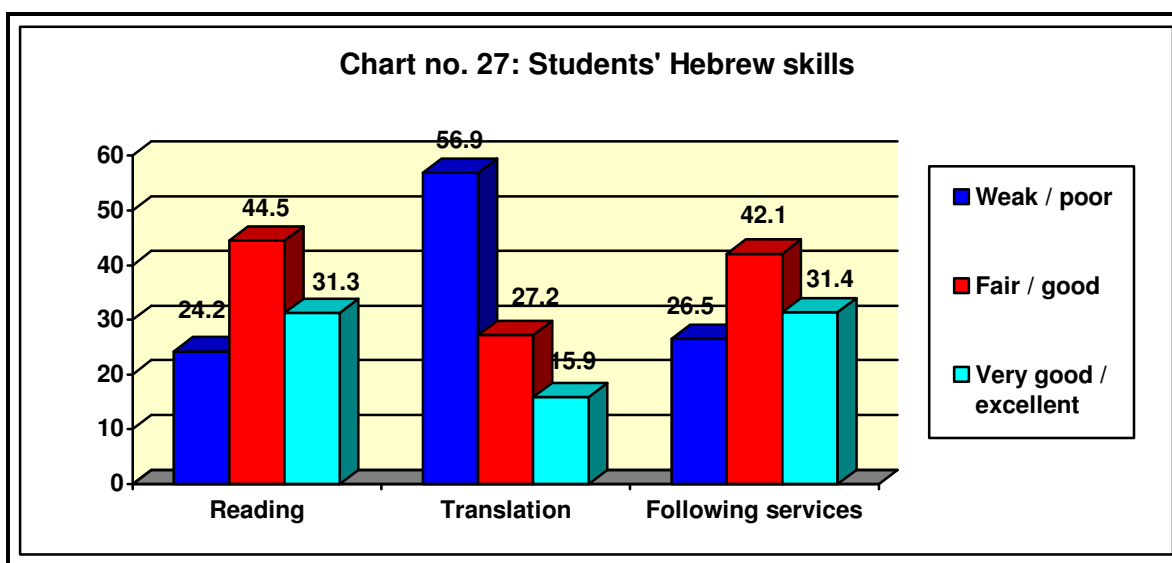
Attitudes towards Israel and inclination to go on Aliyah seem to be closely associated with religiosity: the religious students in the sample indeed displayed a stronger sense of attachment to Israel compared to their secular peers.

The findings also indicate that while Jewish formal education seems to have no association and perhaps little influence on the students' views of Israel or the opportunities they had to visit Israel, participation in youth movements and various Israel-focused activities were certainly constructive in generating interest, encouraging visits to Israel and enhancing the students' sense of connection to Israel.

5. Hebrew proficiency

The questionnaire included three questions relating to the students' knowledge and skills in Hebrew: the first asked them to rate their capacity to read Hebrew, the second asked them to assess their translation skills and the third evaluated their ability follow services in Hebrew. All questions had the same answers scale: 1-very poor to 6-excellent.

Chart no. 27 details the students answers to these questions. The chart shows that while nearly a third of the students felt that their capacities to read and follow services were very good to excellent, the majority (45%) rated their Hebrew proficiency in both measures as fair or good and the rest (approximately 25%) felt that they are doing rather poorly in Hebrew. When rating their translation skills, the results were different: more than half (57%) rated themselves as weak or poor, 27% felt they were fair or good and only 16% were confident about their capacity to translate Hebrew texts. The students' average score in reading was 3.6 (std = 1.5) that is, between fair and good. In translation, their average score was 2.6 (std = 1.6), i.e. between poor and fair, and in following services the average score was 3.6 (std = 1.6): between fair and good.



The association between the students' religiosity and proficiency in Hebrew was also explored in this study (see table 6, Appendix). As might be expected, the more observant students and those whose synagogue attendance was more frequent felt they were fairly skilled in reading Hebrew texts ($r = .37^{**}$) and following services ($r = .59^{**}$), but their religiosity did not seem to correlate strongly with their capacity to translate Hebrew texts.

To explore to what extent Hebrew skills were associated with the students' schooling experience, a correlation analysis was carried out (see table no. 7, Appendix). The findings indicate that the students who were enrolled in Jewish schools for longer periods were also those who had better Hebrew skills ($r = .38^{**}$). The students' Hebrew skills did not strongly correlate with their general Jewish experience at school, and no correlation was found between the students' Hebrew skills and their involvement in youth activities or memberships in youth movements.

Do students' views of Israel and the number of their visits to Israel relate to their Hebrew proficiency? A correlation analysis between these measures (see table no. 8, Appendix) has revealed that visits to and views of Israel were certainly associated with the students' proficiency in Hebrew. The students who visited Israel many times were more capable than others of reading ($r = .41^{**}$) and translating ($.59^{**}$). Those who felt they were likely to live in Israel in the future were more proficient than others in all three skills ($r = .35^{**} - .44^{**}$), and those who felt Israel was

important in their lives both as a place to visit and as a part of their identities had relatively good Hebrew skills ($r = .31^{**} - .35^{**}$).

Summary and conclusions:

The data presented in this chapter on the students' Hebrew skills revealed that two thirds of the students felt that they were fairly proficient in Hebrew and were capable of reading and following services competently, while the rest felt less confident about their Hebrew skills. Most students rated their capacity to translate texts as poor.

As might be expected, the students who rated themselves as observant and whose synagogue attendance was regular and frequent reported that they were fairly skilled in reading Hebrew texts and following services compared to their secular peers.

The analyses exploring the association between school enrolment and experiences and Hebrew skills has shown that the students who were enrolled in Jewish education for longer had better Hebrew skills, but the students' Hebrew skills did not correlate with any other aspect of their schooling experience. Additionally, Hebrew skills were not associated with membership in youth movements or with participation in youth activities, but spending time in Israel positively affected the students' skills.

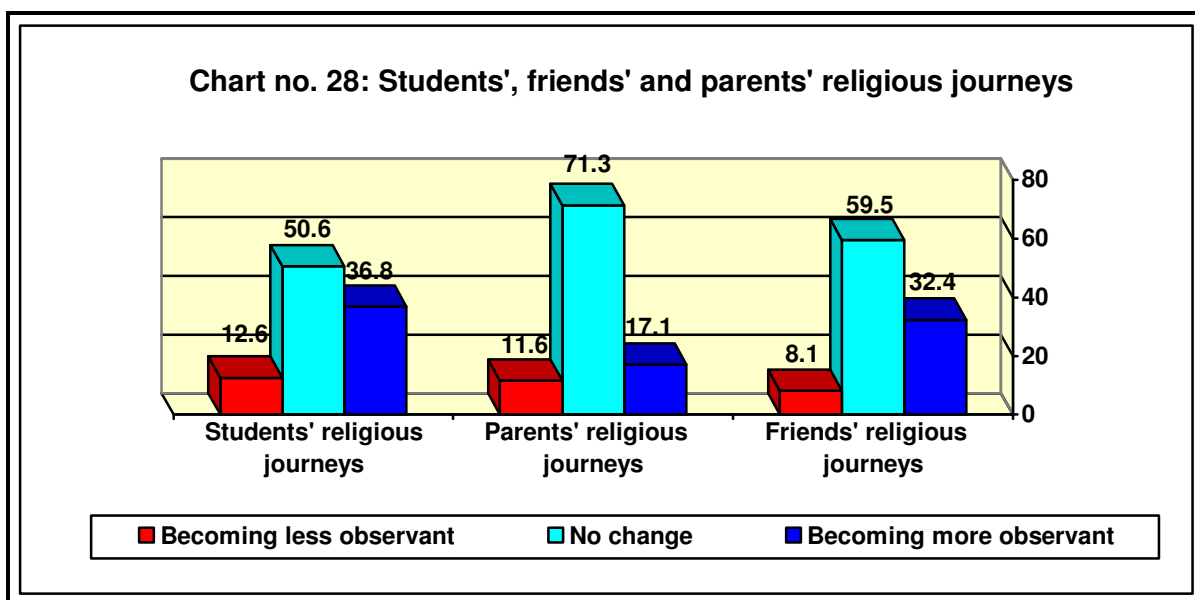
Positive views of Israel were also correlated with Hebrew skills and it seems that students who viewed Israel as an important part of their lives and were planning to go on Aliyah were more proficient than others in Hebrew.

6. Religious journeys

Most studies on religiosity and on religious journeys attempt to address the question of religious change indirectly, by comparing the parents' religiosity with that of the respondents. This study has done so both directly and indirectly (see chapter 1 for comparison of the students and their parents) by asking the students if they, their families or friends have experienced changes in their religiosity, and also by asking them to estimate the likelihood of experiencing such changes, in both directions, in the future.

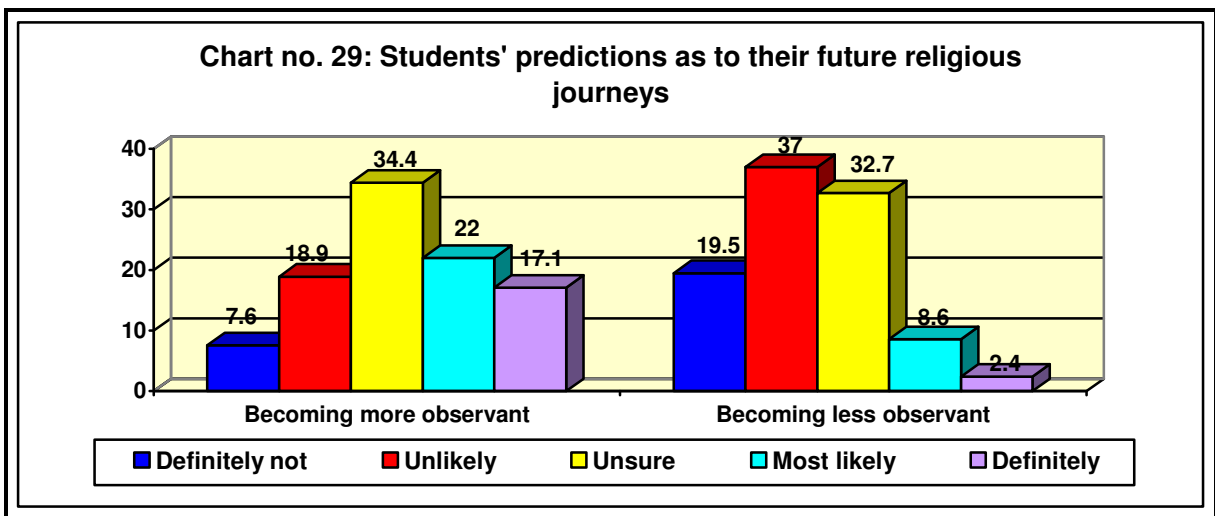
The next chart (no. 28) examines the religious journeys the students, their friends and their parents have experienced. It shows that more than half of the students (51%), and the majority of the students' friends (60%) and parents (71%) did not experience any changes in their religiosity. A minority among students (13%), their friends (8%) and parents (12%) have become less observant, while more than a third (37%) of the students, 32% of their friends and 17% of the parents have become more observant over the years.

This finding, which indicates that a higher proportion of the students have become more observant compared to those who became less observant, is significant in itself. The analyses presented below attempt to explore the profile of those who experienced these transformations and the factors affecting these changes.



