

**JTS Rabbis and Israel, Then and Now:
The 2011 Survey of JTS Ordained Rabbis and Current Students**

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Younger Jews, Younger Rabbis & Israel

The recent discourse on American Jews and Israel would seem to call into question the abiding commitment of younger rabbis, especially rabbinical students, to Israel and Zionism. Among the many strands: the claim that younger Jews are more distant from Israel, largely because of intermarriage; the opposite claim, that younger Jews are as connected with Israel as their elders; the claim that an “illiberal” Israel and American Jewish establishment have made younger, liberal American Jews disaffected from Israel; and the claim that some significant number of non-Orthodox rabbinical students are disloyal to Israel.

On the broadest level, the Distancing hypothesis, advanced by Cohen and Kelman in 2007 (<http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=326>) argues that younger American Jews in general are more distant from Israel in a variety of ways, largely due to rising intermarriage in the younger generation:

Older Jews express considerable attachment to Israel, and very few are genuinely alienated from Israel. The same cannot be said for younger adult Jews. In sharp contrast to their parents and grandparents, non-Orthodox younger Jews, on the whole, feel much less attached to Israel than their elders. ...

This age-related decline characterizes almost all available measures of genuine Israel attachment and thus cannot be attributed to measurement idiosyncrasy.

To be sure, the distancing hypothesis sparked a vigorous debate in the scholarly community (see the DATE issue of *Contemporary Jewry*). Theodore Sasson, et al. (<http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=5822>) contend that American Jews are, “Still Connected,” that attachment to Israel has remained stable over the years:

The key finding of the present survey is the stability of American Jewish attitudes towards Israel. Whether it is a direct measure of closeness to Israel or a measure of how important caring about Israel is to their Jewish identities, Israel is important for the majority of American Jews. ... [T]here is no evidence that attachment to Israel declined. (page 29)

Since no JTS rabbis or rabbinical students have intermarried, the Distancing hypothesis obviously has no direct applicability to them. On the other hand, younger rabbis and students include some from intermarried homes. Moreover, one could argue that younger generations of Jews – even rabbis – operate in a social context influenced by the composition of their age peers, such that an overall decline in Israel attachment among younger American Jews may indirectly influence the thinking and feeling of younger rabbis and rabbinical students.

Of somewhat more direct bearing on the matter are arguments for Disaffection advanced by Peter Beinart (“The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment.” *New York Review of Books*, June 24, 2010.

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/>). According Beinart, increasing numbers of younger and politically aware American Jews are becoming increasingly disaffected from Israel, owing to policies that offend young Jews’ liberal sensibilities and to the “Failure of the American Jewish Establishment” to oppose those policies:

Particularly in the younger generations, fewer and fewer American Jewish liberals are Zionists; fewer and fewer American Jewish Zionists are liberal. ... For several decades, the Jewish establishment has asked American Jews to check their liberalism at Zionism’s door, and now, to their horror, they are finding that many young Jews have checked their Zionism instead. Morally, American Zionism is in a downward spiral.

Insofar as Beinart’s Disaffection thesis holds water, one could easily imagine it applying to JTS rabbis, especially the more recently ordained or current students. After all, “Conservative” rabbis are Conservative in denominational terms, but, by and large they are liberal politically. As we shall see in the data reported below, in terms of their political views, among all rabbis and students, liberals out-number conservatives 58% to 9%. Among JTS rabbinical students only, the numbers are even more lopsided: 69% to 8%, significantly more liberal than rabbis ordained before 1995 (with a 47% to 13% distribution), though quite similar to those more recently ordained (65% vs. 4%). If Beinart is right about the disaffection from

Israel among young Jewish leaders, then JTS students – a highly liberal group -- would seem to provide likely candidates for the Disaffection thesis at work.

Most pointedly, in an article entitled, “Are Young Rabbis Turning on Israel,” in the June 2011 *Commentary* (an expanded version appears at <https://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/are-young-rabbis-turning-on-israel/>), Daniel Gordis – himself a rabbi ordained in 1982 by JTS -- raises the possibility not merely of Distancing or Disaffection, but of Disloyalty. While declining to single out any particular rabbinical school (although largely absolving Orthodox schools and denying that the problem he described is limited to HUC-JIR), Gordis advances the thesis that among current rabbinical students in general, excessive universalism and resistance to old-fashioned Jewish tribalism has undermined students’ commitment to Israel to the point of Disloyalty: Favoring the enemy over one’s own. He writes:

The number of vocally anti-Israel [rabbinical] students is probably small, but their collective impact is far from marginal. These students are shaping the discourse about Israel in America’s rabbinical schools.

Gordis attributes the putative worrying shift in rabbis’ attitudes toward Israel to several causes, one of which is the lack of concern with threats to Israel’s survival, writing, “[T]hese students cannot imagine that Israel is actually at risk.

Yet another factor is their lack of appreciation for how Israel’s existence lent strength, comfort, and confidence to American Jewry: “[T]hese students have little sense of how the very existence of a Jewish state contributed to this utter transformation of American Jewish life.”

He also portrays rabbinic students, implicitly in contrast their elders in general and rabbinic predecessors in particular, as finding it difficult to conceive of Palestinians as near-permanent “enemies” of the Jewish State:

They will do virtually anything in order to avoid confronting the fact that the Jewish people has intractable enemies.

And, at the heart of all these alleged shortcomings is a flabby commitment to Jewish Peoplehood:

[W]hat is entirely gone is an instinct of belonging—the visceral sense on the part of these students that they are part of a people, that the blood and the losses that were required to create the state of Israel is *their* blood and *their* loss. ...

What is lacking in their view and their approach is the sense that no matter how devoted Jews may be to humanity at large, we owe our devotion first and foremost to one particular people—our own people.

All this is simply a reflection of the decreased role of “peoplehood” in Judaism.

How Much Attached to Israel – And How?

This energized and sometimes heated discourse over the relationship of younger American Jews with Israel, as well as the more focused critiques of how younger rabbis and rabbinical students relate to Israel these days, prompted this study of JTS Rabbinical alumni and students. We ask: How do today’s JTS rabbinical students relate to Israel? In what ways do they differ from their elders and predecessors – rabbis who were ordained over the last three decades and more? Most broadly, we sought to learn how alumni and students relate to Israel. Specifically:

- To what extent and in what manner have they experienced Israel by way of travel, study, and ongoing reading?
- To what extent do they feel attached to Israel and identify with Israel, and, as an adjunct the Jewish People?
- How do they view the major challenges facing Israel, both the ongoing conflict with the Palestinians, the nature of the Palestinians’ challenge, and the more prominent issues on Israel’s social agenda?

- And last, how do older rabbis, younger rabbis, and students align with respect to their political identities? Where do they distribute themselves on the left-right political and cultural spectrum in general and in terms of Israel-related issues?

The Survey of Rabbis & Rabbinical Students

To examine these and related issues, from June 21-August 12, 2011, we administered an online survey of JTS Rabbinical School alumni ordained in 1980-2011 and current students. Of the 626 ordained rabbis invited to participate in the study, 317 (or 51%) responded; of the 80 rabbinical students we invited, 51 or 64% completed the survey; in all, 368 respondents participated, 52% of the 706 initially invited. The ordained rabbis' years of ordination spread fairly evenly over the 31 period from 1980 to 2011, with almost half having been ordained in 1980 to 1994, and most afterward.

Comparing Students with Younger and Older Rabbis

To learn whether, in fact, "younger" (i.e., more recently ordained) rabbis (and students) differ from their elders, the analysis consistently divides the sample into three groups:

- Rabbis ordained by JTS in 1980-1994
- Rabbis ordained by JTS in 1994-2011
- Current JTS rabbinical students (expected ordination 2012-2016)

In addition, the narrative presents thematically related questions that comprise indices of larger concepts. We interpret the differences among the three groups both for individual items (survey questions) as well as for the overall indices that arise from them. In broad strokes, the presentation begins with rabbis' and students' experiences with Israel; then moves to their attachment to Israel; and concludes with an examination of their views on Israel-related issues.

A Note on Nomenclature

Long-standing conflicts beget differences not only over perceptions but the very words we use in connection with the conflict. The territories lying between the Jordan River and the 1967 Green Line are known alternately as, Judea and Samaria, the Occupied Territories, the Disputed Territories, and the West Bank. Arab citizens of Israel are referred to as Israeli Arabs or Palestinians. To adopt a balanced position, the text alternates choice of terminology.

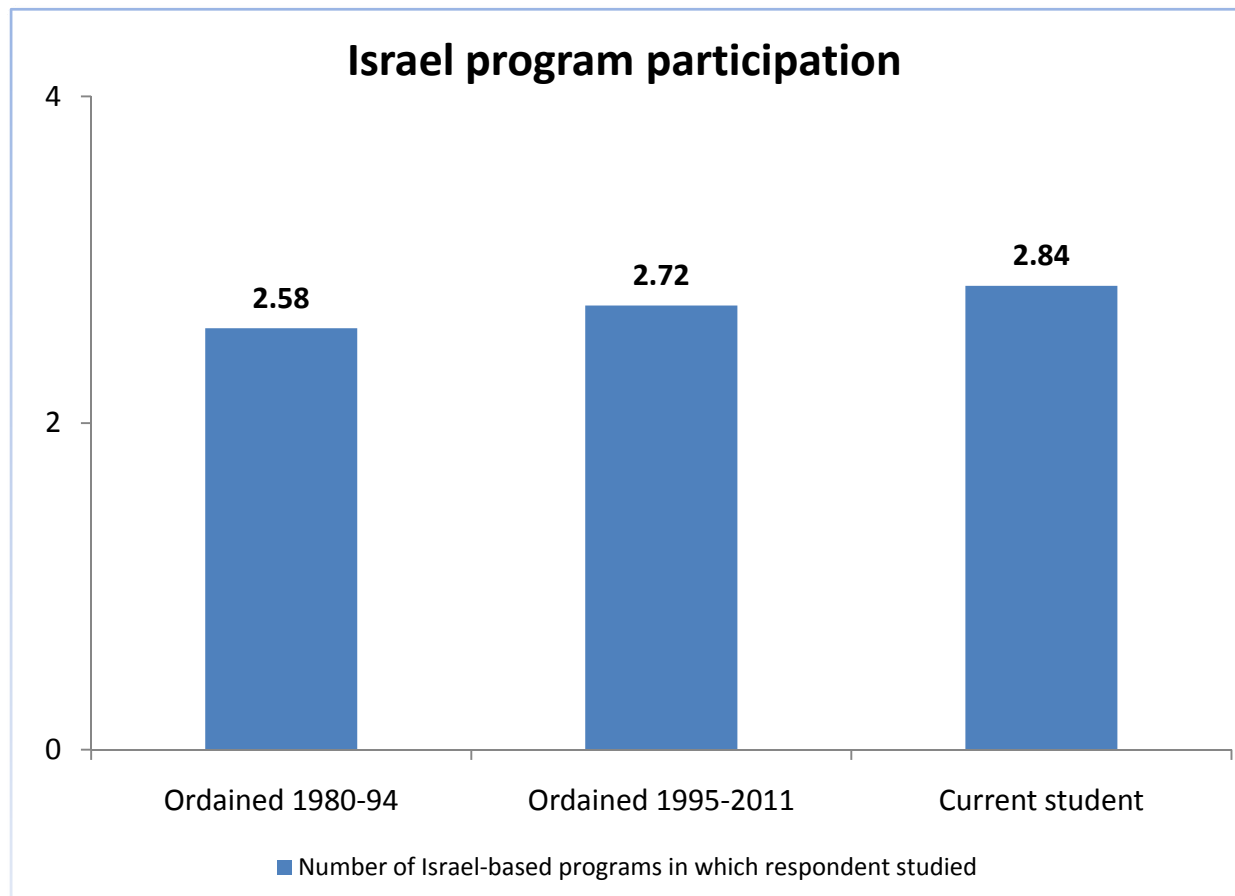
The Findings

Extensive Study in Israel, Increasing Over the Years

Fully 94% of rabbis and students have at some point studied in Israel, a figure that is constant across all three groups. In fact, when presented with a list of individual Israel programs, respondents on average reported that they had studied in over 2.6 different programs. Over the years, attendance at Israeli universities declined – from 83% among the older rabbis to just 40% of the current students. But, at the same time participation in other programs increased: Nativ (1% of the pre-1995 rabbis to 12% of current students); other gap year programs (12% to 17%); and Pardes Institute (from 13% to 20%). The most striking change is in the proportions who attended the Conservative Yeshiva: from 13% among the older rabbis, to 29% of the younger rabbis, and 53% of the students – most of today’s JTS rabbinical students, aside from spending a year in Israel as JTS students (as did 94%), also spent time at the Conservative Yeshiva.

