SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPATION, LIFE SATISFACTION, AND VALUES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

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DENNIS ROY FOX

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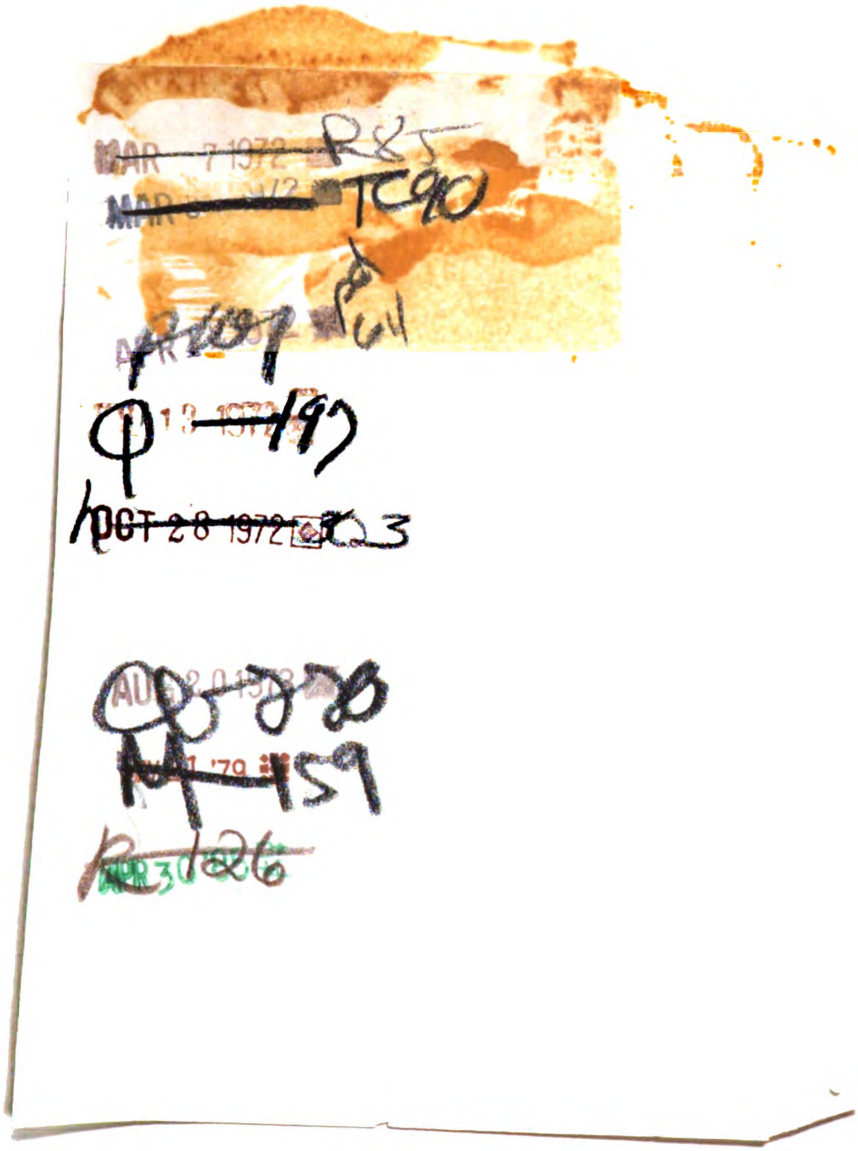

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPATION, LIFE SATISFACTION, AND VALUES

By

Dennis Roy Fox

Amidst a multitude of social movements and social movement theories, one outstanding fact is the lack of an adequate, empirically-based theory of movement participation. Possible motivations behind commitment to movements have been discussed for decades, but research designed to test the plethora of theories has been fragmentary at best. Even what is perhaps the most widespread, "self-evident" assumption--that individuals who participate in social movements are trying to change dissatisfying life situations--has not been rigorously put to the test.

The present investigation sought to fill that gap. An attempt was made to determine if a dissatisfying life situation--manifested in avowed unhappiness, in low self-esteem, in a high degree of alienation, or in the possession of nonnormative value orientations--was

characteristic of participants in a particular social movement, and, also, to determine if these same variables separated movement members who were committed to different aspects of the movement.

A questionnaire was distributed by mail or by hand to 1076 individuals:

(a) Three hundred sixty-three members of Hamagshimim of Hashachar, a college-age Zionist youth movement whose members are at various stages of commitment to the ideology of aliya (immigration to Israel) and garin (establishment of a new communal settlement);

(b) Four hundred thirty-eight individuals who had spent a summer in Israel; and

(c) Three hundred Jewish students at Brooklyn College.

The questionnaire measured:

(a) satisfaction (based primarily upon a variation of Kilpatrick and Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale);

(b) self-esteem (based upon a combination of Sherwood's and Pervin and Lilly's Self-Concept Scales;

(c) alienation (the scales of Dean, Middleton, and Nettler); and

(d) values (Rokeach's Terminal Values Scale).

Four hundred thirty-four questionnaires--about 40% of each group of subjects--were returned in enclosed return envelopes, of which 415 were usable.

The main findings and conclusions were:

(a) Participants in the Zionist youth movement did not significantly differ from the nonparticipants in their levels of satisfaction, self-esteem, and alienation, although those differences that were obtained tended to indicate a greater level of satisfaction, and a lower level of alienation, among the movement members (except for a possibly greater level of cultural alienation). This would seem to indicate that theories based upon the hypothesized dissatisfaction of social movement participants are in need of revision.

(b) Movement participants did significantly differ from nonparticipants in their value orientations, most notably by deemphasizing the importance of a comfortable life and pleasure, and by emphasizing the importance of a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, mature love, and family security. Such differences seemingly indicate the necessity of a participation theory taking into account the individual's value orientation.

(c) Movement participants who were also members of a subgroup planning to establish a new kibbutz in Israel differed from those movement members planning

migration to Israel as individuals by being more alienated in all areas, and by emphasizing the importance of the values of inner harmony, happiness, and self-respect, and deemphasizing mature love and family security. No satisfaction or self-esteem differences were evident. It appears, thus, that variables relevant to the individual's level of commitment are not the same variables that are relevant to the mere fact of participation or nonparticipation.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT PARTICIPATION, LIFE SATISFACTION, AND VALUES

By

DENNIS ROY FOX

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Thanks. I couldn't have done it alone.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1947, Anselm Strauss decried the lack of an adequate analysis of collective behavior. Since that time--and especially in the last decade--there has been a revived interest in the study of social movements, although now, as in the past, a disproportionate emphasis is being placed upon the study of the stages of movement development, the type of leadership, and similar topics, to the relative exclusion of the psychological processes involved in an individual's acceptance of commitment to a movement. Very little, in fact, has been added to the concepts presented by Hadley Cantril (1941) three decades ago. As recently as 1970, Muzafer Sherif noted the importance of social movement investigations for a "relevant" social psychology.

It was the purpose of the present research to investigate several factors hypothesized as being characteristic of social movement participants and, further, to determine if the same factors vary with the degree of commitment to a movement. The movement organization studied was Hamagshimim of Hashachar, a college-age Zionist youth

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movement whose members are committed, to one degree or another, to migration to Israel, either as individuals or as members of a group seeking to establish a new kibbutz (collective settlement).

Individual Differences in Social Movement Participation

Many writers have sought to account for the fact that, in general, social movements do not attract extremely large percentages of the "target" population, and that those who do participate differ in the degree of commitment they accept. Fishman and Solomon (1964) and Lipset (1970) noted, for example, that the large majority of American college students took no part in the campus unrest seemingly so prevalent in the sixties. The differential success of movements among people in similar circumstances has, of course, stimulated a plethora of theories, which, unfortunately, are generally poorly substantiated and sometimes contradictory.

Individual differences in movement participation have been ascribed to many factors. Many investigators have seen the explanation as involving family background, education, religion, peer groups, and similar socio-demographic, "external" factors. Others have developed hypotheses concerning membership as a response to general frustration, to alienation and a desire for meaning in life, and to basic personality differences. Some fewer

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writers have looked for the cause in value differences or in other rational ideological sources, while several writers, of course, have indicated that "mixed motivations" are likely to be common (see Gusfield, 1970; Heberle, 1951; Kotler, 1971). Hypotheses have also been proposed concerning the "dogmatic style" that has often been seen to a consequence of belonging. Despite the abundant theory, however, few empirical data have been forthcoming, except for recent studies concerning student activists.

Background factors. Family background factors have often been considered to be of great importance in providing a "potential universe" of participation-prone individuals (see, for example, Lang & Lang, 1963). One such factor is birth order, the importance of which was discussed in relation to personality development by Adler in 1938. Adler noted the relatively greater "devotion to authority" of first-born children.

In line with Schachter's (1959) work on affiliation, several investigators have found that first-born and only children seem to have a greater need for affiliation in general, especially in anxiety-provoking situations (see Warren, 1966, and Wrightsman, 1968), and MacDonald (1971) found that only children and first-borns were more "socially responsible" than were later-borns. In the political sphere, Vetter (1930) noted an over-representation of children without siblings among "reactionaries" and

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"radicals," and of youngest children among "conservatives." More recently, Solomon and Fishman (1964) discovered that 45% of the demonstrators at a 1962 peace demonstration were first-borns, and only 15% last-borns. On the other side of the political spectrum, Schiff (1964) found that all but one of his "totalistic" converts to conservative activism were only or first-born children.

Relations with parents have been discussed by several investigators concerned with social movement participation or political behavior. While some writers have viewed "radicalism" as a protest against parental authority (such as Allport, 1929; Jones, 1941; and, more recently, Altbach, 1967), common in recent years has been the view that advocating extreme, activist positions is more a "rebellion" in which a youth seeks not so much to assert his independence, but, on the contrary, to carry out more fully than ever those values verbally expressed by the parents. This has been hypothesized as occurring among student activists on the right (Schiff, 1964) as well as on the left (Fishman & Solomon, 1964; Keniston, 1967; Solomon & Fishman, 1964; Trent, 1970) (although Schiff, 1964, did note that the "obedient rebellion" may involve hostility; the right-activists he studied may have been expressing hostility toward their parents by over-conforming to views the parents ostensibly supported but actually rejected). Flacks (1970) and Lipset (1970) both

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noted that students generally hold views similar to their parents, while good relations between activists and their families were also found by Solomon and Fishman (1964) and Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969).

Additional background factors of possible relevance to movement membership have, of course, been proposed. Perhaps two of the more important are religion and geographic mobility. While more than half the peace demonstrators studied by Solomon and Fishman (1964) claimed they had no present religious affiliation, there is some evidence that growing up in an "observant" atmosphere is conducive to later membership in movements; Almond (1954), for example, found that more than half of his American Communist Party subjects came from "observant" homes, and similar results were presented for immigrants to Israel by Infield (1955), Isaacs (1967), and the Israel Institute (1970).

Lipset (1970) suggested that the geographic mobility of college students is conducive to conversion to a movement. A similar phenomenon is the finding of Almond (1954), Infield (1955), and the Israel Institute (1970) that members of social movements tend to have foreign-born parents to a greater extent than do nonparticipants. Flacks (1967) noted a tendency among more recent student protestors to have immigrant grandparents.

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Joining and remaining in groups for the express purpose of associating with others has been suggested in analyses of groups in general (Homans, 1950; Schachter, 1959) and of social movements in particular (Cameron, 1966; Kotler, 1971). Many theorists have discussed the role of intramovement friendships in creating loyalty to various movements (see, for example, Blumer, 1951; Fishman & Solomon, 1964; Gusfield, 1970; and Lang & Lang, 1963), and the few available empirical data support the view that members are greatly influenced by other members (Herman, 1949; Solomon & Fishman, 1964).

Dissatisfaction. Cantril (1941) went beyond family and peer-group influences to emphasize the fact that a person's behavior is motivated by ego drives to obtain both satisfaction and self-respect. He discussed several sources of discontent between the individual and his social world as being causative factors in seeking solutions to personal problems in social movement participation.

Cantril's (1941) emphasis on the role of need, of frustration, in joining was soon echoed by many. Thus, Maier (1942) sought to explain social movements in terms of "common needs" expressed in individual patterns, and Edwards (1944) discussed support of, and opposition to, social movements in terms of frustration-relief and -arousal. Hoffer (1951) actually attempted to completely rule out the role of ideology and values in movement

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acceptance by postulating the "true believer," the member who seeks to change the world--through any movement at all--solely in order to end personal frustrations.

The role of inner needs and frustrations in movement participation has also been discussed, to varying degrees, by Cameron (1966), Fishman and Solomon (1964), Gusfield (1970), Hartley and Hartley (1952), Heberle (1951), Killian (1964), King (1956), Lang and Lang (1963), Lipset (1970), Lofland and Stark (1965), McCormack (1951), McLaughlin (1969), Toch (1955, 1965), Turner and Killian (1957), and Wallace (1965)--in fact, by most theorists concerned with social movements. Yet, in many cases, little was done with the concept of the importance of personal needs other than to say that it was a "factor" to be kept in mind, and it was often implied that "societal conditions" were of more immediate significance (this was explicitly stated by Heberle, 1951; see, also, Neal, 1970).

Killian (1964) wrote that the psychological analysis of social movements is largely unprovable in that it tends to oversimplify motives for joining, and it disregards the developmental aspects of the movement (its structure, etc.). Earlier, Turner and Killian (1957) concluded that the "tension" theory (that movements relieve tension built up by unsatisfied needs and frustrations) was undemonstrated. This, apparently, was the case, if

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Barber (1941) demonstrated that the occurrence of primitive messianic movements was positively correlated with widespread deprivation; he noted, however, that the messianic movement was only one of several possible responses to such deprivation, such as armed rebellion, depopulation, and so on. More recently, Morrison (1971) concerned himself with the role of relative, rather than absolute, deprivation in power-oriented (not participation-oriented) movements.

Koestler (1949), discussing those who join the Communist Party, noted that "personal case histories" determined who would become ripe for conversion, and Almond (1954) found that more than half his sample (comprising individuals who defected from Communism) saw "the Party" as a means of solving some of their personal problems, such as impulses to deviate, to reject parental and religious patterns, etc.; 58% of the American respondents joined partly for what Almond termed "neurotic" needs, and 70% included "self-oriented interests" among their motivations. Schiff (1964) likewise found that the "New Conservative" program was one that satisfied the needs of his late-adolescent converts.

The role of general frustration merges, of course, with the role of specific needs, of anxiety and alienation,

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of a "desire for meaning" in movement membership. Schachter (1959) and Wrightsman (1960, 1968) concluded that anxiety was a factor in eliciting a desire to be with others (although Sarnoff & Zimbardo, 1961, found this to be the case for fear, not for anxiety). Thus, Cartwright and Zander (1968) predicted that groups in general should be especially prevalent among people characterized by high anxiety, and Lang and Lang (1963) specifically noted that "mass movements" offer a "protecting microcosm" against overwhelming anxiety. However, Rokeach and Kemp (1960) found Communists to be low in measured anxiety, and Trent and Craise (1967) found no difference in manifest anxiety between Berkeley Free Speech Movement members and the general student population; Trent (1970) did report that Free Speech Movement members who were arrested scored higher on anxiety than did nonmembers.

Alienation. In the realm of alienation, Almond (1954) noted that "alienative feelings" resulting from early deprivation may contribute to susceptibility to Communism if other aspects of life (such as an individual's knowledge and values) are "ripe." Meier (1965) found that white civil-rights activists were split into two groups--those alienated from American society (such as "beatniks," "radicals," pacifists, etc.) and those who weren't alienated but who were attached to American values and ideals. Fishman and Solomon (1964) pointed out that many youths

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alienated from school, jobs, and other aspects of society would strongly dedicate themselves to work in a social movement. Activists scored higher on Srole's Anomie Scale than did nonactivists in the study by Watts et al. (1969) and on Dean's Alienation Scale in a study by Sheehan (1971).

Similar to the hypothesized alienation of movement participants, Fishman and Solomon (1964) concluded that there is evidence of an "intense nostalgia" (among student activists) for simple cultural roots and traditions--a "search for the romanticized past" no matter how intense the revolution's desire to destroy the more recent past. They give as an example the biblical roots to which European Zionist youth looked, roots "which antedated the degradation, vulnerability and dependency of the ghetto" (p. 4).

Matza (1964) felt that student radicalism involved the populist belief in the creativity and superiority of the ordinary, uneducated, unintellectual people. Similarly, the "little Utopias" in Japan were seen by Plath (1968) to have been a reaction to modernization and to the consequent disruption of simple community life; the small communities were designed to "personalize" life, to make life less formal and removed from the individual. Infield (1955), speaking of members of cooperative communities throughout the world, noted that "they feel that in the world of today they are in fact exiles 'who have not built yet their homeland'" (p. 5).

All this would seem to support the view that membership in a social movement may be most important in giving the individual something to "belong" to when he is alienated from the outer society--the movement may help him by "submerging him into the crowd" and by giving him a feeling that he is a member of something "larger than himself." Indeed, Abel (1938) reported that membership in the Nazi Gemeinschaft gave life a "new meaning" to many who had lost hope and a sense of purpose, and Cantril (1941) came to the same conclusion in discussing the Nazis as well as followers of the Townsend Plan, the Oxford Group, and the Kingdom of Father Divine. Joining, emphasized Cantril, enhanced the self by giving the individual a reason to live. Fromm's (1941) concept of an "escape from freedom" is apparently similar, in that seeking to escape the powerlessness and insecurity of isolation can often lead to meaning-giving group memberships.

Looking at participation in movements as a method of enhancing identity by answering the question "Who am I?" has been suggested by many additional writers. Heberle (1949, 1957) emphasized the devotion of individuals to activist movements which "claim the entire man," and Hoffer (1951) noted that fanatics must have causes that offer "rebirth" and pride and a sense of belonging. King (1956), Turner and Killian (1957), Schein (1961), Vander Zanden (1963), Schiff (1964), Matza (1964), Fishman and Solomon

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(1964), Coles (1964), Meier (1965), Toch (1965), Cameron (1966), and Kotler (1971) all discussed various aspects of membership as a search for meaning, while Cartwright and Zander (1968) discussed groups in general as ending uncertainty concerning the validity of beliefs and values. Festinger, Pepitone, and Newcomb (1957) noted that "being submerged in the group" is a basic need satisfied by general membership. It appears, thus, that the possibility of obtaining meaning in groups is not limited to social movements.

Personality. Even ignoring the possibility of membership in movements as a response to general psychological discontent, or as a search for meaning and belonging on the part of the alienated, the possibility arises, of course, that differential participation in social movements is a result of the possession of specific personality patterns (Heberle, 1951; Smelser, 1963). Cantril (1941) noted that, despite sociological determinants, the individual is important as a selective agent; his temperament, his ways of expressing himself, his intellectual capacities, claimed Cantril, are of great importance in determining whether he accepts society's norms or rejects them and joins a social movement. Several writers, however, have emphasized the inadequacy of an approach based solely on personality differences. Smelser (1963) claimed that the relevant psychological variables

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depend on social conditions and determinants, and Lang and Lang (1963) and Fishman and Solomon (1964) noted that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between personality and "followership" behavior.

Fishman and Solomon (1964) pointed out that adolescent needs for recognition and exhibition can be met in movement demonstrations, chants, uniforms, etc., and, also, that a dependence-independence continuum may be at work in distinguishing between conservatism and liberalism. Schiff (1964) found conservative activists scoring high on ego control and repression, and Evans and Alexander (1970) presented similar results for black activists. Lang and Lang (1963) similarly suggested that motive patterns of high ego-defenders may be of some importance in collective behavior, although the findings of Bay (1967) and Kerpelman (1969) differed over radical-conservative differences on ego defensiveness. High authoritarianism (but not ethnocentrism) was found by Schiff (1964) to be common among activist conservatives, and Lang and Lang (1963) discussed ego-defensive authoritarianism, both of the right and of the left. Snell, Wakefield, and Shonts (1970), however, found no F-Scale differences between peace demonstrators and a matched sample.

Before the notion that "rational" reasons exist for social movement participation can be examined, it becomes necessary to investigate the evidence concerning the mental

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health of movement members. McCormack (1951) noted that early studies considered "radicalism" to be an example of deviant behavior, while later studies found social movement members to be no different from--and, even, "superior" to--the general population in regard to various personality characteristics. However, in a recent panel discussion at the 26th International Psycho-Analytical Convention, the participants could not come to a consensus concerning the relative "mental health" or "pathology" of protestors (Mitscherlich, 1970).

Martin (1923) compared the "crowd mind" to individual paranoia, complete with delusions of grandeur and persecution, and Rinaldo (1921) felt that the drive to reform society was a frustrated sexual need producing hysteria in the individual. Allport and Hartman (1925) found politically extreme behavior to be motivated by non-rational, repressed, emotional behavior rather than by reason, and Lasswell (1930) sought the causes of political behavior in unresolved, infancy-originated conflicts. More recently, Smelser (1963) has seen collective behavior as the action of the "impatient," while Heberle (1951) noted that, especially in the early stages of a movement, a large proportion of neurotic and paranoid individuals are often present. (Perhaps in a similar vein is Fishman & Solomon's, 1964, note that during times of social protest

both the crime rate and referrals to psychiatrists decrease, indicating to them that prosocial action consonant with beliefs may reduce the need for acting out more socially-destructive or self-destructive patterns. However, an alternative explanation may be found in the similar finding of Luetgert, Roth, and Jacobs, 1971, that students in psychotherapy were more idealistic and more optimistic about the possibility of constructive social change resulting from protests. Luetgert et al. suggested that the same underlying value system may be responsible for expectations regarding change in the individual and change in society.)

Heberle (1951) noted that advocating impractical "crackpot" ideas does not necessarily mean that a person is neurotic, and Vetter (1930) and Krout and Stagner (1939) found no evidence for "abnormality" among radicals. Kerpelman (1969), similarly, found activists to be no different from nonactivists, and leftists no different from rightists, on an emotional stability scale.

The beliefs that to be "neurotic" in a deformed society and that to desire "utopian" solutions to problems is honorable, and in fact, healthy and rational, was expressed by Koestler (1949). Indeed, Flugel (1945) concluded that left-oriented attitudes were a healthy adjustment and a step toward a "mature personality."

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More recently, Baird (1968), Bay (1967), Keniston (1967), Kirtley and Harkless (1970), Lessing and Zagorin (1969), and Trent (1970) all presented evidence that activists are equal to, or superior to, nonactivists in terms of leadership, autonomy, flexibility, creativity, intelligence, "critical thinking ability," and general mental health. Kirtley and Harkless (1970) concluded that the public stereotype linking student political activity to maladjustment was more appropriate to politically passive students, and Currie and Skolnick (1970), criticizing theories of collective behavior based on Nineteenth Century "antidemocratic" theorists, noted the rationality often present even in non-movement-oriented collective action such as riots.

Values. Hartley and Hartley (1952) gave, as one answer to the question, "Why join groups?" the answer of most social movement participants: to achieve the stated goals of the group. Several others have pointed out that, to one degree or another, "ideological" or "value" differences are of some importance. Thus, while Solomon and Fishman (1964) found that most peace demonstrators they studied did not have a broad and firm political ideology, Heberle (1968) maintained that mass adherence to a social movement "is gained by rational reaction to economic or other social conditions" rather than, predominantly, to psychological maladjustments (p. 441). Bittner (1963)

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similarly considered "radicalism" to be the organized response of a group to its environment. In a like manner, Toch (1965) distinguished between belief-centered and instrumental motives for joining a movement, and Bay (1967), Cameron (1966), Chin (1964), Lipset (1970), and Turner and Killian (1957) considered idealistic, rational bases for joining to be of some importance in social movements. Zald and Ash (1966), in fact, saw as the main difference between "movement organizations" and "nonmovement organizations" the fact that, in a movement, purposive or value-fulfillment incentives predominate.

McCormack (1951) noted that even though radicalism may represent a protest against established values, it is also a positive identification with other values. In a similar vein, Meier (1965) pointed out that some of the demonstrators he studied were not alienated but were motivated by religious principles to strive toward "American ideals," and Plath (1968) discussed the Japanese utopian communities as an attempt to maintain important cultural values. Although Cantril (1941) thought most movements sought only to change specific norms, Altbach (1967) concluded that most student movements were value-oriented, seeking basic societal changes.

Little has been done, however, to determine actual value differences between movement members and nonmembers. Rokeach (1968) suggested that Socialists, Communists,

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Fascists and Rightist Republicans differed on their relative evaluation of "freedom" and "equality," and Heberle (1951) found that a "social" attitude predominated among adherents of small sectarian movements--but that "political" attitudes were more characteristic of party leaders and active movement participants.

Parrott (1970) presented evidence that individuals participating in a "Moratorium" peace march ranked the values A World at Peace higher, and National Security lower, than did nonmarchers. Similarly, Cross, Doost, and Tracy (1970), also using Rokeach's (1968) Value Survey, compared 21 "hippies" with college students. They found that the hippies ranked more important the terminal values Inner Harmony, Wisdom, A World at Peace, Equality, and A World of Beauty, while they deemphasized the importance of Self-Respect, A Sense of Accomplishment, and National Security. In the area of instrumental values, the hippies stressed Honest and Forgiving as opposed to values such as Responsible and Logical.

Consequences. When discussion revolves about the causes and the consequences of belonging to a movement rather than about the correlates of membership, it is often difficult to separate the cause from the effect. It may be reasonable to suppose that family background factors are "causative" in nature. When it comes to personality factors or value differences, however, assigning causality

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to the specific trait rather than to the movement may be unjustified, although, in most of the work cited above, the psychological factors were seen as causing the individual to join a movement. There are many theorists who have, in addition, discussed what they indicated to be the effects of membership, although, again, these "consequences" may in fact be causal in nature.

Cameron (1966) noted that the effects of membership in the movement on an individual's outside activities vary. For one thing, a person's mobility is affected if he is to take part in movement activities, and this, in addition to his mere act of joining, may affect his interpersonal relations. Membership, noted Cameron (1966), may facilitate the friendly reactions of a few, but it may arouse suspicions in the reactions of many, and the member may find himself isolated from nonmembers.

This hampering of relations with nonmembers may contribute to most of the other hypothesized consequences of membership, discussed most fully by Toch (1965). Toch noted, first of all, that membership in a movement involves a sacrifice of autonomy and of privacy; he added that

> Most members . . . either feel that the sacrifice involved in commitment is worth it, or else they don't experience it as a sacrifice. They want to make the commitments demanded by their goals. Where this desire is not a factor in joining, it tends to develop during membership (p. 135).

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Abel (1938) noted that the Nazis placed "the common good before personal advancement," and Fishman and Solomon (1964) also discussed acts of self-sacrifice among student activists.

The readiness to give up something "for the sake of the movement" may add to the feeling of moral superiority seen among those who engage in what they consider to be "ideological" rather than "market" politics (see Matza, 1964, and Solomon & Fishman, 1964). Hoffer (1951) noted that "true believers" consider anyone without a cause to be "without a backbone"; only a readiness to die indicates, according to the believer, a lack of inner decay. Fishman and Solomon (1964) also noted the disdain of youth activists for unaffiliated youth.

Much work has been done on the role of group membership in general in creating conformity among members. Sherif (1936) pointed out the group's "leveling effect" and Cantril (1941), Infield (1955), Schachter (1959), Lang and Lang (1963), and Newcomb, Turner, and Converse (1965) similarly discussed conformity of behavior or attitude as a consequence of group membership. Kiesler, Nisbett, and Zanna (1969) found that when an individual performs behavior consonant with his beliefs in the company of truer believers than himself, he may become more entrenched in his belief than before, and Backman, Secord, and Peirce (1963) found that the greater the number of

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Several writers have pointed out that much the same processes work in social movements as in other groups. Toch (1965) hypothesized that members of movements, who have similar concerns and who share the same authorities, tend to become like-minded, and Schein (1961), Fishman and Solomon (1964), and McLaughlin (1969) similarly discussed a "pressure for conformity," a "passion for unanimity of belief" in social movements.

In relation to group conformity, Cartwright and Zander (1968) noted that groups construct a single view of the world to validate individual beliefs. This leads, seemingly, to the much-discussed "closedness of mind" or dogmatism of "true believers" (Hoffer, 1951). Koestler (1949) wrote that "all true faith is uncompromising, radical, purist" (p. 181), and both Simmons (1964) and Lofland and Stark (1965) discussed "belief-systems" or "ordered views of the world" involved in sects.

Toch (1965) also emphasized the "closed systems" demanded by ideological commitment after the individual undergoes "psychological reorganization" and comes to "see things as they really are" (p. 125). The group member was seen by Toch as undergoing a progression from first commitment to dogmatism, a progression that allows the movement

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and the ideology to "explain" the world as it is. Rokeach (1960) noted that a closed system defends against anxiety and a dread of the future; in fact, Rokeach and Bonier (1960) felt that a "closed system" involved a future orientation, and they discussed such an orientation in "ideological movements." Hoffer (1951) had earlier noted that the movement member "lives for the future."

Le Bon (1896) much earlier discussed the adherence of crowds to "fictions," and Martin (1923) noted that a "closed system of ideas" is often substituted for the facts of experience. This increasing dogmatic insistence on the movement "line" has also been assumed by Bittner (1963), Cantril (1941), Fishman and Solomon (1964), and Turner and Killian (1957). Most social movements, noted Cameron (1966), seek to instill conviction, not objectivity.

Closely related to a dogmatic world-view is the process of selective perception. That group situations can alter an individual's perceptions was discussed by Sherif (1936). Toch (1965) hypothesized that, once a belief is adopted, it becomes a vested interest that is actively defended by perceptual and cognitive mechanisms which seek to make the world correspond to the individual's conception of it, rather than the reverse. Toch discussed both an extreme "denial of facts" and a more routine "processing" of facts, exaggerating the importance or prevalence of certain events and minimizing the extent of

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others. Bittner (1963) also discussed this process of "interpreting reality," and Simmons (1964) noted that when confirming evidence for a particular belief is sought, it is usually found, since most situations are ambiguous enough to be interpreted as "confirming evidence."

Despite the abundant theory relating dogmatism, selective perception, and so on to membership in social movements, little empirical support for the theory is available. Rokeach and Kemp (1960) did find English Communists higher on dogmatism than were non-Communists. However, Baird (1968) and Keniston (1967) concluded that student activists were not more dogmatic than were non-activists, and Watts and Whittaker (1966) and Trent (1970) found Berkeley activists to be more "flexible" than were nonactivists. Kirtley and Harkless (1970) presented similar data for a different sample. (It may be relevant that, in 1925, Moore found a greater readiness to break old habits on a mirror-drawing task among "radicals" than among "conservatives.")

Contradictions. Most of the factors suggested as being operative in movement participation have not as yet been adequately examined, and, in general, the evidence that is available has not shed a great deal of light on the subject. This may be a result of proposing factors for "movements in general" rather than for specific types of movements. It may be too much to expect that the same

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processes are at work in mass revolutions, in small utopian communities, and in sects predicting the end of the world.

The contradictions may be resolved once the approach is changed to one that seeks different motivations in different movements--and in different individuals. Perhaps Hoffer's (1951) "true believer" may, indeed, be unconcerned with the specific movement of which he is a part, while other "believers" may have quite specific needs that can be met only in quite specific movements. And, perhaps, there is a true believer, one who bases his participation upon rationally-derived values rather than upon a reaction to inner frustrations.

Zionism as a Social Movement

History. When it comes to defining "Zionism," or to classifying it as one of several "types" of movements, some difficulties arise. The American College Dictionary (1966) defines Zionism as a "modern plan or movement to colonize Hebrews in Palestine" (p. 1419), while Lang and Lang (1963) wrote that Zionism "aimed at the re-establishment of a homeland for Jews in Palestine" (p. 490). Sherrow and Ritterband (1970) defined commitment to Zionist ideology as "agreement with an analysis of Judaism and the Jewish people which concludes that Israel is the proper or preferred place of settlement of Jews" (p. 216).

Peres (1963) thought that Zionism, rather than being just one of many migratory movements, was essentially

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a revolutionary movement rejecting the basis of existence of Jewish society in the Diaspora (areas of Jewish dispersion outside Israel). Hoffer (1951) pointed out that "Zionism is a nationalist movement and a social revolution. To the orthodox Jew it is also a religious movement" (p. 27). While Cameron (1966) noted only the religious origins of the movement, Shuval (1963) discussed the mixed nature of Zionism's religious and political elements, depending on the geographical location of the Zionist. The questions "What is Zionism?" and "Who is a Zionist?" cannot be easily answered, and, in fact, are being hotly discussed among Zionists today (Leuchter, 1970), just as they were throughout the past century (Hertzberg, 1960).

Migration to Israel is considered by many to be more than a mere change of residence. As Shuval (1963) noted (p. 46):

> . . . the immigrant movement to Israel is qualitatively different from immigrant movements to other countries. The basic difference has to do with the ideology of the Zionist movement and its system of values which has traditionally emphasized the dominance of collective rather than individual goals. Whereas immigrants to Australia or Canada are generally most concerned with personal economic gain and security, the Zionist immigrant to Israel is ideally normatively oriented to the economic and social advancement of the country and only secondarily to his own welfare. A possible disparity between ideal and actual acceptance of the norms should, of course, be borne in mind.

Among others, Sherrow and Ritterband (1970) recently presented similar views.