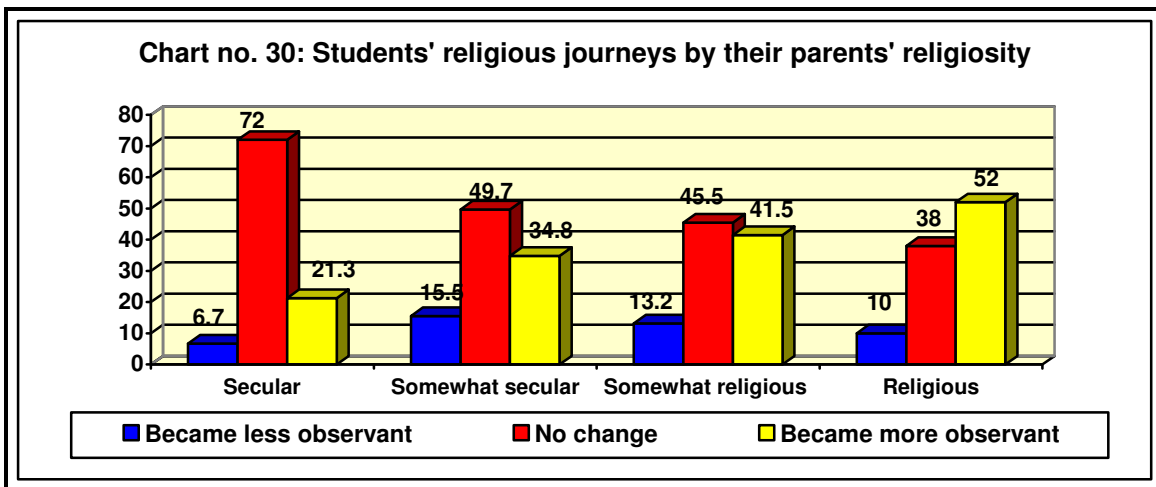
A positive correlation was found between the students' and their friends' religious journeys ($r = .39^{**}$), and also a weak correlation ($r = .24^{*}$) was found between the parents' and the children's religious journeys. This indicates that the occurrence of religious journeys among students does not straightforwardly relate to changes that take place in their families, but was related to and perhaps affected by transformations that occur in their peers' lives.

The next chart (no. 29) presents the students' visions as to their future religious journeys and how likely they were to become less or more observant. The findings demonstrate that 27% of the students felt it was unlikely that they would become more observant than they were, 34% were not sure and 39% declared that they were likely to become more observant. While the students may not have had firm views as to the probability of becoming more observant, they seem to have stronger views as to the likelihood of becoming less observant: 56% stated that they were not likely to become less observant, 33% were unsure and only 11% predicted that they may become less observant.



What is the religious profile of those who experienced a religious change or felt they were likely to experience a change in the future? Were the middle-of-the-road students likely to experience changes in their religiosity more than the religious or secular students? The next analyses attempt to address these questions.

The findings in charts no. 30 and 31 present the students' accounts of the changes they experienced, both in relation to their parents' religiosity and their own religiosity. While the parents' religiosity provides an indication of their level of observance *before* they experienced a religious transformation, the analysis presenting their own religiosity provides an account of their levels of observance *after* the change.



The students' responses (see chart no. 30) revealed that the secular students seem to be more set in their ways than their observant peers, as only a minority of them have experienced a change in their religiosity (28% of the secular group). In contrast, among the religious students, the majority have altered their religious practices (62%). Among the somewhat secular and somewhat religious half and more than half respectively have experienced changes in their religiosity. Importantly, the chart indicates that while the secular students tend to become less observant, the religious students tend to become more observant.

The trajectory of the changes that each group had experienced may explain why secular students seem to experience fewer transitions than their observant peers: given their tendency to become less observant, they may be displaying 'the ceiling' or 'out of the scale' effect - that is, they did not

feel that they could become less observant since they were already at the end of the religiosity scale.

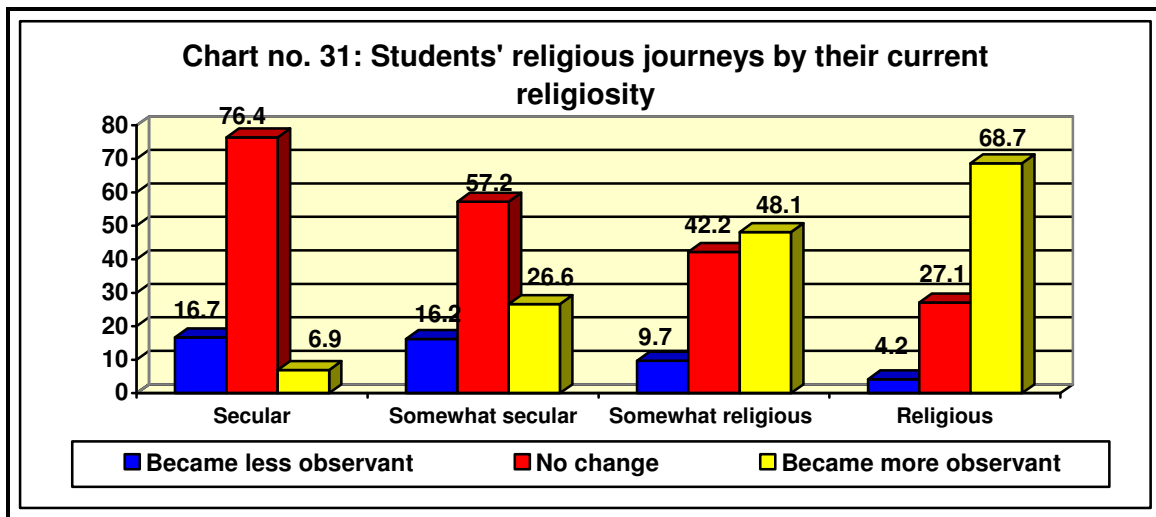


Chart no. 31 shows the students' current level of religiosity after having experienced the changes that they have reported on. The chart provides stronger indications that the secular students tend to be more set in their ways than the other groups, yet among those who have experienced a change most have become less observant. This is in contrast to the religious students, most of whom have become more observant. The contrasting transformations that the secular and religious students have experienced suggest that there is a tendency in both groups to diverge and polarise. This pattern of polarisation is further supported by the data presented in the next two charts, which show the students' prediction as to their future religiosity.

Chart no. 32 explores the students' inclination to become **more observant** in the future, while chart no. 33 describes their inclination to become **less observant**. Put together, the two charts reveal a tendency of the students, especially those who were already at the two ends of the religiosity axis (secular or religious), to become more determined in their chosen way of life. As to the somewhat secular and somewhat religious students, it seems that they are likely to experience changes in both directions, yet mostly in line with their own starting point - that is, the somewhat secular predicted that they were likely to become less observant or experience no change, while the somewhat religious were likely to become more observant.

Miller (1994) and Cohen (1998; 2006) found similar patterns among British and American Jewry. Cohen (1998) termed these different patterns as 'ethnic decline' and 'religious stability'. He argues that the opposing directions of the more and less engaged Jews result in a significant growth of the two wings of the Jewish identity spectrum, while the vast middle is in decline (Cohen 2006).

Chart no. 32: Students' inclination to become more observant in the future by their religiosity

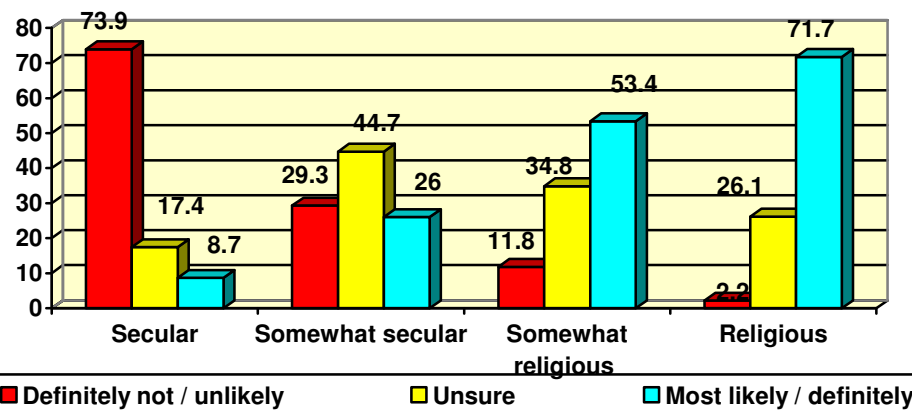
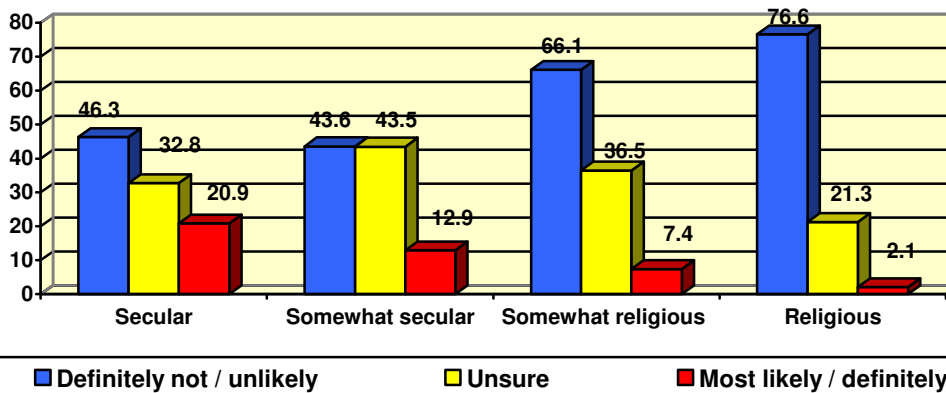


Chart no. 33: Students' inclination to become less observant in the future by their religiosity



These findings were further confirmed by a correlation analysis (see table no. 11, Appendix) between the students' religious journeys and various measures of their identity and religiosity. Indeed, the students who stated that they are becoming more observant, or more likely to become more observant in the future, were fairly observant to begin with ($r = .34^{**} - .58^{**}$).

The analysis also revealed a positive correlation between the level of observance of the students' friends and their tendency to experience a journey ($r=.39^{**}$), that is: the more religious the students' friends were, and the more friends they had who were experiencing changes in their religiosity, the more likely they were to experience a journey of religious discovery which could result in heightened levels of observance ($r=.39^{**} - .44^{**}$). As Cohen (2006) argues, social networks are a key mechanism through which young people socialise into the world of Jewish practice.

It is important to note here that a separate analysis for each of the groups was conducted in order to affirm whether the tendency to become less observant was associated with friendship ties and the composition of the students' social circles. The findings suggest that becoming less observant was not associated with the students' ties, the religiosity of their friends, or the changes that their friends were experiencing.

In order to examine to what extent religious journeys can be related to the students' experiences in and out of school, a correlation analysis was carried out (see table no. 12, Appendix), between various aspects of their school experiences and the changes have experienced in their religiosity. The table shows that the number of years spent in a Jewish environment did not correlate with the tendency to experience a religious journey. On the other hand, a positive correlation was found between the students' religious journeys and their rating of their JS experience at their Sixth Form schools ($r = .33^{**}$). That is: students who rated their experiences of JS classes at their school positively also declared that they were experiencing a religious journey that has made them more observant than they originally were. They also stated that they were likely to become more observant in the future ($r = .48^{**}$). These correlations remained stable when the students' religiosity was kept constant.