Program	Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
JTS rabbinical training	90%	91%	94%
Nativ	1%	6%	12%
Another gap year program or course	12%	15%	17%
Israeli university	83%	52%	40%
Conservative Yeshiva	13%	29%	53%
Pardes Institute	13%	20%	20%
Shalom Hartman Institute	41%	29%	22%
Otzma	0%	2%	0%
Another yeshiva or other institution of Jewish text study	23%	25%	26%
Another program	26%	41%	43%

In fact, we see a steady increase in the extent of study in Israel. On average, older rabbis reported 2.6 programs, as compared with 2.7 for younger rabbis and over 2.8 for the students.



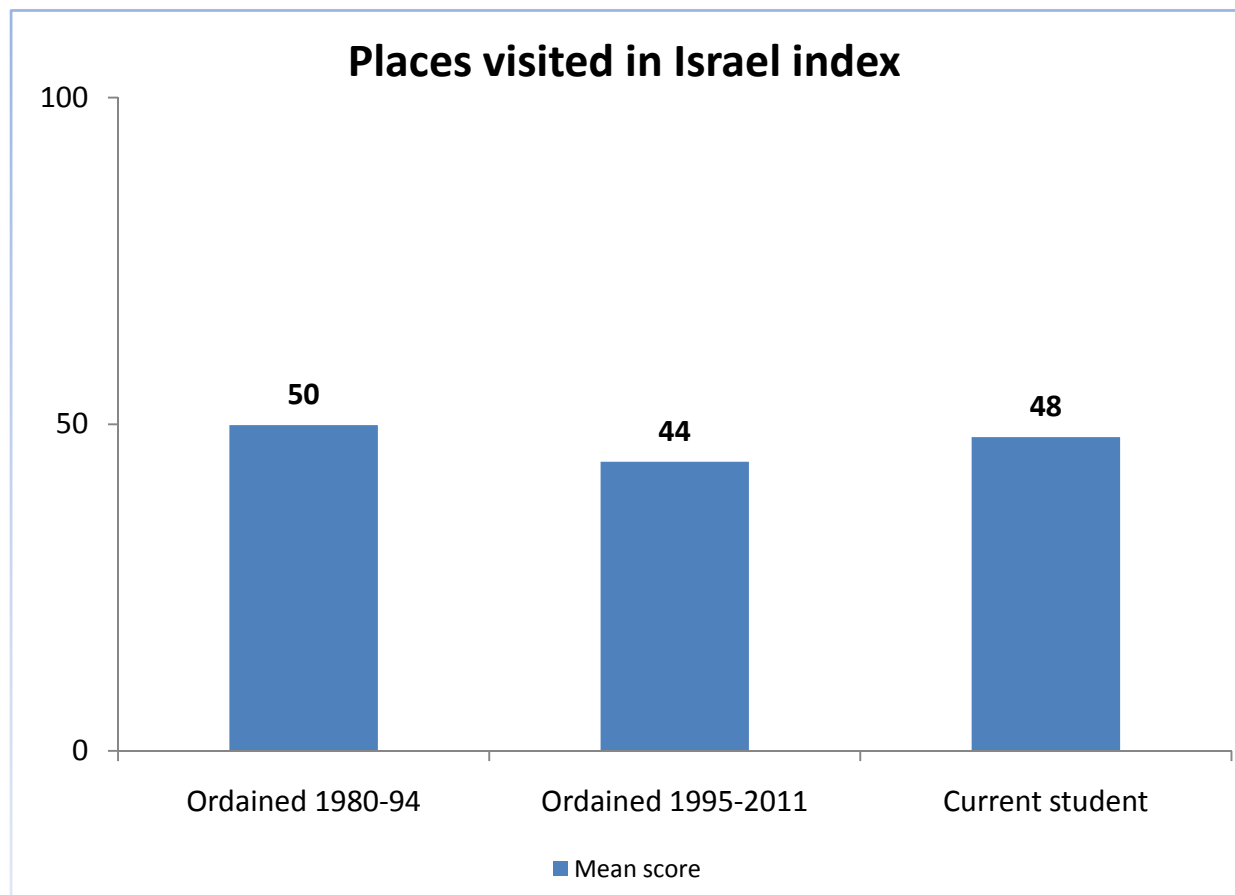
The Shifting Geography of Israel Experiences: More Encounters with Arab Communities

The rabbis and students report having spent time in a wide range of cities and places in Israel. While Jerusalem is the one place almost all have spent a week or more, sizable majorities have spent a week or more in Tel Aviv and on a kibbutz, with a quarter spending a week or more in Haifa, and 15% in Beersheba. More than three quarters have, at some point, visited a Jewish settlement in the West Bank.

It may be of some interest to note two small shifts that may be of symbolic, if not real importance. Compared with the older rabbis in the sample, more of the students have spent a week or more in Tel Aviv (71% vs. 61%) while fewer have been to West Bank Jewish settlements (69% vs. 82%).

	Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
Have you ever spent a week or more in Tel Aviv	61%	55%	71%
Have you ever spent a week or more in Haifa	32%	17%	28%
Have you ever spent a week or more in Beersheba	18%	13%	16%
Have you ever spent a week or more in a kibbutz	61%	51%	58%
Have you ever spent a week or more in another place in Israel	71%	64%	67%
Have you ever visited a Jewish settlement in Judea & Samaria / West Bank	82%	80%	69%

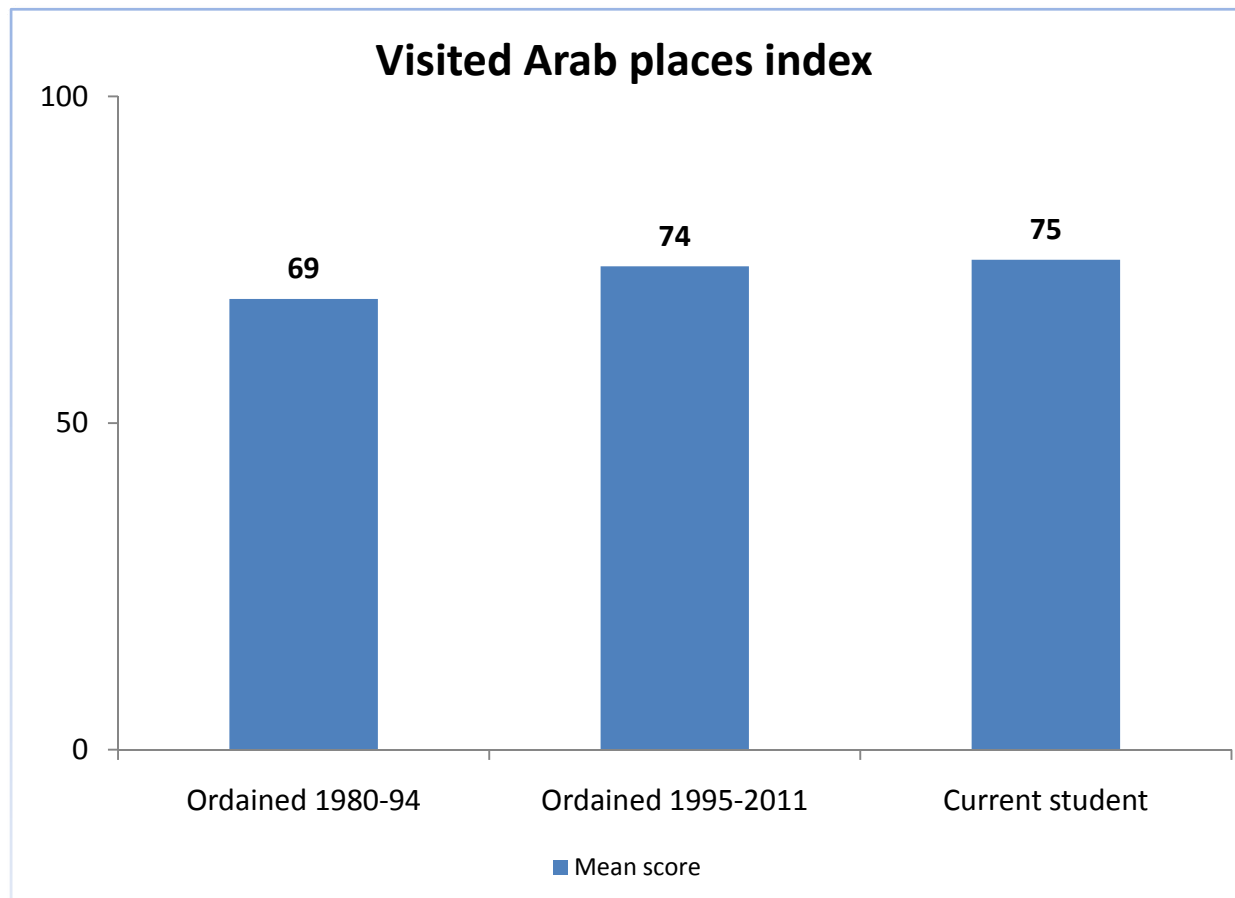
Overall, on an index of the number of places in Israel visited, no real change can be discerned over the years.



In contrast, the patterns of contact with Arab communities, both in the territories and in Israel proper show small but noticeable growth over the years.

	Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
Have you ever visited a Palestinian town or village in the West Bank	51%	51%	58%
Have you ever visited an Arab city, town or village in Israel	78%	83%	90%
Have you ever visited an Arab neighborhood in Israel (e.g., in Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle)	83%	92%	92%

Whereas 78% of the older rabbis ever visited an Arab community in Israel, 90% of the students have done so. We see similar patterns for Arab neighborhoods in Israeli cities (from 83% to 92%) as well as for West Bank Palestinian towns (from 51% to 58%). Overall, the extent of visiting Arab communities in Israel and the West Bank rises over the cohorts (from older to younger), a finding that is further strengthened by the consideration that the younger cohorts are, well, younger – they’ve had less of an opportunity to have *ever* visited Arab communities yet, nevertheless, outscore their elders in this regard. Of course, given the limitations of these data, we cannot know for sure whether the younger cohorts have actually engaged in more extensive interaction with Palestinians in Israel or the territories. All we have is an indicator of increased exposure to the places and communities in which they live.