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Thus, the immigrant to Israel is, theoretically at least, a Zionist, part of a social movement viewing immigration in the framework of a total ideology, even if he is not a dues-paying member of one of the Zionist movement organizations. In fact, the Hebrew word for an immigrant to Israel is oleh, meaning "one who ascends"--one who "goes up" to Israel and seeks the establishment of a Jewish mode of existence (see Isaacs, 1967, and Sherrow & Ritterband, 1970).

The early Zionist expectation of a mass desertion of the Diaspora has not, of course, been fulfilled. Most Jews--and, what is more relevant, masses of individuals who consider themselves Zionists--continue to live in their countries of birth, especially in those countries (such as the United States) where the Jews have attained relative economic and social security. Sherman (1963) noted that, among American Jews, there is no compulsion for aliya (immigration to Israel), as there was among the Jews fleeing Russian and Arab pogroms and German concentration camps, and that those who do migrate are moved solely by ideological factors. Whether, indeed, the cause is ideology or any of the other causes operative in social movements, most Jews are not affected, and most Zionists never go to Israel for more than a visit. This has necessitated adjustments in Zionist thought, especially among non-Israeli Zionists.

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Silverberg (1970), as many others before him, noted that "bureaucracies do not of their own volition wither away, and by 1949 American Zionism had created an immense bureaucratic structure that sprawled over a host of organizations" (p. 447). American Zionism was in the institutionalized "end stage" of the movement life span discussed by many writers (see, for example, Wallace, 1956). The fact that Israel was established, that immigration restrictions were removed, and that the new country was fighting for its very existence made it difficult for American Zionists to justify their remaining in the United States without shifting their aims; Zionism's goal became to assist Israel rather than to create it or take a first-person role in fighting for its survival, to raise money for the immigrants who "needed" Israel in order to escape persecution. And although aliya has increased significantly since the 1967 war (Silverberg, 1970), it has long been a firmly established assumption, in the official American Zionist adult world, that "Zionism without (migration to) Israel" is not only the necessary, but the desired, state of affairs (Neufeld, 1963).

Youthful Zionists often reject what they consider to be the hypocrisy of their elders. In interpreting Zionism after Israel was established, and especially in the past few years, many members of the Zionist youth movement organizations sought to make aliya the primary goal

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of Zionism. There is at present much disenchantment among the young when they confront the Zionist "establishment," and nonaffiliated groups such as the Jewish Liberation Project and the Radical Zionist Alliance have arisen to call for Zionism to once again become the "national liberation movement of the Jewish people." Even within the adult-sponsored youth movements, however, aliya has become of greater importance, and a growing hostility between the youth (in the "movement") and their elders (in the "organizations") is becoming evident (Jacobson, 1970).

Silverberg (1970) reported that one-fifth of the American settlers in Israel, who were largely of urban origin, were either on a kibbutz or in some other agricultural settlement. Neufeld (1963) pointed out that the kibbutz-oriented Zionist youth movements were sending many more immigrants to Israel than were the more general movements. The appeal of kibbutz for American immigrants remains despite the fact that the Israeli kibbutz population is only a fraction of the total Israeli population, and that the status of the kibbutz member in Israeli society is dropping (Samuel, 1969).

Gide (1930) and Infield (1955) placed the kibbutz movement in the long historical tradition of utopian communities throughout the world, and Darin-Drabkin (1963) discussed the kibbutz attempt to contribute "micro-sociologically" in creating a new society, much as the

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Japanese "little utopias" (Plath, 1968) and as withdrawal sects in general (Gusfield, 1970). Pointing out that kibbutzim originally formed because of a need to develop an adequate means of agriculture in the swamps of Palestine, Darin-Drabkin (1963) noted that the "social experimentation" nature of kibbutz--and its elevation to the status of a primary Zionist goal--developed later, although the early pioneers were strongly influenced by the Russian socialist movement they had just left.

Motivations. When one investigates the motivations behind participation in today's American Zionist movement--and more particularly among those who migrate to Israel--much the same factors as have been noted for social movements in general can be discussed. As for movements in general, evidence is available in several areas but sparse in most.

In the area of personal background factors, Infield (1955) found that 27 of his 30 subjects (who were all planning to go on aliya to a kibbutz) had two foreign-born parents, thus supporting the notion of the importance of mobility; the Israel Institute (1970) presented similar data for immigrants in general. Also in accordance with hypotheses developed in other contexts, Infield (1955) and the Israel Institute (1970) found evidence of good relations between immigrants and their parents, although

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Samuel (1969) noted that most parents who allow or encourage their children to join Zionist groups do so only because of the benefits expected in belonging to a "Jewish" group--the parents usually do not approve of the desire to migrate. (Perhaps there is operating in the motivation for aliya, then, something akin to the "obedient rebellion" discussed by Schiff, 1964--perhaps the act of migrating to Israel is a means of showing hostility to the parents by doing a supposedly acceptable thing which the parents do not really desire.)

Infield (1955), Isaacs (1967), the Israel Institute (1970), and Engel (1971) all provided evidence of a religious family background on the part of immigrants (although Neufeld, 1963, assumed the opposite), and Herman (1949, 1962) emphasized the importance of peer group influences both in becoming a Zionist and in deciding to live in Israel. Herman (1949), in fact, noted that an expectation was built up in the movement that immigration was the "proper thing" to do; the most decisive influence on the decision to migrate, reported the respondents, was the example of leaders and friends who also migrated.

The whole thrust toward looking for psychological factors in membership has been relatively neglected in terms of Zionism, although Isaacs (1967) did find, in interviewing Americans in Israel, that many of the reasons given for immigration had to do with individual personal

problems rather than with the acceptance of Zionist ideology or of Jewish values. Engel (1971) noted the prevailing "myth" that immigrants who return to the United States are actually motivated by personal problems or by economic factors--"bad" reasons--while those who remain in Israel are there for "good" Jewish or ideological reasons.

What has been emphasized by several investigators is the role that alienation from American society and a "search for meaning" are assumed to play in aliya. Hoffer (1951) noted that the modern Jew, with the end of his group-dependent existence, became a ready convert for movements, and he suggested that Zionism was available to "enfold" the Jews, to end individual isolation. Halpern (1956) made much the same point when he noted that Zionism gives meaning to many American Jews who are not attracted by the religious aspects of Jewish life.

Isaacs (1967) found that many immigrants to Israel were looking for a life with more meaning; the feeling that they were "building the Jewish State" gave a higher purpose to life, and the feeling that "this is mine" represented a sense of belonging. Many who migrated immediately after World War II went to aid in the armed struggle, to help bring in illegal immigrants from Europe, to settle the desert--they went, in short, during the "time for heroes." Perhaps individuals seeking to regain the feeling of accomplishing something worthwhile may still find a possible

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haven in Israel, especially when they do not "feel at home" in the United States (as reported by the Israel Institute, 1970, and Herman, 1962). The Institute also pointed out that the immigrants who were most integrated into Israeli society were the ones who were at the extreme in feeling detached from American society. It should be noted that the Israel Institute (1970) found that the immigrants were not alienated in their work, family, or social relations.

The motivations for going to kibbutz in particular have also been considered to some degree. Darin-Drabkin (1963) discussed the attractions of kibbutz for those seeking to simplify and personalize their lives; he felt that the early Jewish pioneers from Russia were attracted to Tolstoy's ideas of the virtues of simple village life, as exemplified by A. D. Gordon and other proponents of near-ascetic Zionist lives.

In terms of specific traits, Shuval (1963) found that an active-passive dimension was not relevant to Zionist-inspired career choices among non-American immigrants, but she did find that optimists were more likely than were pessimists to choose kibbutz as the proper place for their sons. Darin-Drabkin (1963) noted that early kibbutz members had a sense of moral superiority toward nonmembers, since they were the leaders in the movement aimed at equality and social justice as well as being the vanguard of the desert-conquering pioneers. A feeling in

much of Zionist thought that Jews who do not go on aliya are somehow failing in their Juadism was pointed out by Silverberg (1970).

Religious reasons, of course, are commonly given as explanations of migration to Israel, and so are Zionist, value-based factors (Engel, 1971; Isaacs, 1967; Israel Institute, 1970; and Neufeld, 1963), although Sherrow and Ritterband (1970) presented evidence (against both views) in favor of an ethnic identification factor felt to be most important. Herman (1949) found that those individuals who were training to become kibbutz members were more likely to feel the interdependency of Jewish fate--to feel that all Jews form a single "people" rather than a religious group--than were nonimmigrants; he also found that future immigrants "enjoyed being Jewish," and were more proud of their identity than were nonimmigrants.

In regard to the "consequences" of movement participation, Infield (1955) noted the conformity of members of kibbutz-oriented groups, part of the "we-feeling" created. A possible selective perception effect at work among European Zionist immigrants in the years immediately after the founding of the state was discussed by Shuval (1963), in terms of perceptions of the immigrant's conditions.

It appears, thus, that although the factors involved in becoming a Zionist and in going on aliya have

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not been adequately investigated, some do stand out. Immigrants appear to be under an "East European influence" (Israel Institute, 1970)--to have religious parents or grandparents who migrated from Eastern Europe to the United States. This migration may help create a marginal status in American society, a status that may contribute to feelings of alienation, feelings that lead to the acceptance of the view that Israel is the place where meaning in life can be found--especially when close friends have already made a similar decision. Immigrants tend to verbalize support of the Zionist doctrines of the unity of the Jewish people, of the importance of the "ingathering of the exiles," and of pride in being Jewish. Of course, the direction of causality between alienation, movement participation, and acceptance of Zionist ideology remains difficult to determine.

Hypotheses

The role of dissatisfaction. Heberle (1951) and Gusfield (1970) discussed the complex sources of motivation involved in membership in social movements, and Herman (1949), Isaacs (1967), and Engel (1971) noted much the same thing for American immigrants to Israel. Various background factors, personality variables, value orientations, and cognitive styles undoubtedly play differing roles, in different movements, for different individuals. What seems

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to run through most discussions of these factors, however, is the assumption that the particular factor being discussed contributes in some way to the dissatisfaction of the individuals concerned, and that this dissatisfaction results in the desire to change the status quo, a desire which is met by participating in a social movement. The difficulty involved in specifying specific variables at work in movement participation is rendered more understandable when it is realized that even the assumed personal dissatisfaction of members is usually taken to be true by definition (Blumer, 1951; Toch, 1965) rather than as something to be discovered through empirical investigation. Whether members of movements are, indeed, less satisfied with their lives than are nonmembers remains, after decades of discussion, a fairly open question.

Causality. It is suggested here that the search for specific variables at work across all movements is likely to remain fruitless. It seems reasonable to suppose that a general chain of causality does indeed exist. For example, background factors may determine personality variables which may, in turn, create the value orientations important in the development of alienation or dissatisfaction, and this dissatisfaction may result in the desire for change necessary for membership. However, there seems to be little basis for assuming that each element in the causal chain is of equal importance in different

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movements, or even for different individuals in the same movement. Sometimes, in fact, the direction of causality may in part be reversed, thus making more complex the differentiation of "dependent" and "independent" variables.

What does appear to remain constant is that, in one way or another, members of social movements remain members because they are dissatisfied people--this, at least, has been the implicit assumption in much of the theoretical work done in the past. However, only once it is demonstrated that members of movements are less satisfied than are nonmembers will it make sense to seek the reasons that some dissatisfied people are members of movements while others are not. If it should be demonstrated that members of social movements are not dissatisfied relative to nonmembers, much of the theoretical basis of the "explanation" of movement participation will have to be altered.

Components of dissatisfaction. Robinson and Shaver (1969) discussed "unhappiness" as being one component of alienation from the social system, and they noted a "moderate correlation" between the two. Conversely, alienation--defined by Waisanen (1963) as a "discrepant condition between the goals and attitudes of the self and the goals and norms of a particular social system, as perceived by the person" (p. 3)--may be seen as a causative agent in the development of unhappiness. In

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either case, it appears likely that both unhappiness and alienation may be factors in movement participation. Indeed, the studies discussed above provided some evidence in support of the view of greater alienation among members.

It should be noted that the alienation conceived of here includes less of the aspect of powerlessness, normlessness, and meaninglessness (which may be more relevant to an "uncommitted" type of alienation--Keniston, 1965) and more of the aspect of "cultural alienation." In fact, there is some evidence indicating that black civil rights activists see themselves as less powerless to change society than do nonactivists (Gore & Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965), which would indicate lesser alienation on the "powerlessness" level. Middleton (1963) demonstrated that the aspect of alienation he termed cultural estrangement was not highly related to the other aspects he measured.

There is, of course, much more involved in life dissatisfaction than alienation. One possible source of such dissatisfaction would be low self-esteem, a low correspondence between an individual's view of himself and his view of what he would like to be. Wilson (1967), after reviewing the literature concerning "avowed happiness," concluded that self-ratings on the happiness dimension were positively related to self-esteem, and Robinson and Shaver (1969) repeatedly referred to positive correlations often found between low life satisfaction, low self-esteem,

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alienation, and extreme political beliefs. Similarly, Sheehan (1971) included the elements of alienation, low self-esteem, and rejection of societal values in his definition of the "student activist."

Flacks (1970) noted that the "values," as well as the "character structures," of youth are at variance with those of the dominant culture. Such a discrepancy between the values held by an individual and those held to be normative by the larger society could be a further source of dissatisfaction closely resembling alienation, as defined by Waisanen (1963).

Although holding nonnormative values of any type at all may lead to dissatisfaction and to movement participation, specific movements may attract individuals whose "value discrepancies" are in the direction advocated by, or recognized in, the movement. Thus, an individual with a strong desire to "serve humanity" is unlikely to join a small withdrawal sect predicting the end of the world. It is assumed here that someone with a strong, particular value (seen here as telic, or means-ends preferences, rather than as ethical, good-evil viewpoints--Robinson and Shaver, 1969) will be somewhat dissatisfied if he cannot live in a manner consonant with that value.

Commitment. Given that a person is dissatisfied in one way or another, and is looking for a way to change the status quo (either his own or society's), there are

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several possible courses of action--and here the degree of dissatisfaction is seen as less important than the type. The final decision as to whether an individual will drop out of society altogether, or take part in a movement for social change--and the decision as to how involved the individual will become--may be determined by a combination of personal value orientation, specific self-ideal discrepancies, type of alienation, and so on, as well as the element of chance association with members of particular movements. Stanage (1970) noted the importance of determining the type or level of commitment of an individual, and he discussed differences among consentive, intendive, and active commitments to social action.

Zionism. In the case of the specific movement studied here, an individual may join the Zionist movement for various reasons--desires to meet other young people, to follow in the footsteps of a relative, to gain a feeling of "belongingness," or, occasionally, to take part in something "Jewish." Regardless of the original reason, however, the act of remaining in the movement for many years and eventually deciding to go on aliya to Israel is taken here to be a probable indication of some type of life dissatisfaction. Whether the dissatisfaction is present at the moment of first participation, or whether (as is entirely possible) the participation itself causes a

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later dissatisfaction, is of only slight importance in the eventual decision to go to Israel.

The dissatisfaction involved in the Zionist movement may take the form of alienation from American culture; it may be simply an awareness that the values of the movement cannot be fulfilled outside Israel; it may be the threatened loss of valued friendships should membership be terminated; it may even be something completely unrelated to the movement. In any case, aliya can be seen as promising both to end present dissatisfactions and to continue in the future whatever satisfactions are found within the movement. As noted above, the view that immigration to Israel may be related to "troubled lives" or alienation was supported by the studies of Isaacs (1967) and the Israel Institute (1970), although Engel (1971) and others considered ideological factors to be the prime motivator.

Kibbutz. Once an individual has decided to go to Israel, several factors may be involved in the further decision to go to kibbutz. For one thing, it may be reasonable to expect that, given two immigrants equally dissatisfied with the larger American culture, the one who is more dissatisfied on other levels as well will be more likely to go to kibbutz; this greater dissatisfaction, for example, may be in the area of social alienation, or in the traditional "uncommitted" type of alienation

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involving a feeling of powerlessness. Secondly, the desire to become part of a small community based upon equalitarian principles may be seen to involve a decision based on values that are nonnormative both in America and (to a lesser degree) in Israel, such as a low economic concern, a high interest in equality, an emphasis on being part of a new way of life, and so on. Without the specific Zionist motivation, the same individuals might join a commune in the United States.

It may be possible to consider the psychology of migration to Israel as that which is involved in migration in general, and to see an interest in an Israeli kibbutz as part of a general interest in living communally. However, on an ideological level at least, this is not the expressed viewpoint of most of the participants, and the specific relationship between these variables remains unknown.

Specific hypotheses. The hypotheses tested in the present research were the following:

(a) Members of a social movement (in this case, a Zionist youth movement organization--see Zald & Ash, 1966, for terminology) are less satisfied with at least some portion of their lives than are nonmembers. On the average, thus, members should be found to consider themselves less happy; to be more alienated (especially on a cultural level); to have a lower level of self-esteem; and to be

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less normative in their value orientations than should non-members. These differences should separate both official "members" from nonmembers, as well as separating those who verbally identify with the movement (regardless of membership) from those who do not;

(b) Individuals who vary in commitment to the ideology of the movement--whether dues-paying members or nonmember "followers"--should vary in a manner similar to the member-nonmember relation. That is, Zionist "believers" and those planning to migrate to Israel should be less satisfied, more alienated, and so on, than should non-believers and those not planning to live in Israel, and individuals going to kibbutz should be less satisfied than should individuals planning to live in Israel but not on kibbutz; and

(c) An interest in migration in general and in living communally should be positively related to the propensity to go on aliya and to go to kibbutz, and those interested in communalism or in migration in general should be less satisfied (again, in all the areas of dissatisfaction) than those not so inclined.

Dependence of variables. As noted above, studies such as the present one, which are both exploratory and correlational in nature, cannot assign causality to any specific variable. The decision in the present study to term the movement-oriented variables "independent" and the

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satisfaction-related variables "dependent" was fairly arbitrary, and was not meant to imply a causal flow of events.

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METHOD

The Movement

The movement selected for study was the Zionist youth movement in the United States, which is composed of more than a dozen national movement organizations and many more local ones. The specific organization studied was Hamagshimim, the college-age level of Hashachar (formerly Young Judaea and Junior Hadassah). This group was selected in large part because the investigator is a member of the movement and thought he could obtain the cooperation of the other participants.[1]

Unlike the chalutzic ("pioneering") Zionist youth groups, which have traditionally sought to have their young members commit themselves to living in Israel, hopefully in a kibbutz, Hashachar ("the Dawn"), the largest of the Zionist youth movement organizations, has traditionally been a "general" youth group which sought to have its members spend a year in Israel before attending college, and only afterwards "consider" the possibility of aliya.

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[1]The investigator's membership in Hamagshimim and in its garin raises the possibility of biased observations, which should, of course, be kept in mind throughout the study.

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This was in line with the views of Hashachar's adult sponsors, Hadassah and the Zionist Organization of America (since 1967, Hadassah has been the sole sponsor). In the past few years, however, several changes have taken place. In 1967, Hamagshimim ("the Fulfillers"), the college-age branch of the movement, was formed. Under the influence of these older members, and, even more important, under the influence of the 1967 war, the entire movement of Hashachar became more aliya-oriented and, also, more kibbutz-oriented. Although the movement ideology still emphasizes the importance of attracting new members, of Jewish education, and so on, personal aliya has taken on greater importance, and it is common for the older members, at least, to look with disdain upon members, and especially leaders, who do not go on aliya. However, aliya is far from being a stated requirement for group membership, and enough remains in the ideology in addition to aliya to keep the interest of those Zionists not planning to live in Israel.

At the present, Hamagshimim has approximately 390 dues-paying members throughout the United States (dues are two dollars annually). The sexes are about equally represented, and most members are college students. The movement has been hampered by the lack of continuity between high school membership in Young Judaea (numbering in

the thousands) and college membership in Hamagshimim. Various explanations are offered for this within the movement itself.

Many college students who grew up in the high school level of the movement are currently attending universities in Israel, and many others join already-existing campus-based Zionist groups rather than organizing new Hamagshimim groups. Still other members, apparently, just lose interest, either because they have no desire to join any group at all, or because they have decided they no longer need the movement, having already made up their minds about aliya. Some drop out when their friends do. Consequently, while many members have been in the movement for more than ten years, others are new to the movement, having just joined in college.

Although it has a national mazkirut (executive board) elected annually, which puts out a newsletter and other programming materials and organizes national affairs, Hamagshimim operates primarily as a loose organization of campus groups, mainly at colleges where few additional Zionist or Jewish groups are found and where one or more Young Judaean graduates are interested in forming a group. Among the activities carried on by Hamagshimim groups are lectures and discussions about Israeli social, political, and religious affairs, Hebrew classes, Israeli dancing, discussions about aliya, and so on. Opposition to Arab

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and New Left viewpoints and to persecution of Soviet Jewry are also common. Some members on campuses where Hamagshimim does not exist join whatever Jewish or Zionist groups do exist, and try to implement movement ideology within the existing groups.

Aside from local campus activities, Hamagshimim has two national conventions a year in the New York area. The movement organizes a semester of studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, as well as several summer programs in Israel. Many of the members also serve as leaders of Young Judaea groups throughout the year, and as counselors at Young Judaea camps in the summer.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of Hamagshimim in relation to aliya is the presence of a garin ("nucleus"), a group of people who plan to migrate to Israel together in order to form a new kibbutz (see Etzioni, 1959). At the time of the present study, Garin Hashachar had approximately 45 members and 10 candidates for membership. The members, half of whom were in college, ranged in age from 18 to 25, and included two married and three engaged couples. Approximately 10 of the members were in Israel at the time.

The garin is composed largely of graduates of the high school level of the movement who spent up to a year in Israel after high school. The garin members are planning to establish a new kibbutz, after first spending either one

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or two years (depending on the arrival date in Israel of either September, 1971, or September, 1972) on an established kibbutz or in the Israeli army. The group leaving September, 1971, is joining Nachal, a section of the army in which the group will remain together, study Hebrew, and spend much of the time on a kibbutz, in addition to undergoing basic and advanced military training. Most of those going later will go through basic training only, and both parts of the group together will form the new settlement in late 1973.

In addition to a largely agricultural focus, the garin hopes to have among its members individuals working in their professions, and hopes, also, to develop some form of Jewish cultural life for both its religious and nonreligious members (which would be a new development for Israel). Additional goals include serving the movement of Hashachar by establishing a "movement base" in Israel and by providing leadership to the younger members, and being physically situated in an area of importance to the state of Israel.

Actually, since Garin Hashachar is the result of a recent merger between two separate garinim (one formed in 1968, the other two years later), each of which considered its membership too small to achieve its aims, and since the two original garinim (plural of garin) differed in the ages, college experience, and movement backgrounds of the

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members, the new garin's ideology and plans are in a fluid state. The garin members are committed to full membership in Hamagshimim and to leadership in Hashachar in general, although in practice there is a wide variation in individual participation in nongarin movement affairs. An attempt is being made to attract new members, both American and Israeli.

Not all members of Hamagshimim plan to live in Israel, although the percentage of those intending to migrate is large and rising. There remains a strong emphasis on providing leadership to the younger movement members, on demonstrating on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and so on, although many members planning to go to Israel are less active in the non-Israel-oriented aspects of the movement. "Zionism" seems to mean different things to different members, which may be one cause of the movement's failure to become more widespread. In addition, a small but noticeable portion of the members are members in name only; some of these individuals do not actually consider themselves members, having paid their dues solely in order to be able to take part in Hamagshimim programs in Israel.

The Questionnaire

In view of both the exploratory nature of the present study and the unfeasibility of reducing the inherent psychological processes to experimental manipulation, the hypotheses were tested primarily by means of a

questionnaire, and secondarily by the participant observation of the investigator. To test the questionnaire, pilot interviews were conducted with six males and six females whose names appeared on lists of about 20 individuals with an expressed interest in possible migration to Israel. Although four of the interviews were conducted in East Lansing, the majority were held in Ann Arbor, where more active Jewish groups were in existence. Only the lack of time prevented interviews with all the individuals on the available lists, as refusals to be interviewed at more convenient times were not encountered.

The pilot interviews ranged in length from one hour to more than three hours, although they typically lasted about two hours. Each interview consisted of discussion with the interviewee concerning his family and educational background, his religious practices, his attitudes toward Israel, Zionism, Judaism, social movements in general, and communalism, his plans for the future (especially those concerning possible migration to Israel or to other countries), and so on, in addition to written completion of the standardized scales (see Appendix A). The interviewees were encouraged to answer honestly, and were told that the purpose of the interviews was to develop a questionnaire for use with a larger sample. They were accordingly asked to criticize the questions, scales, and general format of the interview. All but one interviewee

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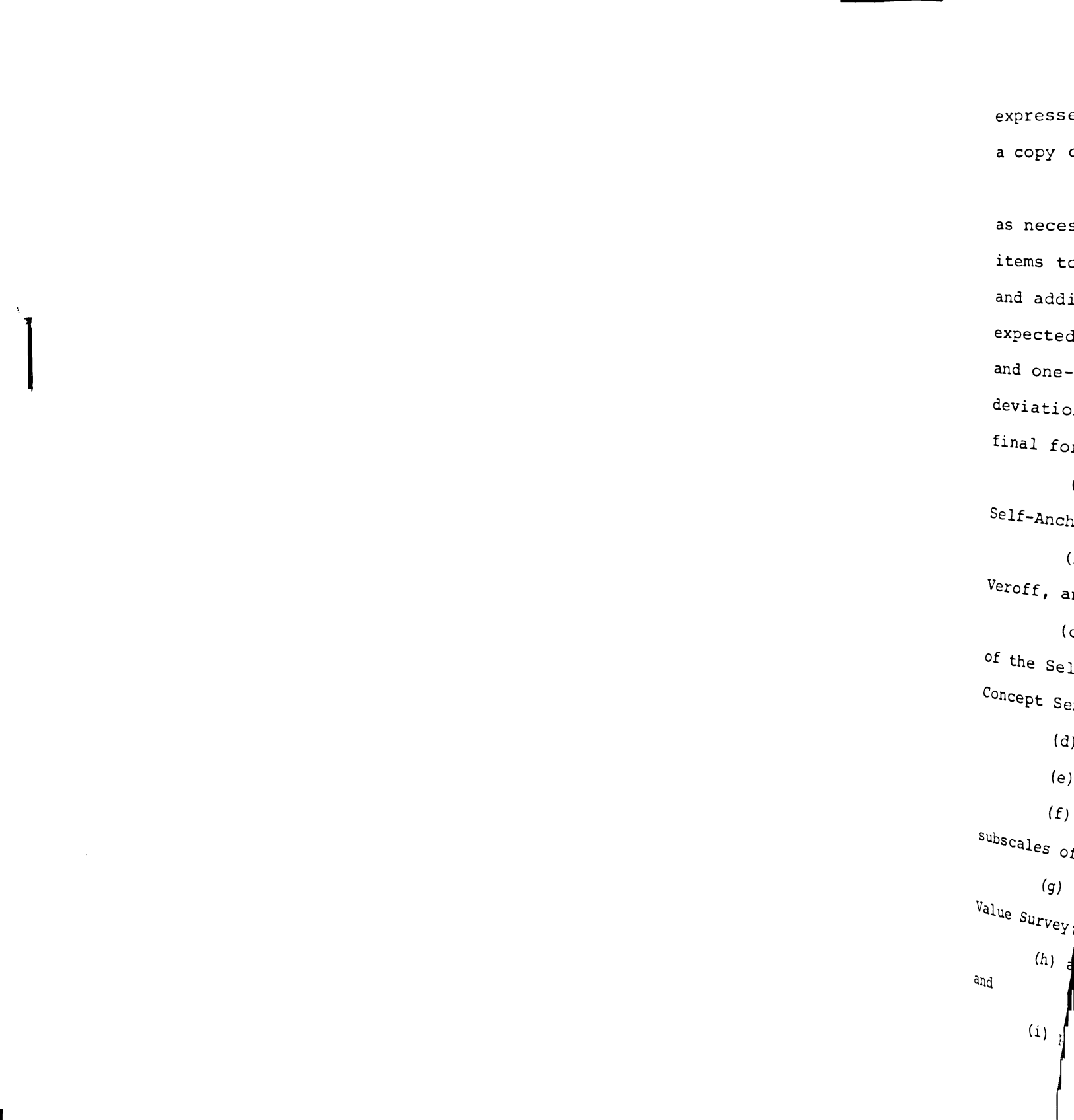

expressed interest in the study, and all asked to receive a copy of the results.

The final questionnaire, after revisions indicated as necessary in the pilot interviews and after deletion of items to shorten the schedule, consisted of eight scales and additional background items (see Appendix C). It was expected that the modal respondent would spend about one and one-half hours on the questionnaire, although a large deviation above that length was also foreseen. In its final form, the questionnaire consisted of the following:

(a) a variation of Kilpatrick and Cantril's (1960) Self-Anchoring Satisfaction Scale;

(b) the one-item happiness question used by Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960);

(c) a combination of Sherwood's (1962) Inventory of the Self Concept and Pervin and Lilly's (1967) Self-Concept Semantic Differential;

(d) Dean's (1961) Alienation Scale;

(e) Middleton's (1963) Alienation Scale;

(f) the Mass Culture, Familism, and A-Politicalism subscales of Nettler's (1964) Alienation Scale;

(g) the Terminal Values Scale of Rokeach's (1968) Value Survey;

(h) a specially-developed "Zionist Beliefs Scale"; and

(i) personal information items.

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Satisfaction. Cantril (1965) used the Self-Anchoring Scale developed by Kilpatrick and Cantril (1960) to investigate the concerns of people throughout the world, and to compare, on an 11-point scale, the levels of happiness and satisfaction (past, present, and expected in the future) expressed by individuals in different countries. Cantril, for example, verbally asked his respondents to point to the appropriate rung of a ladder when the top rung represented "the best possible life for you" and the bottom one "the worst possible life for you."

For the questionnaire format of the present investigation, Cantril's (1965) instructions were modified. The respondents were asked to indicate their present level of satisfaction (and the level expected five years in the future) on a series of twenty 9-point scales, such as "your educational achievements," "your relationship with your father," and "your life as a whole"; the low end of each scale was labeled "Completely dissatisfied," the high end "Completely satisfied." Seven of the scales were taken directly, or modified, from Verbit (1968); eight were similar items suggested in the literature as relevant to happiness; four were constructed to tap the same areas as the self-esteem and alienation measures (such as satisfaction with "your being the kind of person you are"); and one (satisfaction with "your being Jewish") was developed especially for this sample. In addition, the respondents

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were asked to indicate their positions on Cantril's (1965) "best (worst) possible life for you" dimension (see Appendix D for all individual scales).

Gurin et al. (1960) asked the question: "Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days--would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?" The present study included this question, with the addition of a "not at all happy" response. The final measure of life satisfaction was the inclusion of a 9-point "Unhappy-Happy" continuum, embedded in the Self-Concept items (see below).

Self-esteem. Sherwood (1962) developed a measure of self-esteem based on the discrepancy between how an individual sees himself and how he aspires to see himself. Subjects were asked to indicate their "present" and "aspired" selves on 26 pre-labeled and three subject-labeled 11-point bipolar dimensions (such as "moral-immoral" and "competent-incompetent") and to rate the importance of each dimension, also on 11-point scales. The resulting weighted discrepancy score, which was taken to be an indication of self-evaluation, was found to have a reliability of .75, and Robinson and Shaver (1969) concluded that the measure had "promising construct validity" as well as face validity (p. 86).

A scale similar to that of Sherwood's (1962) was developed by Pervin and Lilly (1967). Investigating the

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relation between self- and ideal-self-ratings and social desirability, Pervin and Lilly had subjects rate "MY SELF" and "MY IDEAL SELF" on thirteen 7-point semantic differential dimensions (such as "good-bad"). The subjects also indicated both their certainty and the importance of each dimension on 4-point scales.

In the present investigation, the two self-concept scales were combined, although Sherwood's (1962) items formed the basis of the self-evaluative measure. Respondents indicated their perceived, aspired, and ideal selves on twenty-eight 9-point dimensions (Sherwood's 26 items, plus the "free-constrained" dimension used by Pervin and Lilly, and a "religious-nonreligious" dimension) and then rated each dimension from 1 (very unimportant) to 4 (very important). The subjects also rated themselves on Sherwood's (1962) overall 9-point "low-high" esteem continuum, and indicated their position on a "kind of person you'd most (least) like to be" dimension.

Alienation. Three alienation scales were included. Dean (1961) conceived of alienation as consisting of the correlated dimensions of powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation; his scale had a reliability of .78, correlating about .30 with Srole's (1956) Anomie Scale and Nettler's (1957) Alienation Scale and about .26 with the F-Scale. All three of Dean's subscales were included in the present investigation, although the 5-point Likert

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response format was changed from "Strongly Agree, Agree, . . ." to "Agree, tend to agree . . ." in order to maximize extreme responses. The 24 items were intermixed with the items of the Zionist Beliefs Scale.

Middleton's (1963) scale measured powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, cultural estrangement, social estrangement, and work estrangement with six agree-disagree statements. The reported reliability was .90 (without the cultural estrangement item). The correlations of cultural alienation with the other aspects ranged between .06 and .31, but most of the correlations were between .46 and .81. The entire Middleton Scale was included in the questionnaire.