The findings suggest that when attempting to generate positive change in students' religiosity, what matters is not the amount of time spent in a Jewish environment, but the quality of their experiences of JS classes: the quality of teaching, the personal relationships with the teachers, and the relevance of Jewish topics to students' lives.

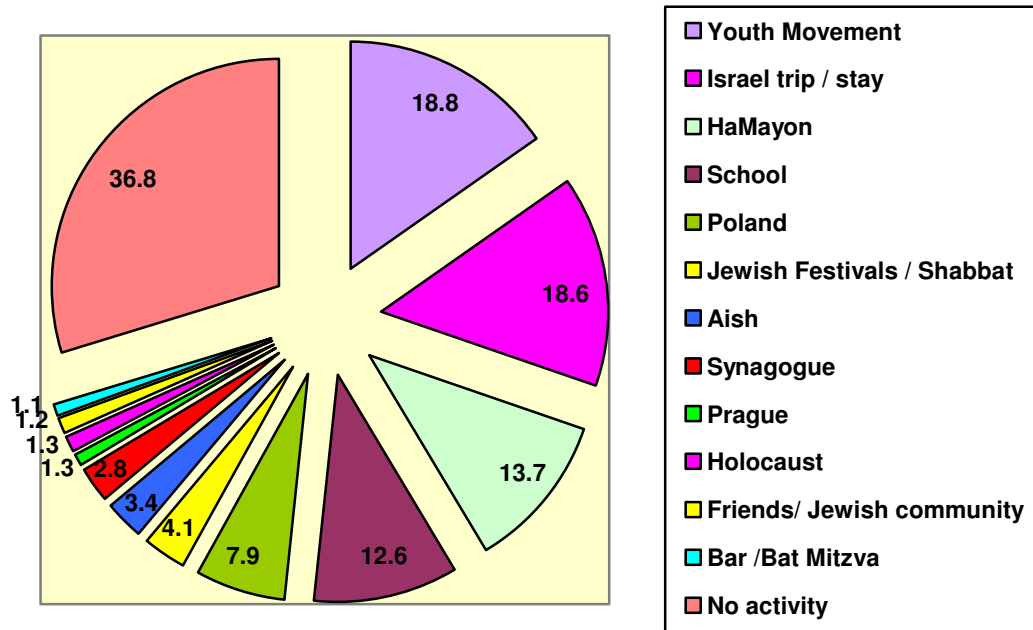
Do participation in youth activities and membership in youth movements correlate with religious journeys? A correlation analysis between youth movement participation and enrolment in activities and experiencing a religious journey has shown that the number of activities students participated in correlated with their tendency to experience a religious journey ($r=.36^{**}$), that is: students who tend to take part in multiple activities were more likely to become more observant. These correlations reduced slightly when the students' religiosity was controlled. On the other hand, membership in youth movements and participation in leadership schemes were not associated with religious journeys (see table no. 13, Appendix).

The activities that seem to be correlated with the students' prediction that they will become more religious in the future were: HaMayon, Lunch and Learn, Morning and Afternoon Minyanim and teacher's house for Shabbat meal. As noted earlier, these activities attract the fairly religious group at the starting point, but results indicate that they seem to enhance these students' religious experience and encourage a change in their practices. No correlation was found between membership in any particular youth movement and the tendency to experience a change in religiosity.

Additionally, the students' religious journeys correlated with their views and experiences of Israel (see table no. 14, Appendix). The findings suggest that the more central the place of Israel in their lives, the more likely they were to experience a religious journey that would result in heightened levels of observance ($r = .32^{**}$). Another possible way to interpret this finding is that those who were experiencing a religious journey that has made them more observant seem to appreciate Israel's place in their lives more than others. Here again, these correlations slightly reduced when the students' religiosity was controlled.

The students were also presented in the questionnaire with direct questions as to what type of activities had a positive effect on their identities. Their answers are shown in chart no. 34 below. As can be seen in the chart, nearly a fifth of the students (19%) found that their involvement and participation in their youth movements strengthened their Jewish identity. Additionally, 19% stated that a trip to or lengthy stay in Israel has had a positive impact on their identity, 14% found Shabbaton / HaMayon a positive identity-strengthening experience, 8% noted that their trip to Poland has had similar effects, and 13% stated that their experiences at school positively affected their identity. In addition 4% noted that celebration of Jewish festivals had a positive effect on their identity, 3% named Aish as having a positive impact, 3% listed their synagogues as having a positive impact and 37% observed that no activity has had a positive impact on their identity. Other activities named by less than 2% of the students as an identity-enhancing experience were: Prague trip, the Jewish community, Bar / Bat Mitzvah, and knowledge of the Holocaust.

Chart no. 34: Activities that strengthened Jewish identity



*Note that the total does not amount to 100% since students named more than one scheme they were affected by

To summarise, a regression analysis was carried out in order to assess whether various educational experiences (both in and out of school) can predict the trajectory of the students' religious journeys (see table 15, Appendix). The analysis revealed that the combination of background variables, friendship ties and educational experiences was capable of explaining 44% of the variance in students' religious journeys. Students' religiosity and parental religiosity explained only 5% of the variance in the students' trajectory of change. Changes in the observance of parents and friends accounted for a further 5% of the variance, whereas 27% was explained by the number of youth programmes the students joined, and 7% was explained by the quality of JS classes. This indicates that educational experiences are capable of explaining the changes that students experience in their religiosity above and beyond their families' background and social networks.

Summary and conclusions:

This chapter delineated the changes that the students have experienced in their Jewish identities and in their religious practices as well as examining the profile of the students who embarked upon religious journeys at this early stage of their lives. The findings presented here also attempted to investigate the ways in which various socialisation agents – specifically the students' families, their friends, their schools and youth movements – may have been associated and possibly encouraged or discouraged the occurrence of these religious transformations.

The findings revealed that more than 40% of students already experienced changes of religiosity, and a quarter felt that they were likely to experience changes in their religiosity in the future. This is indicative of the state of transition and identity formation experienced by the students that is typical of adolescence. The analyses revealed that more than a third of students have become more observant, a minority (12%) have become less observant and more than half of the students reported that they did not experience any changes in their observance. Similar findings were found in their accounts of the changes that occurred in their families' and in their friends' lives.

Further analyses have indicated that the occurrence of religious journeys among students did not straightforwardly relate to changes that their parents experienced, but were associated with or perhaps affected by transformations that their friends were experiencing. There were also indications that friendship with others who may be more observant than oneself, and with those who were experiencing transformations themselves, were likely to encourage a journey of religious discovery which may result in heightened levels of observance. This finding highlights the importance of the students' Jewish social circles and suggests that this resource, which is readily available in Jewish schools, is one of the main points of strength of the Jewish schooling environment.

One of the intriguing analyses presented in this study is the exploration of the students' religious profile in relation to religious journeys. The findings indicated that the secular students seem to be more set in their ways than their religious peers, as only a minority of the secular students reported that they have experienced a change in their level of observance compared to the majority of the religious students who stated that they have experienced such changes. Importantly, the findings exposed a tendency among students to diverge and polarise: while the secular students seem to become less observant, the religious students seem to be inclined to become more observant.

The main findings presented here focused on the examination of the extent to which religious journeys may be related to the students' Jewish schooling experience. The findings once again indicated that the number of years spent in Jewish education do not seem to correlate with the students' religious journeys. There were indications that it is the quality and relevance of their Jewish education, the personal relationships students develop with teachers, and the range and dynamism of their Jewish experiences whilst at school that matter most and seem to have a lasting impact. These findings support the argument that for Jewish schools to function as the main socialisation agents for Jewish life, they need to centre their attention on the quality of their Jewish provision and make it even more relevant to the students.

While membership in youth movements did not appear to be associated with the students' religious journeys, participation in multiple Jewish youth activities and having positive views of Israel correlated with the students' religious transformations.

The findings presented here explored the students' religious journeys during the critical years of adolescence. Evidently, during these years, as the students' transition to adulthood unfolds, their identities are transformed, reinvented and defined. Thus this stage is particularly crucial in shaping the students' Jewish way of life, their beliefs, practices, sense of attachment and commitment to Judaism. For Jewish schools this is the final opportunity to bolster, underpin and help crystallise the students' Jewish identities and bring them closer to community circles which would support them in their future journeys as they prepare to depart from the relatively safe and familiar grounds of Jewish education. The challenge that emerges and that Jewish schools may wish to address is how to support these young people during their transitional stages so that they remain Jewishly engaged in the future.

An important objective for educators engaging with students could be to identify those who may be seeking help in embarking on these journeys or may be experiencing a religious journey, and develop a support system which would provide spiritual guidance to facilitate these journeys. The varied correlations between the students' religious journeys and that of their parents and friends may indicate that for some students these journeys are encouraged and supported by their social circles, while others may be undergoing these changes as a private journey and may benefit from having a mentoring system in and out of school to nurture them. It is also particularly important to investigate why certain students have become less religious or consider that they may become less religious in the future, and find the means to engage with them, guard them in their journeys and help sustain their sense of attachment and identity so that they do not become permanently disinterested, isolated or alienated from Judaism or the Jewish community.

7. The students' plans upon graduation and the choice of university

What were the students planning to do upon graduation? The students' answers to this question are presented in table no. 35. As can be seen, none of the students stated that they were planning to work immediately upon graduation: the vast majority (more than 80%) stated they plan to go to university and the rest (20%) were planning to take a gap year. The inclination to acquire professional qualifications, academic degrees and delay work are very much in line with the middle class status of British Jewry generally.

Table no 35: Students' plans upon graduation

Students' plans	Percent
University	80.1
Gap year	19.9
Work	0
Total	100.0

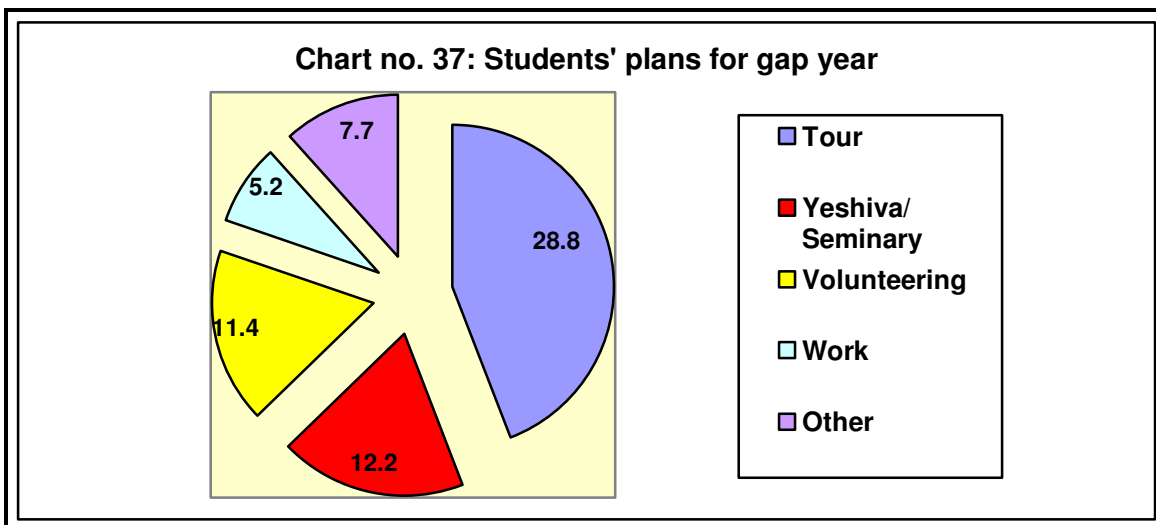
What were their plans for the summer holiday? The students' answers shown in table no. 36 suggest that 15% of the students were unsure of their summer plans and were unable to respond to the question. The others named altogether 523 activities and schemes they planned to participate in: 61% named one plan, and the rest (24%) named more than one venture (2-3) that they planned to participate in during the summer. The list of activities they planned to take is presented in table no. 36 below. As the data shows, most students (63%) were planning to take a holiday, 21% planned to work, 20% were planning to go to a camp and 3% planned to go to a yeshiva or seminary.