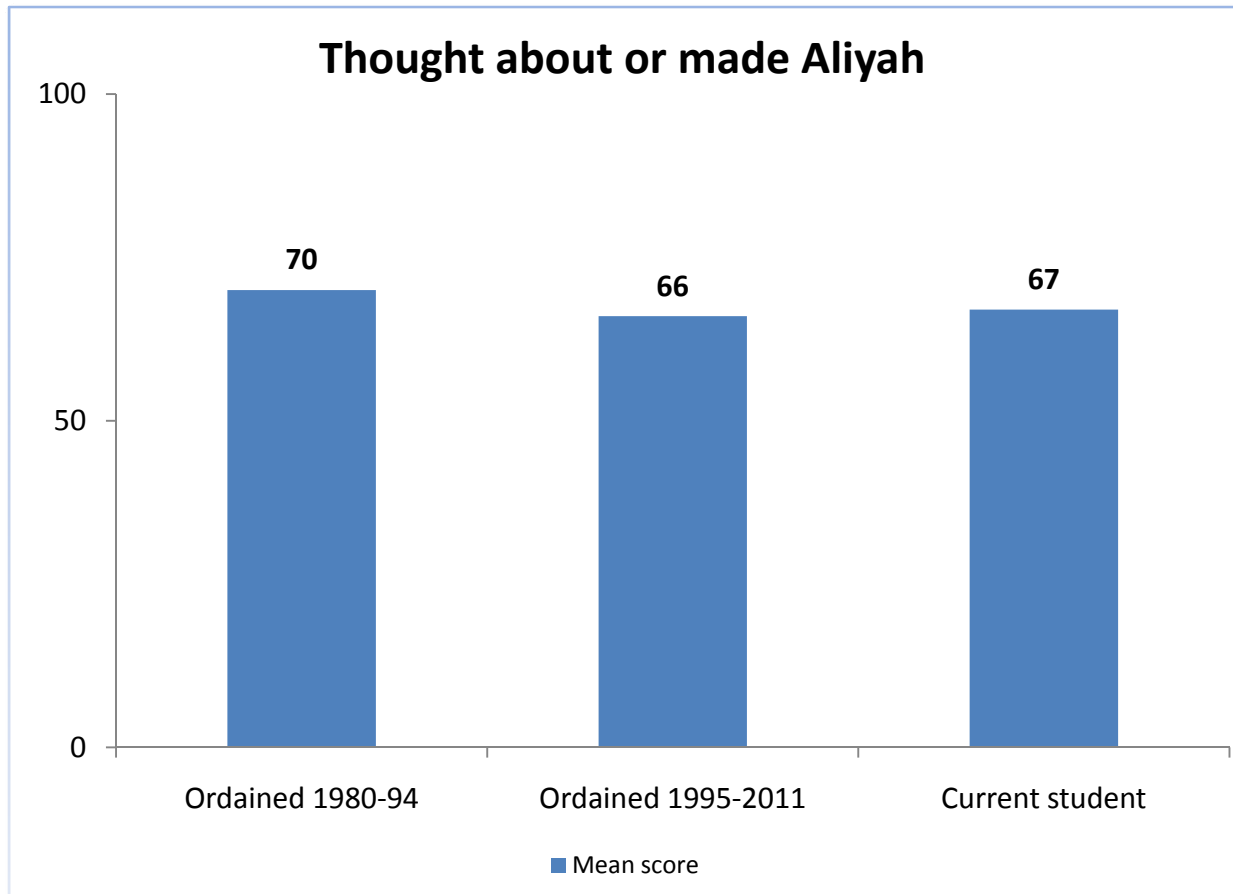
As we shall see, the higher level of contact by students with Arab communities may well reflect – or generate – changing attitudes towards Israeli Arabs and Palestinians.

Aliyah on Their Minds, Old and Young

Over the years, fully 12% of the older rabbis have made Aliyah, as have a far smaller number of students (just 2%), with the lower number owing in large part to their youthfulness. In fact, when asked if they have ever given serious thought to making Aliyah (limited to those who had never done so), the current students slightly surpassed the older rabbis (72% to 68%).

	Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
Have you ever made Aliyah?	12%	7%	2%
Have you ever given serious thought to making Aliyah?	68%	65%	72%

On an Aliyah index, combining the two questions, levels are about the same for rabbis, both older and younger, and students. Living in Israel remains a powerful attraction for these JTS alumni and students – of all ages.



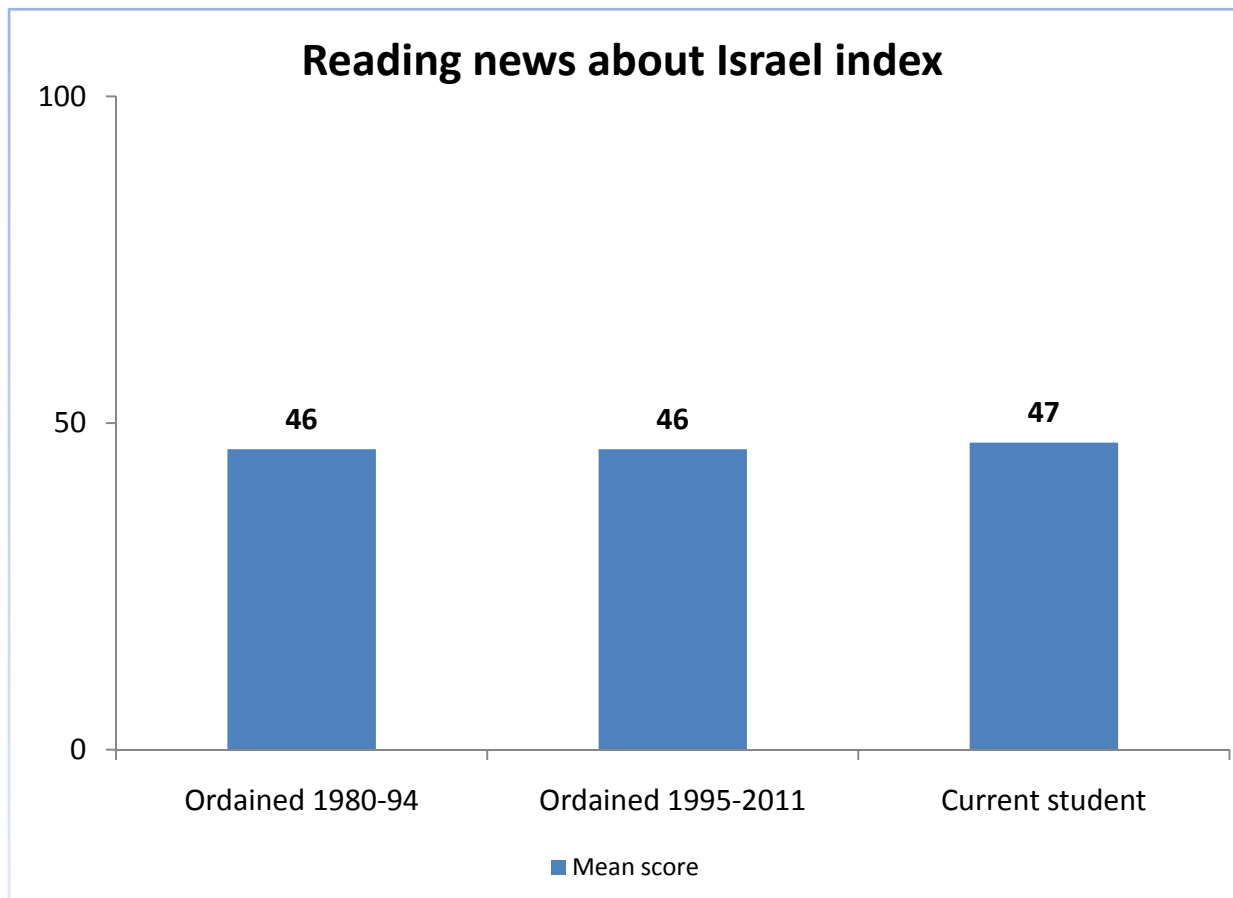
Up on the News about Israel: From Mainstream to Facebook, but Just as Frequent

The rabbis and students report accessing a variety of news sources fairly regularly to keep up with Israel-related news. For the older rabbis, the mainstream newspapers, Ha'aretz and the Jerusalem Post are consulted most frequently. For the young rabbis, Facebook nearly overtakes the mainstream media, and Ha'aretz places third.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
In the last month, about how often did you read Haaretz, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	58%	59%	57%
In the last month, about how often did you read the Jerusalem Post, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	56%	41%	40%
In the last month, about how often did you read Y-Net, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	30%	29%	28%
In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related blogs, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	47%	36%	38%
In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related postings on Facebook, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	27%	52%	69%
In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related news in mainstream newspapers, either in print or on-line?	Frequently/ Sometimes	96%	89%	72%

Comparing older with younger respondents, reading tastes have shifted somewhat, with declining readers of the Jerusalem Post, suggesting younger cohorts are opting to being exposed to somewhat more left-oriented thinking on Israel. In parallel with similar shifts in the population at large, the younger respondents are less likely to turn to mainstream newspapers and more likely to get their news about Israel from postings on Facebook.

The mean scores on an index measuring the combined frequency of turning to sources of news on Israel shows near-perfect stability among all three cohorts. Older rabbis, younger rabbis, and students seem to follow Israel-related news with the same frequency.

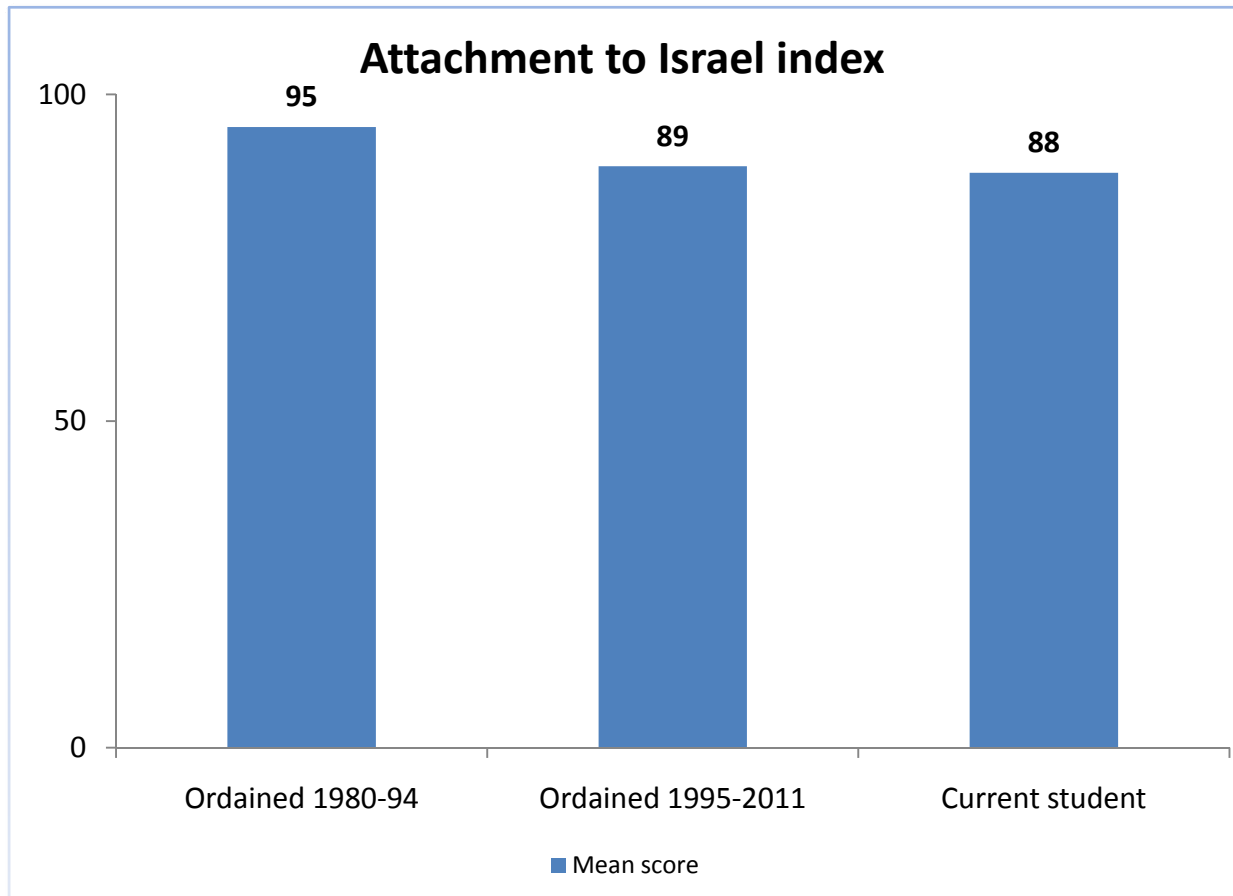


Attachment to Israel: Very High among Rabbis and Students

The answers to several questions pertaining to attachment to Israel – all of which correlated highly with one another – indicate levels of Israel attachment far exceeding those found in the Jewish population at large. Overall, about 90% of the rabbis – plus or minus – see themselves as Zionists, pro-Israel, very emotionally attached to Israel, Israel-engaged and often or always proud about Israel. Almost all agree with the view that, “Caring about Israelis is a very important part of my being a Jew,” and almost as many agree, “If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies of my life.” On surveys of the Jewish population at large, levels of attachment reach only a third to half as high as seen here.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
How emotionally attached to Israel are you?	Very attached	96%	84%	82%
How often would you say that you feel proud about Israel	Always/ Often	93%	83%	84%
Do you feel Zionist	Yes	94%	86%	94%
Do you feel pro-Israel	Yes	98%	93%	88%
Do you feel Israel-engaged	Yes	98%	89%	92%
Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew	Strongly agree/Agree	99%	94%	92%
If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies of my life	Strongly agree/Agree	97%	93%	88%

When combined into a single index of Israel attachment, we find a peak among the most senior rabbis (a mean score of 95), with a slight decline among more junior rabbis (89), and a comparable average score (88) among the students. In other words, the students who expect to be ordained in 2012-2016 express the same high levels of attachment as those ordained in the last decade and more, with only slightly higher scores among those ordained before 1995.