A 15-item (dichotomous format) scale tapping alienation from society in general, along the dimensions of mass culture, familism, a-religiosity, and a-politicalism, was developed by Nettler (1964). The earlier form of the scale (1957) had a coefficient of reproducibility of .87; the coefficients of the four subscales were higher. The (1964) scale correlated .31 with Srole's (1956) scale, and .25 with Rosenberg's (1957) Misanthropy Scale. In the present investigation, three of Nettler's subscales were included; the A-Religiosity Subscale was deleted as being less relevant to the sample.

Values. Also included in the final questionnaire was the Terminal Values Subscale of Rokeach's (1968) Value

Survey. Rokeach asked subjects to rank 18 "terminal" values (conceived as preferred end-states of existence, such as inner harmony and pleasure) and 18 "instrumental" values (modes of conduct, such as clean and honest) in order of their relative importance to the individual. Rokeach (1971) reported median reliabilities of .74 and .65 for the two scales, and construct validity was also found to be evident.

Zionism. The Zionist Beliefs Scale consisted of three parts. Subjects ranked 12 possible goals of the American Zionist movement in order of their importance. Six of the goals (such as "building the unity of the Jewish People") were modified from "the New 'Jerusalem Program'" adopted by the 27th World Zionist Congress in 1968 (Youth Mobilization, 1971); five were added to cover additional areas (such as "personally migrating to Israel"); and the last was to be labeled by the subject.

In addition, subjects were asked to agree or disagree (on a 5-point Likert scale) that each of the 11 stated goals was indeed worth attaining, and to agree or disagree with each of nine additional statements concerning Zionist beliefs and activities (this was similar to the procedure of Sherrow & Ritterband, 1970). Two of these additional statements came from Verbit (1968), and the remainder (including items such as "a Jew should live in Israel) were especially constructed. (Since there is no

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general agreement concerning what "Zionism" is or what Zionists "should" believe or do, someone who scores high on the Zionist Beliefs Scale should perhaps not be considered a "Zionist." However, as a means of separating "High" from "Low" believers, the scale appears to be adequate.)

Finally, the subjects were asked to agree or disagree with the statement "I consider myself a Zionist."

Background. In addition to the specified scales, a series of questions concerning family and personal background items was presented. Included were topics such as sex, age, grade in school, social class, birth order, parents' origin and education, religious background, Jewish education, experience with anti-Semitism, visits to Israel, plans concerning migration, interest in communalism, past and present group affiliations, and so on. The subjects were asked, also, to make any additional comments they might have. (See Appendix C for the complete questionnaire and Appendix D for the scales in each area.)

Subjects and Distribution of Questionnaires

Questionnaires, with stamped return envelopes, were distributed to 1101 individuals, 753 by mail and 348 by hand. Included were:

(a) Three hundred sixty-three members of Hamagshimim, 48 of whom received the questionnaire by hand

(either at a garin convention or from other members) and 315 by mail. These individuals represented the members of Hamagshimim for whom addresses were obtainable and who were in the United States at the time, about 93% of the total membership. About 75 members had been told at a previous convention to expect to receive the questionnaire, and were asked to participate;

(b) Four hundred thirty-eight individuals whose names appeared on lists of participants in various summer programs in Israel, all of whom received the questionnaire by mail. Included were 154 participants of the 1969 Summer in Kibbutz program, 118 members of the similar 1970 kibbutz program, and 166 participants of other groups (the 1970 Archeological Dig, Israel Summer Institute, University Study Group, Arts Group, Weizmann Summer Science Group, and National Bar Mitzvah Pilgrimmage). Questionnaires were sent to every third name on the lists (every fourth name for the 1970 kibbutz program) except when identifying information indicated the individual was younger than 17; and

(c) Three hundred Jewish students at Brooklyn College. Two hundred seventy of these, students in five introductory psychology or two sociology courses, received the questionnaires by hand after a brief explanation of the study (repeating, basically, what was in the cover letter--see Appendix B). Questionnaires taken by non-Jewish students (who were encouraged to take a copy of the

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questionnaire but to immediately return the cover letter, in order to inform the investigator of the number of extra questionnaires needed) were replaced and distributed to additional Jewish students. The remaining 30 questionnaires were distributed by an upperclassman to Jewish students in several smaller classes.

All questionnaires that were mailed were sent on the same day, and those distributed by hand were delivered three or six days earlier. Twenty-five questionnaires were returned by the post office marked "Moved, left no forwarding address" or something similar; only the eight received the first week were replaced by additional questionnaires to the summer-in-Israel group. Eight questionnaires were returned by parents of addressees, indicating that their children were not in the United States at the time and were unable to respond. Thus, a total of 1076 questionnaires were received by potential respondents. Unfortunately, it was not feasible to send a follow-up letter.

Distributing questionnaires to the subjects indicated was designed to maximize the variation among the respondents. There were, as a result, subjects who were movement members, subjects who were not members but who might be expected to identify with the movement, and subjects who were neither members nor sympathizers. Unfortunately, it was not considered possible to obtain a truly random sample of "nonmovement" individuals; the inclusion

of the Israel summer returnees and, especially, of the Brooklyn College sample was considered a far-from-ideal second choice.

Cover Letter

The questionnaire (with the heading "JEWISH YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE") and the instructions were the same for all groups of subjects. Variation, however, was introduced in the cover letters in order both to make the study more plausible and to increase the return rate (see Appendix B). The basic cover letter was similar to the one used by Glock and Stark (1966).

Each letter, under the Department of Psychology letterhead, was dated April, 1971. The letter began by asking for "an hour or so of your time in helping with a study being conducted in completion of the requirements for my Master of Arts Degree." The subjects were told that a study was being made of characteristics of Jewish college-age youth; that the questions were of various types; that the questionnaire was to be returned anonymously; that there were "no 'right' or 'wrong'" answers; that the interest of the investigator was not just in "typical" Jewish students (or Israel Returnees, or Hamagshimim members); that each response was considered important for "scientifically-accurate results"; and that a copy of the results of the study would be sent to all

individuals who enclosed their name and address with the questionnaire or who sent that information on a separate postcard. The respondents were then thanked, and each mimeographed letter was individually signed.

The three cover letters diverged in three places. Most obviously, the salutations differed ("Dear Hamagshimim Member"/"Israel Returnee"/"Jewish Student"). The "Jewish Student" letter was of the basic form given above. The letter to the members of Hamagshimim added, at the end of the third paragraph (see Appendix B), "the group that I am most interested in is Hamagshimim, of which I am a member," and a possible contribution to the work of the movement was mentioned. In addition, the respondents were told that a discussion of the results would take place at the Hamagshimim summer convention. The letter to the summer-in-Israel subjects told of the investigator's interest in "youth who spent a summer in Israel, as I myself did." Again, the hoped-for increased return rate was considered to be worth the added divergence in the subject-investigator relationship.

Scoring Variables

The expectation that many subjects would omit either entire scales or parts of several scales necessitated the use of adjusted-mean scale scores rather than scores based upon the absolute number of alienated or satisfied

responses. The resulting scores are, of course, mathematically equivalent to the scores arrived at by summing responses.

Satisfaction. The Overall Satisfaction score was the mean of four separate measures, all of which were expected to correlate highly with one another. The measures were:

(a) Direct Happiness (Question 13), which directly asked the subject how happy he was. The responses were scored 1 (not at all happy), 2 (not too happy), 3 (pretty happy), and 4 (very happy); the scores were doubled for inclusion in the Overall Satisfaction mean;

(b) Happy 1-9, in which the subject placed himself on a continuum from unhappy (1) to happy (9);

(c) Best Life (Question 14), in which the subject placed himself on the continuum between "worst possible life for you" (1) and "best possible life for you" (9); and

(d) Meansat: Present, the mean response to the 20 specific 1-to-9 satisfaction items in Question 16.

Also obtained as part of the satisfaction measures were two scores related to the subject's prediction of his level of satisfaction five years in the future. Best Future was the expected future level of Best Life, and Meansat: Future paralleled Meansat: Present.

Self-esteem. The Overall Self-Esteem score was also the mean of four separate measures, all of which, again, were expected to be positively related. Included among the measures of esteem were:

(a) Kind of Person (Question 15), in which the subject placed himself on the continuum from 1 (kind of person you'd least like to be) to 9 (. . . most like to be). For inclusion in the Overall Self-Esteem score, the subject's score on Kind of Person was reversed (a Kind of Future score was also obtained, for the subject's estimation of his position five years in the future);

(b) Low-High, which asked the subject to rate his overall level of self-esteem on a 1-to-9 low . . . high dimension. This response was also reversed for the score on Overall Self-Esteem;

(c) Aspired Discrepancy, the mean of the discrepancies between how the individual perceived his position on each of the 28 self-concept continua, and how he aspired to see himself (the greater the discrepancy, the lower the self-esteem); and

(d) Ideal Discrepancy, the same as Aspired Discrepancy, but using the perceived-self-ideal-self discrepancies.

Overall Self-Esteem had a possible range from 1 (high esteem) to 9 (low esteem).

Alienation. Unlike the scores for Satisfaction and Self-Esteem, each of which contained four measures of approximately the same thing, no single "Overall Alienation" score was deemed adequately meaningful, since the subdimensions of alienation were not expected to correlate with one another to an extent great enough to consider them as measures of a unitary concept. Instead, separate scores were obtained for each subscale, and for each total scale as a whole. The scales were:

(a) the Middleton Scale, comprising six items: Powerlessness, Meaninglessness, Normlessness, Cultural Estrangement, Social Estrangement, and Work Estrangement. The subject could either agree (the alienated response) or disagree with each item. A score of "40" for a group on the Powerlessness item, for example, would indicate that 40% of those members of the group who answered that question gave the alienated response. Group scores on the total Middleton scale could range between 0 (indicating no alienated responses on any of the six items) to 100 (only alienated responses);

(b) the Nettler scale, composed of the subscales Mass Culture, Familism, and Politicalism. Again, scores were expressed as a percentage of possible alienated responses. The total scale score was the mean of the scores on the three subscales rather than the mean of the 12 items, in order to adjust for missing data; and

(c) the Dean scale, comprising the areas of Social Isolation, Powerlessness, and Normlessness. Each item on the scale was scored from 4 (the alienated response) through 0 (the non-alienated response). The subscale scores were the means of the items, and the total scale score was the mean of the subscale scores.

Values. Group medians for each of the 18 values in the Terminal Values Scale were computed, and the rank-order of each value was also noted. (The lower the number, the more important the value.) Also computed were coefficients of concordance for each group.

Movement orientation. There were three groups of "independent" variables concerned with a general orientation to a social movement: Participation, Commitment Level, and Zionist-Irrelevant. In general, comparisons were made between what were expected to be movement-oriented and non-movement-oriented groups of subjects. It was expected that the various measures of "movement orientation"--especially the Participation and Commitment Level ones--would be highly related.

The measures of Movement Participation were:

(a) Group Membership in Hamagshimim, or in other groups, or nonmembership (Question 18); and

(b) Zionist Self-Description (Question 17p). Subjects were classified as Zionist (responses 4 and 5), Uncertain, and Non-Zionist.

The measures of Commitment Level were:

(a) Zionist Beliefs Scale. Subjects were divided into High and Low Belief groups, based upon their responses to the 20 relevant items. (Items were scored from 0 to 4, with scores expressed as means, taking into account missing data);

(b) Aliya (migration to Israel) (Question 20). The subjects were classified into Aliya (responses 6 and 7--probably or definitely going on aliya), Undecided (3-5), and Nonaliya (1,2) groups, based upon their future plans; and

(c) Garin Membership (Question 23). Members of Hamagshimim only were classified as Garin if they were either members or candidates of Garin Hashachar, or if they were considering joining. Hamagshimim members who were planning on going on aliya, but not with the garin, were classified as Nongarin.

The Zionist-Irrelevant measures included:

(a) Communalism (Question 21). Subjects were classified as Communal (if they indicated they would probably or definitely live permanently in a communal settlement if they were to go to Israel), Undecided, or Noncommunal; and

(b) General Migration (Question 25). Subjects were classified as Migrant (responses 4 and 5), Undecided, and Nonmigrant, based upon their attitude toward personal

migration from the United States in the event of not going on aliya.

While the first five measures of movement orientation (the Participation and Commitment Level dimensions) were expected to be similar measures of generally "Zionist" orientation, communalism--which is stressed in the movement as important, but not absolutely necessary, for a Zionist--and the general migration measure--which, of course, is not at all stressed in the movement--were expected to be less highly related to the others. It is in this sense that interests in communalism and in general migration are "Zionist-Irrelevant."

RESULTS

Return Rate

Of the 1076 questionnaires, 435 were returned--a return rate of 40%. Returning the questionnaires were:

(a) One hundred forty-seven members of Hamagshimim, 42% of the 349 not returned by the post office and 38% of the entire movement membership. Included were 11 individuals who did not indicate membership in Hamagshimim on the question concerned with group affiliation, and who were, thus, scored as nonmovement members--six as summer-in-Israel returnees and five (who had not been to Israel) as Jewish students--leaving 136 Hamagshimim members;

(b) One hundred seventy-one Israel Returnees, 40% of 427. Included was one individual who indicated membership in Hamagshimim; his questionnaire was scored with the movement members; and

(c) One hundred seventeen Jewish Brooklyn College students, 39% of the 300 distributed.

The greater return rate of Hamagshimim members was not significantly different from the general return rate ($\chi^2 < 1.00$, $df = 2$, $p > .05$).

Six questionnaires were rejected for excessive missing data, which would have prevented inclusion in most analyses. In addition, two were rejected because the respondents were not Jewish; one because he was in Israel at the time he completed the questionnaire; one because he was an Israeli student in the United States only a short time; one because he was much older than the rest of the subjects (29); and five because they were high school students who had received the questionnaire by mistake. Four questionnaires were received after data analysis was begun (eight weeks after distribution) and were ignored. There were, thus, 415 usable questionnaires: 129 Hamagshimim members, 167 Israel returnees, and 119 Jewish students from Brooklyn College.

Two hundred ten respondents (48%) indicated they would be interested in receiving a summary of the results. Postcards with the subject's name and address were sent by 39 individuals (19% of those requesting information), while the majority merely enclosed their names and addresses on the questionnaire or in the return envelope, with no apparent concern for the consequent lack of anonymity. Fifty-nine Hamagshimim members (40% of the movement sample), 83 Israel returnees (49%), and 29 Jewish students (25%) requested information nonanonymously; those sending postcards, of course, could not be categorized. The overall difference in requests for research results

was significant at the .001 level ($\chi^2 = 16.92$, $df = 2$). It should be noted that several Hamagshimim members who did not request a written copy of the results did indicate a desire to discuss the study at the summer convention.

Table 1 presents the reclassification of the Israel returnees and Jewish students into Other Members and Nonmembers. The Other Members group is composed largely of the summer-in-Israel returnees, while the Nonmembers group is fairly evenly divided between Israel returnees and Brooklyn College students. The 102 subjects classified as Other Members included 21 members of other Zionist groups (such as Habonim); 18 members of Jewish movements not

Table 1

Reclassification of Israel Returnees and Jewish Students into Experimental Groups

Questionnaire Sent To:	Experimental Group		Total
	Other Members[a]	Nonmembers[b]	
Israel Returnees	78	89	167
Jewish Students	24	95	119
Total	102	184	

[a]Includes individuals who were not in Hamagshimim but who were members of at least one other group.

[b]Includes individuals who are not members of any group at the present time.

specifically Zionist (such as the Jewish Liberation Project or the Jewish Defense League); 65 members of Jewish organizations (such as Hillel); 11 members of Jewish religious groups (such as Yavneh); and 18 members of non-Jewish "general" groups (such as political or student-protest groups). (Because of multiple memberships, the total is more than 102.)

Background

The distribution of the subjects according to personal background items is given in Table 2. As indicated in the table, female subjects predominated in all three groups, although much more so among the Other Members and slightly less so in Hamagshimim. Hamagshimim members also tended to be older, and more likely to be sophomores in school rather than freshmen, as were the nonmovement members (Other Members and Nonmembers). (These group differences were all significant at the .02 level, using the appropriate chi-square tests.)

Hamagshimim members did not significantly differ from the Nonmembers in reporting the social class of their parents, although the Other Members were more likely to report parents in the upper-middle class than were Hamagshimim members and Nonmembers (this difference, however, was only marginally significant). Nine of every 10 subjects in the entire sample considered their parents to be in the middle or upper-middle class.

Table 2

Personal Background Information

	Group						Total		Chi Square
	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Nonmembers				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Sex (1)[a]									
Male	59	(46)	28	(27)	74	(40)	161	(39)	
Female	70	(54)	74	(73)	110	(60)	254	(61)	8.30**
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	184	(100)	415	(100)	
Age (2)									
18 and younger	31	(24)	35	(34)	79	(43)	145	(35)	
19-20	53	(41)	46	(44)	63	(34)	162	(39)	
21 and older	45	(35)	21	(21)	42	(23)	108	(26)	15.73***
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	184	(100)	415	(100)	
Parents' Social Class (35)									
Working[b]	12	(09)	8	(08)	21	(12)	41	(10)	
Middle	61	(47)	35	(34)	87	(48)	183	(44)	
Upper-Middle[c]	56	(43)	59	(58)	74	(41)	189	(46)	8.48*
Total	129	(99)	102	(100)	182	(101)	413	(100)	
School Grade (3, 4)									
Nonstudent	13	(10)	2	(02)	12	(07)	27	(06)	
Freshman	31	(24)	35	(34)	89	(48)	155	(37)	
Sophomore	36	(28)	24	(24)	23	(12)	83	(20)	
Junior	20	(16)	20	(20)	24	(13)	64	(15)	31.45****
Senior	22	(17)	16	(16)	31	(17)	69	(17)	
Graduate Student	7	(05)	5	(05)	5	(04)	17	(04)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(101)	184	(101)	415	(99)	
Subject's Birthplace (27)									
United States	122	(95)	96	(94)	170	(93)	388	(94)	
Not U.S.	6	(05)	6	(06)	13	(07)	25	(06)	< 1.00
Total	128	(100)	102	(100)	183	(100)	413	(100)	

Type of Neighborhood When "Growing Up" (5)									
Majority Jewish	45	(35)	54	(53)	94	(51)	193	(47)	
Half Jewish	33	(26)	25	(25)	51	(28)	109	(26)	16.76***
Minority Jewish	51	(40)	23	(23)	38	(21)	112	(27)	
Total	129	(101)	102	(101)	183	(100)	414	(100)	
Number of Jewish "Closest Friends" (6)									
0, 1, 2	34	(26)	20	(20)	40	(22)	94	(23)	
3, 4	95	(74)	81	(80)	140	(78)	316	(77)	1.47
Total	129	(100)	101	(100)	180	(100)	410	(100)	
Percentage of Friends Migrating to Israel (24)									
0-20	69	(53)	71	(70)	159	(88)	299	(73)	
21-60	43	(33)	23	(23)	18	(10)	84	(20)	
61-100	18	(14)	7	(07)	3	(02)	28	(07)	49.47****
Total	130	(100)	101	(100)	180	(100)	411	(100)	
Time Spent in Israel (18)									
None	35	(27)	16	(16)	86	(47)	137	(33)	
Less than 8 months	42	(32)	80	(78)	92	(50)	215	(52)	122.88****
8 months or more	52	(40)	6	(06)	5	(03)	63	(15)	
Total	129	(99)	102	(100)	183	(100)	415	(100)	
Experience with Anti-Semitism (41)									
Yes	85	(66)	57	(56)	66	(36)	208	(50)	
No	44	(34)	44	(44)	117	(64)	205	(50)	28.29****
Total	129	(100)	101	(100)	183	(100)	413	(100)	

Table 2 Continued.

	Group						Total		Chi Square
	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Nonmembers				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Birth Order (35-38)									
Only Children	11	(09)	2	(02)	14	(08)	27	(07)	11.71*d
First Born Only and First	56	(43)	38	(37)	55	(30)	149	(36)	
Middle Children	67	(52)	40	(39)	69	(37)	176	(42)	
Last Born Middle and Last	25	(19)	26	(25)	43	(23)	94	(23)	
	37	(29)	36	(35)	72	(39)	145	(35)	7.04**e
	62	(48)	62	(61)	115	(63)	239	(58)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	184	(100)	415	(100)	
Jewish Education (45)									
None	2	(02)	5	(05)	21	(12)	28	(07)	
Sundays	16	(12)	17	(17)	26	(14)	59	(14)	
Weekdays	60	(47)	40	(39)	89	(49)	189	(46)	
All-day Yeshivot	15	(12)	24	(24)	28	(16)	68	(17)	38.64****
College Level	25	(19)	9	(09)	7	(04)	41	(10)	
Other	11	(09)	6	(06)	10	(06)	27	(07)	
Total	129	(101)	101	(100)	181	(101)	412	(101)	
Frequency of Prayer (40)									
Never	20	(16)	14	(14)	42	(23)	76	(19)	
Synagogue Only	5	(04)	8	(08)	9	(05)	22	(05)	
Occasionally	53	(42)	44	(43)	83	(46)	180	(44)	10.09
Often	48	(38)	36	(35)	46	(26)	130	(32)	
Total	126	(100)	102	(100)	180	(100)	408	(100)	
Subject's Religious Affiliation (36c)									
Reform	13	(11)	14	(15)	36	(23)	63	(17)	
Conservative	50	(40)	34	(36)	54	(34)	138	(37)	
Orthodox	13	(11)	25	(26)	21	(13)	59	(16)	
Other Jewish	42	(34)	16	(17)	17	(11)	75	(20)	51.29****
"Not Jewish," None	6	(05)	6	(06)	30	(19)	42	(11)	
Total	124	(101)	95	(100)	158	(100)	377	(101)	

Attendance at Religious Services (50)									
High Holy Days or Less	53	(41)	48	(47)	139	(77)	240	(58)	
Once every 2-6 months	42	(33)	21	(21)	20	(11)	83	(20)	51.00****
Monthly or more often	34	(26)	33	(32)	22	(12)	89	(21)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	181	(100)	412	(99)	

Note.--Categories not adding to 415 have been adjusted for missing data.

[a]Numbers in parentheses in this column indicate question number(s) (see Appendix C).

[b]Includes one "lower class."

[c]Includes six "upper class."

[d]This chi square was obtained before combining categories.

[e]This chi square was obtained after combining categories.

*$p < .10$.

**$p < .05$.

***$p < .01$.

****$p < .001$.

There was no difference in the percentage of foreign-born subjects in each group. However, there were several other differences in personal background. A majority of the non-Hamagshimim members reported growing up in a neighborhood that had a majority of Jewish residents (to be expected among the Jewish students at Brooklyn College), while the movement members were more likely than were the others to have grown up with a minority of Jews. While the groups did not differ in reporting the number of Jewish "closest friends" they had, Hamagshimim members did report that a significantly greater proportion of their friends were planning to go on aliya to Israel. Movement members also reported having been in Israel to a greater extent than did the nonmovement members, and they were much more likely to indicate personal experience with anti-Semitism.

When examining the birth-order data also presented in Table 2, it is seen that Hamagshimim members were more likely to be first-born, and less likely to be last-born, than were the other groups. While this trend was only marginally significant with the subjects divided into only-children, first-born, middle-children, and last-born, combining the only-children and first-born categories, and the middle- and last-born categories, resulted in a significant difference among the groups. More than half the

Hamagshimim members, but only 37% or 39% of the other groups, were first-born or only children.

Table 2 also presents several items relevant to the subjects' religious background and outlook. Hamagshimim members were less likely to report having had no Jewish education at all, and more likely to report college-level courses; they were, also, less likely to have attended yeshivot (all-day religious schools). Movement members were less likely to consider themselves Reform, Orthodox, or "none," and more than twice as likely to consider themselves Other Jewish, indicating in the blank such things as "my own kind" and "cultural." They were, also, more likely than were the Nonmembers (but slightly less likely than were the Other Members) to attend religious services on other than minimal occasions. However, while all these differences were highly significant (at the .001 level), movement members did not report a significantly greater incidence of private prayer.

Group Affiliations

Present and past group affiliations of the subjects are given in Table 3. The majority of the members of Hamagshimim--62%--belonged, in addition to Hamagshimim, to at least one other movement or organization, while only 27% of the Other Members belonged to more than one group. Almost half the movement members belonged to a Jewish

Table 3

Present and Past Group Memberships

	Group						Total		Chi Square[a]
	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Other Members and Nonmembers				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Present Affiliations									
Other Zionist	26	(20)	21	(21)	21	(07)	47	(12)	13.28****[b]
Jewish Movement	18	(14)	18	(18)	18	(06)	36	(09)	5.85**
Jewish Organization	56	(43)	65	(64)	65	(23)	121	(29)	18.18****
Religious Group	3	(02)	11	(11)	11	(04)	14	(03)	< 1.00
General Group	19	(15)	18	(18)	18	(06)	37	(09)	6.78***
General Movement	18	(14)	15	(15)	15	(05)	33	(07)	8.21***
General Organization	3	(02)	4	(04)	4	(01)	7	(02)	< 1.00
Total	129		102		286		415		
Multiple Memberships									
One Group Only	49	(38)	75	(74)			124	(54)	
Two or More Groups	80	(62)	27	(27)			107	(46)	27.53****[c]
Total	129	(100)	102	(101)			231	(100)	

	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Nonmembers		Total		Chi Square
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Temporary Post-High School Memberships									
Jewish Group	8	(06)	7	(07)	10	(05)	25	(06)	< 1.00[d]
General Group	16	(12)	6	(06)	7	(04)	29	(07)	8.88**
High School or Earlier									
Any Jewish Group	116	(91)	62	(61)	72	(39)	250	(61)	82.91****
Young Judaea	88	(69)	4	(04)	16	(09)	108	(26)	176.92****
Other Zionist	11	(09)	11	(11)	14	(08)	36	(09)	< 1.00
Other Jewish	67	(53)	56	(55)	58	(32)	181	(44)	20.12****
General Group	24	(19)	13	(13)	10	(05)	47	(11)	13.37***
Movement	8	(06)	2	(02)	4	(02)	14	(03)	4.60*
Organization	17	(13)	11	(11)	6	(03)	34	(03)	11.12***

Note.--Because of multiple memberships, total percentages were not computed.

[a]All chi-square tests were performed on the a x b contingency tables formed by crossing the Hamagshimim-Other Members-Nonmembers categories with the Member-Nonmember categories for each additional group.

[b]Chi-square tests for the present affiliations were performed comparing Hamagshimim members with the combined Other Members-Nonmembers group (thus, $df = 1$).

[c]This chi-square test was performed on the 2 x 2 table indicated, without combining Other Members and Nonmembers.

[d]For past affiliations, Other Member and Nonmember groups were not combined ($df = 2$).

*$p < .10$.

**$p < .05$.

***$p < .01$.

****$p < .001$.

social organization, 20% belonged to a second Zionist group, and 14% belonged to other Jewish movements. Non-Jewish, general movements also attracted 14% of the members of Hamagshimim. These percentages of Hamagshimim double memberships approximately parallel the single memberships of the Other Members.

The greater tendency of movement members to belong to additional groups was generally true of past memberships as well. Hamagshimim members were significantly more likely to have belonged to non-Jewish, general groups in high school, and were more likely to have had brief periods of membership in general groups after high school. The movement members were also much more likely to have belonged to a Jewish group in high school--69% of them to Young Judaea, the high school level of Hashachar. Those subjects who were Nonmembers at the time of the study were less likely than were the other subjects to have belonged to a Jewish or general group in the past.

Independent Variables

The distribution of the subjects in each group according to their classification on the remaining independent variables is given in Table 4. As expected, Hamagshimim members were more "movement oriented" than was the sample as a whole, and the Nonmembers less so, on all but one of the measures.

Table 4

Distribution of Subjects on Movement-Oriented Variables

Variable	Group						Total		Chi Square
	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Nonmembers				
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Zionist Self-Description									
Zionist	116	(90)	66	(65)	56	(30)	238	(57)	116.47**
Uncertain	8	(06)	11	(11)	30	(16)	49	(12)	
Non-Zionist	5	(04)	25	(25)	98	(53)	128	(31)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(101)	184	(99)	415	(100)	
Zionist Beliefs Scale									
High	112	(87)	65	(64)	59	(32)	236	(57)	95.29**
Low	17	(13)	37	(36)	125	(68)	179	(43)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	184	(100)	415	(100)	
Aliya (Migration to Israel)									
Aliya	76	(59)	36	(35)	21	(11)	133	(32)	109.44**
Undecided	44	(34)	47	(46)	71	(39)	162	(39)	
Nonaliya	9	(07)	19	(19)	92	(50)	120	(29)	
Total	129	(100)	102	(100)	184	(100)	415	(100)	
Garin Membership									
Member	20	(15)	2	(02)	0	(00)	22	(05)	63.45**
Candidate/Interested	16	(13)	3	(03)	2	(01)	21	(21)	
Nonmember	93	(72)	95	(95)	181	(99)	369	(90)	
Total	129	(100)	100	(100)	183	(100)	412	(100)	
Communalism									
Communal	31	(24)	13	(14)	19	(13)	63	(17)	18.00*
Undecided	59	(46)	32	(34)	76	(50)	167	(45)	
Noncommunal	37	(29)	50	(53)	58	(38)	145	(39)	
Total	127	(99)	95	(101)	153	(101)	375	(101)	
General Migration									
Migrant	19	(15)	16	(16)	28	(16)	63	(16)	4.75
Undecided	17	(14)	6	(06)	26	(14)	49	(12)	
Nonmigrant	89	(71)	78	(78)	126	(70)	293	(72)	
Total	125	(100)	100	(100)	180	(100)	405	(100)	

*$p < .01$

**$p < .001$

The majority of the Hamagshimim members thought they would probably or definitely go on aliya, while only about a third of the Other Members and 11% of the Nonmembers indicated similar plans; in fact, only 7% of the movement members--nine individuals--indicated they would probably or definitely not live in Israel. Similarly, Hamagshimim members were significantly more likely to consider themselves (or to "tend" to consider themselves) Zionists (90% as opposed to 30% of the Nonmembers), to score in the High group on the Zionist Beliefs Scale, and to be in a garin. Movement members were also significantly more likely to be planning on living communally in the event of aliya (24% as opposed to 13%). However, members of Hamagshimim were not more likely than were nonmembers to migrate to any country besides Israel.

The relations among all the independent variables can be observed in their correlation matrix (Table 5). For a sample of this size, the confidence interval at the .05 level is a small one--approximately $\pm$.10 (Beyer, 1968). Thus, all the correlations among the five specifically Zionist-related variables were highly significant, ranging between .25 (Garin Membership and Zionist Self-Description) and .73 (Zionist Self-Description and Zionist Beliefs Scale). Excluding the Garin variable, all the correlations among the Zionist-related variables were .50 or greater.

Table 5

Correlation Matrix--Independent Variables[a]

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Group Membership[b] (1)						
Zionist Self-Description (2)	54***					
Zionist Beliefs Scale (3)	50***	73***				
Aliya (4)	50***	67***	69***			
Garin Membership[c] (5)	35***	25***	27***	40***		
Communalism (6)	13**	-02	-10*	10*	48***	
General Migration (7)	01	02	-05	19**	20**	33***

Note.--Decimal points were removed, as were 1's in the diagonal.

[a]Movement-oriented groups were scored high. Correlations are based on original scores, before collapsing of categories (for example, Aliya was left in the original 1-to-7 format).

[b]Hamagshimim members were scored 3, Other Members 2, Nonmembers, 1.

[c]Garin members were scored 2, Nongarin, 1.

*$p < .10$.

**$p < .05$.

***$p < .01$.

An interest in Communalism was positively related only to Hamagshimim membership (.13) and to Garin membership (.48) among the Zionism measures; the .10 relation between Communalism and Aliya also approached statistical significance. In addition, the negative correlation of .10 between Communalism and Zionist Beliefs was marginally significant.

An interest in General Migration was positively related to Aliya, Communalism, and Garin Membership, but not significantly so to Group Membership or to the remaining Zionism measures.