Table no 36: Students' plans for the summer holiday

Students' plans	Percentage of students*
Go to camp	20.1
Work	20.7
Take a holiday	62.6
Go to Yeshiva / Seminary	2.8
No plans	15.4
Total	523 plans

*Note that the total is more than 100% since students named more than one plan for the summer.

The students' plans for gap year are presented in chart 37. Although only 20% of students planned to take a gap year, when prompted 44% wrote down a plan for a gap year.



*Note that the total is more than 100% since students named more than one plan for a gap year

This tendency to make alternative plans may be driven by the uncertainty around A-level results and university entry. Altogether, 206 students (44%) wrote down 304 plans: 29% named one scheme, 11% specified two schemes that they have considered, and 5% identified 3-4 plans.

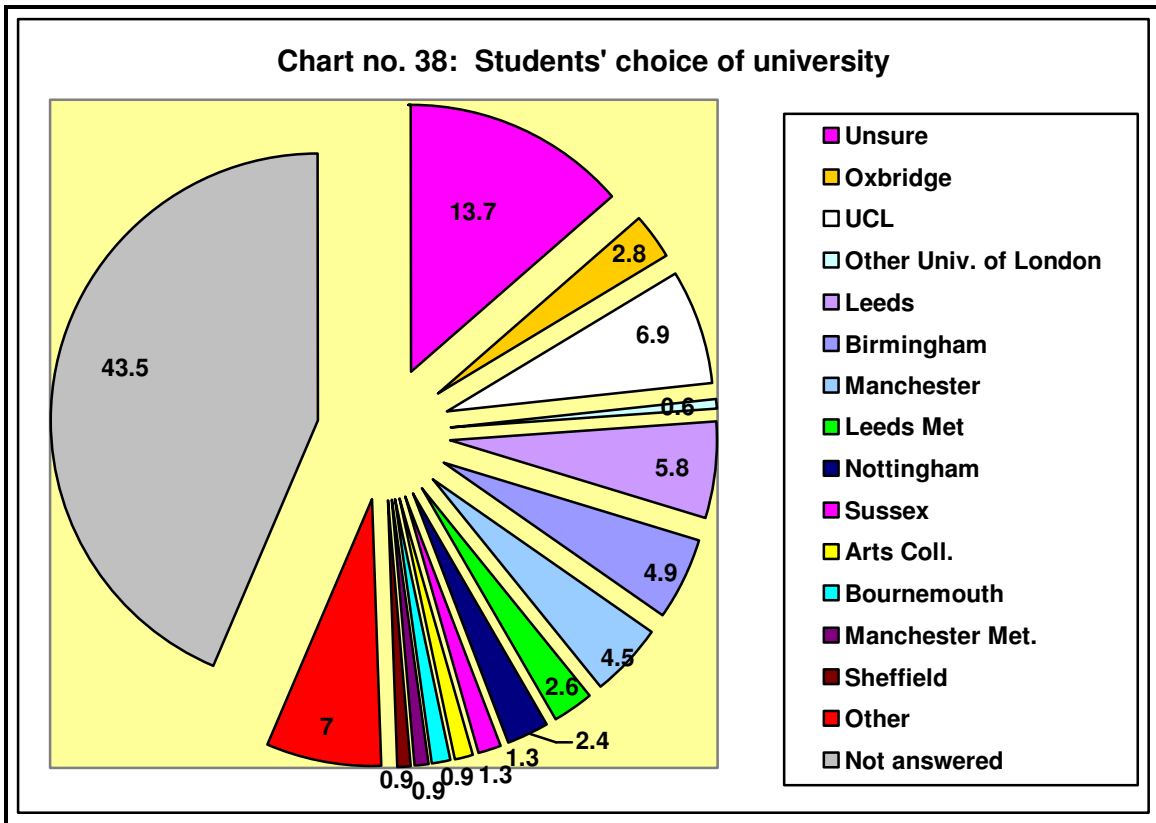
The chart presents all of their gap year plans. The most favoured gap year plan (was stated by 29% of students) was to have a lengthy tour (mainly to Israel, but also to other countries). Additionally, 11% wanted to volunteer mostly for Jewish charities, 12% were planning to go to a Yeshiva or Seminary in Israel for a period of 3-6 months, 5% planned to work and 8% had other plans, mainly to join one of the IDF gap year schemes, or take a course.

Was there any link between the students' background in terms of religiosity and these preferences? An analysis of this data has shown only one significant association between students' plans and their religiosity: the most highly observant students were those who planned to go to a Yeshiva or Seminary upon graduation.

No association was found between the students' experiences at school or their participation in youth movements and activities and their plans upon graduation.

The students were asked about their choice of university and answers were given both by students who planned to go to university immediately after Sixth Form and by those who planned to take a gap year.

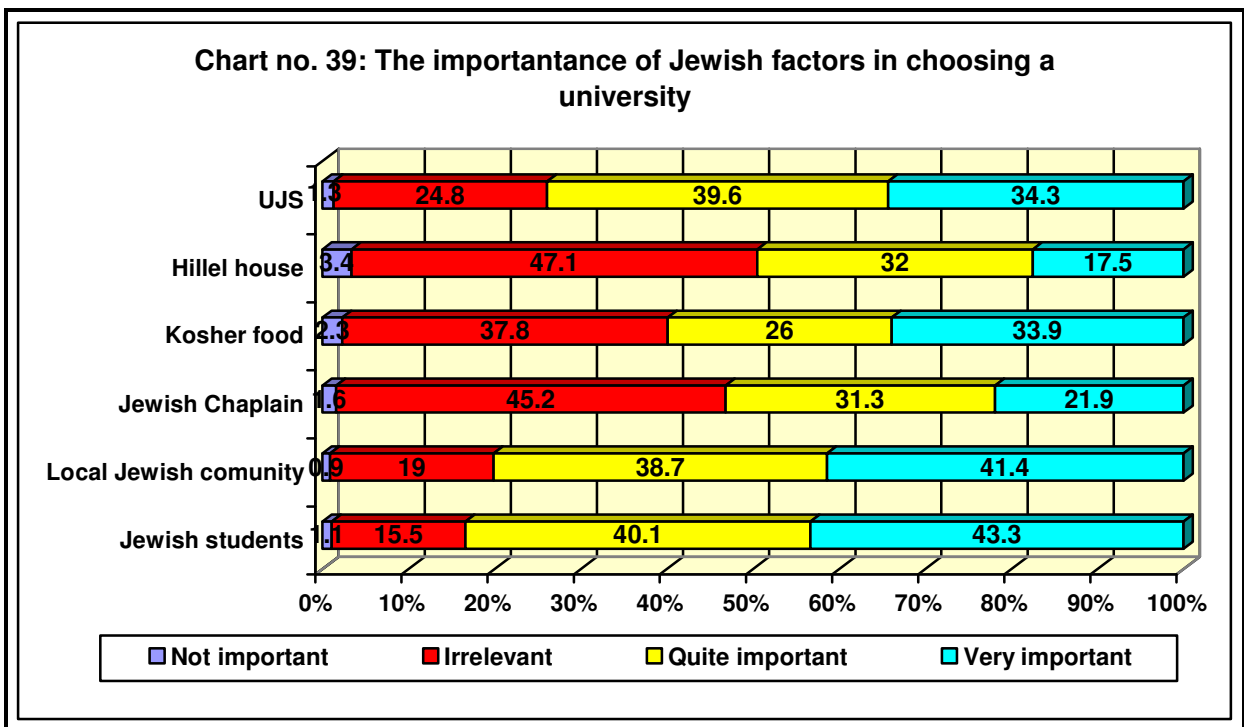
Chart no. 38 presents the students' choice of university. The chart shows that the while 14% the students were unsure about their chosen university, and 43% did not answer this question, 43% have chosen a university. The favourite universities were: UCL, Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester, and 3% of students applied to Oxbridge.



The students were asked how important were the following Jewish factors in the choice of a university: 1) the presence of Jewish students at the university, 2) Jewish community in the area, 3) a Jewish chaplain, 4) availability of Kosher food, 5) Hillel House, 6) UJS. All questions had the same scale: 1-not important 4-very important. The students' answers to these questions are presented in chart no. 39.

The data shows that among the factors presented to the students, the most important was the presence of other Jewish students: 83% felt that this was quite important/very important factor in choosing a university. Additionally, the vast majority felt that the presence of a Jewish community locally (80%) and UJS (74%) on campus was important. The availability of Kosher food was perceived as an important factor by nearly 60% of the respondents, 50% felt that the availability of a Hillel House was an important consideration for them and 53% felt that the presence of a Jewish chaplain was an important factor affecting their choice of university.

Do these views correlate with the students' religiosity? Are the more religious students likely to consider these factors more than the secular students? As might be expected, the correlation analyses (presented in table no. 16, Appendix) indicated that the students who displayed a more religious outlook, had a large network of Jewish friends and whose friends were observant, were more likely to list these Jewish factors as important considerations in their decision-making process, compared to secular students ($r = .41^{**} - .63^{**}$).



How do these views correlate with the students' Jewish experiences in school? The findings indicate (table no. 17, Appendix) that the number of years spent in a Jewish environment did not correlate with the significance of these Jewish factors in the choice of university, yet the quality of experience at their secondary schools and at their Sixth Forms, and the students' views of the JS provision during their Sixth Form years, did matter ($r = .30^{**} - .38^{**}$): the students who were more positive both about their general experiences at the school and about the quality of JS provision at the Sixth Form tended to consider Jewish factors when choosing a university more than others who rated their experience at their schools poorly. However, these correlations reduced significantly when religiosity of students was controlled.

Do these considerations correlate with the students' participation in youth activities and membership in youth movements? To what extent is participation in youth activities important in raising the students' awareness of Jewish matters when making decisions about the future? The analysis (presented in table no. 18, Appendix) suggest that students who participated in youth activities considered Jewish factors in their decision-making process more than others who were less involved ($r = .30^{**} - .423^{**}$), though these correlations reduced significantly when religiosity of students was controlled.

Summary and conclusions:

This chapter addressed what may be seen as one of the most crucial decision-making junctions in a young person's life: the choice of university. To be sure, the choice of university has a tremendous repercussion on future life decisions, such as whom they marry, where they choose to live and their level of Jewish engagement and commitment. It is particularly important to consider that for most Jewish youngsters, and especially for those educated in Jewish secondary schools, this will be the first time they will be leaving the comfortable and safe Jewish environment – home, community and school – and be exposed to the many challenges to their identity, commitment and beliefs that exist at university. Another important finding to consider (Goldberg and Kosmin 1997) is that most Jewish university students find themselves fairly uninvolved in communal life during, and particularly after, these years and until they marry and have children many remain unaffiliated and disengaged.

The findings revealed that favourite universities among students were: UCL, Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester, and 3% of students applied to Oxbridge. Most of these are universities with strong Jewish presence.