And what of the claim about the recent emergence of rabbinical students extremely unattached to Israel? To test this hypothesis, we focused upon those respondents whose scores placed them in the least attached 5% of the sample. Of the students, 6% qualify as unattached, but so too do 8% of the rabbis ordained between 1995 and 2011. Only among the most senior rabbis do we find as little as 2% unattached to Israel. In short, we do find some students with a very distant relationship with Israel. But, their frequency is not any greater than that found among the rabbis who were attending JTS for the last 20 years.

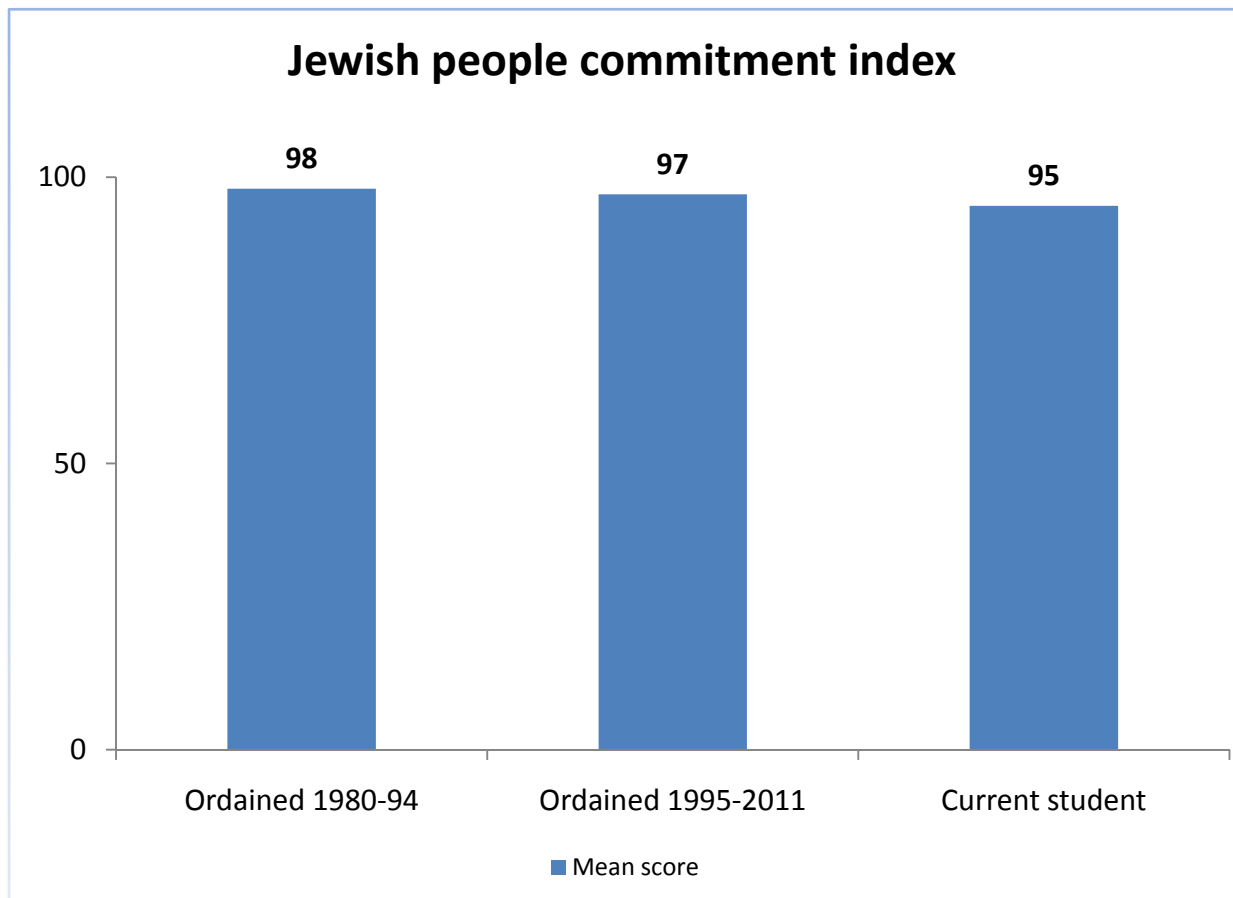
Jewish Peoplehood Commitment: Holding Steady at Maximal Levels

Nearly all the rabbis agreed that they “have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish People,” and, as well, that they “have a responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the

world.” Needless to say, these levels of expressed commitment far exceed those found in studies of the general Jewish population

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish People	Strongly agree/Agree	100%	99%	98%
I have a responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world	Strongly agree/Agree	97%	100%	96%

The index of Jewish Peoplehood commitment – a measure that takes into account the intensity of responses (e.g., “strongly agree” vs. “agree”) remains at near-maximum levels for all three cohorts of JTS rabbinical students past and present. In short, the data point to absolutely no discernible fall-off in Jewish Peoplehood commitment among the current cohort of students as compared with their rabbinic elders and predecessors.



On a related matter, Gordis attributes the alleged lack of peoplehood commitment to weak Jewish upbringings, saying, “By and large, today’s rabbinical students did not grow up in homes that were richly Jewish.” However, the evidence does not point to declining Jewish socialization on the part of more recent students at JTS. The proportion of rabbis and students who have attended day schools rises sharply from 23% among those ordained before 1995, to 38% among those ordained between 1995 and 2011, to 61% among current students. Attendance at day high schools rises from 16% to 24% to 31%. Only small, non-uniform differences are associated with having attended Ramah or participation in USY. The bottom line: Overall, the more recently ordained rabbis and current students have experienced more intense Jewish education in their younger years than their elders and predecessors.

Security Concerns on the Right vs. Societal Concerns on the Left

We asked the rabbis and students to reflect on the extent to which they are “worried or disturbed” by a variety of challenges facing Israel. Empirically, the concerns clustered into two groups, such that the extent to which respondents worried about one item predicted the extent to which they are worried about the other items in the group.

Two such clusters emerged. One cluster consisted of two items pertaining to Israel’s security: “efforts to delegitimize Israel” and “threats to Israel’s physical security.”

The second cluster consisted of what might best called, “societal concerns.” Included here are: “gaps between rich and poor,” “treatment of Arab citizens,” “treatment of Palestinians in the territories,” “treatment of women” and “threats to Israeli democracy.” (Given its special meaning for these respondents, we did not include “treatment of Masorti and Reform Judaism,” although this item too fell within this cluster.)

With respect to the frequency with which the rabbis and students express being “worried or concerned,” the two security-oriented concerns are among the three issues cited most frequently. The level of concern for treatment of Masorti and Reform Judaism ranked second, just behind “efforts to delegitimize Israel” and just ahead of “threats to Israel’s physical security.” In fact, combining “extremely” and “very” worried or concerned responses means that treatment of Masorti and Reform Judaism moves to the very top of the respondents’ worries and concerns.

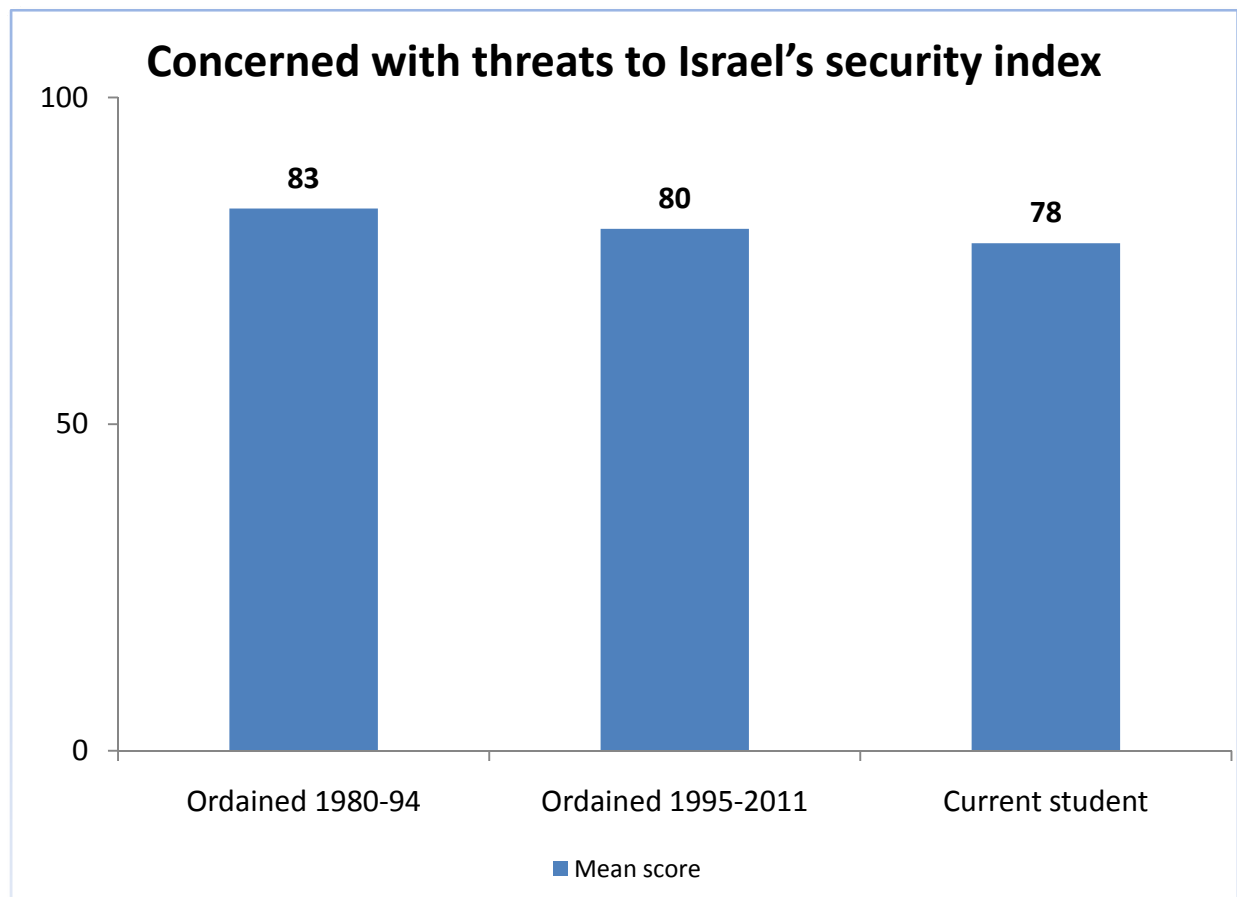
Not surprisingly, those who see themselves as more conservative express greater worry about the security issues. In like fashion, liberals express greater concern with the societal issues.