Dependent Variables

The correlation matrix of the subscales of the three dependent variables (excluding the values) is presented in Table 6. As expected, the four satisfaction measures were highly related to one another (with correlations between .50 and .63), as were the four self-esteem measures (.43-.69). However, also as expected, the correlations among the alienation measures were lower. Correlations within the three separate alienation scales ranged between .52 (Dean Normlessness and Powerlessness) and -.12 (Middleton Work Estrangement and Cultural Estrangement), although almost all the relations were positive. Where different scales had parallel subscales, the correlations were between .26 (Dean and Middleton Normlessness) and .47 (Dean Social Isolation and Middleton Social

Table 6

Correlation Matrix--Dependent Variables

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
Best Life	(1)																								
Happy 1-9	(2)	55																							
Direct Happiness	(3)	50	63																						
Meansat: Present	(4)	62	62	54	.																				
Overall Satisfac.	(5)	81	87	81	82																				
Kind Person	(6)	50	36	30	56	50																			
Low-High	(7)	43	48	33	60	55	53																		
Aspired Discrep.	(8)	37	37	25	49	44	43	47																	
Ideal Discrep.	(9)	39	40	30	55	49	57	49	69																
Overall Self-Est.	(10)	54	50	39	69	63	82	84	66	68															
Middleton Power.	(11)	-02	-07	-09	-06	-07	-06	-05	-05	-09	-02														
Middleton Meaning.	(12)	-09	-02	-06	-09	-08	-11	-08	-06	-03	-10	15													
Middleton Norm.	(13)	-15	-13	-11	-23	-18	-16	-19	-19	-18	-22	12	12												
Middleton Cult.	(14)	-05	-04	-06	-15	-08	-07	-00	-08	-03	-03	08	11	-04											
Middleton Social	(15)	-28	-39	-35	-42	-43	-24	-27	-17	-17	-28	04	08	14	18										
Middleton Work	(16)	-18	-08	-15	-23	-19	-18	-20	-17	-23	-22	10	23	27	-12	19									
Middleton Total	(17)	-29	-25	-28	-39	-35	-27	-23	-19	-25	-29	51	48	55	33	59	56								
Nettler Culture	(18)	-06	-06	-06	-18	-10	-02	-07	-02	-04	-04	04	-12	-12	35	-00	-13	00							
Nettler Familism	(19)	-05	-15	-15	-24	-17	-05	-05	-08	-08	-08	06	-03	15	10	21	12	20	17						
Nettler Politic.	(20)	01	-04	-10	-05	-05	-03	-00	-10	-07	-04	22	06	10	10	08	05	20	12	18					
Nettler Total	(21)	-05	-11	-15	-23	-15	-05	-06	-10	-09	-08	16	-05	06	28	13	01	20	68	65	64				
Dean Social	(22)	-28	-20	-32	-39	-38	-25	-27	-24	-24	-31	18	10	23	08	47	16	41	06	16	09	15			
Dean Power.	(23)	-20	-22	-32	-36	-32	-20	-24	-26	-20	-30	28	31	31	07	33	32	54	05	26	27	28	39		
Dean Norm	(24)	-19	-14	-19	-26	-23	-20	-18	-17	-16	-24	14	23	26	00	17	28	36	02	21	14	16	24	52	
Dean Total	(25)	-29	-29	-37	-45	-41	-32	-31	-30	-25	-37	27	28	35	07	44	33	58	04	27	22	26	72	85	72

Note.--For this table, the Self-Esteem items were scored so that high esteem is indicated by a high score.

Decimal points and 1's in the diagonal were omitted to save space.

All correlations greater than .10 were significant at the .05 level.

Estrangement). Middleton's Cultural Estrangement item and Nettler's Mass Culture Subscale, which correlated .35 with each other, correlated least with the other aspects of alienation, while Dean's Powerlessness Subscale was the most highly related to the others.

Inspection of Table 6 reveals that the satisfaction and self-esteem measures were highly related. Overall Satisfaction and Overall Self-Esteem correlated .63, and the individual measures correlated between .25 (Direct Happiness and Aspired Discrepancy) and .60 (Meansat: Present and Low-High). Both Overall Satisfaction and Overall Self-Esteem, however, correlated to a much lesser extent with the alienation measures, with a range from -.04 (Self-Esteem with Mass Culture and Politicalism) to -.41 (Satisfaction with the total Dean scale). All three of Dean's subscales were significantly negatively related to all the satisfaction and self-esteem measures, with a range from -.14 to -.39; the remaining alienation measures were, similarly, consistently negatively related to the satisfaction and self-esteem variables.

Major Hypotheses: Group Participation

There were two measures of participation in the Zionist youth movement: dues-paying membership in Hamag-shimim and considering one's self a Zionist.

Group Membership. The means and standard deviations of the Hamagshimim, Other Member, and Nonmember groups on the satisfaction, self-esteem, and alienation measures are presented in Table 7. In terms of satisfaction, the members of Hamagshimim scored lower (less satisfied) than did the Other Members, but higher than did the Nonmembers, on Happy 1-9, Best Life, Meansat: Present, and Overall Satisfaction, as well as on both estimates of satisfaction levels five years in the future. However, none of these differences approached statistical significance. On Direct Happiness, movement members exhibited a marginally significant tendency (at the .10 level) to score happier than did either of the other two groups.

In examining the subjects' responses to the individual dimensions of satisfaction (see Figure 1), the differences on "your educational achievements" and "your general intellectual growth" were marginally significant, with the members of Hamagshimim and the Nonmembers less satisfied than the Other Members. Hamagshimim and Other Members were significantly more satisfied with being Jewish. In viewing the future, Hamagshimim members expected to be significantly more satisfied than one or both of the other groups with their religious positions, with being Jewish, and with "agreement with the values of society," with the Nonmembers expecting the least satisfaction in these areas.

Table 7

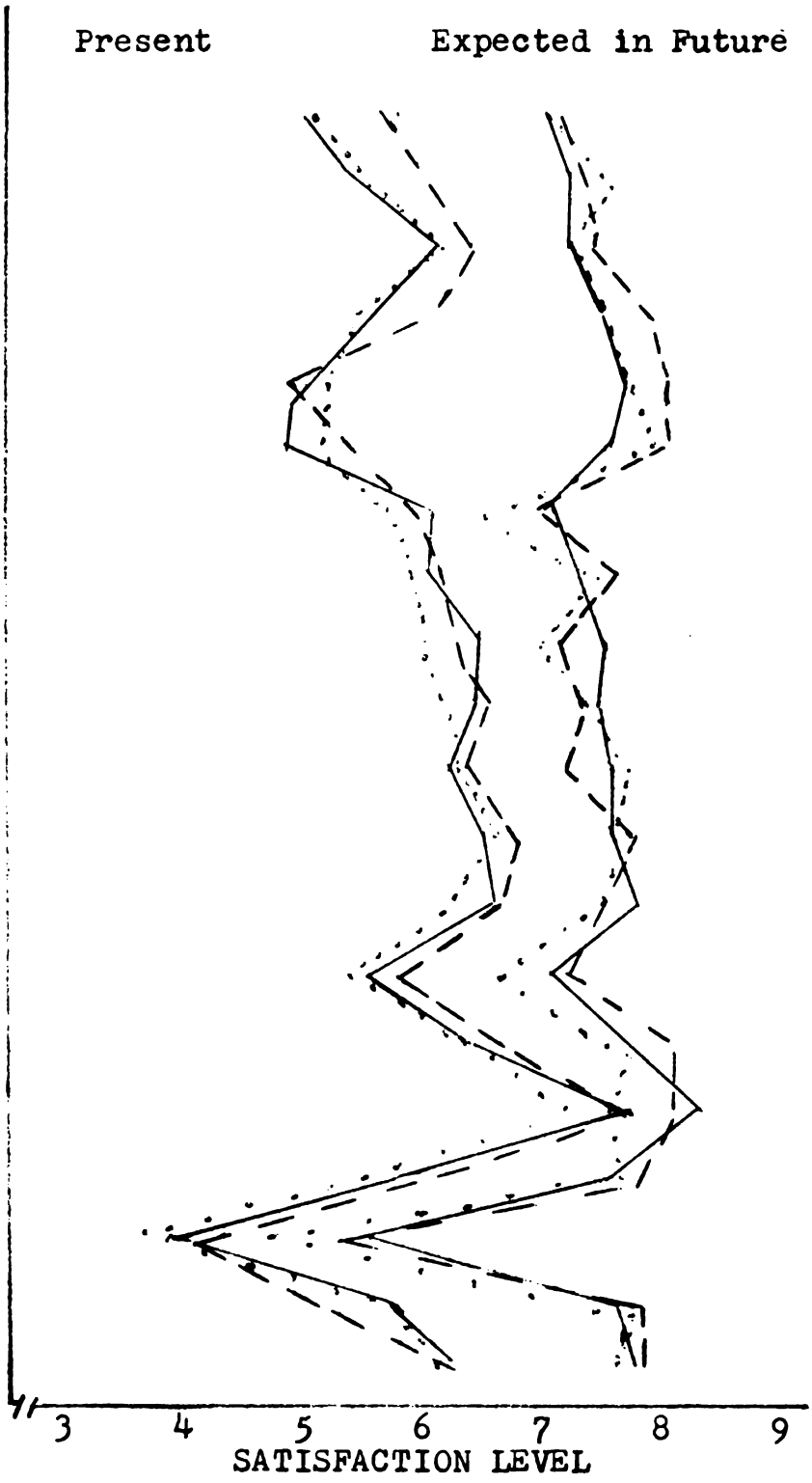
Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Group Membership

	Group									F
	Hamagshimim			Other Members			Nonmembers			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures										
Overall Satisfac.	5.78	(1.09	-129)	5.89	(1.14	-102)	5.62	(1.16	-184)	2.09
Best Life	5.48	(1.39	-129)	5.67	(1.44	-102)	5.45	(1.45	-183)	0.81
Best Future	7.49	(1.09	-127)	7.75	(1.16	-102)	7.38	(1.50	-175)	2.52*
Happy 1-9	5.76	(1.62	-125)	6.01	(1.70	-100)	5.61	(1.71	-174)	1.75
Direct Happiness	2.91	(0.65	-129)	2.85	(0.65	-102)	2.73	(0.66	-184)	2.94*
Meansat: Present	6.03	(1.03	-129)	6.20	(1.10	-102)	5.95	(1.13	-184)	1.86
Meansat: Future	7.52	(0.80	-128)	7.60	(0.90	-100)	7.41	(0.90	-180)	1.65
Self-Esteem Measures										
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.86	(0.82	-129)	2.80	(0.91	-102)	3.00	(0.91	-184)	1.79
Kind of Person[b]	5.94	(1.39	-129)	5.99	(1.67	- 97)	5.77	(1.48	-181)	0.68
Kind of Future[b]	7.55	(1.06	-128)	7.73	(1.06	- 97)	7.57	(1.13	-178)	0.87
Low-High[b]	6.23	(1.38	-128)	6.47	(1.50	-101)	6.04	(1.40	-171)	2.94*
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.36	(0.49	-127)	1.44	(0.54	- 97)	1.52	(0.62	-175)	2.81*
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.16	(0.77	-121)	2.06	(0.72	- 88)	2.28	(0.80	-163)	2.56*
Alienation Measures										
Middleton Total	38	(0.25	-129)	43	(0.24	-102)	45	(0.28	-184)	2.69
Powerlessness	40	(0.49	-129)	42	(0.50	-102)	47	(0.50	-184)	0.84
Meaninglessness	26	(0.44	-129)	27	(0.45	-102)	34	(0.48	-182)	1.28
Normlessness	48	(0.50	-129)	57	(0.50	-101)	59	(0.49	-182)	1.91
Cultural Estrang.	40	(0.49	-125)	41	(0.49	-101)	30	(0.46	-183)	2.31
Social Estrang.	47	(0.50	-129)	52	(0.50	-101)	53	(0.50	-183)	0.54
Work Estrang.	29	(0.46	-129)	34	(0.48	-102)	46	(0.50	-184)	4.99***
Nettler Total	31	(0.16	-129)	33	(0.18	-101)	34	(0.15	-182)	0.78
Mass Culture	64	(0.27	-129)	61	(0.27	-101)	58	(0.25	-182)	1.99
Familism	10	(0.19	-129)	17	(0.23	-101)	20	(0.25	-182)	7.10****
Political	20	(0.24	-129)	21	(0.25	-101)	24	(0.23	-182)	0.98
Dean Total	1.97	(0.47	-129)	1.99	(0.49	-102)	2.14	(0.49	-184)	5.70****
Social Isola.	2.24	(0.57	-129)	2.20	(0.60	-102)	2.33	(0.61	-184)	1.93
Powerlessness	1.88	(0.60	-129)	1.98	(0.61	-102)	2.08	(0.67	-184)	4.11**
Normlessness	1.72	(0.58	-128)	1.70	(0.70	-102)	1.93	(0.71	-184)	5.72****

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

*p < .10. **p < .05. ***p < .01. ****p < .005.



(Present) F (Future)	
educational achiev.	
2.87*	0.50
intellectual growth	
2.51*	0.82
social rel.--own sex	
0.54	1.09
social rel.--opp.sex	
1.12	2.41*
love relationships	
0.35	1.23
sexual activities	
1.51	2.72*
religious position	
1.09	6.41***
kind person you are	
0.31	0.95
relations--father	
2.54*	1.50
relations--mother	
0.49	0.17
relations--siblings	
0.09	1.25
physical health	
0.94	0.97
mental health	
1.45	0.87
fitting in society	
0.64	1.56
live personal values	
0.59	0.67
being Jewish	
5.51***	11.06***
able to do as want	
0.83	1.74
values of society	
1.00	4.94***
level of happiness	
0.86	0.30
life as a whole	
0.63	0.17

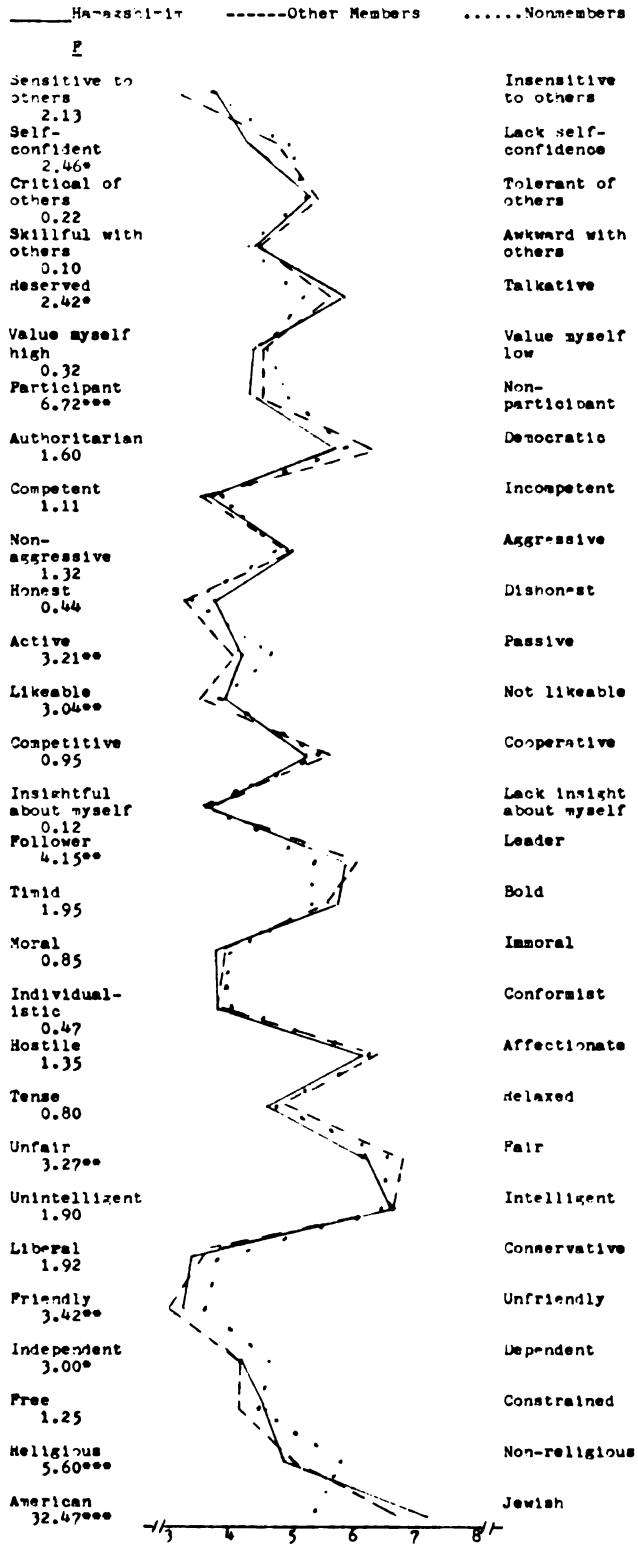
*$p < .10$.
**$p < .05$.
***$p < .01$.

FIGURE 1. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Group Membership

The self-esteem measures showed a pattern similar to that of the satisfaction results. For the Overall Self-Esteem, Kind of Person, Low-High, and Ideal Discrepancy measures, the members of Hamagshimim scored lower in self-esteem than did the Other Members, but higher than did the Nonmembers; only the latter two differences even approached significance at the .10 level. Hamagshimim members scored highest in self-esteem as measured by Aspired Discrepancy, but, again, only marginally so.

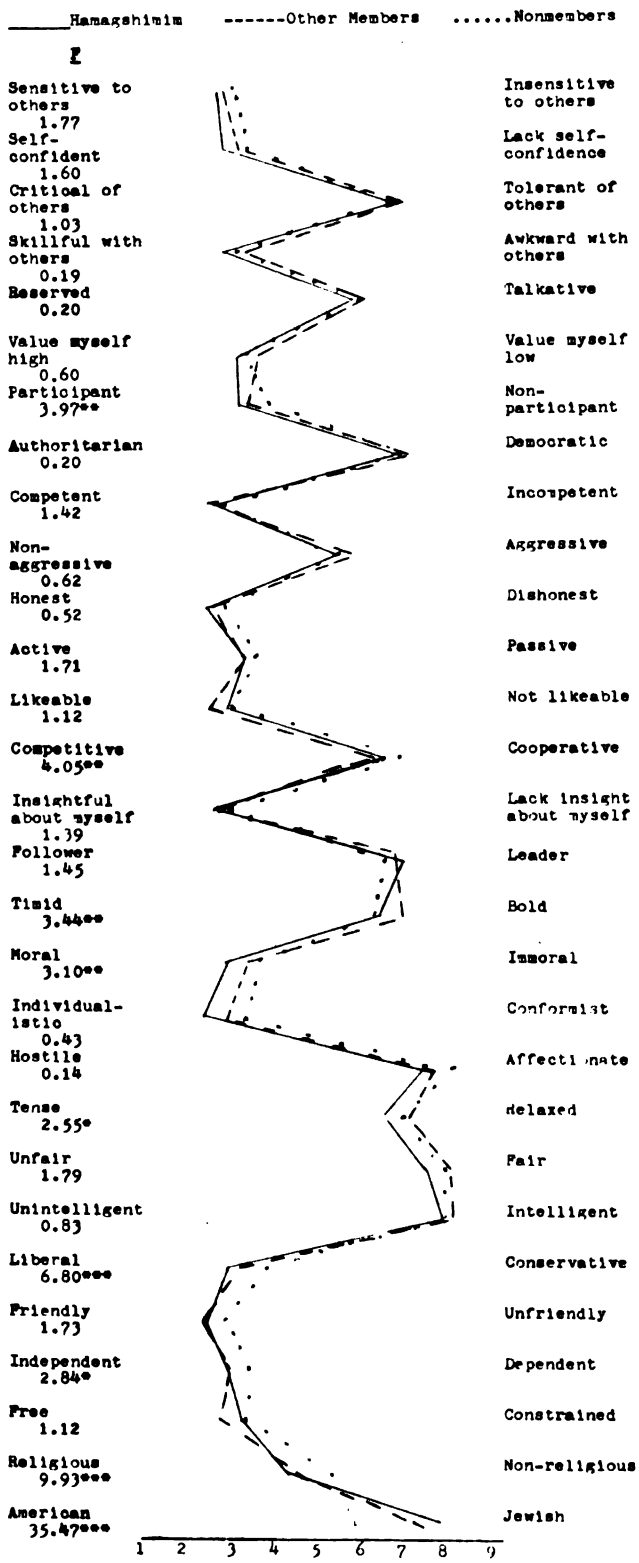
Figure 2 compares the mean group ratings on each of the 28 self-concept dimensions (and the additional American-Jewish dimension) for the perceived selves of the subjects. In comparison with the other groups, Hamagshimim members saw themselves as significantly more toward the participant end of the scale and as less fair. There was a marginal trend for the movement members to consider themselves more self-confident. Together with the Other Members, Hamagshimim members felt they were more religious and Jewish, and more disposed to leadership than were the Nonmembers, and they tended to consider themselves more independent and talkative. Also significant at the .05 level was the position of Hamagshimim between the other two groups on the active-passive and friendly-unfriendly dimensions.

Figures 3 and 4 present the mean aspired and ideal self-concepts of the three groups. Movement members



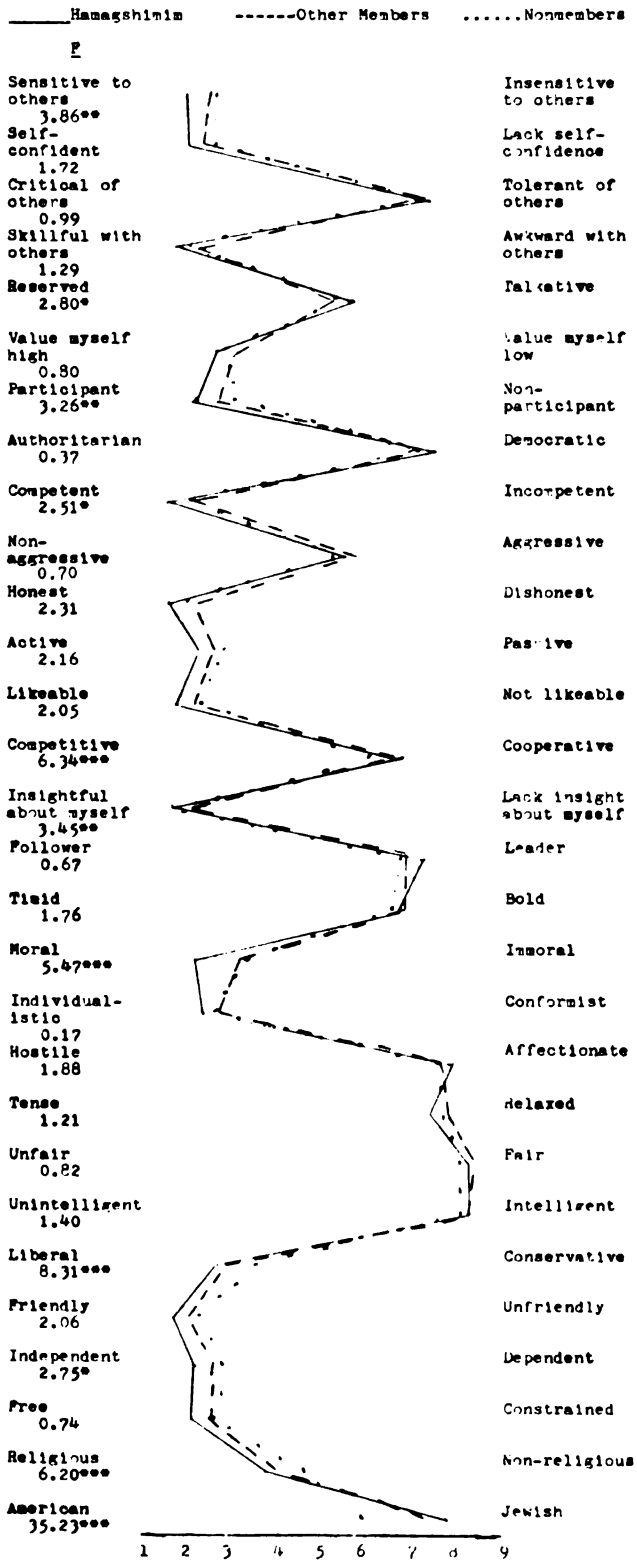
*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 2. Present Self-Concept: Group Membership



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 3. Aspired Self-Concept: Group Membership



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 4. Ideal Self-Concept: Group Membership

aspired to be, or considered it ideal to be, or both, significantly more sensitive to others, cooperative, moral, liberal, and insightful than did the Other Members and Nonmembers. However, inspection of Figure 2 reveals no significant differences in the present self-concept on any of these dimensions.

In the area of alienation, inspection of Table 7 reveals that Hamagshimim members scored the least alienated, and Nonmembers the most alienated, on 11 of the 15 measures of alienation. Highly significant were the differences on Work Estrangement, Familism, Dean Powerlessness, and the overall Dean Scale, while the difference on the total Middleton Scale was marginally significant; the remaining trends in this direction were nonsignificant. On the two remaining subscales of the Dean Scale, the Nonmembers scored higher than either of the other groups, although only the Normlessness difference was significant.

Hamagshimim members did exhibit a trend, although a nonsignificant one, to be more alienated on the cultural measures. On Nettler's Mass Culture Subscale, movement members obtained scores that were higher than either of the other two groups, while on Middleton's Cultural Estrangement item, Hamagshimim and Other Members were both more alienated than were the Nonmembers (again, these were nonsignificant differences).

The median ranks of each of the 18 terminal values of the Rokeach Value Survey are presented in Table 8. Kruskal-Wallis analyses of variance performed on these data revealed that Hamagshimim members had significantly less interest in the values of A Comfortable Life and Pleasure, although all three groups ranked both of these values among the last five in importance. Movement members and Other Members exhibited significantly greater interest than did Nonmembers in A Sense of Accomplishment, and movement members exhibited a similar, though only marginally significant, trend toward greater interest in Wisdom.

All three groups placed the values of A World of Beauty, An Exciting Life, Pleasure, Social Recognition, A Comfortable Life, National Security, and Salvation among the least important values, generally in the same order. However, more variation was present among those values considered most important. Hamagshimim members placed Mature Love and Self-Respect first and second in importance; these values were ranked second and eighth in importance by the Other Members, and fourth and sixth by the Nonmembers. Although the Kruskal-Wallis test did not reveal any significant difference in the median rankings of either of these values, a median test did indicate a significant difference on the Self-Respect item, yielding a chi square of 7.76 ($p<.025$). In the opposite direction,

Table 8

Value Rankings: Group Membership

Values	Group[a]						Kruskal-Wallis H
	Hamag-shimim		Other Members		Non-members		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	14.97	(16)	14.00	(15)	13.00	(15)	14.42****
An Exciting Life	11.40	(13)	10.54	(12)	11.21	(12)	2.23
A Sense of Accomplish-ment	7.21	(9)	7.60	(9)	9.27	(10)	8.94**
A World at Peace	5.95	(3)	6.11	(4)	5.36	(1)	1.97
A World of Beauty	10.96	(12)	12.31	(13)	11.54	(13)	3.85
Equality	8.83	(11)	8.29	(10)	9.13	(9)	1.66
Family Security	8.63	(10)	10.05	(11)	10.31	(11)	3.50
Freedom	6.83	(8)	5.96	(3)	7.00	(7)	0.56
Happiness	6.61	(7)	6.20	(5)	5.63	(2)	2.73
Inner Harmony	6.17	(4)	6.60	(6)	5.78	(3)	0.70
Mature Love	5.57	(1)	5.63	(2)	5.93	(4)	2.01
National Security	15.05	(17)	15.06	(17)	15.95	(17)	4.44
Pleasure	14.05	(14)	12.68	(14)	11.97	(14)	15.01****
Salvation	17.67	(18)	17.55	(18)	17.57	(18)	2.72
Self-Respect	5.64	(2)	7.53	(8)	6.66	(6)	3.99
Social Recog-nition	14.56	(15)	14.53	(16)	14.08	(16)	1.35
True Friend-ship	6.32	(5)	5.38	(1)	6.07	(5)	0.25
Wisdom	6.60	(6)	7.08	(7)	7.54	(8)	5.01*

[a] N's = 124 (Hamagshimim), 99 (Other Members), and 181 (Nonmembers).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$; ****$p \leq .001$.

Nonmembers ranked Happiness second in importance, Other Members fifth, and Hamagshimim seventh, although the analysis of variance again did not yield any median difference.

Coefficients of concordance were also computed for the three groups, revealing that Hamagshimim members (.37) were in slightly more agreement concerning the relative importance of the 18 values than were the Other Members (.28) and Nonmembers (.31).

Zionist Self-Description. The second measure of "participation" in a social movement was whether or not the subject agreed that he was a Zionist. While only half the 238 individuals in the Zionist group were members of Hamagshimim, only five of the non-Zionists were movement members and only eight of those who were "uncertain" were movement members. Thus, the Zionist group was composed of almost all the movement members, plus 65% of the Other Members and 30% of the Nonmembers (see Table 4).

Results for the Zionist Self-Description classification (see Table 9) to some extent resembled the group results reported for the Group Membership variable. While there were no significant differences among the three groups on the satisfaction or self-esteem measures, and only four significant or marginally significant alienation differences--on Nettler Familism and Dean Normlessness and Powerlessness, and on the total Dean Scale--individuals who considered themselves to be Zionists tended in almost

Table 9

Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Zionist Self-Description

Dependent Variable	Group									F
	Zionist			Uncertain			Non-Zionist			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures										
Overall Satisfac.	5.77	(1.13	238)	5.70	(1.15	49)	5.67	(1.16	128)	0.37
Best Life	5.41	(1.43	237)	5.67	(1.41	49)	5.45	(1.44	128)	0.45
Best Future	7.50	(1.21	233)	7.53	(1.34	49)	7.51	(1.46	122)	0.01
Happy 1-9	5.82	(1.64	213)	5.45	(1.69	47)	5.77	(1.76	121)	0.95
Direct Happiness	2.84	(0.64	238)	2.84	(0.62	49)	2.77	(0.68	128)	0.41
Meansat: Present	6.11	(1.06	238)	5.98	(1.22	49)	5.93	(1.09	128)	1.19
Meansat: Future	7.54	(0.83	235)	7.55	(0.94	48)	7.38	(0.92	125)	1.40
Self-Esteem Measures										
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.88	(0.89	238)	2.99	(0.77	49)	2.93	(0.92	128)	0.39
Kind of Person[b]	5.94	(1.49	236)	5.71	(1.60	48)	5.77	(1.48	123)	0.83
Kind of Future[b]	7.57	(1.05	233)	7.46	(1.20	48)	7.73	(1.12	122)	1.35
Low-High[b]	6.22	(1.45	232)	6.29	(1.27	48)	6.14	(1.45	120)	0.23
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.42	(0.53	229)	1.58	(0.63	46)	1.45	(0.61	124)	1.60
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.14	(0.74	212)	2.30	(0.85	45)	2.22	(0.82	115)	0.92
Alienation Measures										
Middleton Total	42	(0.25	238)	43	(0.23	49)	43	(0.23	128)	0.28
Powerlessness	43	(0.50	238)	45	(0.50	49)	44	(0.50	128)	0.04
Meaninglessness	28	(0.45	237)	49	(0.47	49)	32	(0.47	127)	0.26
Normlessness	53	(0.50	237)	47	(0.50	49)	62	(0.49	126)	2.02
Cultural Estrang.	38	(0.49	233)	31	(0.47	48)	32	(0.49	128)	1.01
Social Estrang.	49	(0.50	237)	49	(0.48	63)	50	(0.50	127)	1.65
Work Estrang.	36	(0.48	238)	38	(0.49	49)	41	(0.49	128)	0.49
Nettler Total	32	(0.16	237)	34	(0.15	34)	35	(0.16	126)	1.40
Mass Culture	61	(0.26	237)	60	(0.26	49)	58	(0.28	126)	0.45
Familism	13	(0.21	237)	18	(0.25	49)	21	(0.25	126)	5.53****
Political	21	(0.24	237)	25	(0.21	49)	23	(0.24	126)	0.92
Dean Total	2.00	(0.48	238)	2.10	(0.51	49)	2.14	(0.48	128)	3.83**
Social Isola.	2.25	(0.58	238)	2.31	(0.63	49)	2.29	(0.61	128)	0.30
Powerlessness	1.93	(0.62	238)	2.01	(0.61	49)	2.10	(0.66	128)	2.90*
Normlessness	1.70	(0.66	237)	1.90	(0.76	49)	1.96	(0.66	128)	6.66****

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

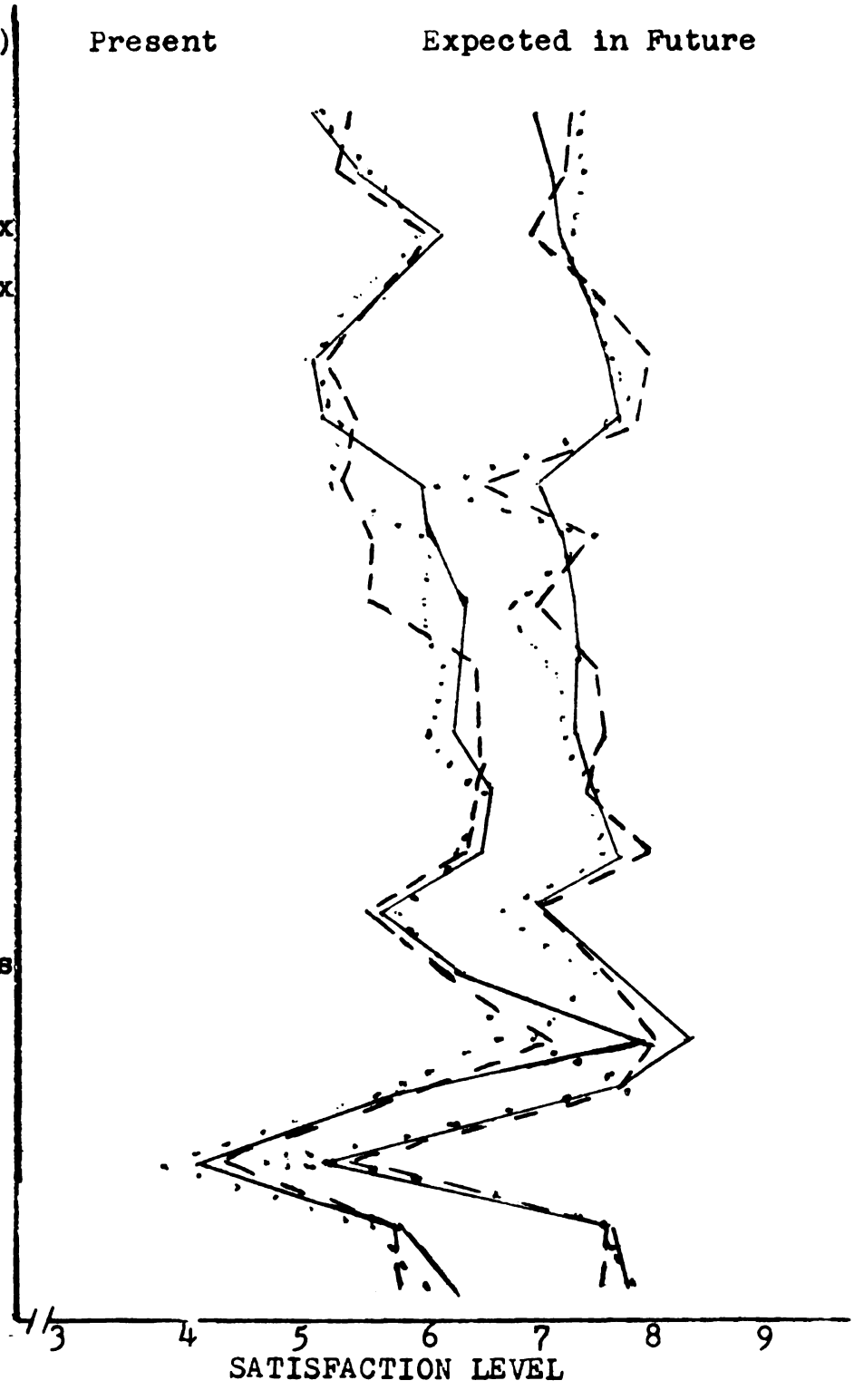
*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.

every case to score slightly higher in satisfaction and self-esteem and lower in alienation. The only (non-significant) exceptions to this trend were a slight tendency for the Zionists to score lower on the Best Life satisfaction measure, and higher on the measures of cultural alienation, and to score between the other groups on the Kind of Future measure.