The students' accounts as to how important were various Jewish factors in the choice of a university have revealed that the majority of students did consider Jewish factors when they chose a university. The most important factors were the presence of other Jewish students, access to a Jewish community locally, and having UJS on campus.

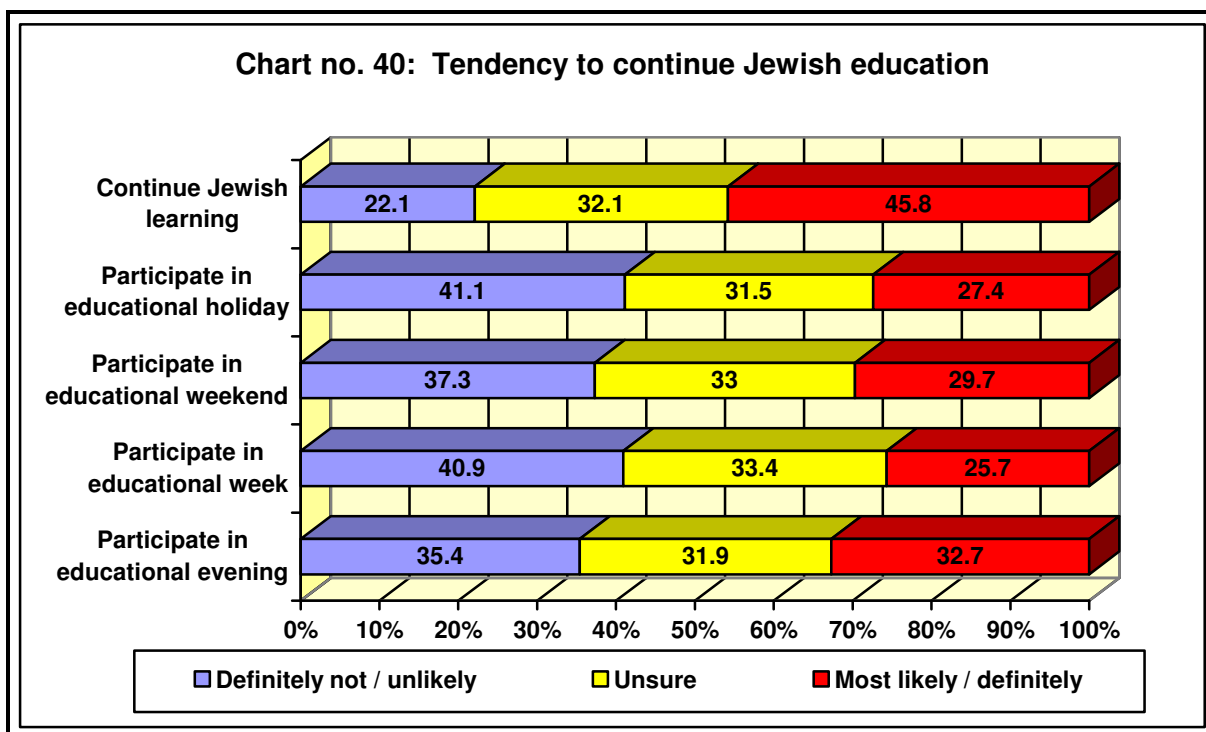
As might be expected, the students who displayed a more religious outlook, and those who had a strong social network of Jewish friends, were more likely to list Jewish factors as important considerations in their decision-making process than secular students.

An analysis of the association between the students' Jewish experience in and out of school and the importance of Jewish factors in choosing a university revealed that the number of years spent in a Jewish environment was not associated with the significance of these Jewish factors in the choice of university. However, the quality of experience at their secondary schools and at their Sixth Forms and the students' views of the JS provision during their Sixth Form years did matter. The students who held positive views both of their general experience at their schools and of the quality of JS provision at their Sixth Forms tended to consider Jewish matters when choosing a university more than others who rated their experience at their schools poorly. Additionally, the students who participated in youth activities seem to value the Jewish factors more than others who were less involved.

It seems that the students' engagement with their schools, and particularly with the JS departments, informs and shapes their decisions regarding university and can encourage students to choose universities where they would have access to Jewish facilities and opportunities for continued education, socialising and involvement with the community. As stated earlier, the key finding is that the quality of Jewish experience matters and that in order to secure the future of the young generations, schools may need to go beyond their educational function to become the principal socialisation agents for Jewish life. In view of these findings, it may be argued that the quality of experience in the Sixth Form and Jewish activities that students participate in may affect decisions about future involvement with the Jewish community more than the length of time spent in a Jewish environment.

8. The students' future Jewish development

In order to assess whether students were likely to continue their Jewish development after graduation, they were presented with five questions: 1) how likely are they to continue their Jewish learning, 2) are they likely to participate in educational evening, 3) are they likely to participate in educational weekend, 4) are they likely to participate in educational week, and 5) are they likely to participate in an educational holiday. All questions had a similar answer scale: 1-definitely not to 5-definitely. The students' responses are recorded in chart no. 40 below.



The findings suggest that when asked to assess their tendency to continue their Jewish learning generally, nearly half of the students (46%) stated that they were likely to continue to develop Jewishly. Nearly a third were unsure and 22% were clearly uninterested in developing their Jewish knowledge. When presented with particular questions as to how they may continue their Jewish education, their responses were generally more negative, with under a third of students stating that they were likely to participate in any of the options presented to them.

Are these tendencies correlated with the students' religiosity? The findings (presented in table no. 19, Appendix) indicate that the students who defined themselves as fairly religious were more likely than others to continue their Jewish learning in the future ($r = .32^{**} - .37^{**}$). This suggests that those who are showing any interest in their future Jewish development are those already interested to begin with, and those who may be more in need of development seem to show little interest.

How do students' experiences at school correlate with the tendency to continue their Jewish development? The findings (presented in table no. 20, Appendix) indicate that the quality of Jewish experiences the students had in their Sixth Forms and particularly the quality of the JS classes at their current schools were important in determining whether the students will continue their Jewish learning in the future ($r = .34^{**} - .43^{**}$). Yet, after controlling the students' religious outlook, the correlation decreased significantly. In line with the previous findings, the length of time spent in a Jewish school was not associated with their tendency to continue their Jewish development. These findings again demonstrate the importance of these formative years in

creating a positive trajectory for Jewish development and, particularly, the findings highlight the centrality of the JS department and the quality of teaching in the JS department in creating opportunities and encouraging long term development and engagement.

The analysis (table no. 21, Appendix) of the relationship between the tendency to continue Jewish learning and participation in youth activities has revealed that students who participated in many youth activities were more likely to continue their Jewish learning in the future compared to others who were less involved ($r = .35^{**} - .46^{**}$). Yet, after controlling the students' religious outlook, the correlation decreased significantly. Additionally, no correlation was found between membership in youth movements or participation in leadership programmes and tendency to become involved in the future.

No correlation was found between the tendency to continue to develop Jewishly and the number of visits students have made to Israel or whether they have participated in an Israel educational scheme. On the other hand, the centrality of Israel in the students' thinking and plans to go on Aliyah were positively linked with their tendency to continue their Jewish learning ($r = .30^{**} - .37^{**}$) (see table no. 22, Appendix), yet, after controlling the students' religious outlook, the correlation decreased significantly.

Is the tendency to continue to develop Jewishly related with the students' religious journeys?

The correlation analysis (presented in table no. 23, Appendix) indicated that the students who stated that they were experiencing a religious journey or were likely to become more observant in the future were the students who felt they were likely to continue their Jewish development ($r = .37^{**} - .56^{**}$), but after controlling the students' religious outlook, the correlation decreased significantly.

Summary and conclusions:

This chapter addressed the students' inclination to continue to learn and develop Jewishly after graduation. The most significant finding was that less than half of the students stated that they were likely to continue their Jewish education in the future. However, when presented with practical questions as to how they may pursue their future development, less than a third of students stated that they were likely to participate in any of the options presented to them.

As might be expected, the students who defined themselves as religious and the students who stated that they were experiencing a religious journey were more likely to continue their Jewish development. This finding indicates that the students who are showing any interest in their future Jewish development are those already interested to begin with, and those who may be more in need of development seem to show little interest.

Importantly, the findings indicate that the quality of the students' Jewish experiences in their Sixth Forms, and particularly the quality of the JS classes, was significant in determining whether the students will continue their Jewish learning in the future. In line with the previous findings, the length of time spent in a Jewish school was not associated with their tendency to continue their Jewish development. These findings demonstrate the importance of these formative years in creating a positive trajectory for Jewish development and, particularly, they highlight the centrality of the JS department and the quality of teaching in the JS department in creating opportunities and encouraging long term development.

Similarly, students who participated in youth activities were more likely to continue their Jewish learning in the future than others who were less involved. Additionally, the centrality of Israel in students' thinking and plans to go on Aliyah were positively linked with their tendency to continue their Jewish learning.

The triangular correlation between JS provision, the tendency to experience a religious journey and future Jewish development may mean that during these years a window of opportunity

opens, in which the students' interest and development could be shaped and enhanced. Jewish schools are perfectly positioned to make the most of these opportunities, to connect with the students whilst they are at school and to inspire and motivate them to further their Jewish knowledge when they leave school. These findings highlight the significance of these defining Sixth Form years in setting the groundwork and generating a trajectory of Jewish engagement which has a lasting impact.

Here again, two factors emerged as points of strength that the school could build on: the centrality of the JS department and the Jewish culture and ethos of the school in engendering interest and desire to further their Jewish knowledge, and the importance of the students' Jewish social circles in promoting future interest. An area of concern that emerges here is the Jewish development of students who define themselves as secular. As seen in earlier chapters, they were unhappy with the schools' provision and their participation in Jewish youth activities was relatively low, and in line with these, they seem to be disengaged and uninterested in Jewish learning and the prospects for future development were also low.

9. Dating, marriage and educating children

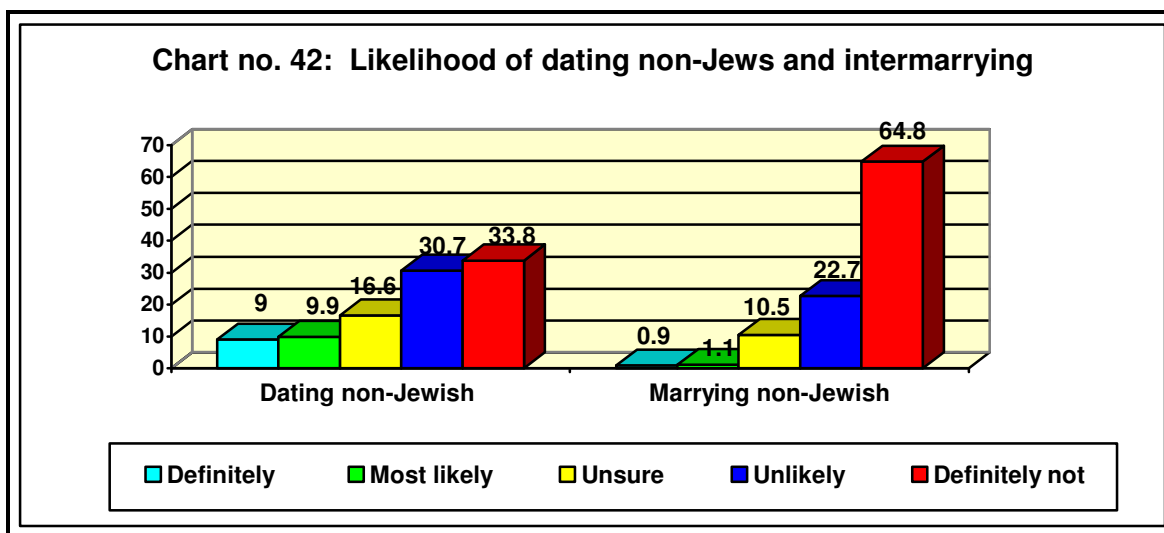
Perhaps the most worrying issue both for parents and leadership is the prospect of intermarriage. In this study, the students were asked directly how likely they were to date non-Jews and intermarry.