Diminished Concern with Security Issues among Younger Cohorts

While worries over external threats to Israel – both in terms of public opinion and physical security – remain high among the rabbis and students, they do recede from older to

younger cohorts. Among the older rabbis 86% are very or extremely worried about effort to de-legitimize Israel, as compared with 78% of the younger rabbis and 75% of the students. For threats to Israel security, the comparable numbers slide, in like fashion, from 81% to 74% to 71%.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
With respect to the efforts to de-legitimize Israel, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	86%	78%	75%
With respect to the threats to Israel’s physical security, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	81%	74%	71%



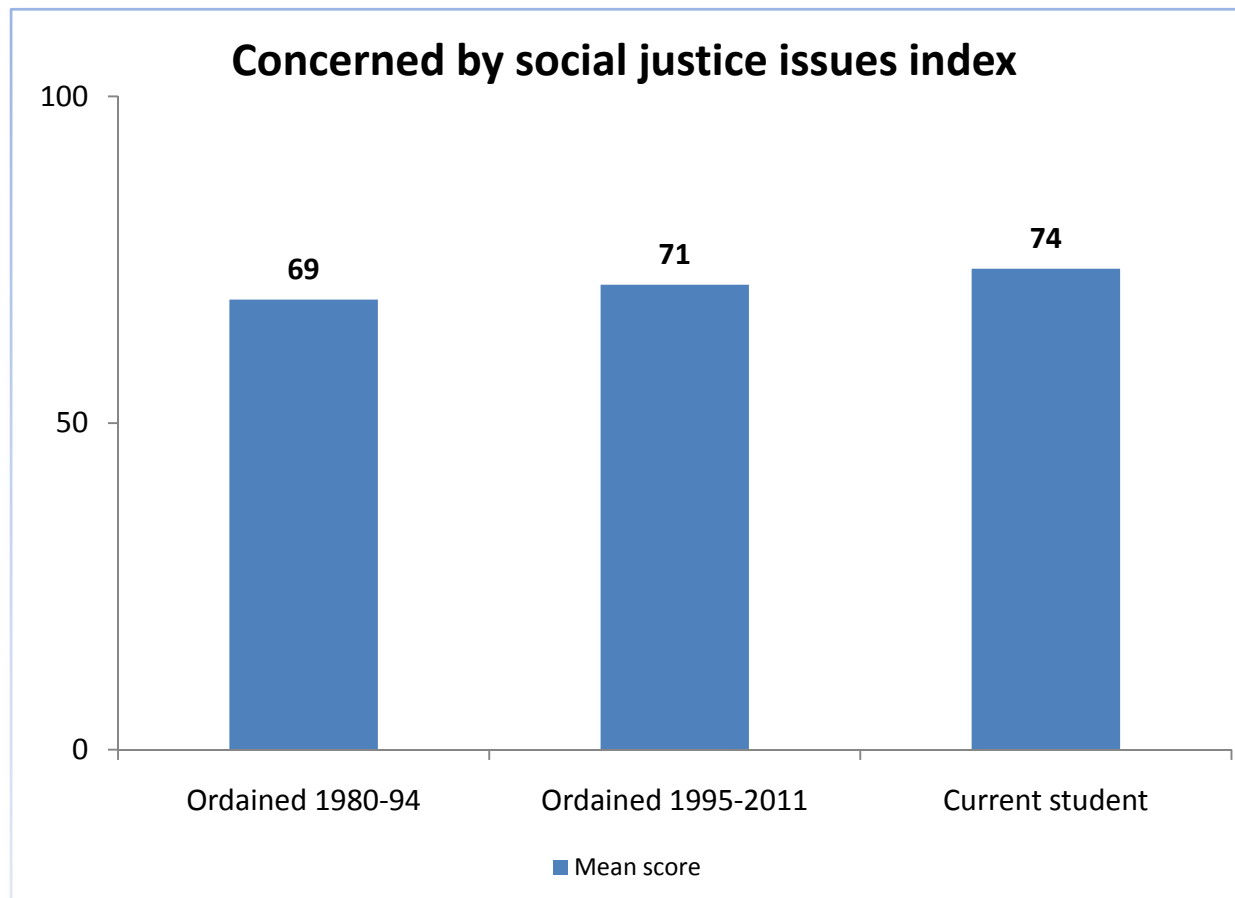
These results are consistent with trends observed both among American Jews in general and leadership populations. In broad measure, younger Jews perceive less anti-Semitism and lower levels of threats to Jews in general.

Rising Concern with Treatment of Arabs and Women among Younger Cohorts

We see the opposite pattern with respect to some of the societal issues. In particular, younger cohorts are distinguished from older cohorts with respect to concerns over treatment of Arabs (within Israel and in the Territories), and with respect to women. Little variation between old and young is apparent with respect to poverty or threats to Israeli democracy.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
With respect to the growing gaps between rich & poor Israelis, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	70%	71%	69%
With respect to the treatment of Arab citizens of Israel, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	63%	64%	71%
With respect to the treatment of Palestinians in the territories, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	51%	58%	67%
With respect to the treatment of women in Israeli society, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	57%	65%	63%
With respect to the threats to Israeli democracy, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	75%	75%	78%

Overall, levels of concern with intra-societal issues in Israel mount among younger cohorts.



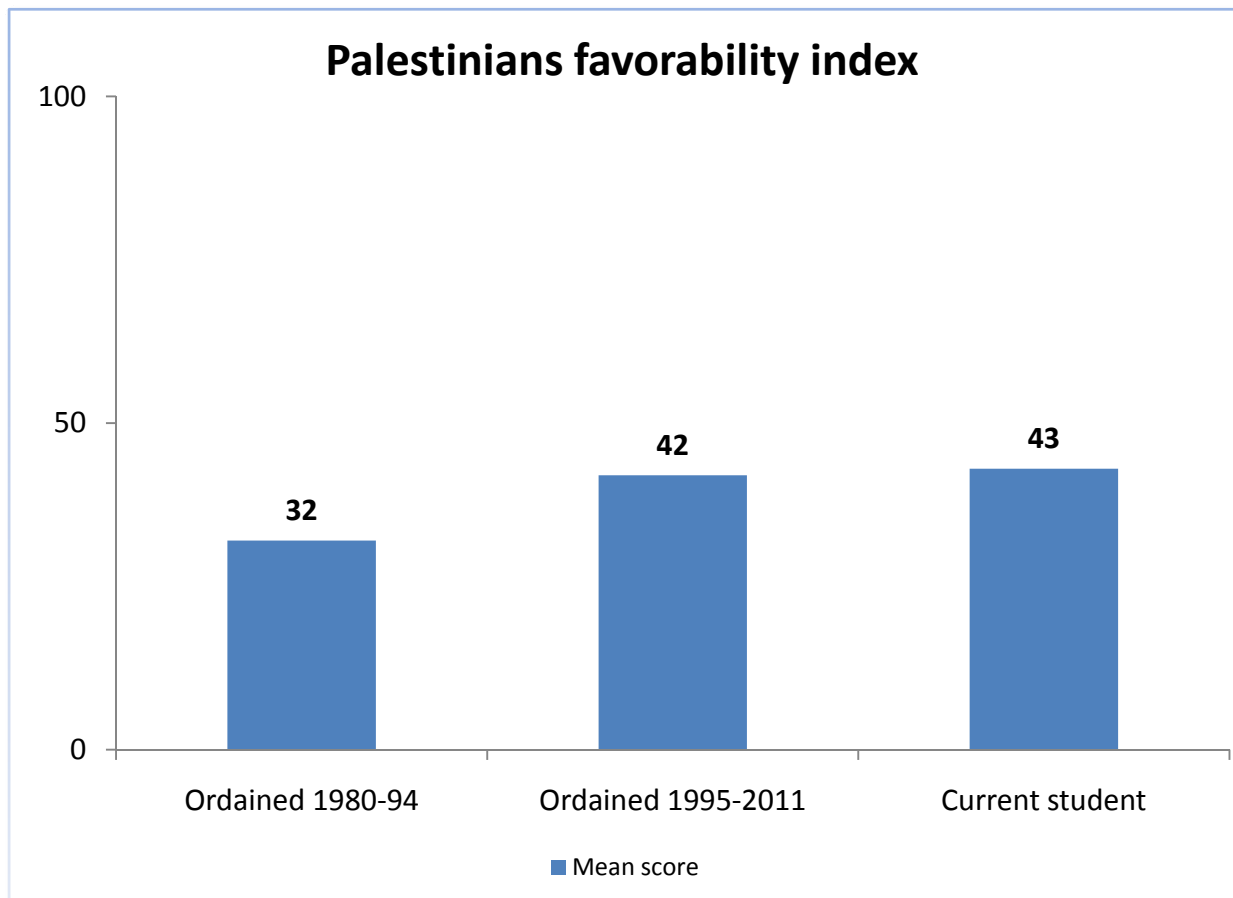
Growth in Positive Views of the Palestinians

Younger rabbis and students tend to have more positive views of the Palestinians than those rabbis ordained before 1995. Although only a few respondents believe “the Palestinian Authority truly wants peace,” the small numbers do mount among the young cohorts. Similarly, and more pointedly, we see growth over time (from old to young) in the rejection of the idea that, “The Palestinians seek not just the disputed territories, but Israel’s destruction.” While just 15% among the senior rabbis disagree (indicating a favorable view of the Palestinians), over twice as many (36%) of the students disagree. The rejection of the idea that, “Most Palestinian leaders are enemies of Israel,” is indeed lower among the senior rabbis (19%) than the students (27%), but highest among the more recently ordained rabbis (36%). While Gordis wrote about today’s non-Orthodox rabbinical students, “Their universalist worldview does not have a place

for enemies,” the evidence suggests otherwise. Well over a third of the sample (38%) agree with the idea that most Palestinian leaders are enemies of Israel, as do almost as many of the students (35%), a cohort that may well qualify as more “universalist” in Gordis’ terms.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
The Palestinian Authority truly wants peace	Strongly agree/ Agree	6%	8%	12%
The Palestinians seek not just the disputed territories, but Israel’s destruction	Strongly agree/ Agree	51%	36%	30%
Most Palestinian leaders are enemies of Israel	Strongly agree/ Agree	46%	29%	35%
The Palestinians are more to blame than the Israelis for the failure of both sides to reach a peace agreement	Strongly agree/ Agree	79%	56%	44%

We combined several questions in an Index of Palestinian Favorability (with respect to the conflict and peace process). Notably, the older rabbis are the least favorably disposed (mean score of 32 on a scale of 0 to 100), while the younger rabbis and the students (scores of 42 and 43, respectively) are much more inclined to see Palestinians in a favorable light.