On the individual satisfaction continua, the differences along the Zionist Self-Description variable (Figure 5) closely resembled the Group Membership differences (see Figure 1). The Zionists were more satisfied with their religious positions, with being Jewish, and with relations with their fathers. They also expected to be more satisfied in all three areas, as well as in the area of agreement with the values of society, in the future.

On the individual self-concept dimensions (Figure 6), Zionists felt they were significantly more Jewish, religious, active, and bold, and more toward the leader and participant ends of the continua, than did the non-Zionists. There was, also, a marginally significant trend ($p<.10$) for the Zionists to consider themselves more aggressive.

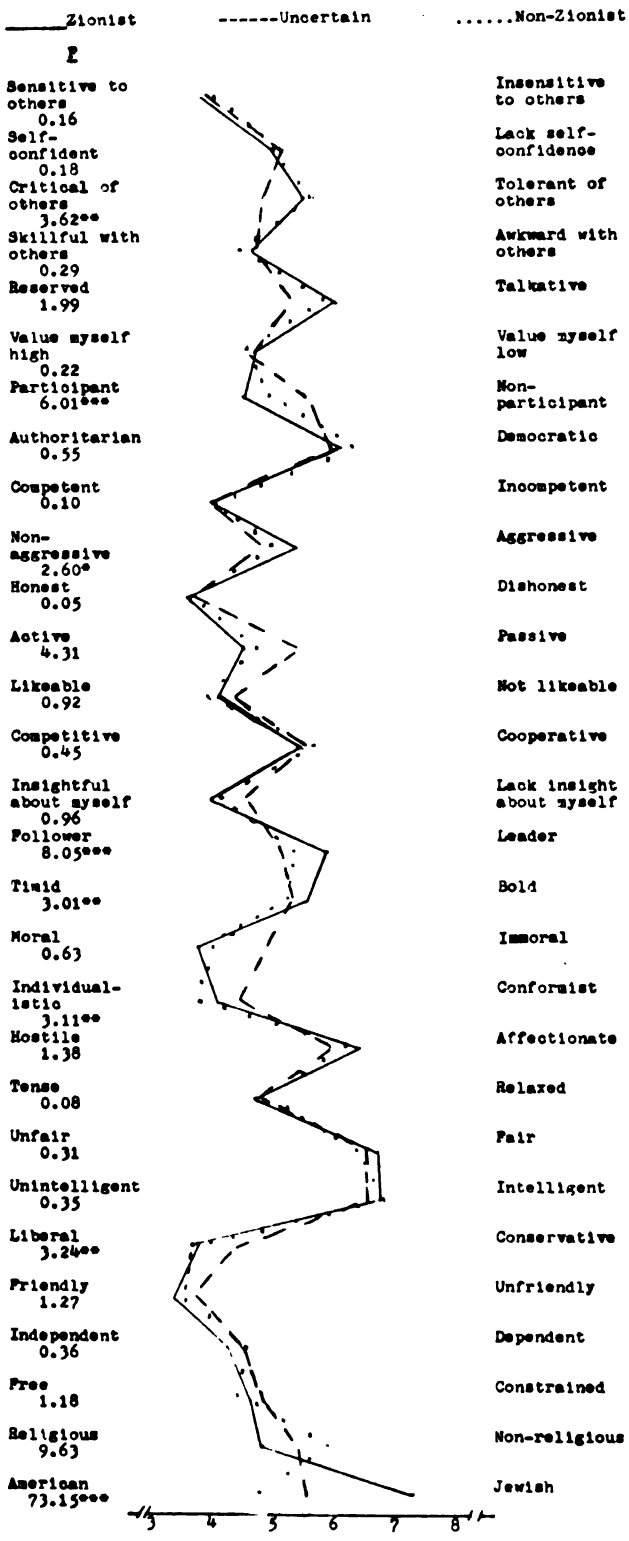
Table 10 presents the value rankings of the Zionists, Uncertains, and Non-Zionists. Following the Hamagshimim-Other Members-Nonmembers pattern, Zionists



(Present) F (Future)
educational achiev.
0.19 1.59
intellectual growth
0.38 2.14
social rel.--own sex
0.27 0.74
social rel.--opp.sex
0.45 0.30
love relationships
0.14 0.89
sexual activities
0.29 0.12
religious position
4.79*** 8.79***
kind person you are
0.79 1.24
relations--father
3.39** 3.58**
relations--mother
0.30 1.08
relations--siblings
1.02 0.70
physical health
0.15 0.00
mental health
0.84 1.24
fitting in society
0.07 0.58
live personal values
0.38 0.32
being Jewish
22.80*** 31.04***
able to do as want
0.51 0.03
values of society
1.53 3.38**
level of happiness
0.05 0.06
life as a whole
0.50 0.83

*$p < .10$.
**$p < .05$.
***$p < .01$.

FIGURE 5. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Zionist Self-Description



*r < .10.
**r < .05.
***r < .01.

FIGURE 6. Present Self-Concept: Zionist Self-Description

Table 10

Value Rankings: Zionist Self-Description

Values	Group[a]						Kruskal-Wallis H
	Zionist		Uncertain		Non-Zionist		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	14.43	(15)	13.58	(15)	13.06	(15)	9.45***
An Exciting Life	11.33	(12)	11.00	(12)	10.59	(12)	1.38
A Sense of Accomplishment	7.82	(9)	10.00	(10)	8.33	(9)	7.66**
A World at Peace	5.72	(2)	6.63	(7)	5.72	(2)	1.93
A World of Beauty	11.73	(13)	11.43	(13)	10.42	(11)	2.66
Equality	8.68	(10)	8.58	(9)	9.63	(10)	3.00
Family Security	9.80	(11)	10.40	(11)	10.88	(11)	6.86**
Freedom	6.26	(5)	6.75	(8)	7.61	(7)	1.44
Happiness	6.53	(7)	4.00	(1)	5.70	(1)	2.25
Inner Harmony	6.25	(4)	5.60	(3)	6.33	(5)	0.24
Mature Love	5.60	(1)	6.25	(5)	5.96	(3)	1.16
National Security	15.13	(17)	15.42	(17)	15.97	(17)	5.07*
Pleasure	13.63	(14)	12.79	(14)	11.58	(14)	13.95****
Salvation	17.60	(18)	17.52	(18)	17.63	(18)	0.78
Self-Respect	6.32	(6)	5.58	(2)	7.40	(6)	5.40*
Social Recognition	14.61	(16)	14.65	(16)	13.68	(16)	5.30*
True Friendship	5.96	(3)	6.63	(6)	5.96	(4)	0.83
Wisdom	7.16	(8)	5.71	(4)	7.80	(8)	7.37**

[a] N's = 231 (Zionist), 47 (Uncertain), and 126 (Non-Zionist).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$; ****$p \leq .01$.

expressed significantly less of an interest in A Comfortable Life and Pleasure than did the remaining groups, and more of an interest in A Sense of Accomplishment and Family Security. Significant or marginally significant trends placed the Zionists between the other two groups in emphasizing Self-Respect and Wisdom, and the Zionists and Uncertains together placed less of an emphasis on Social Recognition. First in importance for the Zionists was Mature Love, while most important for the Non-Zionists was Happiness (which was seventh in importance for the Zionists).

The concordance coefficient of the Zionists was slightly higher than those of the Uncertains and Non-Zionists (.34, as opposed to .30 and .29).

Major Hypotheses: Commitment Level

Zionist Beliefs Scale. The first measure of the individual's level of movement commitment was the degree of agreement with selected "Zionist" beliefs. As demonstrated in Table 11, the sole significant difference between High and Low scorers in the area of satisfaction was on the Meansat: Future Measure. Individuals who were classified as High believers tended to expect to be more satisfied, in the future, on the 20 individual dimensions of satisfaction (especially in the areas of satisfaction

Table 11

Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Zionist Beliefs

Dependent Variables	Group: High Mean	High SD	High N	Low Mean	Low SD	Low N	t
Satisfaction Measures							
Overall Satisfac.	5.73	(1.13	236)	5.74	(1.15	179)	0.11
Best Life	5.50	(1.45	235)	5.53	(1.41	179)	0.23
Best Future	7.56	(1.15	231)	7.44	(1.49	173)	0.91
Happy 1-9	5.74	(1.67	227)	5.79	(1.70	172)	0.32
Direct Happiness	2.81	(0.63	236)	2.82	(0.67	179)	0.12
Meansat: Present	6.06	(1.07	236)	6.00	(1.12	179)	0.58
Meansat: Future	7.58	(0.79	233)	7.37	(0.96	175)	2.34**
Self-Esteem Measures							
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.90	(0.90	236)	2.92	(0.87	179)	0.27
Kind of Person[b]	5.89	(1.54	233)	5.83	(1.45	174)	0.43
Kind of Future[b]	7.62	(1.01	230)	7.59	(1.19	173)	0.25
Low-High[b]	6.21	(1.43	228)	6.20	(1.43	172)	0.12
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.43	(0.55	226)	1.47	(0.58	173)	0.76
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.18	(0.76	211)	2.19	(0.80	161)	0.15
Alienation Measures							
Middleton Total	42	(0.26	236)	43	(0.22	179)	0.52
Powerlessness	43	(0.50	236)	44	(0.50	179)	0.07
Meaninglessness	29	(0.45	235)	32	(0.47	178)	0.77
Normlessness	53	(0.50	235)	58	(0.49	177)	1.10
Cultural Estrang.	38	(0.49	230)	33	(0.47	179)	1.02
Social Estrang.	50	(0.50	235)	52	(0.50	178)	0.41
Work Estrang.	38	(0.49	236)	39	(0.49	179)	0.17
Nettler Total	32	(0.16	236)	34	(0.16	176)	1.17
Mass Culture	62	(0.26	236)	58	(0.28	176)	1.50
Familism	12	(0.19	236)	21	(0.26	176)	3.89****
Political	22	(0.25	236)	23	(0.22	176)	0.36
Dean Total	2.02	(0.48	236)	2.10	(0.50	179)	1.65*
Social Isola.	2.29	(0.59	236)	2.25	(0.60	179)	0.66
Powerlessness	1.94	(0.61	236)	2.06	(0.66	179)	1.78*
Normlessness	1.72	(0.65	235)	1.92	(0.70	179)	2.96****

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

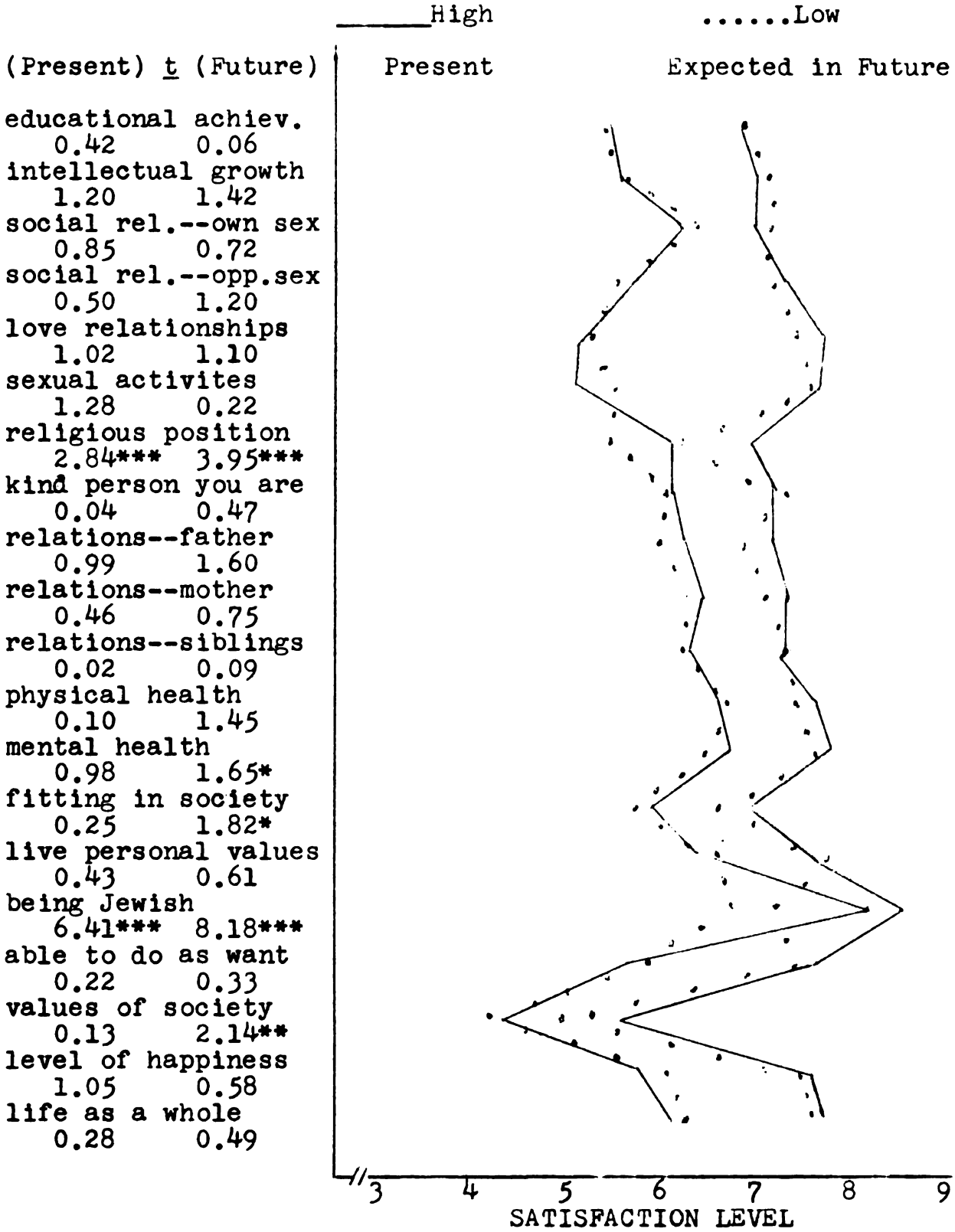
*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.

with being Jewish, with the individual's religious position, and with agreement with the values of society--see Figure 7). No clear trend was evident on the remaining measures of satisfaction.

In the realm of self-esteem, again nonsignificance was the rule, with the High believers scoring higher in self-esteem on every measure. Examination of Figure 8 reveals that the High believers thought they were significantly more authoritarian, bold, and moral, and more inclined to participate and to lead, than did the Low believers. High believers also characterized themselves as being more religious and Jewish.

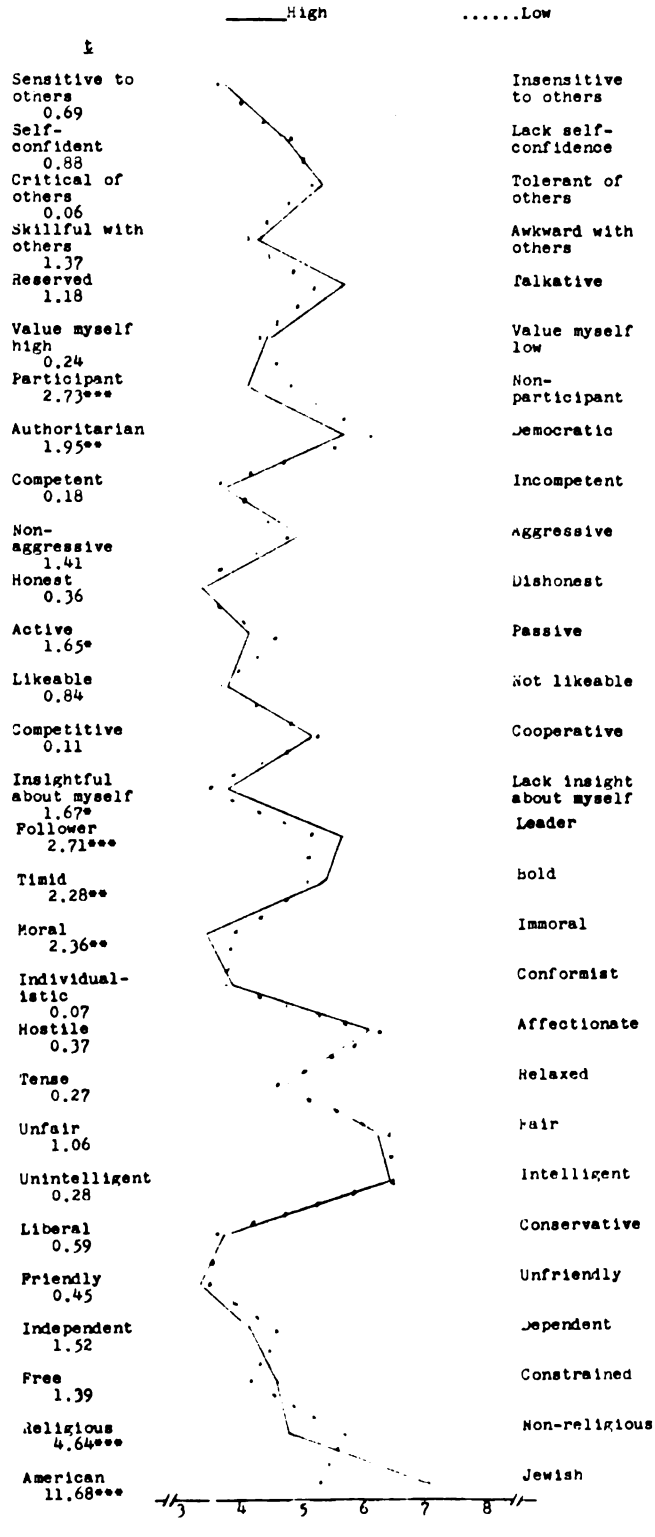
Inspection of Table 11 again demonstrates that the movement-oriented group was not more alienated than was the non-movement-oriented group. In fact, on all the scales of alienation (except both measures of cultural alienation and Dean's Social Isolation subscale) the High believers were less alienated, with the lesser alienation in the areas of Familism and Dean Normlessness being very highly significant.

The value rankings of the two groups, both of which had concordance coefficients of .32, are presented in Table 12. High believers were significantly more interested in the values of Self-Respect and Family Security, and less so in those of Pleasure, A World at Peace, and A World of Beauty. Marginally significant results



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 7. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Zionist Beliefs



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 8. Present Self-Concept: Zionist Beliefs

Table 12

Value Rankings: Zionist Beliefs

Values	Group[a]				Kruskal-Wallis H
	High		Low		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	14.18	(15)	13.66	(15)	1.86
An Exciting Life	11.08	(12)	11.00	(13)	0.02
A Sense of Accomplishment	7.67	(9)	8.83	(10)	3.63*
A World at Peace	6.63	(6)	4.95	(1)	7.68***
A World of Beauty	11.80	(13)	10.56	(11)	4.91**
Equality	9.09	(11)	8.59	(9)	0.43
Family Security	8.77	(10)	10.81	(12)	6.76***
Freedom	6.78	(7)	6.25	(4)	0.26
Happiness	6.28	(5)	5.66	(2)	0.16
Inner Harmony	5.72	(2)	6.46	(6)	0.26
Mature Love	5.44	(1)	6.31	(5)	2.90*
National Security	15.26	(17)	15.66	(17)	1.38
Pleasure	13.69	(14)	12.06	(14)	11.50****
Salvation	17.59	(18)	17.62	(18)	0.55
Self-Respect	6.02	(3)	7.27	(7)	5.41**
Social Recognition	14.53	(16)	14.20	(16)	1.05
True Friendship	6.17	(4)	5.76	(3)	0.20
Wisdom	6.95	(8)	7.38	(8)	1.59

[a] N's = 236 (High) and 179 (Low).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

* $p < .10$.

** $p < .05$.

*** $p < .01$.

**** $p \leq .001$.

indicated that the High believers tended to be more interested in A Sense of Accomplishment and Mature Love. The three values the High believers considered the most important--Mature Love, Inner Harmony, and Self-Respect--were ranked fifth, sixth, and seventh by the Low believers.

Aliya. Statistical nonsignificance generally characterized the Aliya dimension as well (see Table 13), with most of the obtained differences pointing in the direction of slightly greater satisfaction and self-esteem, and lower alienation, for those intending to migrate.

Individuals who said they would probably or definitely go on aliya tended to expect a greater mean satisfaction level in the future (on the Meansat: Future measure) and to score lower on Middleton's Meaninglessness item (both these differences were marginally significant at the .10 level). The intended migrants scored significantly lower (less alienated) on Familism and on Dean's Normlessness Subscale. Slight tendencies for the Aliya subjects to score lower on the Best Life and Kind of Future dimensions, and higher on both cultural alienation subscales, were not significant.

In terms of the individual dimensions of satisfaction (Figure 9), differences were similar to those on the Participation measures. Future immigrants tended to be more satisfied with being Jewish and with their religious positions, and expected to be more satisfied

Table 13

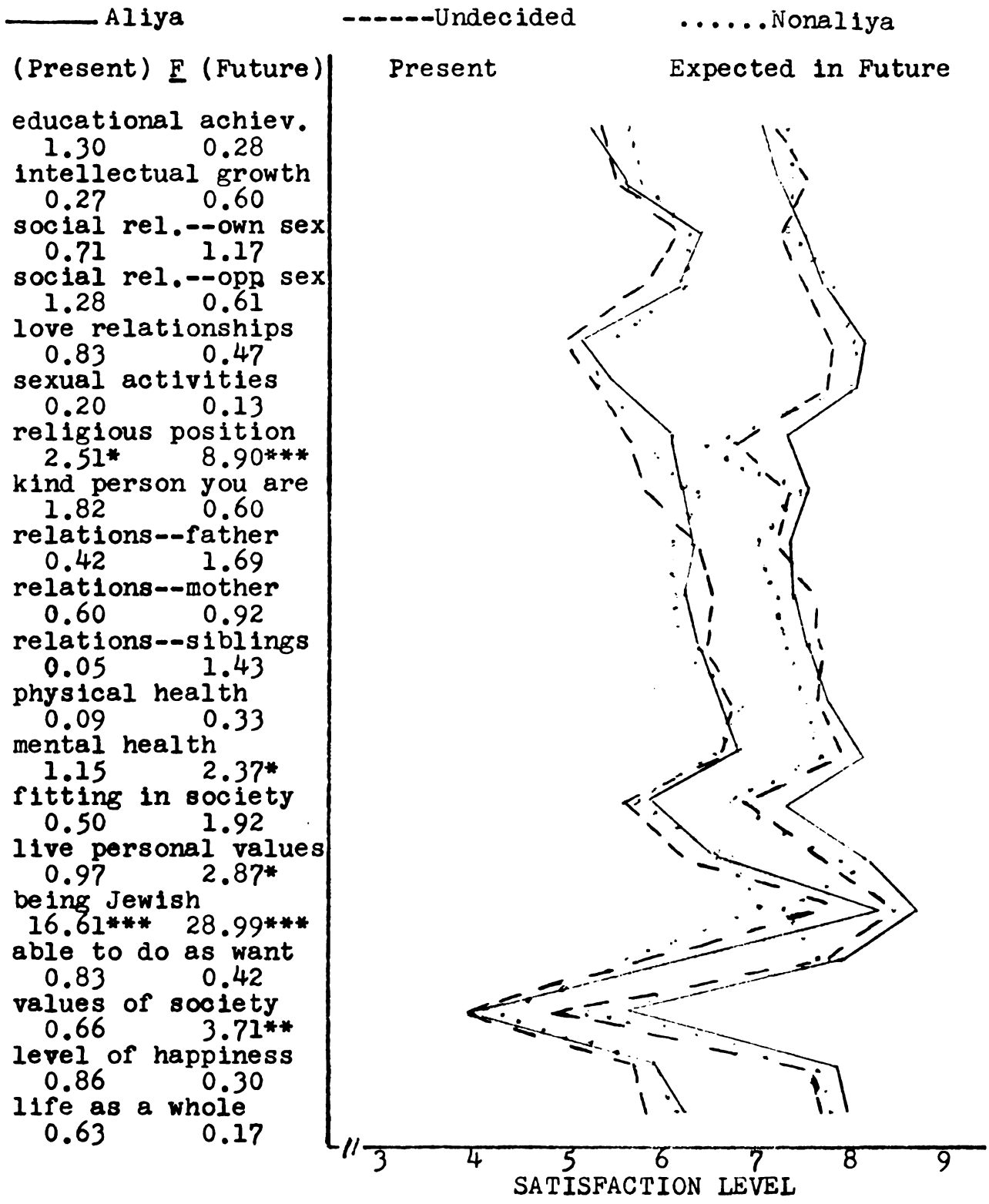
Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Aliya

Dependent Variable	Group									F
	Aliya			Undecided			Nonaliya			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures										
Overall Satis.	5.77	(1.11	-133)	5.74	(1.16	-162)	5.69	(1.14	-120)	0.16
Best Life	5.38	(1.42	-132)	5.63	(1.46	-162)	5.50	(1.40	-120)	1.13
Best Future	7.63	(1.05	-131)	7.40	(1.36	-156)	7.51	(1.48	-117)	1.03
Happy 1-9	5.86	(1.65	-128)	5.71	(1.77	-156)	5.71	(1.60	-115)	0.33
Direct Happiness	2.86	(0.63	-133)	2.82	(0.63	-162)	2.77	(0.69	-120)	0.62
Meansat: Present	6.14	(1.05	-133)	5.97	(1.11	-162)	6.01	(1.12	-120)	0.92
Meansat: Future	7.63	(0.75	-131)	7.47	(0.92	-157)	7.36	(0.92	-120)	2.94*
Self-Esteem Measures										
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.82	(0.80	-133)	2.96	(0.96	-162)	2.93	(0.88	-120)	1.02
Kind of Person[b]	5.96	(1.34	-132)	5.85	(1.66	-157)	5.77	(1.45	-118)	0.51
Kind of Future[b]	7.56	(0.99	-131)	7.58	(1.15	-154)	7.68	(1.12	-181)	0.38
Low-High[b]	6.35	(1.34	-129)	6.10	(1.52	-157)	6.19	(1.39	-114)	1.07
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.41	(0.48	-127)	1.49	(0.64	-159)	1.43	(0.55	-113)	0.91
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.09	(0.70	-116)	2.20	(0.79	-150)	2.27	(0.84	-106)	1.51
Alienation Measures										
Middleton Total	41	(0.25	-133)	42	(0.26	-162)	44	(0.22	-120)	0.74
Power lessness	47	(0.50	-133)	39	(0.49	-162)	46	(0.50	-120)	1.09
Meaning-lessness	23	(0.42	-133)	33	(0.47	-160)	34	(0.48	-120)	2.64*
Norm-lessness	52	(0.50	-132)	53	(0.50	-162)	61	(0.49	-118)	1.18
Cultural Estrang.	42	(0.50	-130)	32	(0.47	-160)	33	(0.47	-119)	1.82
Social Estrang.	47	(0.50	-133)	57	(0.50	-161)	49	(0.50	-119)	1.62
Work Estrang.	35	(0.48	-133)	36	(0.48	-162)	44	(0.50	-120)	1.38
Nettler Total	33	(0.17	-133)	32	(0.16	-159)	33	(0.15	-120)	0.13
Mass Culture	63	(0.27	-133)	60	(0.26	-159)	57	(0.27	-120)	1.98
Familism	13	(0.22	-133)	15	(0.21	-159)	21	(0.26	-120)	4.14**
Political	23	(0.27	-133)	21	(0.24	-159)	21	(0.21	-120)	0.36
Dean Total	2.00	(0.45	-133)	2.04	(0.53	-162)	2.12	(0.47	-120)	2.16
Social Isola.	2.26	(0.55	-133)	2.26	(0.62	-162)	2.29	(0.61	-120)	0.15
Power-lessness	1.94	(0.59	-133)	1.98	(0.64	-162)	2.07	(0.67	-120)	1.47
Norm-lessness	1.69	(0.63	-133)	1.81	(0.70	-161)	1.94	(0.68	-120)	4.27**

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

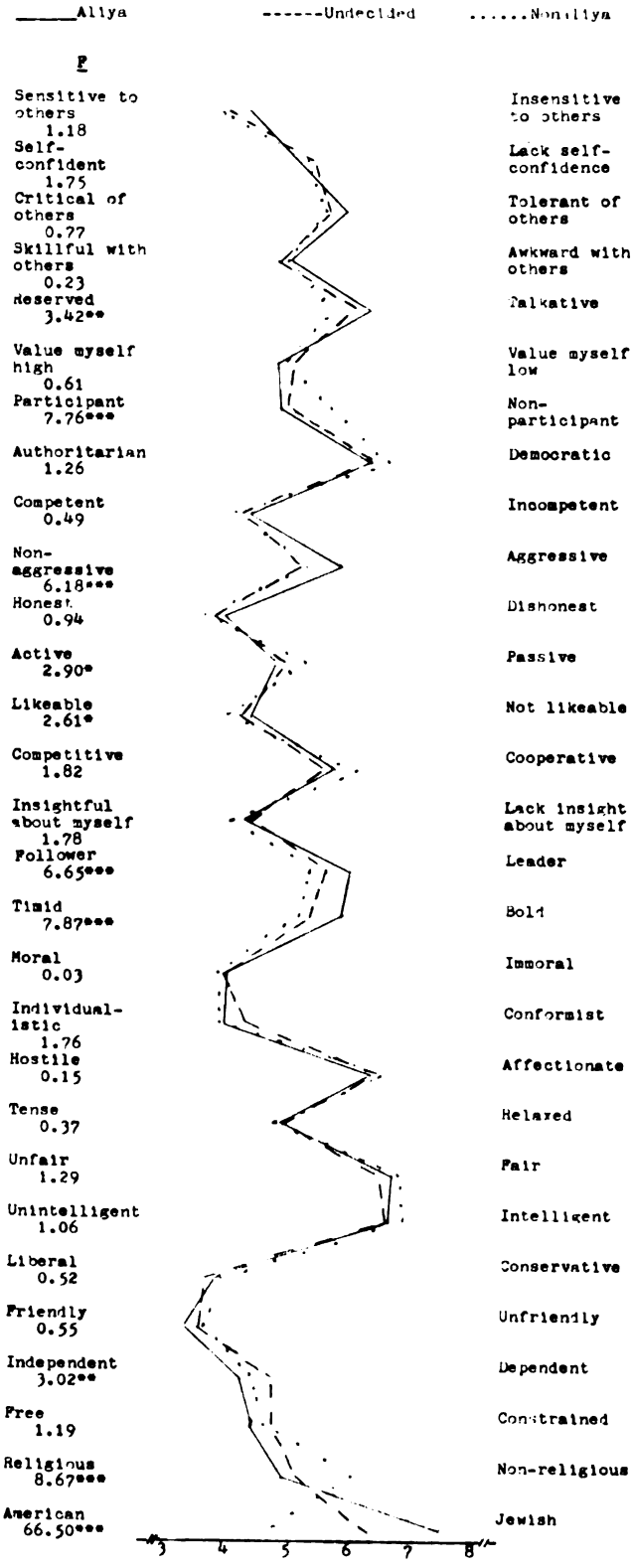
FIGURE 9. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Aliya

in the future in both these areas, plus the area of agreement with the values of the larger society. The Aliya group also expected greater satisfaction in the areas of living according to personal values and of mental health, although only marginally so ($p<.10$).

Inspection of Figure 10 reveals eight significant and two marginally significant differences in terms of the present self-concepts of the three groups of subjects. Prospective migrants to Israel considered themselves to be more "Jewish," as well as more aggressive, bold, independent, talkative, and religious. They also thought they participated more and acted more often as leaders. Most of these differences were obtained in the previous analyses, again indicating the interrelation of the independent variables.

The value differences observed before are also repeated in part in Table 14. The future immigrants valued A Comfortable Life and Pleasure less, and Wisdom more, than did the nonimmigrants. The greater emphasis placed on A Sense of Accomplishment and Equality, however, was only marginally significant.