The next table (no. 41) records the students' current pattern of dating. As can be seen in the table, while 8% did not date at all, 51% of the students only dated Jews, 24% dated mostly Jews, 7% stated that nearly half of their dates were with non-Jews and 9% dated mostly or all non-Jews.

Table no. 41: Of people dated how many Jewish?

	Percent
Have not dated	8.6
All non-Jewish	2.6
Most non-Jewish	6.4
About half Jewish	6.6
Most Jewish	24.3
All Jewish	51.5
Total	100.0

The students were also asked about the likelihood of dating non-Jewish friends in the future, and the possibility of intermarriage. Their responses are shown in chart no. 42.

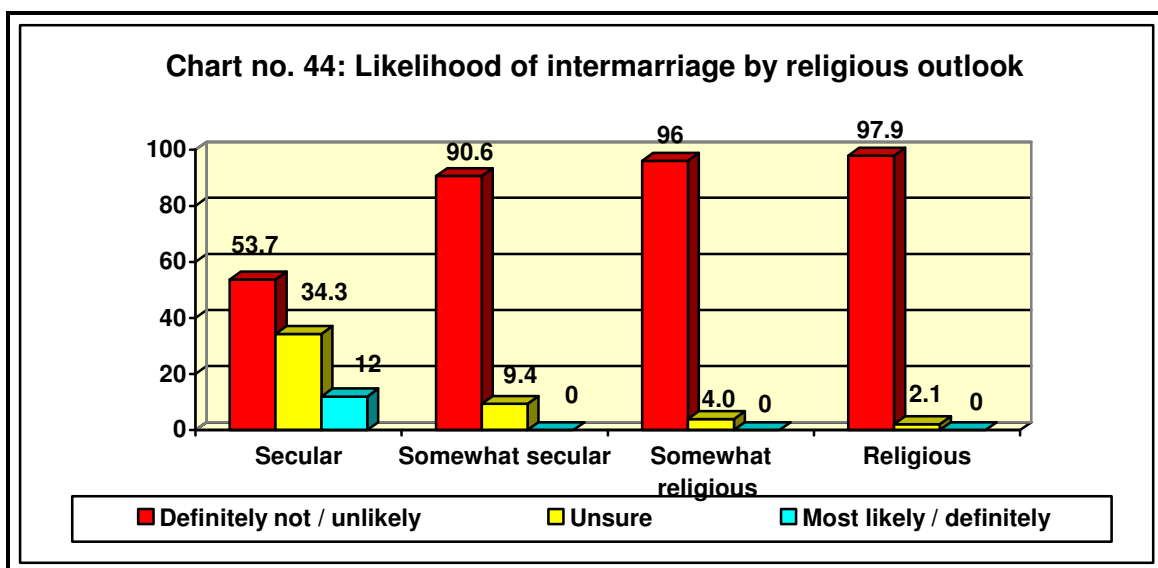
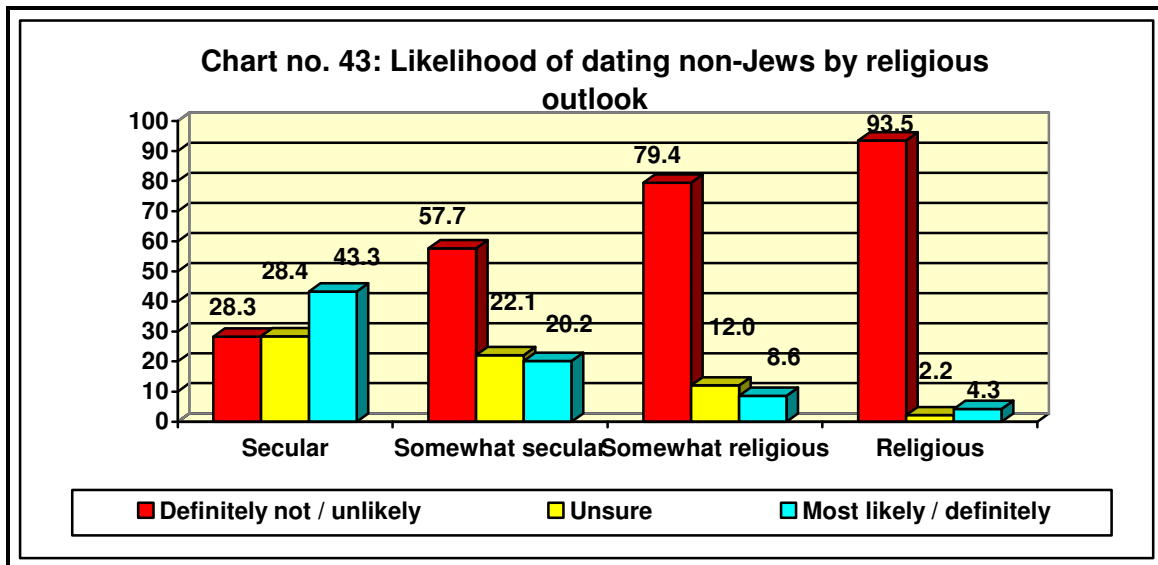


The students' responses indicate that while 19% stated that they were definitely or most likely to date non-Jewish partners, the majority (65%) declared that they would definitely not or were unlikely to date non-Jews. As to intermarriage, 2% felt that they were definitely or most likely to marry a non-Jewish partner, while the vast majority (87%) were clear that they will definitely not, or are unlikely to, intermarry.

Is the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner correlated with religiosity? Most studies conducted in Britain as well as in the USA suggest that those who marry out derive from

weaker Jewish backgrounds in terms of their identities, outlook, observance and affiliation with community organisations and informal networks (Cohen 2005; 2006; Philips 1997; Fishman 2004; 2006; Goldberg and Kosmin 1997).

Charts no. 43 and 44 explore the likelihood among students with different religious outlooks of dating and marrying non-Jews. The findings were in line with the previous studies quoted above: 43% of the secular students felt they were most likely to date non-Jews compared with 4% of the religious students, and only 28% of the secular students stated that they definitely would not or were unlikely to date non-Jews compared to 93% of the religious students. As for intermarriage, 12% of the secular students stated that they were most likely to marry out, compared to 0% among all other groups, and nearly 54% of the secular students felt confident that they would marry in, compared to 97% of the religious students.



The correlations between dating and marrying non-Jews and other measures of religiosity (Jewish beliefs and Jewish practices) were also strong ($r = .43^{**} - .58^{**}$), and the composition of the students' social circles also correlated positively with thoughts about dating and marriage

($r=.32^{**}$) suggesting that students who had mostly Jewish friends, and whose friends were fairly observant, were less likely to marry out compared to students whose Jewish networks were weak or mixed (see table no. 24, Appendix).

As might be expected, fairly strong correlations were found between religious journeys and thoughts about dating and intermarriage ($r = .33^{**} - .49^{**}$): those who became more observant stated that they were not likely to date non-Jews and intermarry, and those who became less observant have also shown a stronger tendency to date non-Jews and marry out (see table no. 25, Appendix).

Is the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner correlated with the students' Jewish educational experiences in an out of school? In a recent study of American Jewry Cohen (2006) affirms that Jewish education in its different forms directly and indirectly affects dating and marriage patterns. Cohen argues that young Jews who were educated in Jewish schools and were engaged for longer periods in various educational schemes were less likely to marry out compared to others who may have had fewer opportunities to access and participate in Jewish educational programmes. It should be noted that few of the recent studies carried out in the UK were of similar scope, and their findings were not as complimentary (Miller 1998).

The findings of a correlation analysis (presented in table no. 26, Appendix) indicated that no measure of the schooling experience correlated with the students' current dating patterns. Additionally, the number of years in Jewish education did not seem to have any effect on the students' current or future dating and marriage patterns. On the other hand, the quality of JS classes and the quality of Jewish experience at their secondary and Sixth Form schools were indeed associated ($r = .36^{**}$). This finding suggests that the students who seemed to enjoy and benefit from JS classes were less likely to date non-Jews and intermarry. However, this may be explained by their initial level of religiosity. In fact, after controlling for the effects of religiosity, the correlation between the students' experiences at school and dating and marriage patterns reduced significantly.

Are dating and marriage patterns correlated with the students' involvement in youth activities? The findings (see table no. 27, Appendix) suggest that membership in a youth movement and participation in a leadership scheme did not have any bearing on current dating patterns or on the likelihood of dating non-Jews in the future and intermarrying. Only one significant correlation emerged between the likelihood of marrying in and the number of activities the students participated in ($r=.33^{**}$), suggesting that the more involved students were in Jewish youth activities the more likely they were to reject ideas of intermarriage; yet this correlation reduced significantly after controlling the students' religiosity.

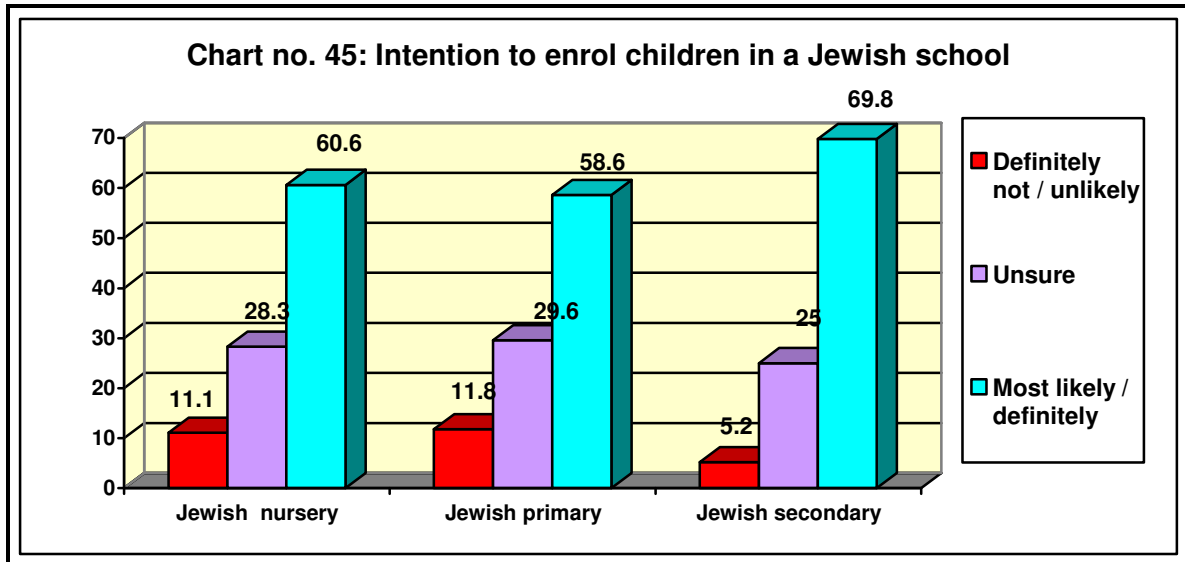
On the other hand (see table 27, Appendix) some strong and positive correlations were found between the students' attachment to Israel and their thoughts about dating and intermarriage ($r=.30^{**}-.46^{**}$), and it seems that the stronger the attachment to Israel, the less likelihood there is of dating non-Jews and marrying out.