Decreasing Comfort with the Idea of a “Jewish State”

While Israel attachment and Peoplehood commitment remain high and constant, the advance of cohorts (from older to younger) is marked by decreasing enthusiasm for “the idea of a ‘Jewish State’ of Israel.” Those rejecting the expression of discomfort with the Jewish State (in other words, those comfortable with the idea of a Jewish State) fall from 86% to 85% to 71%. An inkling of why these numbers are shifting can be found in answers to a highly related question, one which contrasts a “Jewish State” with the idea of Israel as a “state for all its citizens.” The latter phrase has been used by advocates of greater attention to the rights and needs of Arab citizens of Israel, often to the point of advocating the end to any laws that give primacy to the Jewish character of the State. Here, the decline in support for the Jewish State is

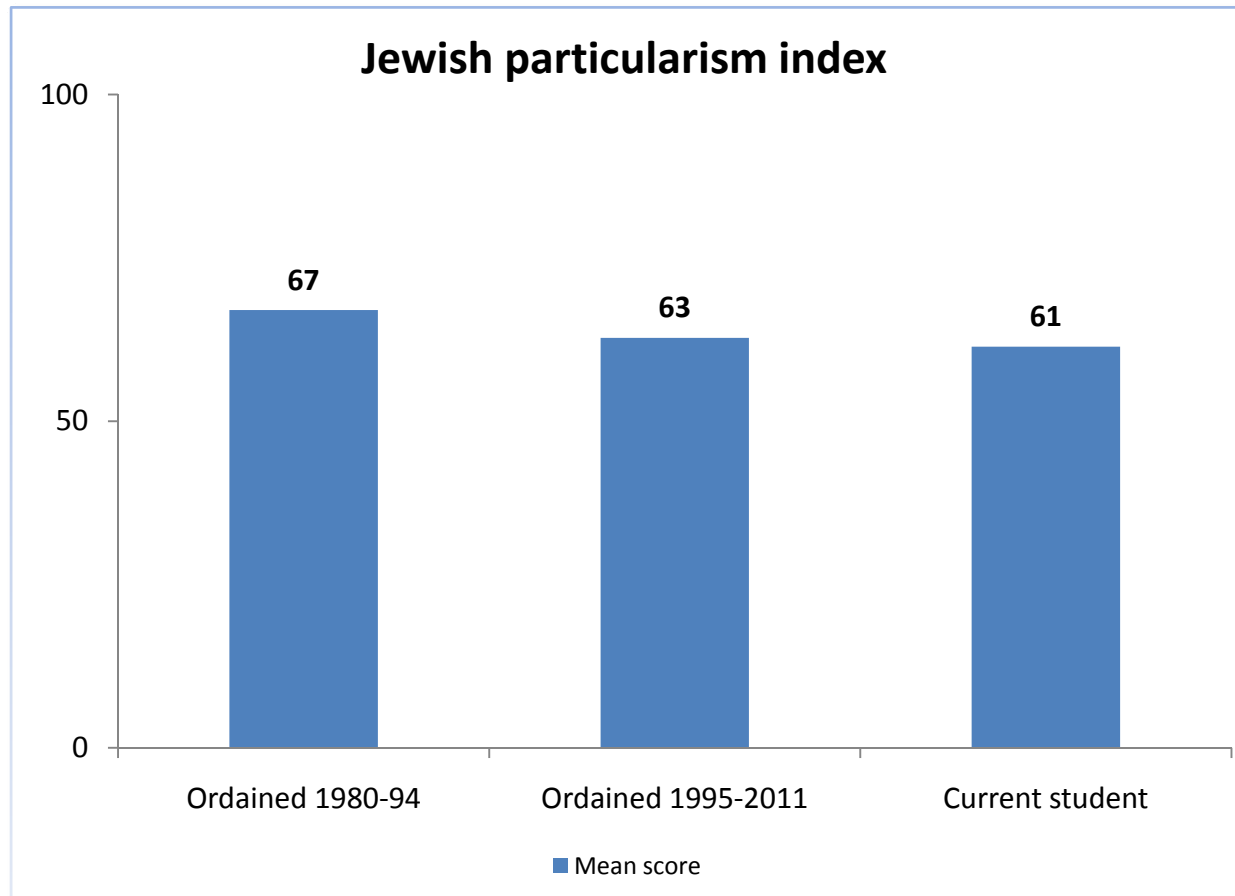
even steeper, falling from 58% among older rabbis, to 42% among younger rabbis, and 37% among the students.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
I'm uncomfortable with the idea of a "Jewish State" of Israel	Strongly agree/ Agree	12%	4%	12%
Israel should be an officially "Jewish State," and not a "state for all its citizens."	Strongly agree/Agree	58%	42%	37%
I feel just as saddened when Palestinians are killed in the conflict as when Jews are killed in the conflict	Strongly agree/ Agree	36%	45%	26%

Interestingly, on a related question, students are not distinguished from ordained rabbis in the extent to which they "feel just as saddened when Palestinians are killed in the conflict as when Jews are killed in the conflict." In fact, of all three groups, students are the *least* likely to concur with this view. Thus, their apparent ambivalence about a Jewish State mounts among the younger cohorts without a commensurate rise in the universalist expression of equal concern for Jewish as for Palestinian life.

We have seen above two shifts in attitude which help explain these inter-cohort differences in comfort with the idea of a Jewish State. One is the rising discomfort among younger cohorts of rabbis and students with Israel's treatment of its Arab citizens and Palestinians in the territories may well offer a better explanation for the increased reservations about the Jewish State. The other is softening of images of Palestinian hostility. A third factor may be related to the increased exposure of younger rabbis and student to Palestinians; as we have seen, they, more than the senior rabbis, have had more experiences with visiting Palestinian communities on both sides of the Green Line. A regression analysis demonstrates that all of the inter-cohort variations in support for a Jewish State are explained by images of the Palestinians and by feelings about their (mis)treatment by Israel. In other words, the decrease in younger cohorts' enthusiasm for the Jewish State is totally a function of their

concerns for the treatment of Palestinians, both within sovereign Israel and in the Occupied Territories.



Selective Growth in Dovish Views among Younger Cohorts

Answers to questions dealing with the 1967 borders, settlements, and the intentions of the Israeli government correlated sufficiently to comprise a single Index of Dovish Policy. Those with dovish inclinations favor return to the 1967 border with land swaps, support freezing the expansion of settlement on the West Bank, and view skeptically the good faith of the Israeli government with respect to the peace process. Hawks, as we may define them, hold the opposite views.

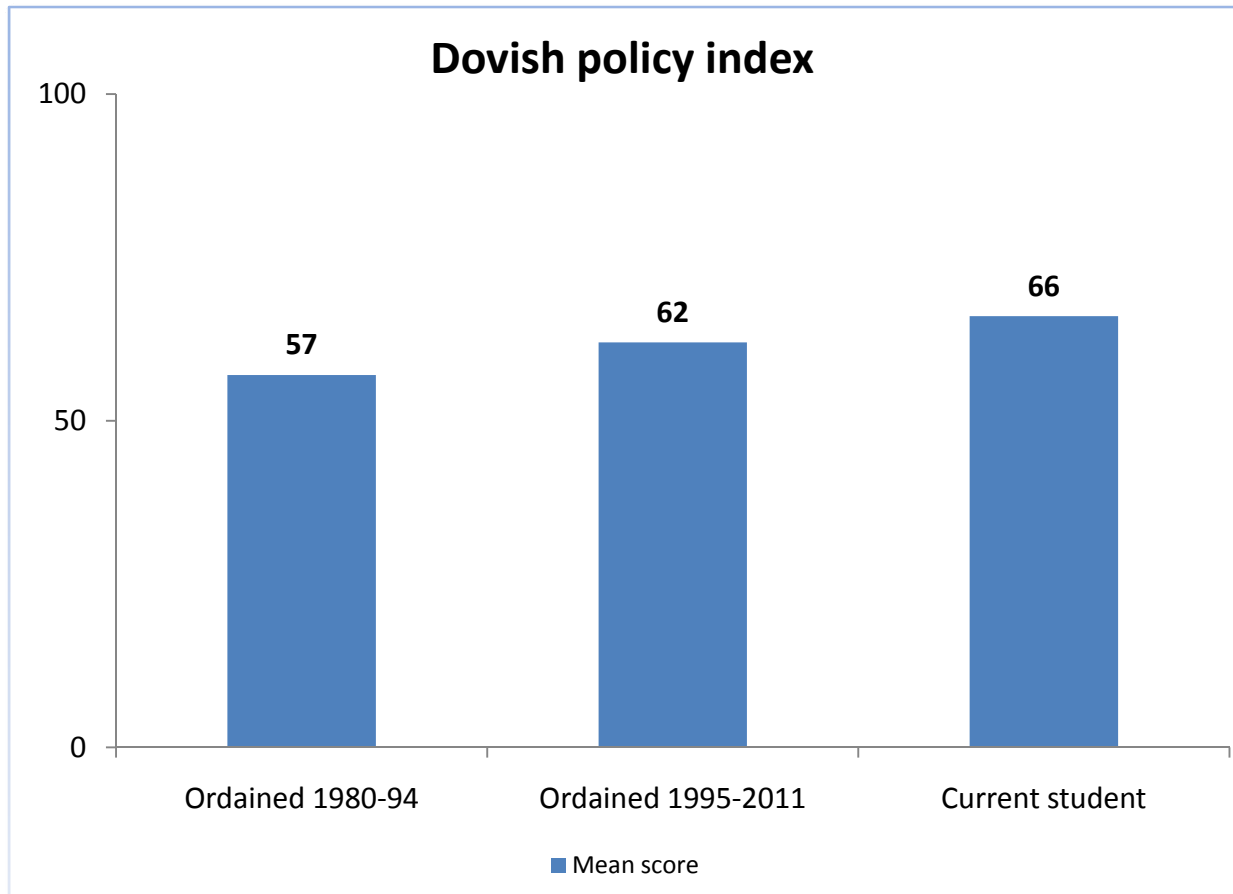
Overall, roughly two thirds of the sample favors the 1967 borders and supports a settlement freeze. Far fewer (about a third) hold skeptical views of the Israeli government's intentions.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
Israel should freeze the expansion of settlements on the West Bank	Strongly agree/ Agree	61%	63%	74%
The current Israeli government truly wants peace	Strongly agree/ Agree	43%	30%	29%
The current Israeli government really wants to prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state in the West Bank & Gaza	Strongly agree/ Agree	34%	35%	53%
Do you generally favor or oppose Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?	Generally favor	70%	76%	63%
Do you generally favor or oppose President Obama's call for negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?	Generally favor	53%	63%	51%

Given all the findings reported above, it's no surprise that the students are the most inclined to support a settlement freeze (74% vs. 61% for the senior rabbis) and the least likely to agree that the Israeli government truly wants peace (35% of the students are skeptics as opposed to 27% of the older rabbis). In fact, far more than ordained rabbis old and young, the students believe that, "The current Israeli government really wants to prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza." As many as 53% of the students agree with this statement; in contrast, just a little more than a third of the rabbis concur.

Support for returning to the 1967 borders with land swaps, though, has no clear relationship with age, with students actually providing less support for territorial withdrawal than ordained rabbis.

Overall, in moving from older to younger rabbis to students, we see a growth in dovish approaches. On the Index of Dovish Policy, older rabbis score a mean of 57 (out of 100), younger rabbis a 62, and the students a 66.



To get another perspective on shifting attitudes toward the conflict, we may focus on those with the most pronounced dovish views (scoring highest on the index graphed above), constituting about one in six of all respondents. The proportion scoring at this high level on the Index of Dovish Policy constitute 14% of the most senior rabbis, 17% of those most recently ordained, and 21% of the students. The growth of doves is quite pronounced; but so too is the decline of so-called hawks. Focusing on an equal slice of those least dovish (or most hawkish) we find as many as 20% of the older rabbis, 16% of their younger colleagues, and under 9% of the students. In short, among today's JTS students, it's lonely to be unattached to Israel, and lonely to maintain hard-line policies.