The individuals planning to go on aliya also placed a significantly greater emphasis on the value of National Security, a difference that was marginally significant on the Zionist Self-Description dimension (see Table 10) and present but not significant on the Group



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 10. Present Self-Concept: Aliya

Table 14

Value Rankings: Aliya

Values	Group[a]						Kruskal-Wallis H
	Aliya		Undecided		Non-Aliya		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	14.91	(17)	13.94	(15)	12.71	(15)	21.76****
An Exciting Life	11.66	(13)	10.91	(12)	10.77	(12)	0.48
A Sense of Accomplishment	7.41	(9)	8.28	(9)	9.33	(10)	5.55*
A World at Peace	5.70	(1)	6.43	(7)	4.85	(1)	4.84*
A World of Beauty	11.41	(12)	11.56	(13)	11.00	(13)	0.33
Equality	8.50	(10)	9.08	(10)	9.14	(9)	5.44*
Family Security	8.67	(11)	10.20	(11)	10.44	(11)	2.10
Freedom	7.00	(8)	5.73	(1)	7.29	(7)	0.83
Happiness	6.25	(5)	5.94	(3)	5.77	(4)	0.55
Inner Harmony	6.30	(6)	6.05	(4)	6.20	(5)	0.16
Mature Love	5.86	(2)	5.81	(2)	5.45	(2)	0.26
National Security	14.61	(15)	16.02	(17)	15.68	(17)	10.71***
Pleasure	13.86	(14)	13.28	(14)	11.14	(14)	23.16****
Salvation	17.62	(18)	17.57	(18)	17.61	(18)	0.30
Self-Respect	6.19	(4)	6.29	(5)	7.25	(6)	3.29
Social Recognition	14.68	(16)	14.31	(16)	13.80	(16)	3.87
True Friendship	5.97	(3)	6.29	(6)	5.65	(3)	0.11
Wisdom	6.96	(7)	6.62	(8)	8.56		16.82****

[a] N's = 128 (Aliya), 160 (Undecided), and 117 (Non-Aliya).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$; ****$p \leq .001$.

Membership and Zionist Beliefs dimensions (see Tables 8 and 12). Those emphasizing National Security, it should be mentioned, often wrote in the margin "for Israel," or something similar.

The value ranking of the Aliya group had a concordance coefficient of .34. The Nonaliya group's was .29, and the Undecideds' .32.

Garin Membership. (Individuals considered "Garin Members" included members and candidates of Garin Hashachar as well as those subjects who were considering joining. "Nongarin" included members of Hamagshimim who are probably or definitely going on aliya, but not with the garin. Non-Hamagshimim members were not involved in this analysis.)

Table 15 reveals that there were no significant differences on the satisfaction or self-esteem measures between the Garin and Nongarin subjects. All obtained differences were minute, and the only evident trend pointed to generally lesser satisfaction levels on the individual continua (see Figure 11) for the Garin, with lesser satisfaction in the area of sibling relationships being significant, and in the area of religious position being marginally so. The differences found on the other dimensions of satisfaction in the other analyses were not repeated here. On the dimensions of the present self-concept (Figure 12), the Garin members considered

Table 15

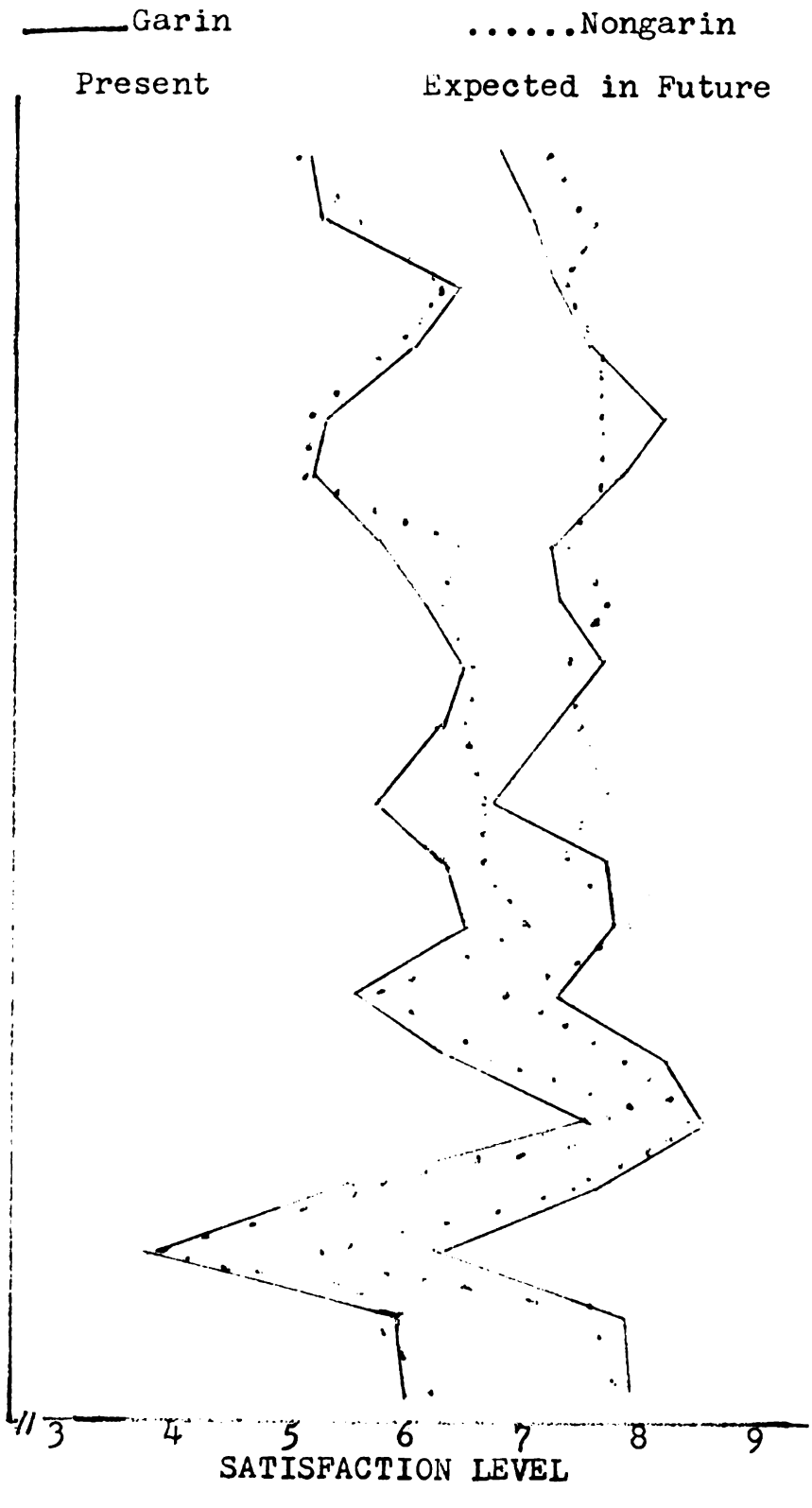
Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Garin Membership

Dependent Variables	Group						t
	Garin			Nongarin			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures							
Overall Satisfac.	5.72	(1.04-	34)	5.72	(1.23-	42)	0.00
Best Life	5.38	(1.28-	34)	5.36	(1.56-	42)	0.08
Best Future	7.79	(0.86-	33)	7.43	(1.09-	42)	1.56
Happy 1-9	5.85	(1.42-	33)	5.68	(1.80-	40)	0.45
Direct Happiness	2.88	(0.59-	34)	2.88	(0.74-	42)	0.01
Meansat: Present	5.87	(1.00-	34)	6.07	(1.07-	42)	0.85
Meansat: Future	7.52	(0.78-	34)	7.51	(0.79-	41)	0.01
Self-Esteem Measures							
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.86	(0.67-	34)	2.88	(0.84-	42)	0.10
Kind of Person[b]	5.97	(1.29-	34)	5.88	(1.23-	42)	0.31
Kind of Future[b]	7.47	(1.16-	34)	7.48	(0.94-	42)	0.02
Low-High[b]	6.21	(1.17-	34)	6.20	(1.49-	41)	0.03
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.40	(0.43-	34)	1.37	(0.43-	40)	0.29
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.20	(0.43-	34)	2.14	(0.75-	38)	0.35
Alienation Measures							
Middleton Total	51	(0.24-	34)	34	(0.25-	42)	3.03****
Power-lessness	59	(0.50-	34)	40	(0.50-	43)	1.60
Meaning-lessness	32	(0.47-	34)	24	(0.43-	42)	0.82
Norm-lessness	56	(0.50-	34)	43	(0.50-	42)	1.12
Cultural Estrang.	65	(0.50-	34)	35	(0.48-	40)	2.63***
Social Estrang.	50	(0.51-	34)	40	(0.50-	42)	0.82
Work Estrang.	44	(0.50-	44)	21	(0.42-	42)	2.15**
Nettler Total	38	(0.17-	34)	31	(0.17-	42)	1.86*
Mass Culture	71	(0.27-	34)	65	(0.25-	42)	0.88
Familism	13	(0.21-	34)	12	(0.22-	42)	0.20
Political	32	(0.28-	34)	16	(0.23-	42)	2.55**
Dean Total	2.06	(0.47-	34)	1.95	(0.46-	42)	1.04
Social Isola.	2.28	(0.53-	34)	2.23	(0.48-	42)	0.44
Power-lessness	2.01	(0.59-	34)	1.85	(0.64-	42)	1.15
Norm-lessness	1.81	(0.61-	34)	1.69	(0.64-	42)	0.82

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

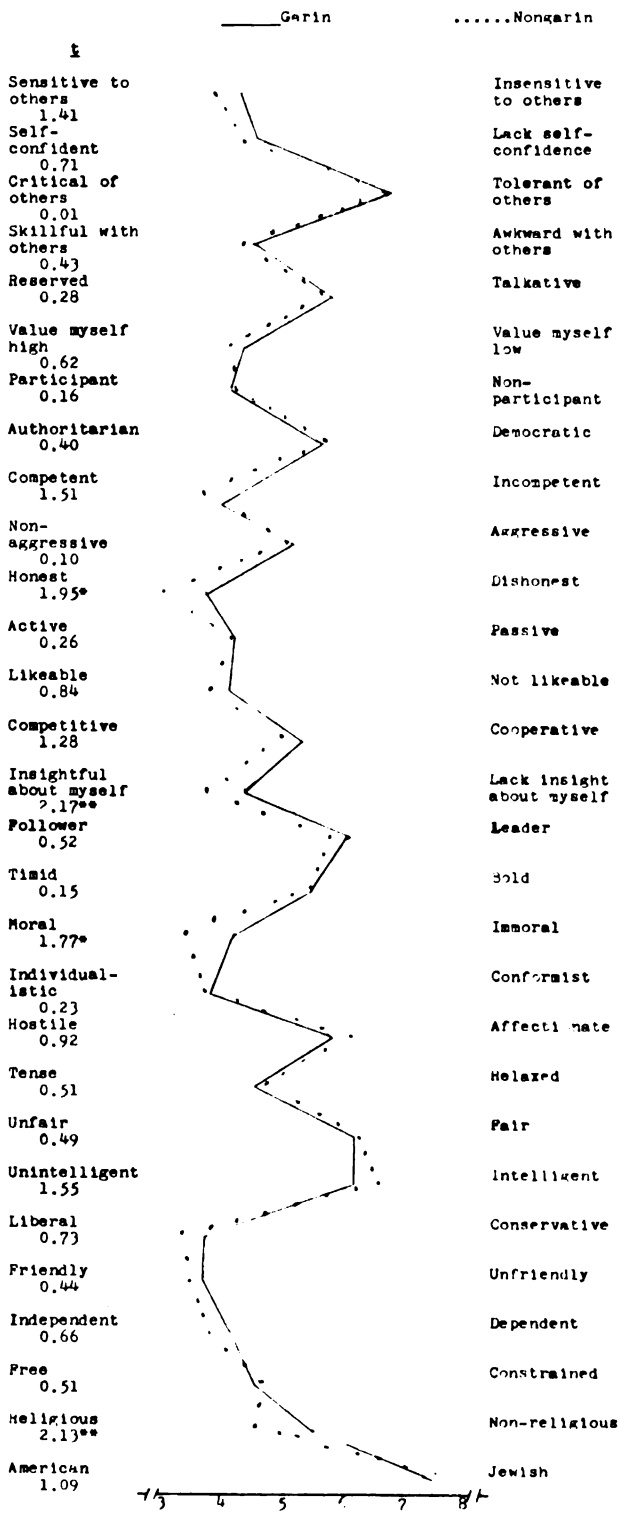
*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.



(Present)	t	(Future)
educational achiev.		
0.16		1.09
intellectual growth		
0.83		2.01**
social rel.--own sex		
0.57		0.15
social rel.--opp. sex		
0.10		0.04
love relationships		
0.18		0.96
sexual activities		
0.02		0.32
religious position		
1.84*		0.91
kind person you are		
0.39		1.13
relations--father		
0.19		0.22
relations--mother		
0.46		0.48
relations--siblings		
2.30**		3.37***
physical health		
0.92		0.79
mental health		
1.26		0.26
fitting in society		
0.18		1.06
live personal values		
0.78		1.54
being Jewish		
1.45		0.11
able to do as want		
0.79		0.44
values of society		
0.21		1.59
level of happiness		
0.50		1.04
life as a whole		
0.50		0.41

*$p < .10$.
**$p < .05$.
***$p < .01$.

FIGURE 11. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Garin Membership



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 12. Present Self-Concept: Garin Membership

themselves less insightful and religious, and tended to consider themselves less honest and moral, than did the Nongarin Hamagshimim members.

The alienation scores for the two groups are presented in Table 15. On every one of the 12 subscales and three scales, the members of the garin scored at least a point higher than did the nonmembers--more alienated. Four of the differences were highly significant. The Garin scored twice as high on Work Estrangement and on Politicalism, and almost twice as high on Cultural Estrangement, with the Middleton Total score also significantly higher. The greater alienation of the Garin on Nettler's overall scale was marginally significant.

The tendency of the differences along the Garin Membership variable to differ from those found on the other measures of movement orientation is repeated on the value rankings (see Table 16). (The members of the garin had a coefficient of concordance of .48, while the nonmembers' coefficient was .34.)

The Garin emphasized the importance of Inner Harmony (which was placed first in importance) and Happiness (second) much more than did the Nongarin Hamagshimim members (eighth and tenth). The garin members also ranked Family Security as significantly less important than did the nongarin group (rank 11 as opposed to rank 3). Nonsignificant trends included the Garin's emphasis on

Table 16

Value Rankings: Garin Membership

Values	Group[a]				Kruskal-Wallis H
	Garin		Nongarin		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	15.90	(17)	15.17	(17)	0.93
An Exciting Life	11.50	(13)	11.83	(13)	0.21
A Sense of Accomplishment	7.07	(7)	7.00	(7)	0.47
A World at Peace	5.50	(4)	5.50	(2)	1.52
A World of Beauty	10.17	(12)	11.30	(12)	0.45
Equality	8.70	(10)	8.50	(11)	0.19
Family Security	10.00	(11)	6.00	(3)	5.08**
Freedom	7.00	(7)	7.17	(9)	0.03
Happiness	4.83	(2)	7.83	(10)	4.07**
Inner Harmony	3.75	(1)	7.10	(8)	4.03**
Mature Love	5.67	(5)	4.50	(1)	0.02
National Security	14.67	(16)	14.50	(16)	0.31
Pleasure	14.50	(15)	14.00	(14)	0.28
Salvation	17.73	(18)	17.67	(18)	0.01
Self-Respect	5.30	(3)	6.30	(5)	1.50
Social Recognition	14.50	(14)	14.36	(15)	0.15
True Friendship	5.90	(6)	6.00	(4)	0.07
Wisdom	7.67	(9)	6.90	(6)	0.08

[a] *N*'s = 34 (Garin), and 38 (Nongarin).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$p < .10$; **$p < .05$.

Self-Respect, and de-emphasis on Mature Love and Wisdom, when compared with their fellow movement members.

Major Hypotheses: Zionist-Irrelevant Measures

Communalism. The scores of the Communal, Undecided, and Noncommunal groups on each of the dependent variables are presented in Table 17. In terms of satisfaction with life, Communal individuals were significantly less satisfied than were either of the other groups on the Best Life and Meansat: Future measures, and were slightly more satisfied than the Undecideds, but significantly less satisfied than the Noncommunal subjects, on Direct Happiness, Meansat: Present, Overall Satisfaction, and Best Future. Nonsignificant trends on most of the esteem measures pointed to slightly higher self-esteem for the Communal subjects.

Figure 13 illustrates the mean scores on the individual dimensions of satisfaction. In specifying present levels of satisfaction, the obtained Noncommunal mean was, in all but two cases, higher than the Communal and Undecided means; the latter two groups were fairly evenly divided in possessing the lowest of the satisfaction levels. Eighteen of the 20 individual satisfaction dimensions exhibited significant or marginally significant differences; a similar pattern was evident on the expected levels of satisfaction five years in the future.

Table 17

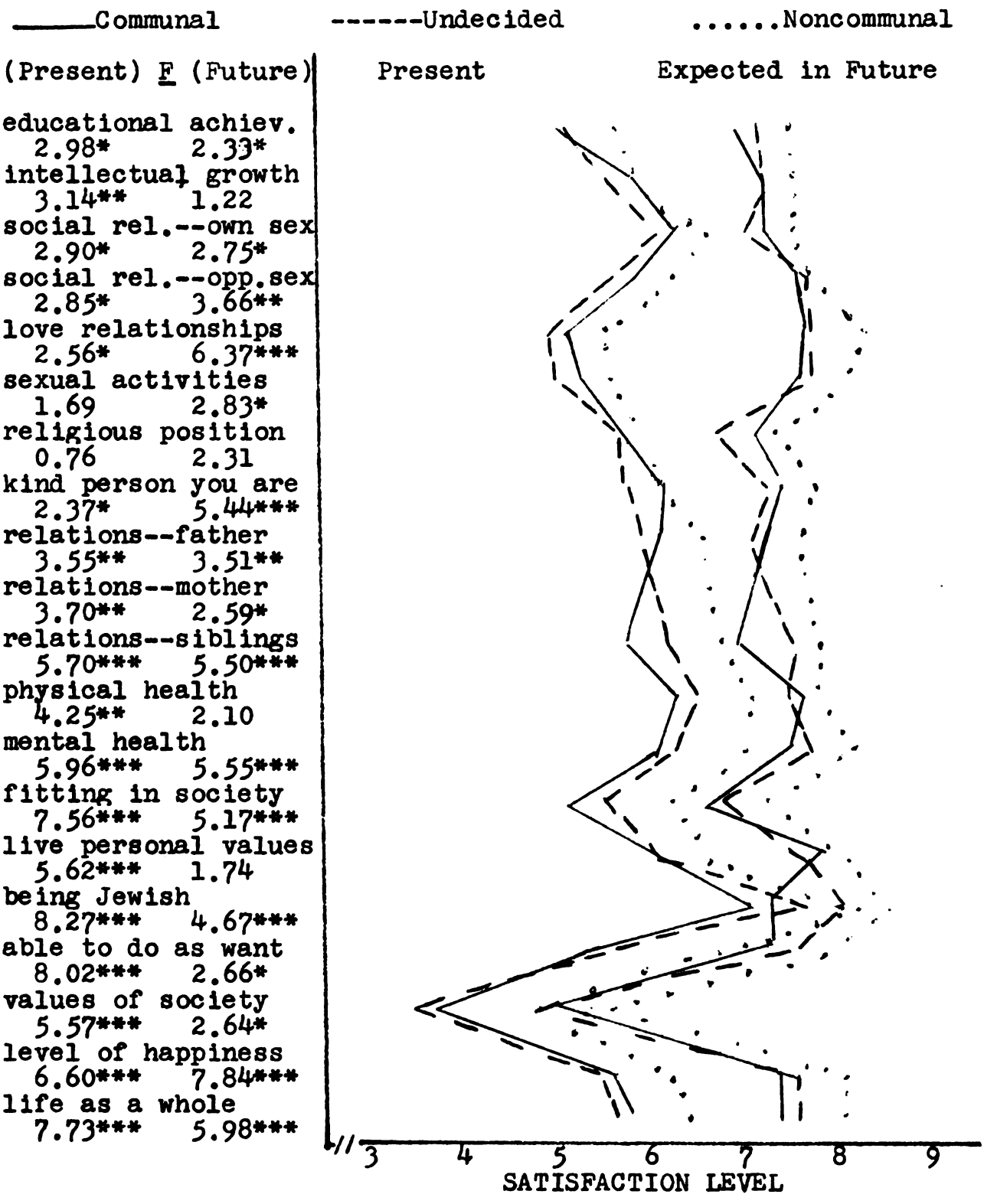
Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to Communalism

Dependent Variable	Group									F
	Communal			Undecided			Noncommunal			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures										
Overall Satisfac.	5.64	(1.06-	63)	5.55	(1.21-167)		5.99	(1.06-145)		6.14****
Best Life	5.19	(1.40-	62)	5.36	(1.45-167)		5.81	(1.35-145)		5.66****
Best Future	7.32	(1.48-	60)	7.27	(1.40-161)		7.83	(1.04-143)		7.23****
Happy 1-9	5.82	(1.55-	62)	5.63	(1.79-163)		5.94	(1.61-138)		1.34
Direct Happiness	2.83	(0.61-	63)	2.71	(0.68-167)		2.92	(0.62-145)		4.17**
Meansat: Present	5.87	(0.99-	63)	5.81	(1.10-167)		6.38	(1.05-145)		12.02****
Meansat: Future	7.30	(0.96-	62)	7.36	(0.90-164)		7.74	(0.74-143)		9.30****
Self-Esteem Measures										
Overall Self-Est.[a]	2.79	(0.83-	63)	3.00	(0.89-167)		2.86	(0.91-145)		1.60
Kind of Person[b]	6.00	(1.34-	62)	5.78	(1.54-165)		5.91	(1.55-141)		0.61
Kind of Future[b]	7.45	(1.13-	62)	7.59	(1.07-162)		7.69	(1.04-140)		1.13
Low-High[b]	6.28	(1.48-	61)	6.08	(1.44-164)		6.33	(1.34-138)		1.24
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.36	(0.51-	62)	1.47	(0.59-162)		1.43	(0.53-137)		0.96
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.03	(0.79-	59)	2.25	(0.71-150)		2.17	(0.78-127)		1.76
Alienation Measures										
Middleton Total	42	(0.23-	63)	45	(0.25-167		40	(0.25-145)		1.72
Powerlessness	42	(0.50-	63)	43	(0.50-167)		46	(0.50-145)		0.41
Meaninglessness	30	(0.46-	63)	32	(0.47-165)		28	(0.45-145)		0.29
Normlessness	48	(0.50-	63)	59	(0.49-167)		52	(0.50-143)		1.45
Cultural Estrang.	57	(0.50-	63)	36	(0.48-165)		29	(0.46-141)		7.63****
Social Estrang.	43	(0.50-	63)	54	(0.50-166)		48	(0.50-145)		2.00
Work Estrang.	33	(0.48-	67)	41	(0.49-167)		34	(0.47-145)		1.17
Nettler Total	40	(0.16-	63)	34	(0.17-165)		28	(0.14-144)		12.84****
Mass Culture	72	(0.25-	63)	63	(0.26-165)		52	(0.26-144)		15.07****
Familism	18	(0.22-	63)	17	(0.23-165)		13	(0.22-144)		1.52
Political	29	(0.28-	63)	22	(0.26-165)		20	(0.21-144)		3.44**
Dean Total	2.04	(0.56-	63)	2.12	(0.49-167)		1.97	(0.45-145)		4.36**
Social Isola.	2.13	(0.62-	63)	2.38	(0.56-167)		2.20	(0.60-145)		5.82****
Powerlessness	2.09	(0.67-	63)	2.04	(0.65-167)		1.91	(0.56-145)		2.71*
Normlessness	1.82	(0.79-	63)	1.89	(0.67-166)		1.70	(0.65-145)		2.94*

[a]A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b]A high score indicates high self-esteem.

*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.



(Present) F (Future)
educational achiev.
2.98* 2.33*
intellectual growth
3.14** 1.22
social rel.--own sex
2.90* 2.75*
social rel.--opp.sex
2.85* 3.66**
love relationships
2.56* 6.37***
sexual activities
1.69 2.83*
religious position
0.76 2.31
kind person you are
2.37* 5.44***
relations--father
3.55** 3.51**
relations--mother
3.70** 2.59*
relations--siblings
5.70*** 5.50***
physical health
4.25** 2.10
mental health
5.96*** 5.55***
fitting in society
7.56*** 5.17***
live personal values
5.62*** 1.74
being Jewish
8.27*** 4.67***
able to do as want
8.02*** 2.66*
values of society
5.57*** 2.64*
level of happiness
6.60*** 7.84***
life as a whole
7.73*** 5.98***

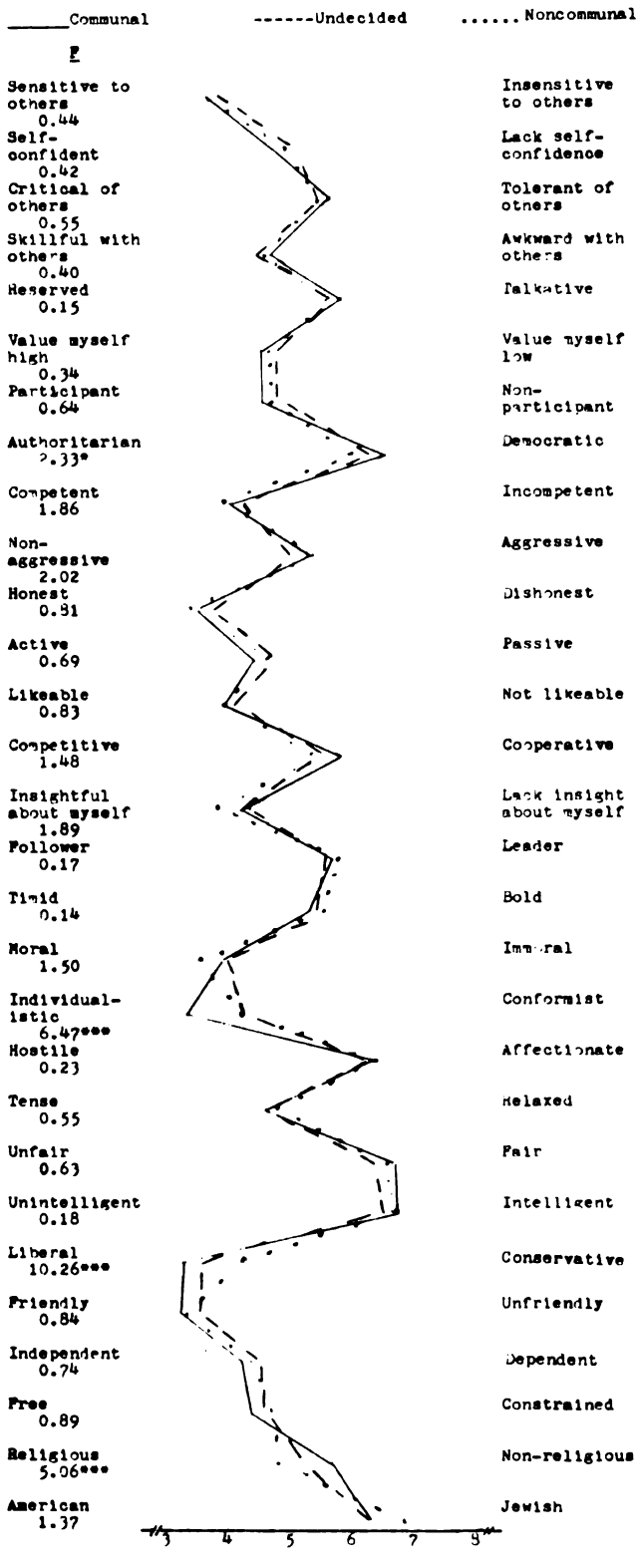
*$p < .10$.
**$p < .05$.
***$p < .01$.

FIGURE 13. Dimensions of Satisfaction: Communalism

The group means on the individual Self-Concept dimensions, shown in Figure 14, reveal only three differences reaching standard levels of significance, although all three were highly significant. Communal subjects saw themselves as more liberal, individualistic, and nonreligious (and tended to see themselves as more democratic). The tendency for Communal subjects to score themselves as less "Jewish" was not significant.

The alienation scores are also presented in Table 17. The Communal group was the most alienated on six of the 15 measures; on Politicalism, Nettler's overall scale, and the two measures of cultural alienation the differences were significant, while the difference on Dean Powerlessness was marginally so. Also highly significant was the tendency to be more alienated than was the Noncommunal group, but less alienated than the Undecideds, on the overall Dean Scale; the same trend on the Dean Normlessness Subscale approached significance. The Communal respondents were least alienated only on the two social alienation measures, although only the difference on Dean's Social Isolation Subscale was significant.

The value rankings (in which the Communal group had a concordance coefficient of .44 in comparison with the Noncommunal's .28 and the Undecided's .32) are given in Table 18. Less of an interest was displayed by the Communal individuals in the values of A Comfortable Life,



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 14. Present Self-Concept: Communalism

Table 18

Value Rankings: Communalism

Values	Group[a]						Kruskal-Wallis H
	Communal		Undecided		Non-communal		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	15.54	(16)	13.92	(15)	13.21	(15)	20.83****
An Exciting Life	10.25	(12)	11.21	(12)	11.08	(12)	1.69
A Sense of Accomplishment	7.80	(10)	8.91	(10)	8.05	(10)	1.01
A World at Peace	3.45	(1)	5.47	(1)	7.65	(9)	11.68***
A World of Beauty	9.29	(11)	11.46	(13)	12.18	(13)	16.36****
Equality	7.67	(9)	7.96	(9)	9.93	(11)	16.35****
Family Security	11.27	(13)	9.73	(11)	7.39	(7)	16.56****
Freedom	6.42	(6)	6.13	(4)	7.50	(8)	7.04**
Happiness	6.14	(5)	6.86	(7)	5.39	(1)	3.95
Inner Harmony	4.00	(2)	6.25	(5)	6.60	(5)	2.95
Mature Love	5.85	(3)	5.79	(2)	5.50	(2)	1.15
National Security	16.53	(17)	15.40	(17)	15.03	(17)	8.17**
Pleasure	13.78	(14)	13.30	(14)	12.67	(14)	2.67
Salvation	17.74	(18)	17.55	(18)	17.59	(18)	3.38
Self-Respect	6.75	(7)	7.05	(8)	6.14	(3)	2.08
Social Recognition	14.86	(15)	14.70	(16)	13.39	(16)	4.32
True Friendship	5.92	(4)	5.82	(3)	6.29	(4)	2.26
Wisdom	7.65	(8)	6.78	(6)	7.13	(6)	0.78

[a] N's = 61 (Communal), 163 (Undecided), 142 (Non-communal).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$; ****$p \leq .001$.

Family Security, and National Security; more of an emphasis was put on A World at Peace, A World of Beauty, and Equality. Also significant was the tendency for the Communal group to be more interested than was the Noncommunal group, but slightly less interested than the Undecideds, in Freedom.

The two most important values for the Communal respondents were A World at Peace and Inner Harmony. These values were ranked first and fifth for the Undecideds, and ninth and fifth for the Noncommunal subjects. Happiness, ranked first in importance for the Noncommunal group, was fifth for those interested in Communalism.

General Migration. The data for the General Migration dimension are presented in Table 19. Those subjects indicating a wish to emigrate from the United States to countries other than Israel were less satisfied, more alienated, and had lower self-esteem on almost every measure. (The Migrant group was composed of 64 subjects, half from the Aliya group and about a third--30%--from the Nonaliya group.)