To explore which of the factors described here can explain the tendency of students to intermarry, a regression analysis was carried out (see table 28, Appendix). The analysis revealed that the combination of background variables, friendship ties and educational experiences was capable of explaining 52% of the variance in students' views regarding intermarriage. Students' religiosity explained 31% of the variance in the students' views, having Jewish friends accounted for further 14% of the variance, and their experiences at their Sixth Form schools explained 6% of the variance in their views towards intermarriage.

The next set of questions related to the students' views as future parents, and asked them to assess whether they would enrol their own children in a Jewish school. Chart no. 45 shows the students' responses. The chart reveals that while a minority of students held negative views regarding their children's enrolment in a nursery, primary or secondary Jewish institution, the

majority were positive and this was particularly apparent in their views regarding enrolment in a secondary Jewish school.

A correlation analysis between the students' views regarding their children's education and their religiosity has shown that none of the measures of religiosity correlated with these views. This indicates that the secular students were as likely as religious students to enrol their children in Jewish schools.



How did their own school experience affect their views regarding their children's education? A correlation analysis between their own schooling experiences and intention to send their offspring to Jewish schools has found no significant relationship between these variables, suggesting that beliefs about the merit of Jewish education for the future generations are not directly related to the students' personal experiences in Jewish schools.

An analysis of the association between the students' views regarding their children's Jewish education and the students' participation in youth activities has shown that participation and involvement in youth activities did not correlate with their views regarding their children's schooling.

Additionally, visits to Israel and their views regarding the place of Israel in their lives did not seem to correlate with their perceptions regarding their children's educational route.

Summary and conclusions:

Intermarriage has probably been the most concerning factor affecting Jewish life in the UK as well as in other countries. Much of the research conducted in Britain suggests that about 30% of youngsters will intermarry (Miller, Schmool and Lerman 1996; Goldberg and Kosmin 1997).

More than half of the students reported that they have dated only Jews, and the rest stated that nearly half of their dates were with non-Jews. This may mean that for some students, the school does not become an avenue for introduction for dating purposes and it may be worthwhile to consider why this is so and what the school can do to alter the situation. As to their future dating patterns, a minority of students (19%) predicted that they were likely to date non-Jewish partners, and the rest declared that they were unlikely to date non-Jews. Regarding the subject of intermarriage, 2% felt that they were definitely or most likely to marry a non-Jewish partner, 10% were unsure, and the vast majority felt that they were unlikely to intermarry.

Significant differences were found between secular and religious students in their views regarding dating and intermarriage. Students who stated that they were less likely to date or marry a non-Jewish partner were the most observant in the sample. They also had a strong network of Jewish friends. As might be expected, fairly strong correlations were found between religious journeys and thoughts about dating and intermarriage: those who became more observant stated that they are not likely to date non-Jews and intermarry, and those who became less observant have also shown a stronger tendency to date non-Jews and marry out.

No measure of the schooling experience was associated with the students' current or future dating patterns and no association was found between membership in youth movements and dating patterns. On the other hand, the likelihood of marrying-in and the number of activities the students participated in were positively correlated. An additional finding has indicated that the stronger the attachment to Israel, the less likelihood of dating non-Jews and marrying out.

The students' views as future parents were also examined. The findings show that while a minority of students held negative views regarding their children's enrolment in a nursery, primary or secondary Jewish institution, the majority were positive and this was particularly apparent in their views regarding enrolment in a secondary Jewish school.

A correlation analysis between the students' views regarding their children's education and their religiosity has shown that none of the measures of religiosity correlated with these views. This indicates that the more secular students were as likely as observant students to enrol their children in Jewish schools. No significant relationship was found between beliefs about the merit of Jewish education for the future generations and the students' personal experiences in Jewish schools.

An analysis of the association between the students' views regarding their children's Jewish education and the students' participation in youth activities has shown that participation and involvement in youth activities did not correlate with their views regarding their children's schooling.

Additionally, visits to Israel and their views regarding the place of Israel in their lives did not seem to correlate with their perceptions regarding their children's educational route.

These findings suggest that Jewish schools seem to have twofold responsibilities, not only for this generation, but also for the next: to ensure they leave school equipped not only with knowledge of their heritage but with a firm commitment to transmit their knowledge, identities and attachment to their offspring.

V. End note

Towards the end his life, Moses calls together all the Jewish People, men, women and children, to enter them into a final covenant with G-d and to seal the special relationship that exists between G-d and His people. The commentators ask, what was the purpose of including the children in this event, as they were below the age of consent and so could not legally accept the covenant? One answer, given by the Biblical commentator Sforno, is that Moses wanted to indicate to the elders that they were responsible to assure that the children would be raised as Jews. The future of the Jewish people depends on the education of its children, and Jewish Law provides that even before building itself a synagogue, a community must provide for the Jewish education of its young, an obligation that is suggested by the inclusion in the covenant of the youngest children.

The challenge that schools and the Jewish community face today is of enormous consequence. To ensure continuity of the next generations, we need to help our young develop a meaningful connection to Jewish life. In response to this challenge, during the past two decades, the community has invested massively in Jewish education, and has seen a substantial expansion in terms of demand for Jewish schools and enrolment. These investments have now fostered a momentum in Jewish education. The community can now build on the cumulative effects of these investments to think more systematically, to review and reassess the current achievements, and also define and address the gaps and impediments that emerged during this period. These steps are needed in order to make the most of these valuable educational resources and ensure their potential to generate lasting positive impact on students' lives is fully brought into play.

It is now clear that simply enrolling students in a Jewish school is not enough to strengthen their Jewish identity and commitment. The community now has to go one step forward: to support schools in taking central stage in transmitting our rich cultural heritage and its practices to the young generation, and bolstering students' identities. We need to bear in mind that the students' experiences in Jewish schools, and specifically during their Sixth Form, will not only impact on their own decisions, their Jewish way of life, their level of observance, commitment, attachment and sense of identity, but also those of their children.

To succeed in our aim to shape the next generation of proud, committed, knowledgeable and active members of the Jewish community, we need to support schools in generating inspirational and exciting Jewish environments where students can experience Jewish life at its best. We perceive Jewish secondary schools as the final window of opportunity to create a lasting impact in the lives of thousands of Jewish children over decades. Our mission emerges not only from the urgency of our situation as a declining community, but also from the recognition that Jewish schools now shoulder the main responsibility for intergenerational transmission of our culture, but they need to be more fully equipped to fulfil this role. The challenge of continuity remains very real, and we as a community are now called upon to assist schools in functioning as the main socialisation agents for Jewish life.

VI. Appendix

Table no. 1: Correlation between students' religiosity and evaluation of their experiences at school

	Jewish/ Non-Jewish Prim school (0-non Jewish, 1-Jewish)	Jewish/ Non-Jewish Secondary school (0-non Jewish, 1-Jewish)	Years of Jewish school education	Average score for JS provision (higher score = positive view)	Evaluation of Jewish primary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	Evaluation of Jewish secondary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	Evaluation of Jewish sixth form educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)
Students' religiosity 1-secular 4-religious	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	.412**	No correlation	No Correlation	Weak correlation .248**
Parents' religiosity 1-secular 4-religious	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .240*	No correlation	No Correlation	No Correlation
Family synagogue Affil. 1-none 2-liberal 3-reform 4-masorti 5-us/fed 6-adass	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No Correlation	No Correlation
Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score= positive beliefs)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	.475**	No correlation	.314**	.380**
Average score on Jewish practices (higher score= more observant)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .299*	.379**	Weak correlation .280*	Weak correlation .287**	Weak correlation .295**

Table no. 2: Regression analysis to predict students' religious outlook by family background, friendship ties and schooling factors

Predicting: religious outlook			
Predictors	Beta	Significance	Cumulative R square
Families' religiosity	.65	.00	.56
Proportion of Jewish friends	.12	.00	.575
Observance of friends	.08	.02	.585
Quality of JS provision	.12	.02	.62
Quality of Sixth Form Jewish experience	.06	.00	.65

Table no. 3: Correlation between participation in youth programmes and students' religiosity

	Number of activities	Membership in youth movements (1=yes, 0=no)	No. of youth movements students were members	Participation in leadership schemes (1=yes, 0=no)
Students' religiosity 1-secular, 4-religious	.454 **	Weak correlation .246 *	No correlation	No correlation
Parents' religiosity 1-secular, 4-religious	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Family synagogue Affil. 1-none 2-liberal 3-reform 4-masorti 5-us/fed 6-adass	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score= positive beliefs)	.362 **	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Average score on Jewish practices (higher score= more observant)	.466 **	Weak correlation .244*	No correlation	No correlation

Table no. 4: Regression analysis to predict students' religious outlook by family background, friendship ties and involvement in youth schemes

Predicting: religious outlook			
Predictors	Beta	Significance	Cumulative R square
Families' religiosity	.65	.00	.56
Proportion of Jewish friends	.12	.00	.57
Observance of friends	.08	.02	.59
Number of youth activities	.12	.02	.66

Table no. 5: Correlation between visits to Israel and views of Israel

	Number of visits to Israel (0-15)	Went on Israel educational scheme (1=yes, 0=no)
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.375**	.328**
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.310**	Weak correlation .279**
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely, not 5-definitely)	.420**	No correlation

Table no. 6: Correlation between attitudes towards Israel and students' religiosity

	Respondents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	Parents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	Family synagogue membership (1-none, 2-prog, 3-reform, 4-masorti, 5-us/fed, 6-adass)	Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score=stronger Jewish beliefs)	Average score on Jewish practices (higher score=more observant)
No. of visits to Israel	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Went on Israel educational scheme	Weak correlation .291**	Weak correlation .250**	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .261**
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.401**	No correlation	No correlation	.419**	.434**
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.344**	Weak correlation .243**	No correlation	.423**	.387**
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.343**	No correlation	No correlation	.362**	.379**

Table no. 7: Correlation between attitudes towards Israel and students' participation in youth activities

	Number of activities	Member of youth movement (1-yes, 0-no)
Number of visits to Israel	No correlation	No correlation
Went on Israel educational scheme	No correlation	.433**
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.332**	Weak correlation .271**
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	Weak correlation .279**	Weak correlation .264**
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.345**	Weak correlation .248**

Table no. 8: Correlation between students' Hebrew skills and their religiosity

	Hebrew reading (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew translation (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew ability to follow service (1-poor, 6-excellent)
Respondents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	Weak correlation .297**	No Correlation	.528**
Parents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	No Correlation	No Correlation	.400**
Family synagogue membership (1-none, 2-prog, 3-reform, 4-masorti, 5-us/fed, 6-adass)	No Correlation	No Correlation	No Correlation
Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score=stronger Jewish beliefs)	Weak correlation .260**	No Correlation	.431**
Average score on Jewish practices (higher score=more observant)	.367**	No Correlation	.590**
Go to synagogue (1-never, 5-always)	.308**	No Correlation	.557**

Table no. 9: Correlation between students' Hebrew skills and their experiences at school