Political Camp Identity: Movement from Right to Left

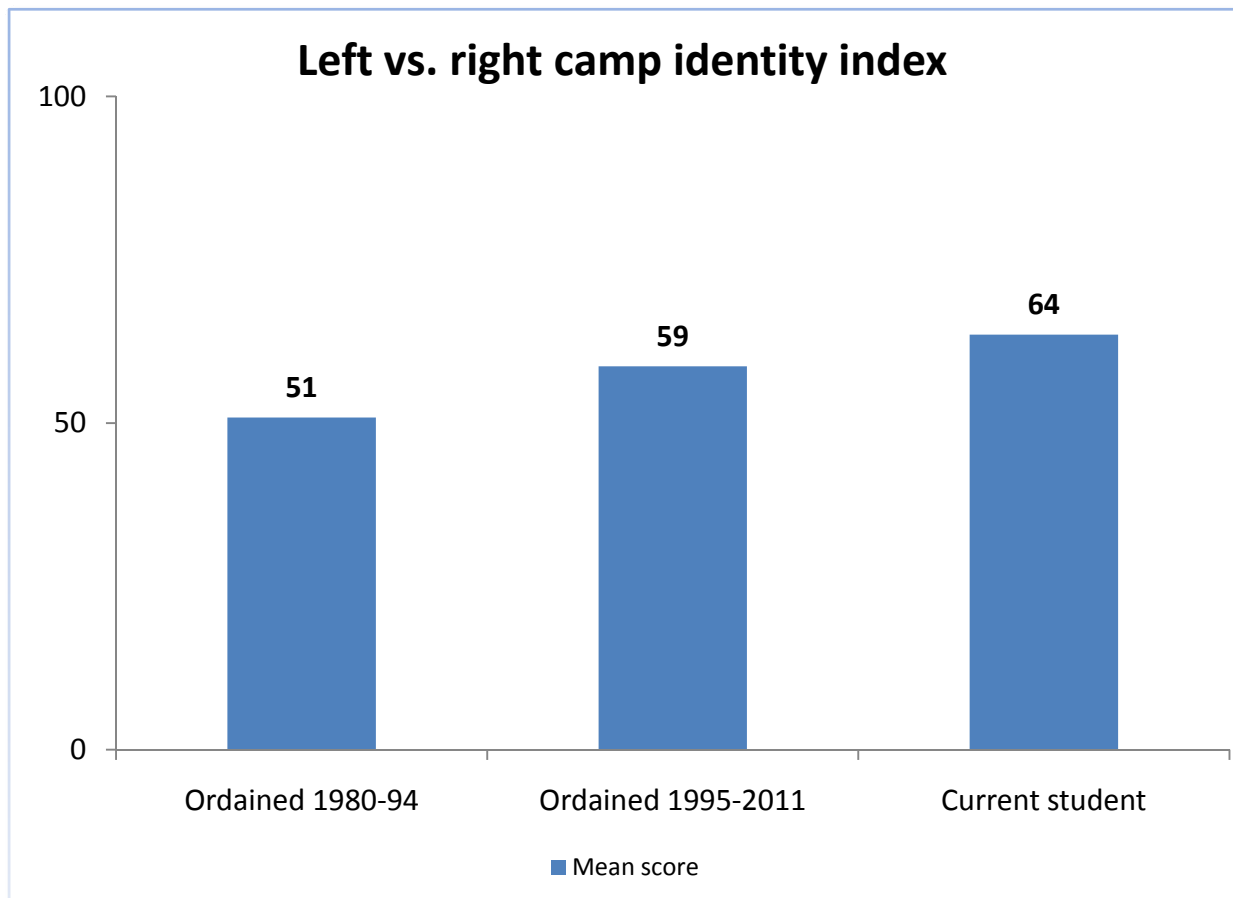
We asked respondents how they felt about a variety of Israel-related groups in North America and Israel, asking whether they have favorable or unfavorable views of each group. The two highest rated groups are the New Israel Fund followed by AIPAC. The most unfavorably rated group is the Israelis settler movement.

		Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
With respect to AIPAC, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	80%	64%	42%
With respect to Stand with Us, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	33%	20%	2%
With respect to the Jewish settler movement, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	11%	8%	6%
With respect to JStreet, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	32%	54%	58%
With respect to Rabbis for Human Rights, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	41%	54%	54%
With respect to the New Israel Fund, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	58%	66%	80%
With respect to Encounter, is your view favorable or unfavorable?	Very/ Somewhat favorable	15%	39%	54%
With respect to the threats to Israel from the Israeli settler movement, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	50%	55%	68%
With respect to the threats to Israel from the Israeli peace movement, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?	Extremely/ Very	18%	14%	8%

Of interest is that reactions to three of the groups – AIPAC, Stand with Us, and the settler movement – were opposite to the others (e.g., NIF, J Street, Rabbis for Human Rights, Encounter, the Israeli peace movement). Those who favor the first group are generally less

inclined toward the latter; and the reverse is true. In fact, the correlations of reactions to these groups are so strong that one may speak of a right-Zionist and left-Zionist camp, albeit to the consternation of many of these groups which prefer to lend claim to a non-political or centrist political image. At least empirically, the liberals among these rabbis and students more often favor groups in the left-Zionist camp and less often favor the three groups in the right-Zionist camp. Of course, the reverse is true for self-described political conservatives and moderates.

In moving from older rabbis to the students, we see marked shifts in their attitudes toward these groups. Quite symbolic and striking are the views toward AIPAC and J Street, emblematic of related contrasts in attitudes between older and younger cohorts. The levels of support (the percent somewhat or very favorable) for AIPAC drop from 80% among the older rabbis, to 64% among younger rabbis, to 42% among the students. In contrast, the comparable support levels for J Street mount from 32% to 54% to 58%, respectively. In other words, among older rabbis, AIPAC strongly out-polls J Street (8% to 32%). Among younger rabbis, the gap narrows with AIPAC still leading (64% to 54%). But among the students, AIPAC falls behind J Street in favorability ratings (42% to 58%). The shift in the images of these two well-known agencies, of course, reflects and resembles other patterns. In moving from older rabbis to students, the right-camp declines in favorability; at the same time, the left-camp groups all gain in favorability.



The shift from right to left in identity, paralleled by shifts on images of the Palestinians and of the Israeli government, and other changes constitute the key to understanding how today's JTS students differ from rabbinical school alumni ordained before 1995. We see no decline in Israel connection, experience or attachment. But we do see movement of the center of gravity from a position slightly to the left of center on the political spectrum to one more firmly situated on the moderate left of the Zionist and Israel continuum.

Doves and Hawks in the Closet

An ongoing theme of the recent sometimes contentious discourse on American Jews and Israel concerns the suppression of views perceived as unpopular or out of the mainstream. In the last few years, members of the Zionist left complain of being excluded from organized community venues. The New Israel Fund has had to contend with a strong (and seemingly

effective) campaign in Israel spearheaded by Im Tirtzu. J Street officials complain that leading community professionals refuse to share platforms with J Street speakers. For his part, Gordis complains of the intimidation of pro-Israel rabbinical student by their anti-Israel peers: "And worse, ... these vocal [anti-Israel rabbinical] students are effectively shutting down serious discourse about Israel."

To what extent do rabbis and students feel compelled to avoid public expression of their genuine views? And, insofar as they do censor themselves, is the phenomenon more frequent on the left or the right? That is, do the pressures and perils associated with "shutting down serious discourse about Israel" send more doves or more hawks into the closet?

To address these questions, we asked:

As compared with your publicly stated positions as a rabbi (rabbinical student), your private views on Israel and its conflict with the Palestinians are generally ...

- More "dovish" than your public positions
- The same as your public positions
- More "hawkish" than your public positions

Fully 72% claimed to express publicly the same positions they hold privately, with 81% of the senior rabbis reporting doing so, and just 66% of their more junior colleagues doing so, owing in part to their concern for job security (perhaps) and in part to their views (perhaps). However, as many as 28% claim to hold private positions on Israel at variance with their public posture, suggesting a significant phenomenon of self-censoring. Of the 29%, 20% are closeted (or semi-closeted) doves, and 8% are repressed hawks.

Conclusion

Several critical findings emerge from this analysis of the three cohorts (rabbis ordained by JTS in 1980-1994, those ordained 1995-2011, and current students). They may be grouped under three rubrics: connection, attachment, and policy views.

With respect to connection, younger cohorts are no less connected to Israel than older cohorts. The students score just as high as the recently ordained (1995-2011) in such areas as following the news about Israel, having studied in Israel, and experience in Israel.

Measures of Israel-related Attitudes for Ordained Rabbis & Students

	Ordained 1980-94	Ordained 1995-2011	Current student
Israel program participation	2.58	2.72	2.84
Places visited in Israel index	50	44	48
Thought about or made Aliyah	70	66	67
Reading news about Israel index	46	46	47
Attachment to Israel index	95	89	88
Jewish people commitment index	98	97	95
Jewish particularism index	67	63	61
Dovish policy index	57	62	66
Palestinians favorability index	32	42	43
Concerned by social justice issues index	69	71	74
Concerned with threats to Israel's security index	83	80	78
Left vs. right camp identity index	51	59	64
Visited Arab areas index	69	74	75

With respect to attachment we find a similar pattern. While the oldest rabbis sometimes and somewhat lead their younger counterparts and the students, any differences are small. In short, we see relative stability with respect to making/thinking about Aliyah,

feelings of attachment to Israel, and commitment to Jewish Peoplehood. Notably, in every cohort, roughly 90% and more define themselves as Zionist, pro-Israel, and Israel-engaged.

Only on policy views do we find noticeable shifts from old to young. In very broad terms, older rabbis lean somewhat to the right, while younger rabbis and students lean to the left (the students even more so). Differences occur across the board in a wide variety of areas that can be seen as helping us understand the critical component attitudes of the pro-Israel right and pro-Israel left. The two camps differ over their view of the Israeli government's intentions and those of the Palestinians; they differ in their sensitivity to external threat to Israel and their concern over societal issues (the right is more worried about security and the left is more worried about social justice); they differ in their stances toward territorial compromise and settlements; they differ with respect to their identification with one or the other political camp, symbolized by the diminishing favorability toward AIPAC and improving view of J Street. And they differ in the degree to which they feel comfortable expressing their views candidly. More doves are in the closet than are hawks.

In short, younger rabbis and students do indeed differ from their elders and predecessors. But the difference is hardly about declining connection or attachment or the emergence of some (or even a few) "anti-Israel" rabbis who manage to squelch free and serious discourse about Israel. Rather, the trends point to the emergence of a "liberal Zionism," one which bears many parallels with that advanced by Labor Zionists of the past, or many of the opposition parties in Israel today. This move may provoke some right-wing Zionists or supporters of the current Israeli government some measure of anxiety. But it does not constitute a turn to the abandonment of Israel – at least not by rabbis trained or now studying at JTS.

Appendix: Components of Indices

Index	Questions
Places visited in Israel index	Have you ever spent a week or more in Tel Aviv
	Have you ever spent a week or more in Haifa
	Have you ever spent a week or more in Beersheba
	Have you ever spent a week or more in a kibbutz
	Have you ever spent a week or more in another place in Israel
	Have you ever visited a Jewish settlement in Judea & Samaria / West Bank
Thought about or made Aliyah index	Have you ever made Aliyah?
	Have you ever given serious thought to making Aliyah?
Reading news about Israel index	In the last month, about how often did you read Haaretz, either in print or on-line?
	In the last month, about how often did you read the Jerusalem Post, either in print or on-line?
	In the last month, about how often did you read Y-Net, either in print or on-line?
	In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related blogs, either in print or on-line?
	In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related postings on Facebook, either in print or on-line?
	In the last month, about how often did you read Israel-related news in mainstream newspapers, either in print or on-line?
Attachment to Israel index	How emotionally attached to Israel are you?
	How often would you say that you feel proud about Israel
	Do you feel Zionist
	Do you feel pro-Israel
	Do you feel Israel-engaged
	Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew
	If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies of my life
Jewish people commitment index	I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish People
	I have a responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world
Jewish particularism index	I'm uncomfortable with the idea of a "Jewish State" of Israel
	Israel should be an officially "Jewish State," and not a "state for all its citizens."

	I feel just as saddened when Palestinians are killed in the conflict as when Jews are killed in the conflict
Dovish policy index	Israel should freeze the expansion of settlements on the West Bank
	The current Israeli government truly wants peace
	The current Israeli government really wants to prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state in the West Bank & Gaza
	Do you generally favor or oppose Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?
	Do you generally favor or oppose President Obama's call for negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?
Palestinians favorability index	The Palestinian Authority truly wants peace
	The Palestinians seek not just the disputed territories, but Israel's destruction
	Most Palestinian leaders are enemies of Israel
	The Palestinians are more to blame than the Israelis for the failure of both sides to reach a peace agreement
Concerned by social justice issues index	With respect to the growing gaps between rich & poor Israelis, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the treatment of Arab citizens of Israel, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the treatment of Palestinians in the territories, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the treatment of women in Israeli society, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the threats to Israeli democracy, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
Concerned with threats to Israel's security index	With respect to the efforts to de-legitimize Israel, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the threats to Israel's physical security, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
Left vs. right camp identity index	With respect to AIPAC, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to Stand with Us, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to the Jewish settler movement, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to JStreet, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to Jewish Voice for Peace, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to Rabbis for Human Rights, is your view favorable or unfavorable?