On the Overall Satisfaction measure, as on most of the other satisfaction measures, subjects inclined toward emigration from the United States were significantly less satisfied than were the other respondents. As demonstrated in Figure 15, this was more likely to be the case than not

Table 19

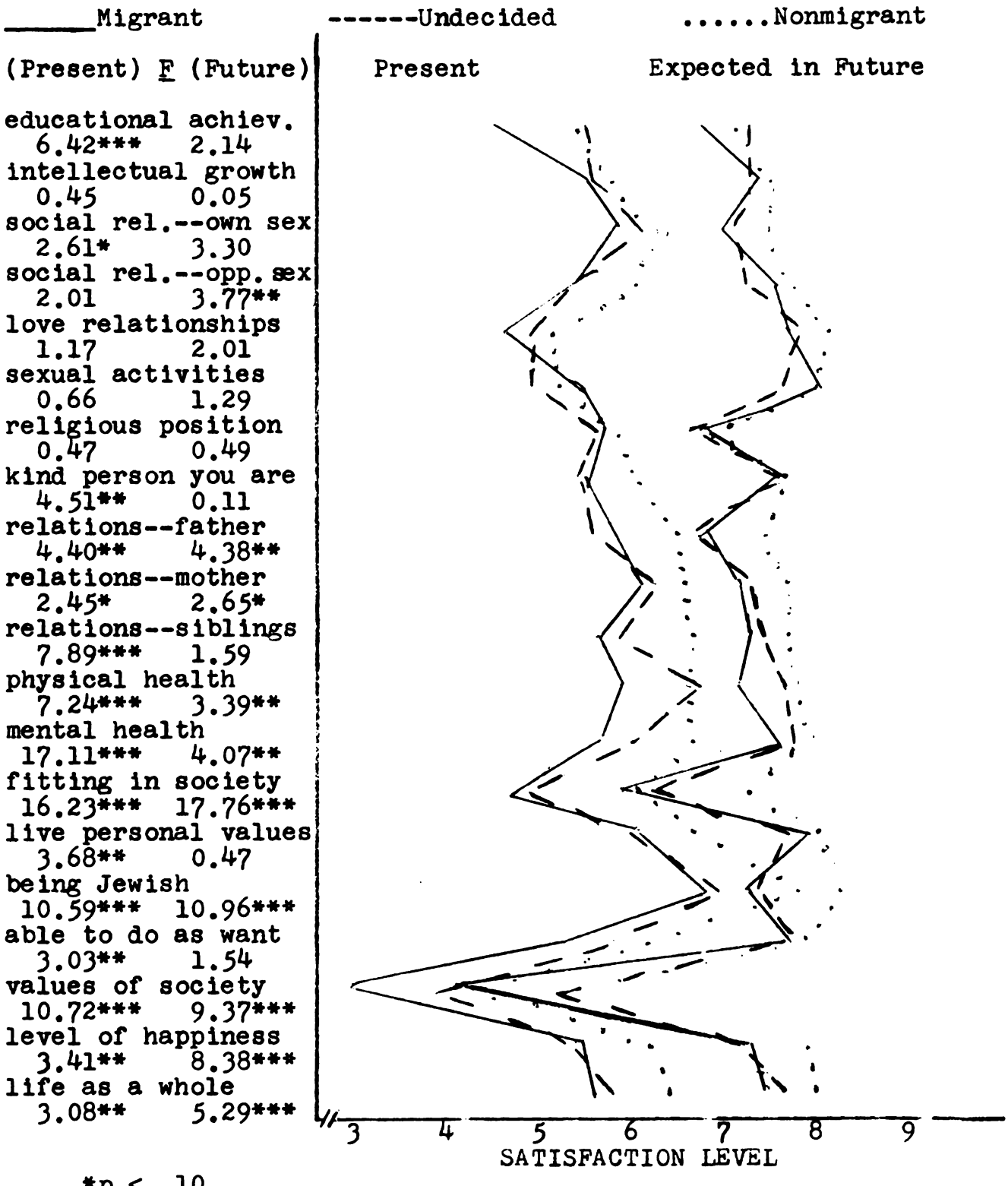
Satisfaction, Self-Esteem, and Alienation as Related to General Migration

Dependent Variables	Group									F
	Migrant			Undecided			Nonmigrant			
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
Satisfaction Measures										
Overall Satisfac.	5.35	(1.23-	64)	5.49	(1.53-	49)	5.85	(1.82-	292)	6.36****
Best Life	5.09	(1.46-	64)	5.32	(1.60-	49)	5.63	(1.38-	291)	4.23**
Best Future	7.07	(1.69-	61)	7.38	(1.42-	47)	7.63	(1.18-	286)	4.90***
Happy 1-9	5.45	(1.90-	62)	5.54	(2.12-	48)	5.85	(1.55-	280)	1.79
Direct Happiness	2.69	(0.71-	64)	2.69	(0.80-	49)	2.86	(0.61-	292)	2.77*
Meansat: Present	5.55	(1.05-	64)	5.71	(1.40-	49)	6.20	(1.00-	292)	12.48****
Meansat: Future	7.15	(1.04-	63)	7.25	(1.03-	49)	7.61	(0.78-	286)	9.68****
Self-Esteem Measures										
Overall Self-Est.[a]	3.16	(1.07-	64)	2.97	(1.04-	49)	2.84	(0.79-	292)	3.65**
Kind of Person[b]	5.74	(1.65-	62)	5.71	(1.84-	48)	5.92	(1.41-	287)	0.68
Kind of Future[b]	7.51	(1.27-	61)	7.34	(1.27-	47)	7.57	(1.02-	285)	2.23
Low-High[b]	5.89	(1.80-	63)	6.14	(1.67-	49)	6.28	(1.28-	279)	1.93
Aspired Discrep.[a]	1.65	(0.69-	60)	1.48	(0.64-	49)	1.41	(0.52-	282)	4.68***
Ideal Discrep.[a]	2.35	(0.82-	55)	2.19	(0.88-	44)	2.16	(0.75-	267)	1.36
Alienation Measures										
Middleton Total	.49	(0.24-	63)	.47	(0.26-	49)	.40	(0.24-	292)	4.51**
Powerlessness	.50	(0.50-	64)	.43	(0.50-	43)	.42	(0.50-	292)	0.61
Meaninglessness	.20	(0.41-	64)	.40	(0.49-	48)	.30	(0.46-	291)	2.49*
Normlessness	.60	(0.49-	63)	.51	(0.50-	49)	.54	(0.50-	290)	0.41
Cultural Estrang.	.60	(0.49-	63)	.48	(0.50-	48)	.29	(0.45-	288)	13.54****
Social Estrang.	.65	(0.48-	63)	.54	(0.50-	48)	.48	(0.50-	292)	3.16**
Work Estrang.	.39	(0.49-	64)	.43	(0.50-	49)	.37	(0.48-	292)	0.32
Nettler Total	.44	(0.18-	63)	.37	(0.14-	49)	.30	(0.15-	290)	25.57****
Mass Culture	.72	(0.23-	63)	.72	(0.22-	49)	.56	(0.27-	290)	16.04****
Familism	.29	(0.28-	63)	.17	(0.24-	49)	.13	(0.21-	290)	13.52****
Political	.32	(0.31-	63)	.20	(0.26-	49)	.20	(0.21-	290)	6.48****
Dean Total	2.20	(0.49-	64)	2.10	(0.54-	49)	2.02	(0.48-	292)	3.95**
Social Isola.	2.43	(0.60-	64)	2.23	(0.67-	49)	2.24	(0.57-	292)	3.04
Powerlessness	2.18	(0.65-	64)	2.07	(0.68-	49)	1.95	(0.62-	292)	3.94
Normlessness	1.87	(0.74-	64)	1.92	(0.60-	49)	1.78	(0.68-	291)	1.09

[a] A high score indicates low self-esteem.

[b] A high score indicates high self-esteem.

*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .01$. ****$p < .005$.



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

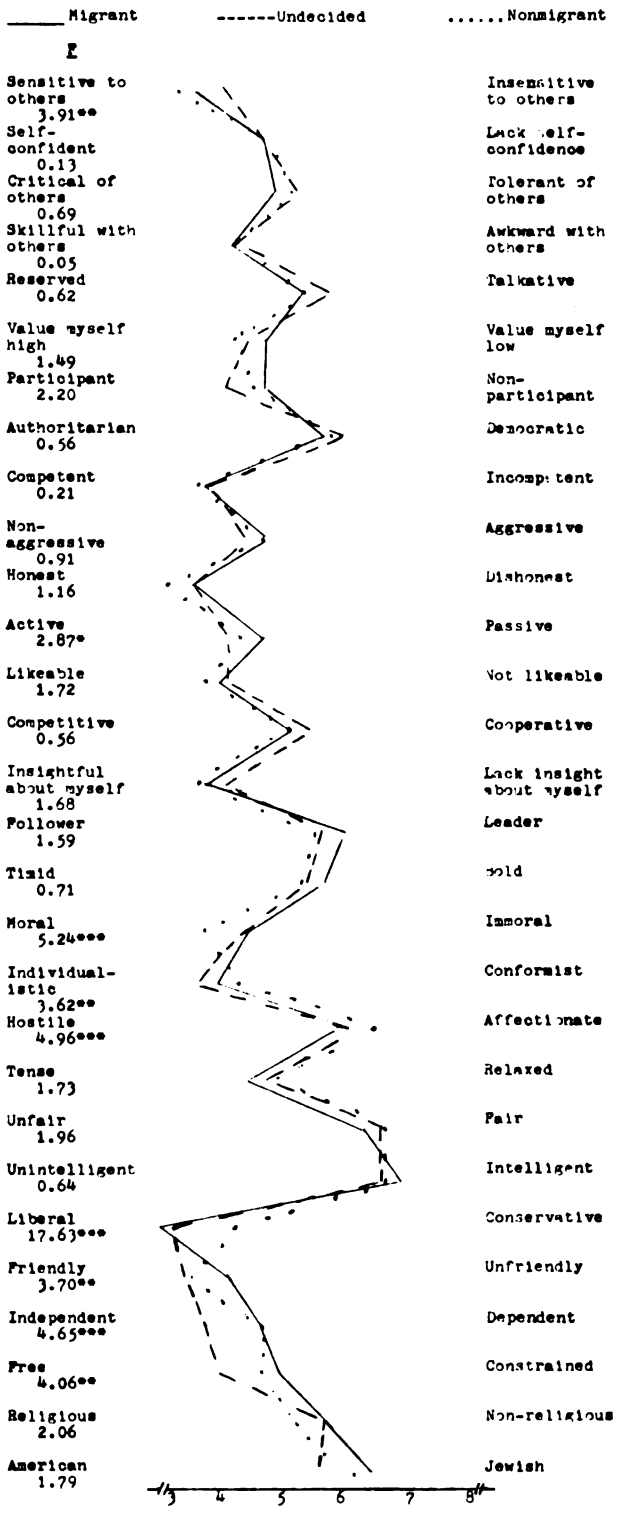
FIGURE 15. Dimensions of Satisfaction: General Migration

on the individual satisfaction continua as well, both for present levels of satisfaction and for the levels expected in the future.

In comparison with the Nonmigrant subjects, Migrant subjects had significantly lower self-esteem as assessed by the Aspired Discrepancy measure and the Overall Self-Esteem measure; the remaining obtained differences were not significant. On the dimensions of the self-concept shown in Figure 16, Migrant subjects felt they were significantly more immoral, hostile, liberal, and unfriendly than did the Nonmigrant subjects. The groups did not differ on the American-Jewish continuum to a significant degree.

Significantly greater alienation for the Migrant group was the rule on ten of the 15 measures of alienation, as seen in Table 19. There was, also, a marginally significant trend for the Migration subjects to score lowest on Middleton's Meaninglessness item. No apparent differences were obtained on the Middleton Powerlessness and Work Estrangement items, or on either measure of normlessness.

The value rankings of the groups are indicated in Table 20. The Migrant group had the highest concordance coefficient (.43), with that of the Nonmigrant group being .28 and that of the Undecided group .39.



*p < .10.
**p < .05.
***p < .01.

FIGURE 16. Present Self-Concept: General Migration

Table 20

Value Rankings: General Migration

Values	Group[a]						Kruskal-Wallis H
	Migrant		Undecided		Non-migrant		
	Med	Rnk[b]	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
A Comfortable Life	15.50	(16)	13.94	(15)	13.32	(15)	15.71****
An Exciting Life	11.50	(13)	9.17	(10)	11.08	(12)	1.75
A Sense of Accomplishment	9.00	(10)	9.70	(11)	8.07	(9)	1.06
A World at Peace	5.06	(2)	4.50	(1)	6.13	(4)	3.23
A World of Beauty	9.50	(11)	10.00	(12)	12.22	(13)	17.78****
Equality	8.63	(9)	8.25	(9)	9.24	(11)	4.04
Family Security	11.32	(12)	10.17	(13)	9.09	(10)	9.99***
Freedom	5.50	(3)	6.00	(4)	6.75	(7)	4.07
Happiness	6.00	(6)	6.00	(5)	5.98	(2)	0.14
Inner Harmony	4.36	(1)	6.90	(7)	6.46	(6)	4.59
Mature Love	5.83	(5)	5.90	(3)	5.70	(1)	0.30
National Security	16.38	(17)	15.90	(17)	15.00	(17)	7.90**
Pleasure	12.00	(14)	13.79	(14)	12.88	(14)	3.64
Salvation	17.59	(18)	17.79	(18)	17.56	(18)	5.81*
Self-Respect	7.50	(8)	5.50	(2)	6.42	(5)	1.00
Social Recognition	14.36	(15)	14.64	(16)	14.42	(16)	1.89
True Friendship	5.59	(4)	6.10	(6)	6.07	(3)	1.30
Wisdom	7.30	(7)	7.10	(8)	7.18	(8)	1.24

[a] $\underline{N}$'s = 64 (Migrants), 49 &Undecided), and 292 (Non-migrants).

[b] Rank order; the lower the number, the more important the value.

*$\underline{p} < .10$; **$\underline{p} < .05$; ***$\underline{p} < .01$; ****$\underline{p} \leq .001$.

Individuals planning to leave the United States even if not to Israel placed significantly less of an emphasis on A Comfortable Life, Family Security, and National Security, and a correspondingly greater emphasis on An Exciting Life and A World of Beauty. Inner Harmony, Peace, and Freedom--the three values felt to be most important by the Migrant group--were ranked sixth, fourth, and seventh for those probably not migrating.

Stated Reasons for Aliya

The subjects were asked to "briefly state" the reasons for their answers to the question concerning their aliya plans. Table 21 presents the distribution of responses that could be considered reasons for going on aliya that were given by the members of Hamagshimim, the Other Members, and the Nonmembers. (Reasons were given primarily by those at least "leaning towards" aliya, but 12 individuals leaning against it or definitely not going also gave reasons for possibly going.)

As expected, many of the respondents indicated that it was impossible to state their reasons "briefly." Some merely left the space blank. As can be seen in the table, about a third of the respondents answering this question gave answers that could not be readily classified, either because of unclear or idiosyncratic responses, or because the answer was too long or involved to enable

Table 21

Stated Reasons for Aliya

Expressed Reason	Group						Total	
	Hamagshimim		Other Members		Nonmembers			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Better life, happier there	16	(21)	13	(25)	11	(30)	40	(24)
Duty, purpose in life, "needed"	19	(25)	19	(36)	6	(16)	44	(27)
Jewish or religious values	8	(11)	55	(10)	2	(05)	15	(09)
To leave the United States	1	(01)	1	(02)	8	(22)	10	(06)
Combination, other	31	(41)	14	(27)	10	(27)	55	(34)
Total	75	(99)	52	(100)	37	(100)	164	(100)

identification of a single primary motivating factor. Twenty-four percent of the subjects giving reasons indicated a desire for a "better life" of one sort or another. One-fourth of the movement members--but only one of every six Nonmembers--indicated a sense of duty, or the belief that they felt "needed" in Israel, that Israel would provide them with a "sense of purpose." Nonmembers deemphasized Jewish values or religious-based reasons in comparison with the other groups. However, only one member of Hamagshimim, and one Other Member, expressed the sentiment that "leaving the United States" was the major reason for aliya, while eight of the 37 Nonmembers giving reasons--22%--gave this as their reason. (The overall chi square for the table was 26.34; with eight degrees of freedom, this was significant at the .001 level).

DISCUSSION

Summary of Results

The data gathered in the present investigation failed to provide evidence in support of the long-assumed view that individuals who participate in social movements are dissatisfied, alienated, low self-esteem people. In fact, the results suggested a trend toward just the opposite state of affairs, although the applicability of the dissatisfaction-based theories to particular segments of movements appears to be supported. In addition, the importance of the individual's value orientation was affirmed.

Satisfaction. Excluding the 20 individual satisfaction continua, there was only a single significant difference (separating High and Low believers in regard to their expectations of future satisfactions) among the 35 possible differences in the area of satisfaction along the five Participation and Commitment-Level dimensions. That single difference, and the three differences that were marginally significant, could easily have been obtained by chance out of the numerous analyses of variance performed on the data.

However, of the 35 comparisons made (seven for each of the Zionist-related independent variables of Group Membership, Zionist Self-Description, Zionist Beliefs, Aliya, and Garin Membership), 24 were in the direction of greater satisfaction for the movement groups. This would seem to at least strongly suggest the possibility of greater satisfaction levels on the part of social movement participants, at least of participants in the American Zionist youth movement. (It should be noted that five of the eleven exceptions to the above trend occurred when comparing Garin with Nongarin members.)

The trend toward greater satisfaction on the part of the movement participants seemed to be consistently related to responses on the 20 individual continua examining life satisfaction in different areas. Individuals in the movement-oriented groups were generally more satisfied with particular dimensions of satisfaction--with being Jewish and with the individual's religious position and, for the future, with expected agreement with societal values (presumably after arrival in a different society, after aliya). Again, however, these trends did not hold for the garin.

Self-esteem. A situation similar to the trends of the satisfaction measures was found to characterize the area of self-esteem as well, although here the obtained greater esteem on the part of the movement-oriented

subjects (except for the garin) was much less clear. Hamagshimim members tended (to a marginally-significant degree) to have the highest self-esteem as measured by the Aspired Discrepancy weighted mean, and to fall between the other two groups on the Ideal Discrepancy and Low-High measures. However, the remaining measures of self-esteem produced no other significant differences on the Group Membership variable, and no differences at all were significant on the Zionist Self-Description, Zionist Beliefs, Aliya, and Garin Membership dimensions.

In terms of the perceived selves of the subjects, fairly stable trends marked by generally-significant differences were observed. Members of Hamagshimim, respondents considering themselves Zionists, High believers, and individuals planning to live in Israel (but not, however, members of the Garin when compared to the other members of Hamagshimim) felt they were more "Jewish" on the American-Jewish continuum, and more religious, bold, independent, aggressive, active, and talkative than did their opposites; while each of these differences was not evident on each of the comparisons, the overall tendencies were quite clear. Also evident was the tendency on the part of the movement members to consider themselves more "participant" than "non-participant," and more "leader" than "follower."

Alienation. While nonsignificance was the rule for the satisfaction and self-esteem measures (except for particular individual continua), it was much less so for the measures of alienation. With 12 subscales and three total scale scores for each of the five Zionist-related dimensions, there were 75 comparisons made. Sixteen differences (21%) equalled or surpassed the .05 level of probability, and six more were marginally significant. As with the other areas, comparisons of alienation along the dimension of Garin Membership did not follow the trend of the other dimensions; here, in fact, the trend was completely reversed.

In general, movement-oriented subjects were less alienated than were their opposites, most significantly on the Familism, Work Estrangement, and Dean Normlessness and Powerlessness Subscales. The main exceptions to this trend of lesser alienation were the two measures of cultural alienation; in all cases, the movement-oriented group was more alienated than were the other groups, although nonsignificance was characteristic of these differences.

The trend on the alienation measures for the garin was much different. While lesser alienation was usually the case for movement participants, the Garin members were more alienated than were the members of Hamagshimim going

on aliya as individuals--on every measure of alienation. Four of these differences were significant.

Values. The fourth main dependent variable, the individual's value orientation, was originally conceived of as being a possible source of dissatisfaction for those subjects with "nonnormative" values, or for those who could not fulfill their value-related desires. While the hypothesized dissatisfaction was not found, value differences were, indicating, perhaps, that value orientations may be motivational without being dissatisfaction-arousing.

Differences in value-rankings between the Garin and Nongarin members did not parallel the differences obtained along the other dimensions. Most of the significant differences that separated the groups occurred on the values ranked among the least important for all subjects--values, presumably, that were not of overriding significance for the individual. In general, movement-oriented individuals ranked Pleasure and A Comfortable Life less important, and A Sense of Accomplishment more important, than did the nonmovement respondents. Mature Love, Self-Respect, and Family Security were emphasized more by the movement groups, while Happiness was emphasized less.

Within Hamagshimim, however, Garin and Nongarin members going on aliya did not differ in their emphasis

on the values of A Comfortable Life, Pleasure, and A Sense of Accomplishment. What did differentiate the two groups was the stress placed on Inner Harmony and Happiness (which were much more important for the members of the garin) and on Family Security (much less important for the garin); the garin also deemphasized Mature Love in comparison with the nonmembers.

Zionist-Irrelevant. Although the hypotheses concerning greater dissatisfaction among Zionist-movement participants were not supported (except for the within-movement finding of greater alienation among garin members, and for generally-pervasive value differences), the hypotheses concerning the dimensions of Communalism and General Migration were found to be more tenable. It was predicted that interest in migration from the United States and in communalism would be related to plans for aliya and to garin membership; the results indicated that this was generally the case.

It was also expected that dissatisfaction would be greater among individuals interested in communalism or in general migration than among the uninterested. Except for scores on the self-esteem measures along the Communalism dimension, this was generally so. The differences in trends throughout the study for the garin and for the other movement-oriented groups may be related to the garin members' greater interest in general migration and

communalism. That which is responsible for the greater alienation and dissatisfaction of individuals planning to leave the United States regardless of destination, and of those interested in communal living, may be part of the specific motivation behind garin membership.

Possible Explanations

In view of the findings that participants in the social movement under investigation were not characterized by a high degree of alienation or by low degrees of satisfaction or self-esteem, but that the value orientations of the members did differ from those of the nonmembers in important ways, it becomes necessary to suggest a reasonable explanation for the obtained results--results that are generally in opposition to most theories of social-movement participation. The great dissatisfaction of members of movements, stated or implied in numerous writings on the subject, was not found.

One possibility, of course, is that the level of an individual's satisfaction is not, after all, related to his tendency to take part in social movements. Perhaps the consistent finding of value differences, rather than satisfaction differences, points to the possibility that, indeed, social movement participation is largely based on (or a cause of?) individual value orientations, not dissatisfaction or alienation. Perhaps an individual who

deemphasizes the importance of such things as A Comfortable Life and Pleasure, and is more concerned than most with A Sense of Accomplishment and Self-Respect, is prime material for attraction to a movement.

In fact, the lesser movement emphasis placed on the traditional American value of living comfortably may be a factor in the trend toward greater alienation for the movement in the area of cultural alienation--alienation, after all, from American culture. It is entirely conceivable that the desire for accomplishment and self-respect is answered in the movement, and especially in aliya to a land where the cultural alienation may be expected to be reduced and where "agreement with the values of society in general" may be expected to increase. (Perhaps the greater movement emphasis on Family Security--which was defined as "taking care of loved ones"--is related to the alienation from American culture; perhaps the movement member desires a better life for his eventual family than he feels can be obtained in the United States.)

It is possible, of course, that there is more dissatisfaction and alienation and less self-esteem among those about to join a movement, but that the dissatisfaction disappears as movement membership commences. Finding in the movement a source of pride, a sense of belonging, and a place to implement one's personal values, as well as finding new friends with beliefs and values that

are in accord with one's own, could result in significantly increasing an individual's sense of well-being, enough so, perhaps, to compensate for the originally depressed level that may have originally motivated movement participation. Unfortunately, the data gathered in the present study were not sufficient to attempt to discover the motivations of members at the moment of joining. (A related possibility is that movement members began as less satisfied individuals, but that the movement "taught" them to devalue happiness and satisfaction. This could account for the lesser movement emphasis on the value of Happiness in the Value Survey.)

Also among the possible explanations for the obtained findings is that movement participants are actually less satisfied than are nonmembers, but that this difference failed to be detected. This could have been a result of either the particular scales used or of the subjects themselves.

The first possibility, that the scales employed were inadequate, may be rejected more readily than the second. The alienation scales were the same scales used successfully in various other contexts, and the self-esteem scale was only different in minor respects from that of Sherwood (1962), which was also successfully used; only the satisfaction measures were substantially different from the scales upon which they were based. However,

as observed in Table 6, the correlations among the scales were generally as expected (see Robinson & Shaver, 1969). Furthermore, the alienation and satisfaction measures, at least, did successfully differentiate between groups in a consistent manner, even though not always in the predicted one.

The view that the subjects in the movement were more dissatisfied, but that they somehow presented themselves as the opposite, is perhaps more tenable. For one thing, the popular view in the Zionist movement today is that individuals who go on aliya to Israel should be going for "good" (ideological) reasons, out of a desire to live a Jewish life, rather than because of personal problems, unhappiness, etc. (Engel, 1971; Herman, 1962). Knowing that dissatisfaction is not considered, in movement circles, to be an adequate reason for aliya may have caused the subjects to conceal underlying dissatisfactions--either consciously, in order to protect the reputation of the movement, or unconsciously, to safeguard their self-regard. (In addition, those subjects in Hamagshimim who personally knew the investigator may have hesitated to admit such "heretical" bases of aliya to someone who might conceivably identify them.)

One last possible explanation for the obtained data is that subjects may not have been successfully divided into true "movement" and "nonmovement" groups.

The view that dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, and alienation characterize movement participants may be valid only for movements in their early, most active stages of development; the Zionist movement may not have undergone enough of a rebirth in recent years to attract individuals with "movement-oriented" personality patterns or life situations, although on the surface the organizational framework of Zionism appears to be thriving. Despite increasing opposition from the left-oriented movements, in recent years the consideration of one's self as a Zionist and, even, of aliya to Israel are no longer the marks of a miniscule minority of American Jews. As almost all Jews have come to support the Jewish State and as aliya has increased among established families as well as among the youth, perhaps those individuals who were classified in the present study as "movement" participants should instead have been considered members of a nonactivist organization. The greater dissatisfaction hypothesized for social movement participants may not at all hold for those affiliated with organizations.

Garin and Withdrawal

The fact that the predicted greater alienation was found for members of the garin, and the finding that garin and nongarin members greatly differed in their value orientations, may have some implications for the garin-movement relationship. While officially involved

in the same movement, garin and nongarin members of Hamagshimim may actually be taking part in qualitatively different movement undertakings, for quite different motivations.

Perhaps the members of Hamagshimim who are planning to live in Israel outside the garin framework--members who are less alienated and who place a greater emphasis than do the garin members on family security and mature love--are taking part in what is, for them, just another social organization, one of the many that Hamagshimim members seem to join. The leadership opportunities, high esteem, and feelings of accomplishment that movement work can provide may be what the general members are seeking; the presence of lower alienation may enable them to commit themselves to the goals of the movement out of belief rather than desperation. It may be the slightly higher cultural alienation that is the factor motivating participation in a group designed for those leaving the United States.

Even if one considers Hamagshimim to actually be a true social movement rather than an organization--which, despite the apparent organizational framework, remains the most reasonable view when one compares Hamagshimim to groups, such as Hillel, which are admittedly organizations only--the "movements" of the garin and nongarin members may not be the same movement. While Hamagshimim in

general may be considered to be oriented toward positive action on American campuses, fewer garin members are concerned with such activities. The data obtained in the present study support the view that, while Hamagshimim may be loosely considered an activist group, the garin may be more of a "withdrawal" sect that combines pervasive alienation with Zionist belief.

In addition to sharing the general movement member's concern for self-respect and accomplishment--values which can be fulfilled in either the movement as a whole or within the garin--the garin member has additional values and needs that can be met primarily in the small group planning a new, close-knit community. The members of the garin display a relatively excessive interest in the goals of inner harmony and happiness, and, in addition, are more alienated on all the dimensions of alienation measured. The garin may hold out to these people the hope of ending their alienation and of finding the inner peace they put first in importance. Motivations for committing one's self to a group of friends in the garin (or to the idea of a small communal society in general) may be quite different from those involved in acceptance of a commitment to take part in a more activist group concerned with the larger society.

The differences in the trends along the Zionist dimensions and along the Communalism and General

Migration dimensions would seem to indicate that a Zionist concern for aliya is not the same as a general desire for migration, and, even, that joining a garin is not solely a manifestation of a desire for communal living--many individuals interested in living communally in Israel do not join a garin planning to build a new kibbutz, but, instead, join already-existing settlements. As found for members of the garin, individuals interested in general migration and in communalism are more alienated (and less satisfied). Such dissatisfaction may be an indication of a tendency to withdraw from the larger society, rather than a factor pushing the individual toward activist-oriented participation.

Background Factors

Data were gathered in the present investigation on various factors in the backgrounds of individuals that might have some influence on the tendency to join a social movement.

Hamagshimim members were more likely than were the other groups of subjects to report growing up in a non-Jewish neighborhood. This may have been a factor in the greater incidence of experience with anti-Semitism reported by movement members, although another factor may have been the greater sensitivity to situations common to all which is developed in the movement. Perhaps growing

up as a member of a minority group--a situation not faced to such a degree by those in a Jewish neighborhood (especially in an area such as New York)--made the movement members more aware of their "Jewishness" and pointed them in the direction of Zionism when the need (or desire) for a movement developed within them.

Peer-group influences, discussed by several writers as important in the tendency to participate, may also be at work in Hamagshimim. Movement members were much more likely than were nonmembers to report a greater percentage of their friends going on aliya, and the movement in general is characterized by long-term friendships among members often beginning in the pre-high school level of the movement. The social relations of many individuals are confined entirely to other members or former members, and marriages among movement members are commonplace events. The effects of the peer group, it would seem, are likely to be pervasive.

While there is no indication of greater mobility on the part of movement members, the members did report themselves to be more "religious" on all the measures of religiosity except that concerning private prayer, perhaps indicating a broader conception of "religion" among the members (or, alternatively, indicating its greater social desirability within the movement). The greater tendency

of the movement members to reject the traditional labels of the "types" of Judaism (Reform, Orthodox, etc.) may indicate a disdain for established Jewish life in America, similar to the overall alienation from American culture.

The birth order information presented supports the view that first-born children are more likely to take part in a social movement than are later-borns, as more than half the members of Hamagshimim were first-born or only children. If the first-born's tendency to join groups is considered to be a result of some type of need encountered only in those without siblings, then the movement member's concern for inner harmony and a sense of accomplishment may be rooted in birth order differences.

The members of Hamagshimim, it appeared, were much more likely to be "joiners," much more likely to be members of two or more groups than were the Other Members. Perhaps this tendency to join groups indicates a greater "searching" for the answers to the problems of members--looking, perhaps, for a group to provide accomplishment or love or peace.

One last finding was relevant to possible characteristics of social movement participants. Movement members had a higher concordance coefficient in their value rankings than did nonmembers, and garin members had a coefficient that was even higher. While this may be related to a possible uniformity of belief upon

membership, it may also be evidence in support of the view of increasing conformity of belief with increasing commitment.

Future Research

The results of the present study would seem to indicate several areas in which future research would clearly be desirable.

First, the question of whether satisfaction and self-esteem play roles in social movement participation must be answered. Few significant differences in these areas were obtained in the present investigation, and replications would be necessary to determine if the trend observed here--of slightly greater satisfaction for movement participants--is indeed the true situation, or, alternatively, if the frequently-hypothesized dissatisfaction of members is indeed a necessary correlate of participation. In fact, the possibility remains that an individual's level of satisfaction is not relevant to his movement participation.

Second, the specific areas of alienation that separated the groups in the present study should be further examined. The movement members were characterized by lesser alienation, except on the important cultural level, while the garin was more alienated in all areas than was the movement as a whole. Additional research

would be necessary to determine if this pattern is repeated in other movements--especially to discover if "cultural estrangement" is the sole source of alienation for movement members in general.

Third, research into the nature of specific value orientations would be expected to be most fruitful, in view of the finding that value differences--as expected--consistently separated movement-oriented from nonmovement-oriented subjects. It is, of course, not yet known if the inclination to take part in a social movement is related to the presence or absence of a specific value, or if the overall pattern is of primary importance. Also yet to be determined is the direction of causality (if causality is indeed involved) between value orientation and movement participation.

Fourth, research into all these areas is necessary both within movements similar to the Zionist movement and within quite different movements. As suggested earlier, individuals in different movements are likely to be motivated by various factors. The lack of dissatisfaction seen among members of Hamagshimim may not be repeated among members of the Jewish Defense League, the Black Panthers, or Vietnam Peace Committees. Perhaps most important would be to determine if the value orientations of Hamagshimim members are shared by social movement participants (or even by Zionists) in general, or if

different "value deviances" stimulate participation in different movements--or are stimulated by such participation.

Fifth, the finding that the factors that separate movement participants from nonparticipants are not the same factors that distinguish individuals committed to different aspects of a single movement should be elaborated upon. Apparently, in the Zionist movement organization studied here, deeper commitment to the ideology of the movement is not related solely to an increase in the factors associated with membership in the first place; additional research would determine if such is the case within other movements.

Finally, as noted several times, the direction of causality between movement participation and all the variables discussed above remains to be determined. Only once the direction of causality is determined--which must, of course, come subsequent to the discovery of the correlates of participation--will any adequate theory of social movement membership become feasible.

Conclusions

Perhaps the main conclusion to be gathered from the present investigation is that participants in social movements are not necessarily characterized by great levels of personal dissatisfaction, alienation, and

lowered self-esteem. (However, these variables may be of some importance in particular movements or segments of movements, such as the garin, that are characterized by a tendency to withdraw from an active concern with the outer society either by withdrawal into a closed group, or by withdrawal to a different society, or both.) While such dissatisfaction might characterize members of other movements, it does not characterize the young Zionists in the present sample. Thus, no general theory of social movement participation can begin with the assumption that the members are of necessity dissatisfied individuals.

Just as important as the finding that the level of satisfaction is not of great importance in explaining movement participation is the finding that, apparently, value differences are. An individual's values need to be considered as a central factor in social movement membership, and not left ignored on the periphery. While it cannot be assumed that the value differences found in the present study existed before participation in the movement, further research into the relevance of values to social movements is clearly warranted.

The final conclusion to be stated here is that the factors which separate movement members from nonmembers are not the same factors separating individuals committed to different levels of the same movement. Apparently, one set of factors may be responsible for movement membership

in the first place, while a different set of factors may determine how active or committed an individual will become.