	Hebrew reading (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew translation (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew ability to follow service (1-poor, 6-excellent)
Jewish/Non-Jewish Prim school (1-Jewish, 0-non Jewish)	.327**	No Correlation	Weak correlation .297**
Jewish/Non-Jewish Sec school (1-Jewish, 0-non Jewish)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Years of Jewish school education	.379**	.334**	.341**
Average score for JS provision (higher score =higher satisfaction with JS provision)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .298**
Evaluation of Jewish primary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish secondary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .246**
Evaluation of Jewish sixth form educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation

Table no. 10: Correlation between students' views of Israel and their Hebrew proficiency

	Hebrew reading (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew translation (1-poor, 6-excellent)	Hebrew ability to follow service (1-poor, 6-excellent)
No. of visits to Israel (0-15)	.408**	.584**	No correlation
Went on Israel educational scheme (1=yes, 0=no)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.346**	.319**	.330**
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	.312**	Weak correlation .277**	.307**
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.378**	.438**	.353**

Table no. 11: Correlations between students' tendency to experience a religious journey and their religiosity

	Respondent currently becoming more/less observant (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	Future prediction	
		Become more observant (1-definitely not, 5- definitely)	Become less observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)
Students' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	.338**	.547**	No correlation
Parents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	No correlation	Weak correlation .275**	No correlation
Parents becoming more/less observant (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	Weak correlation .242*	No correlation	No correlation
Family synagogue Affil. (1-none, 2-liberal, 3-reform, 4-masorti, 5-us/fed, 6-adass)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score=positive beliefs)	.352**	.560**	Weak correlation -.286(**)
Average score on Jewish practices (higher score=more observant)	.353**	.587**	No correlation
No. of Jewish friends (1-none or few, 5-all or nearly all)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Observance of friends (1-secular, 6-very religious)	No correlation	.388**	No correlation
Change in observance of friends (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	.389**	.434**	No correlation

Table no. 12: Correlation between students' tendency to experience a religious journey and their experiences at school

	Respondent becoming more/less observant (1-becoming less observ, 2-no change, 3-becoming more observ)	Become more observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Become less observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)
Years of Jewish school education	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Average score for JS provision (higher score = higher satisfaction with JS provision)	.331**	.476**	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish secondary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	Weak correlation .278**	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish Sixth Form educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	Weak correlation .266**	.388**	No correlation

Table no. 13: Correlation between students' tendency to experience a religious journey and participation in Jewish youth activities

	Respondent becoming more/less observant (1-becoming less observant, 2-no change, 3-becoming more observant)	Become more observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Become less observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)
Number of activities	.362*	.445(**)	No correlation
Member of youth movement	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Are you involved as a leader (1-yes, 0-no)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation

Table no. 14: Correlation between students' tendency to experience a religious journey and their views towards Israel

	Respondent becoming more/less observant (1-becoming less observant, 2-no change, 3-becoming more observant)	Become more observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Become less observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)
Number of visits to Israel (0-15)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Went on Israel education scheme (1=yes, 0=no)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	.368**	No correlation
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	.355**	No correlation
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.322**	.417**	No correlation

Table no. 15: Regression analysis to predict students' religious journeys by family background, friendship ties and educational experiences

Predicting: religious journeys			
Predictors	Beta	Significance	Cumulative R square
Families' religiosity	-.34	.00	.02
Students' religiosity	.29	.01	.05
Parents' religious journeys	.17	.01	.07
Friends' religious journeys	.12	.08	.10
Number of youth activities	.29	.00	.37
Quality of JS classes	.26	.00	.44

Table no. 16: Correlation between Jewish factors affecting the choice of university and students' religiosity

	Respondents' religiosity (1-secular, 4 -religious)	Parents' religiosity (1-secular, 4 -religious)	Family synagogue member (1-none, 2-prog, 3-reform, 4-masorti, 5-us/fed, 6-adass)	Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score= positive beliefs)	Average score on Jewish practices (higher score= more observant)	Observance of friends
Importance of Jewish students at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.429**	Weak correlation .247*	No correlation	.479**	.450**	Weak correlation .279*
Importance of Jewish community at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.420**	No correlation	No correlation	.486**	.444**	.307**
Importance of Jewish chaplain at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.423**	Weak correlation .260*	No correlation	.472**	.467**	No correlation
Importance of Kosher food at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.635**	.499**	.310**	.497**	.692**	.363**
Importance of Hillel House at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.409**	Weak correlation .283**	No correlation	.471**	.486**	Weak correlation .288*
Importance of UJS at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.409**	No correlation	No correlation	.445**	.435**	No correlation

Table no. 17: Correlation between students' experiences at school and the importance of Jewish factors when choosing a university

	Years of Jewish school education	Evaluation of Jewish secondary school experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	Evaluation of Jewish Sixth Form educational experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	Average score for JS provision (higher score= positive view)
Importance of Jewish students at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	.324**	.332**	.334**
Importance of Jewish community at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	.300**	Weak Correlation .293**	.348**
Importance of Jewish chaplain at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	Weak correlation .248**	Weak Correlation .298**	.350**
Importance of Kosher food at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	.380**
Importance of Hillel House at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	Weak correlation .286**	No correlation	.324**
Importance of UJS at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	No correlation	.321**	Weak Correlation .286*	.350**

Table no. 18: Correlation between Jewish factors affecting the choice of university and students' participation in youth activities

	Number of activities	Member of youth movement (1=yes, 0=no)	Are you involved as a leader (1=yes, 0=no)
Importance of Jewish students at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.301**	No correlation	No correlation
Importance of Jewish community at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.305**	No correlation	No correlation
Importance of Jewish chaplain at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.327**	No correlation	No correlation
Importance of Kosher food at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.423**	Weak correlation .242**	No correlation
Importance of Hillel House at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.345**	No correlation	No correlation
Importance of UJS at uni (1-not important, 4-very important)	.339**	No correlation	No correlation

Table no. 19: Correlation between students' tendency to continue Jewish learning in the future and their religiosity

	Continue Jewish learning (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational evening (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational weekend (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational week (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational holiday (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)
Respondents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	Weak correlation .271**	.360**	.369**	.370**	.326**
Parents religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Family synagogue membership (1-none 2-prog 3-reform 4-masorti 5-us/fed 6-adass)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Average score on Jewish beliefs	.315**	.425**	.455**	.436**	.360**
Average score on Jewish practices	Weak correlation .282**	.373*	.392**	.384**	.321**
Jewish friends (1-none or very few, 5-all or nearly all)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Observance of friends (1-secular, 6-very religious)	No correlation	.334**	.324**	.303**	No correlation

Table no. 20: Correlation between the students' tendency to continue Jewish learning in the future and their experiences at school

	Continue Jewish learning (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational evening (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational weekend (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational week (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational holiday (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)
Average score for JS provision	Weak correlation .268**	.426**	.390**	.364**	.348**
Years of Jewish school education	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish secondary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish Sixth Form educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	.332**	.313**	Weak correlation .294**	Weak correlation .277**

Table no. 21: Correlation between students' tendency to continue Jewish learning in the future and their involvement in youth activities

	Continue Jewish learning (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational evening (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational weekend (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational week (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational holiday (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)
Member of youth movement	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Number of activities	No correlation	.402**	.460**	.449**	.354**
Are you involved as a leader	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation

Table no. 22: Correlation between students' tendency to continue Jewish learning in the future and their ties with Israel

	Continue Jewish learning (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational evening (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational weekend (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational week (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational holiday (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)
Number of visits to Israel	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
How important is it to have Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	.308**	.354**	.314**	Weak correlation .263**
How important is Israel as part of your identity (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .262**	No correlation	No correlation
How likely are you to live in Israel in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.318**	.346**	.377**	.368**	Weak correlation .289**

Table no. 23: Correlation between students' tendency to continue Jewish learning in the future and their experience of religious journeys

	Continue Jewish learning (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational evening (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational weekend (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational week (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)	Likely to participate in educational holiday (1- definitely not, 5-definitely)
Respondent becoming more/less observant (1-becoming less observant, 2-no change, 3-becoming more observant)	Weak Correlation .253**	.323**	.369**	.363**	.311**
Become more observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	.373**	.525**	.560**	.551**	.446**
Become less observant (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Change in observance of friends (1-becoming less observant, 2-no change, 3-becoming more observant)	No correlation	No correlation	.305**	.373**	.344**

Table no. 24: Correlation between the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner and students' religiosity.

	Of people dated how many Jewish (0-not dated, 1-all non-Jewish, 5-all Jewish)	Likelihood of dating non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)	Likelihood of marrying non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)
Respondents' religiosity (1-secular, 4 -religious)	No correlation	.433**	.492**
Parents' religiosity (1-secular, 4-religious)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .271**
Family synagogue membership (1-none, 2-prog, 3-reform, 4-masorti 5-us/fed, 6-adass)	No correlation	No correlation	Weak correlation .267**
Average score on Jewish beliefs (higher score=stronger Jewish beliefs)	No correlation	.541**	.579**
Average score on Jewish practices (higher score=more observant)	No correlation	.431**	.470**
No. of Jewish friends (1-none, 5-all)	No correlation	.306**	.325**
Observance of friends (1-secular, 6- religious)	No correlation	Weak correlation .278**	.303**

Table no. 25: Correlation between the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner and students' religious journeys.

	Of people dated how many Jewish (0-not dated, 1-all non Jewish, 5-all Jewish)	Likelihood of dating non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)	Likelihood of marrying non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)
Student became more / less observant (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	No correlation	.332**	Weak correlation .260**
Student likely to become more observant in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	No correlation	.469**	.492**
Student likely to become less observant in the future (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Parents became more / less observant (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Friends became more / less observant (1-less observant, 2-no change, 3-more observant)	No correlation	.370**	Weak correlation .292*

Table no. 26: Correlation between the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner and the students' experiences at school.

	Of people dated how many Jewish (0-not dated, 1-all non-Jewish, 5-all Jewish)	Likelihood of dating non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)	Likelihood of marrying non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)
Years of Jewish school education	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish primary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Evaluation of Jewish secondary educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	.324**	.313**
Evaluation of Jewish sixth form educational classroom experience (1-extremely poor, 7-excellent)	No correlation	.304**	.308**
Average score for JS provision (higher score =higher satisfaction with JS provision)	No correlation	.357**	.367**

Table no. 27: Correlation between the likelihood of dating and marrying a non-Jewish partner and students' participation in youth activities and their attachment to Israel

	Of people dated how many Jewish (0-not dated, 1-all non-Jewish, 5-all Jewish)	Likelihood of dating non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)	Likelihood of marrying non-Jewish (1-definitely, 5-definitely not)
Member of youth movement	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Number of activities	No correlation	Weak correlation .281**	.334**
Are you involved as a leader (1-yes, 0-no)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Went on Israel education scheme (1-yes, 0-no)	No correlation	No correlation	No correlation
Importance of Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	.338**	.446**
Importance of Israel as a place to visit (1-irrelevant, 3-very important)	No correlation	.412**	.462**
Likelihood of going on Aliyah (1-definitely not, 5-definitely)	No correlation	Weak correlation .299*	.301**

Table no. 28: Regression analysis to predict students' views of intermarriage by family background, friendship ties and educational experiences

Predicting: intermarriage			
Predictors	Beta	Significance	Cumulative R square
Students' religiosity	.43	.00	.31
Jewish friends	.33	.00	.45
Quality of Sixth Form experience	.27	.00	.52

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