	With respect to the New Israel Fund, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to Encounter, is your view favorable or unfavorable?
	With respect to the threats to Israel from the Israeli settler movement, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
	With respect to the threats to Israel from the Israeli peace movement, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?
Visited Arab areas index	Have you ever visited a Palestinian town or village in the West Bank
	Have you ever visited an Arab city, town or village in Israel
	Have you ever visited an Arab neighborhood in Israel (e.g., in Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle)

Frequency Distributions for Individual Questions

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1. In the last month, about how often did you read the following, either in print or on-line?

Source	Frequently	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never
Israel-related news in mainstream newspapers	75%	14%	8%	4%
Haaretz	38%	20%	23%	19%
The Jerusalem Post	25%	21%	32%	22%
Israel-related postings on Facebook	29%	18%	14%	39%
Israel-related blogs	19%	20%	27%	34%
Y-Net	13%	16%	28%	42%

2. How many times have you been to Israel?

Answer	%
4 times or more	91%
2-3 times	8%
Once	1%
Never	1%
Total	100%

3. When was your last trip to Israel?

Answer	%
Past year	52%
Two to three years ago	23%
Four to five years	11%
Six to ten years	6%
Ten and twenty years ago	6%
More than twenty years ago	2%
Total	100%

4. What is the longest period of time you have spent in Israel on a single trip?

Answer	%
Less than a month	4%
More than a month but less than two months	4%
Two to four months	4%
Five to six months	4%
Seven to eleven months	37%
A year or more	46%
Total	100%

5. Did you ever study in Israel?

Answer	%
Yes	94%
No	6%
Total	100%

6. Have you ever studied in each of the following programs?

Program	%
JTS rabbinical training	91%
An Israeli university	63%
Other program	35%
The Shalom Hartman Institute	33%
The Conservative Yeshiva	27%
Another yeshiva or other institution of Jewish text study	25%
Pardes Institute	17%
Other "gap year" program or course	14%
Nativ	5%
Otzma	1%

7. Have you ever spent a week or more in each of the following locations in Israel?

Location	
Jerusalem	99%
Another place in Israel	66%
Tel Aviv	59%
A kibbutz	56%
Haifa	24%
Beersheba	15%

8. Have you ever visited each of the following places?

Place	
An Arab neighborhood in Israel (e.g., in Haifa, Jaffa, Ramle)	88%
An Arab city, town or village in Israel	81%
A Jewish settlement in Judea & Samaria / West Bank	79%
Another country in the Middle East, aside from Israel	57%
An Palestinian town or village in the West Bank	52%

9. Have you ever ...

Question	
Participated in a dialogue group with Arabs or Muslims?	72%
Participated in an interfaith program focused on the Middle East?	54%
Participated in a demonstration or rally in Israel?	52%
Made aliyah?	8%
Served in the IDF?	3%

10. Have you ever given serious thought to making Aliyah?

66%

11. During the last year, about how many sermons or divrei Torah have you given?

Number	%
None	5%
One	1%
Two	5%
Three	4%
Four	4%
Five	4%
Six-Nine	12%
Ten or more	65%
Total	100%

12. Of these, for about how many was Israel a main topic or theme?

Answer	%
None	19%
One	13%
Two	7%
Three	11%
Four	7%
Five	11%
Six-Nine	17%
Ten or more	14%
Total	100%

13. How emotionally attached to Israel are you?

Answer	%
Very attached	88%
Somewhat attached	10%
A little attached	2%
Not at all attached	0%
Total	100%

14. Below are different ways people may feel about Israel. In each case, how often would you say that you feel this way about Israel?

Question	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Proud	46%	41%	12%	1%
Ambivalent	6%	22%	38%	34%
Ashamed	0%	9%	44%	47%

15. Below are several ways people who are engaged in Jewish life see themselves. In each case, do you feel this particular description applies to you?

Description	%
Pro-Israel	95%
Israel-engaged	92%
Zionist	91%
Spiritual	86%
Social activist	57%
Artistic	32%

16. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Mixed, not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish People	95%	5%	0%	0%	0%
I have a responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world	82%	16%	1%	1%	0%
Caring about Israel is a very important part of my being a Jew	82%	14%	3%	1%	0%
If Israel were destroyed, I would feel as if I had suffered one of the greatest personal tragedies of my life	82%	11%	5%	1%	1%
Israel's very existence has significantly contributed to the vitality of American Jewry	65%	24%	7%	2%	2%
Of rabbis (or rabbinical students) I know well, the vast majority are unquestionably pro-Israel	43%	41%	11%	4%	1%
Israel should freeze the expansion of settlements on the West Bank	41%	21%	17%	12%	8%
The Palestinians are more to blame than the Israelis for the failure of both sides to reach a peace agreement	29%	35%	18%	14%	4%
Of rabbis (or rabbinical students) I know well, none is vocally anti-Israel	30%	27%	14%	20%	9%
Israel should be an officially "Jewish State," and not a "state for all its citizens."	32%	16%	23%	19%	10%
The Palestinians seek not just the disputed territories, but Israel's destruction	16%	27%	34%	20%	3%
Most Palestinian leaders are enemies of Israel	11%	27%	35%	23%	4%

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Mixed, not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The current Israeli government really wants to prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state in the West Bank & Gaza	10%	27%	35%	22%	6%
AIPAC (the “Israel lobby”) generally represents my views on Israel	16%	28%	22%	20%	14%
The current Israeli government truly wants peace	15%	21%	34%	19%	11%
I feel just as saddened when Palestinians are killed in the conflict as when Jews are killed in the conflict	12%	26%	21%	33%	7%
J Street (the “pro-Israel, pro-peace” group) generally represents my views on Israel	6%	22%	22%	26%	24%
The Palestinian Authority truly wants peace	0%	7%	37%	31%	25%
I’m uncomfortable with the idea of a “Jewish State” of Israel	5%	3%	8%	17%	66%

17. As compared with your publicly stated positions as a rabbi (rabbinical student), your private views on Israel and its conflict with the Palestinians are generally ...

Answer	%
More “dovish” than your public positions	20%
The same as your public positions	72%
More “hawkish” than your public positions	8%
Total	100%

18. How often, if at all, do you avoid expressing your true feelings about Israel for fear of offending your listeners or those around you?

Answer	%
Frequently	11%
Sometimes	31%
Occasionally	28%
Never	30%
Total	100%

19. With respect to each of the following groups, is your view favorable or unfavorable?

Group	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Not sure	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable
New Israel Fund	31%	33%	23%	8%	5%
AIPAC	36%	31%	5%	21%	7%
Encounter	18%	13%	59%	5%	5%
Rabbis for Human Rights	18%	30%	17%	21%	14%
Stand with Us	10%	13%	63%	9%	5%
JStreet	11%	34%	14%	22%	19%
Jewish Voice for Peace	2%	7%	61%	12%	18%
The Jewish settler movement	2%	7%	13%	30%	48%

20. Do you generally favor or oppose ...

Question	Generally favor	Not sure	Generally oppose
Israel treating Masorti, Reform and other streams of Judaism on par with Orthodoxy?	82%	5%	14%
Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?	71%	11%	18%
President Obama's call for negotiations on the basis of the 1967 borders with land swaps?	57%	17%	27%
Completely separating religion and state in Israel, similar to the US approach?	38%	38%	24%
Israel's current approach to religion and state?	4%	13%	82%

21. With respect to the issues below, to what extent are you worried or disturbed?

Issue	Extremely	Very	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Treatment of Masorti & Reform Judaism in Israel	51%	35%	11%	2%	1%
Efforts to de-legitimize Israel	57%	25%	14%	3%	2%
Threats to Israel's physical security	48%	29%	19%	3%	1%
Threats to Israeli democracy	39%	36%	15%	7%	3%
Growing gaps between rich & poor Israelis	32%	38%	26%	3%	1%
Treatment of Arab citizens of Israel	23%	42%	25%	9%	1%
Treatment of women in Israeli society	26%	35%	27%	9%	2%
Treatment of Palestinians in the territories	23%	33%	30%	11%	4%
Threats to Israel from the Israeli settler movement	26%	28%	24%	15%	6%
Threats to Israel from the Israeli peace movement	7%	8%	18%	20%	46%

22. Jewish Background:

Question	Yes
During college, did you regularly participate in any Jewish organizations?	85%
Did you ever attend Ramah, as a camper or staff?	78%
Are you in regular contact with any friends living in Israel?	77%
Did you ever participate in USY	57%
Did you ever attend another Jewish overnight camp, as a camper or staff?	53%
Did you ever participate in another Jewish youth group?	48%
Are you in regular contact with any family members living in Israel?	47%
Did you attend another Jewish day school for 4 years or more?	27%
During high school, did you attend Jewish day school for 2 years or more?	22%
Did you ever attend a Schechter Day School for 4 years or more?	16%
Are you a citizen of Israel?	8%

23. You are:

Gender	%
Male	75%
Female	25%
Total	100%

24. What year were you born?

Mean	1966
Year	%
1933	0%
1938	0%
1943	0%
1945	1%
1946	1%
1947	0%
1948	1%
1949	0%
1950	1%
1951	1%
1952	2%
1953	4%
1954	3%
1955	4%
1956	4%
1957	4%
1958	4%
1959	3%
1960	3%

1961	3%
1962	1%
1963	3%
1964	3%
1965	2%
1966	2%
1967	2%
1968	3%
1969	2%
1970	3%
1971	2%
1972	2%
1973	4%
1974	3%
1975	3%
1976	3%
1977	4%
1978	1%
1979	2%
1980	2%
1981	4%
1982	2%
1983	1%
1984	3%
1985	1%
1986	1%

1987	1%
Total	100%

25. Are you currently married?

85%

26. Do you have any children living with you?

67%

27. In what country do you live?

Country	%
US	92%
Canada	3%
Israel	3%
Other	1%
Total	100%

29. In general, would you describe your political views as:

Answer	%
Very liberal	12%
Liberal	46%
Moderate	34%
Conservative	8%
Very conservative	0%
Total	100%

30. You are (check one) ...

Answer	%
An ordained rabbi, working as a rabbi or in Jewish communal life in some capacity	80%
A JTS rabbinical student	14%
An ordained rabbi, not working as a rabbi or in Jewish communal	5%
An ordained rabbi, who is retired	1%
None of the above	0%
Total	100%

31. In what year were you ordained / do you expect to be ordained?

Year	1998 %
1980	4%
1981	2%
1982	5%
1983	3%
1984	2%
1985	3%
1986	1%
1987	3%
1988	2%
1989	3%
1990	3%
1991	4%
1992	3%
1993	2%
1994	1%
1995	2%
1996	4%

1997	1%
1998	1%
1999	4%
2000	2%
2001	3%
2002	4%
2003	2%
2004	3%
2005	2%
2006	2%
2007	2%
2008	3%
2009	5%
2010	4%
2012	5%
2013	4%
2014	3%
2015	2%
Total	100%

32. On average, about how many hours per week do you spend on professional duties as a rabbi?

Hours	%
Under 20 hours	6%
20-29 hours	4%
30-39 hours	8%
40-49 hours	17%
50-59 hours	27%
60-69 hours	19%
70+ hours	19%
Total	100%

33. Which of the following best describes the setting in which you are now working?

Setting	%
A congregation as the senior or solo rabbi	52%
A congregation, in another capacity (not senior or solo rabbi)	12%
Other	9%
A center, agency or project for a special purpose	8%
A day school	6%
University	6%
Chaplaincy	4%
A Hillel	3%
A JCC	0%
A Federation	0%
Total	100%

34. About how many family units belong to your congregation?

Units	%
Under 200	18%
200-300	12%
300-400	12%
400-500	15%
500-749	17%
750-999	13%
1000+	12%
Total	100%