The present study was, basically, an attempt to determine if dissatisfaction with at least a single important area of life is necessarily related to membership in a particular social movement with an ideology that is quite out of step even with the subgroup of which the members are a part. If the predicted situation had indeed been found, there would have been no call for surprise, as the dissatisfaction of members of social movements has for decades been assumed to be a fact. Unfortunately, however, what is often taken to be the obvious truth is not always systematically tested, and the present research sought to take a missing, but necessary, step in the study of social movements. Now that step has been taken, and rather than confirming old assumptions, only new areas of research are indicated as necessary. Once these areas are delved into, perhaps the motivational patterns of social movement participants will be better understood.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PILOT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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PILOT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

What I'm doing is speaking to people who have, at one time or another, thought about living in Israel--regardless of the final decision these people have made. What I'm trying to find out eventually is what kind of person goes to Israel. Actually, these interviews will form the basis upon which to construct a questionnaire for a much larger number of people. So, throughout the interview, please let me know whenever a question isn't clear, or when you think a question isn't specific enough. Hopefully, when I'm finished, we'll have a better understanding of the whole situation.

I'm sure you realize that the results of this study will be meaningless unless everyone tells the truth. Please try to answer everything honestly; there are no "right" or "wrong" answers, and, in any case, your name will not be linked with your answers.

By the way, if you are interested in what I'm doing, I'll send you a copy of the results when I'm finished, sometime around the end of the summer.

Do you have any questions?

(Indicate: Male Female)
First, are you in school now? Yes No
(If yes) What year are you in? Fresh. Soph. Jr. Sr. M.A. Ph.D. What are you majoring in?_____
(If no) What exactly are you doing now--working, or what? _____ What kind of job do you have? _____ Were you ever in college? Yes No
(If yes) For how long?_____ What was your major _____ What career is your likeliest choice at this time?_____ How sure are you of this choice? _____ How old are you now?_____
Do you have any brothers or sisters? Yes No
How many brothers are younger than you?_____
How many sisters are younger than you? _____

How many brothers are older than you? _____
How many sisters are older than you? _____
Were you born in this country? Yes No
(If no) Where were you born? _____
How old were you when you came to the U.S.? _____
Where was your father born? _____
your mother? _____
your father's father? _____
your father's mother? _____
your mother's father? _____
your mother's mother? _____
How much formal education did your father have? Elem. or less; H.S. only; some college; technical; college grad; post-grad.
Your mother? Elem. or less; H.S. only; some college; technical; college grad; post-grad.
Do you think of your parents as being in the upper, middle, or lower class?
When you were growing up, were most of the people in your neighborhood Jewish? Yes Half Jewish No Don't know
In the course of a day, you probably see or speak to many friends, fellow students (fellow workers), and so on. About what percentage of these people would you say are Jewish? _____
How many of your four closest friends are Jewish? 0 1 2 3 4
What kind of Jewish education did you have? none; Jewish weekday school; Sunday school; yeshiva (all-day school); other _____
For how many years? _____
How many days a week did you usually attend? _____
During the time you were growing up, what was the religious affiliation of your parents? Was your father Reform; Conservative; Orthodox; not Jewish; other _____
What about your mother? Ref.; Cons.; Orth.; not Jewish; other _____
How would you classify yourself? Reform; Conservative; Orthodox; None; other _____
Politically, at which number would you place yourself on this scale? (Hold up Card I)

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Liberal Conser-vative

Are you currently involved in any social movement or any organization? Yes No
(If yes) Which ones? _____
How long have you been involved? _____
How active would you say you are? _____
Have you ever held any leadership positions? _____
(If yes) Which ones? _____

(If a member now) Have you ever been involved in any organizations or movements? Yes No
(If a member now) Were you ever in any other groups? Yes No
(If a member in the past) Which ones?_____
When, and for how long? _____
How active were you?_____
Did you hold any leadership positions then? Yes No
(If Yes) Which ones?_____
(If ever a member of any group) Why do you think you became involved with--?_____
(If still a member) Is that why you're still involved, or are there any different reasons?_____
(If was member in past, but no longer) Why aren't you a member of -- any more?_____
(If never a member) Why do you think you never became involved with any groups?_____

I'd like to turn to religion for a moment, O.K.?
How often do you attend religious services? never; Bar Mitzvahs and special occasions only; special occasions and High Holy Days only; once every four to six months; once every two or three months; once a month; once every two or three weeks; once a week; two or more times a week
How often do you pray privately, when no one else is around? every day; several times a week; about once a week; fairly often, but not once a week; once in a while; only on special occasions; I pray only in synagogue; never pray

There is great variety among practices carried out by different Jews. For each of the things I read, please tell me if you follow that practice <u>regularly</u> or often, or <u>sometimes</u>, or <u>never</u>.

observe at least some of the dietary laws . .	R	S	N
say a prayer before or after meals	R	S	N
refrain from riding on the Sabbath	R	S	N
light candles on Hannukah	R	S	N
fast on Yom Kippur	R	S	N
(for girls only) light candles on Friday night	R	S	N
attend a seder at passover	R	S	N
study (or know) conversational Hebrew . . .	R	S	N
study (or know) Hebrew to understand prayers .	R	S	N
study the Bible, Jewish history, etc. at the present time.	R	S	N
study about Jews in other countries	R	S	N
participate in events of the Jewish community.	R	S	N

What I'd like you to do now is to look at these values and rank them in the order of their importance to you. Please read the directions first. (Give Terminal Values Scale)
Did you have any problems with the ranking? Yes No What?

Did you find it Easy or Difficult?_____
Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days--would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

Now I'd like to go into a little more detail concerning the specific areas of life with which you're satisfied and not satisfied. Please fill out these scales after reading the directions (give Satisfaction Scales).
Did you have any trouble with these? Yes No
(If yes) What?_____
Do you think any important component of what makes you happy or unhappy was left out? Yes No
(If yes) What? _____

Now I'd like you to tell me if you think that the face you were born Jewish has affected the kind of person you are now? Yes No Don't Know
(If yes) How? _____
When you consider the fact that you're Jewish, do you feel
that it's a problem. . . . Yes No
that it's a source of pride . Yes No
embarrassed . . . . . Yes No
nothing one way or the other. Yes No
Have you ever wished you weren't Jewish? Yes No
(If yes) under what circumstances?_____

(Hold up American-Jewish Scale) On this scale, someone at 4 feels himself equally American and Jewish. Someone at 1 feels himself American only, while someone at 7 feels himself Jewish only. Where would you place yourself?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

For each of these statements, tell me if you definitely agree, tend to agree, have no position, tend to disagree, or definitely disagree. (Hold up card with response choices)
a Jew ceases to be Jewish when he becomes as atheist or an agnostic . . . . . A a N d D
a Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than for non-Jews . . . . . A a N d D
a Jew should not marry a non-Jew . . . . A a N d D

Now I'd like you to rank 10 possible ties among Jews in order of their importance. Put a "1" in front of the most important, then a "2," and so on until all 10 are ranked. (Give list)

_____ Religious
_____ Cultural
_____ Language
_____ Common destiny

_____ National
_____ Historical
_____ Common tradition
_____ Peoplehood
_____ Racial
_____ Other (please specify) _____

Check here if you think there are no ties among Jews_____

For each of the following groups, tell me whether you generally support or oppose the group's principles, goals, and methods, as indicated on this card (hold up card with response choices).

Students for a Democratic Society. . . .	S s N D o O
Young Americans for Freedom.	S s N D o O
Jewish Defense League.	S s N D o O
Vietnam Moratorium Committee	S s N D o O
Democratic Party	S s N D o O
Communists	S s N D o O
"Silent Majority"	S s N D o O
Jewish Liberation Project	S s N D o O
Republican Party	S s N D o O
Black Panthers	S s N D o O
Liberals	S s N D o O
Draft evaders	S s N D o O
Conservatives	S s N D o O
Socialists	S s N D o O
Zionists	S s N D o O
Student radicals	S s N D o O
Israeli New Left	S s N D o O

What I'd like you to do now is read these statements and circle the letter to tell me the extent to which you agree or disagree. (Give Alienation Scale.)

Now I'd like you to tell me whether you agree, disagree, tend to agree, and so on for a series of statements. Please choose one of the choices on this card. (Hold up card with response choices.)

Israel should be the center of a united Jewish people	A a N d D
There should be an ingathering of the Jewish People through immigration to Israel from all countries.	A a N d D
A Jew should view Israel as the basic homeland of the Jewish People.	A a N d D
A Jew should visit Israel	A a N d D
The State of Israel should be strengthened. .	A a N d D
The State of Israel should be based upon prophetic ideals of justice and peace. . . .	A a N d D
A Jew should help Israel in some significant way	A a N d D

A Jew should relate to Israel as to any other foreign nation . . . . . A a N d D
The identity of the Jewish people should be preserved through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and Jewish spiritual and cultural values . . . . . A a N d D
Jewish rights everywhere should be protected. . A a N d D
A Jew should feel a special cultural or religious bond with Israel . . . . . A a N d D
A Jew should live in Israel . . . . . A a N d D
A Zionist should live in Israel . . . . . A a N d D
A Jew should be a Zionist . . . . . A a N d D

Have you ever visited Israel? Yes No
(If yes) When?_____
On which program?_____
For how long?_____
Why did you go?_____
Do you expect to visit Israel (again)? Yes No Maybe
(If yes) When?_____
Why? _____
For how long?_____
Why do you think so many American Jews go to visit Israel?
_____
Why do you think so many go to live in Israel?_____
Why do you think most Jews do not plan to live in Israel?
_____
Have you ever thought about living in Israel? Yes No
(If yes) Have you decided anything yet about aliya?
Going on aliya; Not going; Undecided
(If undecided) Do you think you'll end up deciding to go or not to go? Go Not go Can't decide

What are your reasons for thinking as you do?_____
_____
How long ago did you decide?_____
Were the reasons you had then the same reasons you have now, or have they changed? Same Changed
(If changed) How?_____
What about your friends? about what percentage of them are planning to live in Israel?_____
(If going) How do your parents feel about your decision? Do they approve or disapprove? How has your decision affected relations between you and your parents?_____
_____
What advantages do you think there are (would be) for you in going to Israel?_____
Do you see any advantages in leaving the United States?
_____
What about disadvantages? Do you see any of these in going?
_____

How similar do you think your answers are to those of most people going (or not going)? Very similar Similar Not similar Do you think most people are really going to Israel, or are they running away from problems here? Israel Running Both
Do you think those that are going in order to solve their problems will be successful?_____
What about you--Do you think you'll (or: do you think you would) be happier in Israel? Yes No Maybe
Why?_____
Do you ever have second thoughts about your decision? Yes No (If yes) At these times, what do you think about?_____
Can you think of anything that might change your mind? Yes No (If yes) What?_____
(If going on aliya or undecided) What do you think you'll do in Israel? Ulpan or school first and then decide; kibbutz or urban collective; job; army; undecided
Do you have any concrete plans yet? Yes No
(If yes) What are they?_____
When do you expect to go (or: If you decide to go, when would you leave)?
What do you think are the advantages of living on kibbutz?
_____
What are the disadvantages?_____
(If planning on going to kibbutz) Are you most interested in going to a kibbutz which is far from surrounding communities or cities, or are you most interested in being near a kibbutz near the population centers? Far Close Doesn't matter
Did you ever spend any time on a kibbutz? Yes No
(If yes) How long?_____
Did you ever live in a commune here? Yes No
(If yes) For how long?_____
Would you go to Israel if you couldn't go to kibbutz? Yes No
In that case, what would you do?_____
_____
Do you consider yourself a socialist? Yes No
(If aliya)
Do you expect to become an Israeli citizen? Yes No Undecided
Do you expect to renounce your American Citizenship? Yes No Undecided
Do you speak Hebrew? Yes Little No
Yiddish? Yes Little No
(If aliya)
If you weren't planning to go on aliya, what do you think you would do?_____
Do you think you would migrate to another country, perhaps Australia or Canada? Yes No Undecided
Would you be happy staying here? Yes No Undecided
Why (not)?_____

(If you stay in the United States) What do (would) you plan on doing here--what type of job, where would you live, etc.?

_____

_____

One of the things I'm trying to find out is what kind of person you see yourself to be. Please read these instructions, and fill out these pages. (Give self-esteem scale.)

Do you consider yourself a Zionist? Yes No
What does the word "Zionist" mean to you?_____

_____

What activities should Zionists concern themselves with?

_____

Can a person be a Zionist if he doesn't live in Israel?
Yes No Undecided
(If yes) How?_____
Why do you think you're (not) a Zionist? I mean, what do you think was an important influence upon you? Parents; School; Friends; Movement or Organization_____
The last specific question I had was to ask you to estimate the probability of your eventually going on aliya. If you used a 7-point scale, where "1" meant "definitely will not end up in Israel" and "7" meant "definitely will go on aliya," what would you estimate? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

These are all the specific questions I had. Now I'd just like you to tell me your feelings about the interview.
Did you have any trouble with any specific questions or groups of questions? Yes No
(If yes) Which ones?_____
Were the instructions always clear? Yes No
(If no) At which point?_____
Do you think we discussed enough things for me to have a good idea of what kind of person you are, and of your reasons for thinking about going to Israel? Yes No
(If no) What do you think was left out?_____
Should anything else have been included? Yes No
(If yes) What?_____
Did you find yourself bored by the interview, or by any parts of it? Yes No
(If yes) When?_____
Do you think some parts weren't necessary? Yes No
(If yes) Which parts?_____
Were there any parts when you felt it was uncomfortable to tell the truth? Yes No
(If yes) Which parts?_____
Do you have any questions?_____
Would you like to receive a copy of the results?
If so, please give me your name and address.
Thanks a lot . . .

APPENDIX B

COVER LETTERS

M I C H I G A N S T A T E U N I V E R S I T Y East Lansing, Michigan

Department of Psychology Olds Hall

April, 1971

Dear Hamagshimim Member:

I'm writing to ask for an hour or so of your time in helping with a study being conducted in completion of the requirements for my Master of Arts Degree. The study is an attempt to investigate several characteristics of Jewish college-age youth. The group that I am most interested in is Hamagshimim, of which I am a member.

I would be extremely grateful if you could complete the enclosed questionnaire, which, as you will see from the different types of questions, deals with several topics. Some of the questions ask about your attitudes toward Israel, while others ask about your experience in organized groups; one section asks about the things in life you most value, while another asks you to indicate what kind of person you see yourself as; still other questions ask about your personal background, in order to be able to more meaningfully interpret your answers.

You are not asked to sign your name, so you can be sure that your answers will be completely confidential. Please remember that I am interested in your own views on these matters, and, since people differ in their answers to many of these questions, I hope you will give your true feelings and not what you think the answer "should be." In fact, most of the questions do not have any "right" or "wrong" answers at all. Only by obtaining honest answers can a true contribution to knowledge--and, hopefully, to the work of Hamagshimim--be made.

I urge you to complete the questionnaire even though you may feel that you are not a "typical" member of Hamagshimim, as I am interested in the responses of every person receiving this questionnaire. The procedures used assure scientifically accurate results, but only if everyone returns his questionnaire.

Your generosity in giving your time and effort to assist in this study is very deeply appreciated. Again, many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Dennis Fox

Note: If you are interested in obtaining a summary of the results of the study when it is completed, please let me know either by enclosing your name and home address with the questionnaire in the enclosed stamped envelope, or, to ensure your anonymity, by sending me a separate postcard. There will, also, be a meeting held at the Hamagshimim summer convention to discuss the study and possibly interpretations of the results, and to determine if, as I hope, the results can be of some use to the movement.

APPENDIX C

JEWISH YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

JEWISH YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

General Instructions

Please follow carefully the directions for each section of the questionnaire. Also, please ignore the extra numbers beside the questions and answers; they are there only to help in tabulating the answers by computer.

It is very important that you answer every question. If you feel a question is unclear, or doesn't allow you to express exactly how you feel, note in the margin your true answer, after choosing the answer closest to your own.

You will probably be wondering, as you go through the questionnaire, why several types of questions are included. Please remember that I am interested in what kind of person you are, in your attitudes toward several things, in how you see yourself, etc. Thus, many of the questions may not seem directly related to what you might be expecting. If you are interested in a more detailed explanation of the study and the eventual results, remember to send a postcard (with your name and address) to the address on the return envelope.

I hope you find the questionnaire interesting and enjoy filling it out. Thanks again for your cooperation.

For the first set of questions, check the appropriate response or fill in the answer, as requested:

1. What is your sex? Male____ Female____

2. How old are you now?
Under 17____ 17-18____ 19-20____ 21-22____ 23-24____ 25-26____ 26-____

3. If you are a student now, what year are you in?
Freshman____ Sophomore____ Junior____ Senior____ Graduate student____

4. If you are not a student now, what was the last year you attended?
High school____ Freshman____ Sophomore____ Junior____ Senior____
Graduate student____

5. When you were growing up, were most of the people in your neighborhood Jewish?
Majority Jewish____ About half Jewish____ Majority not Jewish____

6. How many of your four closest friends are Jewish? 0____ 1____ 2____ 3____ 4____

7. Are you now a member of any Jewish organizations, movements, or activist groups (such as Hamagshimim, Hillel, Jewish Defense League, etc.)? Yes____ No____

List the names of every Jewish group you belong to:	How many years have you been a member?	Do you now hold a leadership position?
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____

8. Were you ever in any Jewish groups previous to those listed above, either in high school or in college (such as Young Judaea, United Synagogue Youth, etc.)?
Yes____ No____

List the names of the groups you belonged to:	How many years were you a member?	Did you ever hold a leadership position?
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____

9. Are you now a member of any general organizations or movements (such as Young Democrats, Student Mobilization Committee, Young Americans for Freedom, etc.)? 47

Yes____ No____

List the names of every general group you belong to:	How many years have you been a member?	Did you ever hold a leadership position?
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____

10. Were you ever in any general groups previous to those listed above?

Yes____ No____

List the names of the groups you belonged to:	How many years were you a member?	Did you ever hold a leadership position?
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____
_____	_____	Yes____ No____

11. For each of the following statements and questions, indicate your response by circling the appropriate woard:

	1	2	
Do you read Reader's Digest?	Yes	No	62
Do national spectator sports (football, baseball, hockey) interest you?	Yes	No	63
Our public education is in pretty sorry shape.	Agree	Disagree	64
Do you enjoy TV?	Yes	No	65
Are you interested in having children (or would you be at the right age)?	Yes	No	66
For yourself, do you think a single or married life would be more satisfacotry?	Single	Married	67
If people really admitted the truth, they would agree that children are more often a nuisance than a pleasure to their parents.	Agree	Disagree	68
Do you think most married people lead trapped (frustrated or miserable) lives?	Yes	No	69
Do you vote in national elections? (Or would you if of voting age?)	Yes	No	70
Are you generally interested in local elections?	Yes	No	71
Looking backward, did the last national elections in the United States interest you?	Yes	No	72
In the long run, and with some rare exceptions, who gets elected or doesn't hasn't the slightest influence upon social welfare.	Agree	Disagree	73

There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today.	1 Agree	2 Disagree	14
Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand what is going on.	Agree	Disagree	15
In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right.	Agree	Disagree	16
I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like.	Agree	Disagree	17
I often feel lonely.	Agree	Disagree	18
I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to have things that I need and want.	Agree	Disagree	19

12. Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Arrange them in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important to you, etc. The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked 18. The end result should truly show how you really feel.

_____A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)	
_____AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)	
_____A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)	
_____A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)	
_____A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)	
_____EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)	
_____FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)	
_____FREEDOM (independence, free choice)	
_____HAPPINESS (contentedness)	
_____INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)	
_____MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)	
_____NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)	
_____PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)	
_____SALVATION (saved, eternal life)	
_____SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)	
_____SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)	
_____TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)	
_____WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)	

13. Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days--would you say you're:

very happy___ pretty happy___ not too happy___ not at all happy___ 49
1 2 3 4

14. Try to imagine what your best possible life would be, and what your worst possible life would be. On the scale below, the number 9 represents the best possible life for you, while 1 represents the worst possible life for you. Put the letter X where you feel you personally are at the present time. Put an F where you think you'll be five years from now, in the future:

Worst possible life for you ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Best possible life for you
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

15. On the scale below, 9 indicates the kind of person you would most like to be, while 1 indicates the kind of person you would least like to be. Put an X for your position now and an F for where you expect to stand five years in the future

Kind of person you'd least like to be ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Kind of person you'd most like to be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

16. Indicate on each of the following scales how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the given aspects of your life. Put an X to show where you stand now, between 9 ("completely satisfied") and 1 ("completely dissatisfied"). Put an F for where you think you'll be five years from now. Remember that 5 represents equally satisfied and dissatisfied:

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your educational achievements)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your general intellectual growth)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your social relations with friends of your own sex)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your social relations with the opposite sex)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your love relationships with individuals of the opposite sex)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your sexual activities)"

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your present religious position)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your being the kind of person you are)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your relationship with your father)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your relationship with your mother)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your relationships with your brothers and sisters)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your physical health)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your mental health)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your "fitting in" to society as a whole)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your living according to your personal values)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your being Jewish)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your being able to do as you want)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your agreement with the values of society in general)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your general level of happiness)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
(your life as a whole)

Please make sure that <u>each</u> of the above scales has <u>two</u> letters: an <u>X</u> (for your position <u>now</u>) and an <u>F</u> (for the position you expect to be in <u>five years from now</u>).

17. For each of the following statements, indicate the <u>extent</u> to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate letter:
<u>A</u>-Agree <u>a</u>-tend to agree <u>U</u>-uncertain <u>d</u>-tend to disagree <u>D</u>-Disagree

A Jew should view Israel as the basic homeland of the Jewish People. A a U d D

Sometimes I feel all alone in the world. A a U d D

I worry about the future facing today's children. A a U d D

Israel should be a state like any other state.	A a U d D
A Zionist should live in Israel.	A a U d D
I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.	A a U d D
The end often justifies the means	A a U d D
Most people today seldom feel lonely.	A a U d D
Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.	A a U d D
A Jew should help Israel in some significant way.	A a U d D
People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.	A a U d D
A Jew should relate to Israel as to any other foreign nation.	A a U d D
Real friends are as easy as ever to find.	A a U d D
It is frightening to be responsible for development of a little child.	A a U d D
Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.	A a U d D
I consider myself a Zionist.	A a U d D
A Jew ceases to be Jewish when he becomes an atheist.	A a U d D
One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.	A a U d D
I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.	A a U d D
There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.	A a U d D
A Jew should live in Israel.	A a U d D

18. Have you ever been to Israel? Yes____ No____, If "yes," for how long?
____less than two weeks
____between two weeks and two months
____between two months and four months
____between four and eight months
____between eight months and one year
____more than one year

19. Do you expect to visit Israel in the future? Yes____ Undecided____ No____

20. Do you expect to go on aliya (to immigrate to Israel)?
____definitely no
____probably no
____undecided, but leaning against
____completely undecided
____undecided, but leaning towards
____probably yes
____definitely yes

Briefly explain the reasons for your answer to Question 20:_____

21. If you expect to immigrate to Israel, do you expect to live permanently in a communal situation (such as a kibbutz, an urban collective, etc.) or not?
____definitely not communal
____probably not communal
____undecided, but leaning against communal
____completely undecided
____undecided, but leaning towards communal
____probably yes communal
____definitely yes communal
(If you do not expect to immigrate to Israel, or are undecided, answer Question 21 as if you were planning to live permanently in Israel.)

22. Which form of communal life in Israel do you find most appealing? moshav____ moshav shitufi____ kibbutz____ urban collective____ other (specify which)_____ don't know____

23. Are you a member of a garin (an Israel-settlement group)?
____yes, I'm a member of (specify the name of the garin)_____
____I'm now a candidate for membership in (name of garin)_____
____No, but I'm considering joining (name the garin)_____
____No

24. About what percent of your friends are planning to migrate to Israel?
0-20%____ 21-40%____ 41-60%____ 61-80%____ 81-100%____

25. If you do not expect to migrate to Israel, do you think you'll leave the United States to migrate to any other country?
____definitely or probably no
____undecided, but leaning against
____completely undecided, but considering migration to_____
____undecided, but leaning towards migration to _____
____definitely or probably will migrate to _____
(If you are planning on immigrating to Israel, answer Question 25 as if you were not planning on living in Israel.)

26. Below is a list of 11 possible goals that the Zionist Movement in the United States could concern itself with. Assuming that greater emphases should be placed on the more important goals, rank the 11 goals in order, from 1 (the goal you think the Zionist Movement should emphasize most) to 11 (the goal you think should be least emphasized). Rank the goals in Column A.

After you have ranked each goal, indicate by circling the appropriate letter in Column B whether you personally agree or disagree that the goal should be achieved. The letters mean:

A-Agree a-tend to agree U-Uncertain d-tend to disagree D-Disagree

A		B
____	Building the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.	A a U d D
____	Building the unity of the Jewish People.	A a U d D
____	Convincing American Jews to migrate to Israel.	A a U d D
____	Fostering Jewish and Hebrew education and Jewish spiritual and cultural values.	A a U d D
____	Improving the State of Israel (in the area of _____)	A a U d D
____	Living a life according to Jewish values.	A a U d D
____	Personally migrating to Israel.	A a U d D
____	Protecting Jewish rights everywhere.	A a U d D
____	Strengthening the State of Israel.	A a U d D
____	Striving for peace with the Arabs.	A a U d D
____	Supporting those Jews who need or want to migrate to Israel.	A a U d D
____	Other: additional goal(s) you consider important_____	

27. The following characteristics have been found to be used by many persons in describing themselves. Each characteristic is represented graphically by a scale.

Please indicate the location on each scale where you presently picture yourself by the letter X. This should be where you see yourself generally or most usually, not in every situation.

Indicate the spot on the scale where you aspire to picture yourself by an A. This should be the place toward which you are realistically striving, the place you hope to attain in the future.

Indicate the location on the scale where your ideal position would be, if you weren't bound by realistic considerations.

To the right of each scale, indicate how important you feel each characteristic is in how you evaluate your picture of yourself. If you consider the trait to be:

very important, put a 4 important--3 unimportant--2 very unimportant--1

Thus, for each scale put an X (present), an A (aspired), an I (ideal), and a number (to indicate the importance of the trait).

			Importance
Sensitive to others	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Insensitive to others	____
Self-confident	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Lack self-confidence	____
Critical of others	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Tolerant of others	____
Skillful with others	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Awkward with others	____
Reserved	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Talkative	____
Value myself high	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Value myself low	____
Participant	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Non-participant	____
Authoritarian	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Democratic	____
Competent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Incompetent	____
Non-aggressive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Aggressive	____
Honest	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Dishonest	____
Active	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Passive	____

			Importance
Likeable	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Not likeable	____
Competitive	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Cooperative	____
Insightful about myself	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Lack of insight about myself	____
Follower	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Leader	____
Timid	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Bold	____
Moral	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Immoral	____
Individualistic	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Conformist	____
Hostile	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Affectionate	____
Tense	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Relaxed	____
Unfair	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Fair	____
Unintelligent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Intelligent	____
Liberal	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Conservative	____
Friendly	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Unfriendly	____
Independent	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Dependent	____
Free	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Constrained	____
Religious	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Non-religious	____
Unhappy	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Happy	____
American	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Jewish	____

Now rate your <u>overall</u> level of self-evaluation or self-esteem; that is, how high or low you presently <u>evaluate</u> your <u>total</u> picture of yourself. Put an <u>X</u>.

Low	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	High

28. For each of the following statements, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate letter:
A-Agree a-tend to agree U-Uncertain d-tend to disagree D-Disagree

The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.	A a U d D
There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."	A a U d D
The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.	A a U d D
A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than he does for non-Jews.	A a U d D
There are few dependable ties between people any more.	A a U d D
There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.	A a U d D
A Jew should visit Israel.	A a U d D
With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which to believe.	A a U d D
We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.	A a U d D
We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.	A a U d D
A Jew should feel a special cultural or religious bond with Israel.	A a U d D
People are just naturally friendly and helpful.	A a U d D
The future looks very dismal.	A a U d D
I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.	A a U d D
A Jew should be a Zionist.	A a U d D

To complete the questionnaire, please answer the following questions about your personal background:

29. Were you born in the United States? Yes____, No, I was born in (specify the country)_____and came to the United States when I was _____years old.

30. In which country was your father born?_____, Your mother?_____

31. In which country was your father's father born? _____
Your father's mother? _____

32. In which country was your mother's father born? _____
Your mother's mother? _____

33. How many younger brothers do you have? _____ Younger sisters?_____
How many older brothers do you have? _____ Older sisters? _____

34. Put an F next to the amount of formal education that your father had. Put an M next to your mother's educational level:

1____elementary school or less
2____some high school, but didn't graduate
3____completed high school, but no college
4____some college, but didn't graduate
5____completed college
6____post-graduate work
7____attended technical or trade school

35. Do you think of your parents as being part of the

1____lower class
2____working class
3____middle class
4____upper-middle class
5____upper class

36. Put an F next to the religious affiliation of your father at the time you were growing up.
Put an M next to your mother's affiliation when you were growing up.
Put an X next to your own present religious orientation.

1____Reform
2____Conservative
3____Orthodox
4____Other Jewish (please specify)_____
5____Not Jewish
6____None

37. Check the kind(s) of Jewish education you received:

1____none
2____Jewish Sunday School for _____years
3____Jewish weekday school for _____years; usually _____days a week
4____Jewish all-day school (yeshiva) for _____years
5____college-level courses for_____years
6____other (please specify)_____for _____months

38. Did you ever attend any Jewish-oriented summer camps? N _____/
Yes, I attended (specify camps) _____for _____months

39. How often do you attend religious services?

1____never
2____BarMitzvahs and other special occasions only
3____special occasions and High Holy Days only
4____once every four to six months
5____once every two or three months
6____once a month
7____once every two or three weeks
8____once a week or more often

40. How often do you pray privately (when no one else is around)?

1____I never pray
2____I pray only in synagogue
3____only on special occasions
4____once in a while
5____fairly often, but not as often as once a week
6____about once a week
7____several times a week
8____every day

41. Have you ever personally experienced any anti-Semitism? Yes____ No____
If "yes," please briefly describe the situation(s): _____

_____

_____

Please write on the reverse side any observations or comments, about any of the items touched upon in the questionnaire, that you consider important but which the questionnaire has not given you an adequate opportunity to express.

If you would like to receive a summary of the results of the study when it is completed, remember to send your name and adress to the address on the return envelope.

I'd like to sincerely thank you for taking the time to participate in this

APPENDIX D

THE SCALES

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I. Overall Satisfaction

A. Best Life and Best Future--Cantril (1965).

Try to imagine what your best possible life would be, and what your worst possible life would be. On the scale below, the number 9 represents the best possible life for you, while 1 represents the worst possible life for you. Put the letter X where you feel you personally are at the present time. Put an F where you think you'll be five years from now, in the future:

Worst possible life for you ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Best possible life for you
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B. Happy 1-9.

Unhappy ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Happy
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C. Direct Happiness--Gurin et al. (1960).

Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days--would you say you're:

very happy ___ pretty happy ___ not too happy ___
1 2 3

not at all happy ___
4

D. Meansat: Present and Meansat: Future--Cantril (1965); Verbit (1968).

Indicate on each of the following scales how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the given aspects of your life. Put an X to show where you stand now, between 9 ("completely satisfied") and 1 ("completely dissatisfied"). Put an F for where you think you'll be five years from now. Remember that 5 represents equally satisfied and dissatisfied:

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(your educational achievements)

Completely dissatisfied ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Completely satisfied
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(your general intellectual growth)
(your social relations with friends of your own sex)
(your social relations with the opposite sex)
(your love relationships with individuals of the opposite sex)
(your sexual activities)
(your present religious position)
(your being the kind of person you are)
(your relationship with your father)
(your relationship with your mother)
(your relationships with your brothers and sisters)
(your physical health)
(your mental health)
(your "fitting in" to society as a whole)
(your living according to your personal values)
(your being Jewish)
(your being able to do as you want)
(your agreement with the values of society in general)
(your general level of happiness)
(your life as a whole)

Please make sure that each of the above scales has two letters: an X (for your position now) and an F (for the position you expect to be in five years from now).

II. Overall Self-Esteem

A. Kind of Person and Kind of Future.

On the scale below, 9 indicates the kind of person you would most like to be, while 1 indicates the kind of person you would least like to be. Put an X for your position now and an F for where you expect to stand five years in the future.

Kind of person you'd least like to be ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Kind of person you'd most like to be
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

B. Low-High--Sherwood (1962).

Now rate your overall level of self-evaluation or self-esteem; that is, how high or low you presently evaluate your total picture of yourself. Put an X.

Low ___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ High
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C. Aspired Discrepancy and Ideal Discrepancy--Sherwood (1962); Pervin & Lilly (1967).

The following characteristics have been found to be used by many persons in describing themselves. Each characteristic is represented graphically by a scale.

Please indicate the location on each scale where you presently picture yourself by the letter X. This should be where you see yourself generally or most usually, not in every situation.

Indicate the spot on the scale where you aspire to picture yourself by an A. This should be the place toward which you are realistically striving, the place you hope to attain in the future.

Indicate the location on the scale where your ideal position would be, if you weren't bound by realistic considerations.

To the right of each scale, indicate how important you feel each characteristic is in how you evaluate your picture of yourself. If you consider the trait to be: very important, put a 4 important--3 unimportant--2 very unimportant--1
Thus, for each scale put an X (present), an A (aspired), an I (ideal), and a number (to indicate the importance of the trait).

		Importance
Sensitive to others	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ (1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9)	Insensitive to others
Self-confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___:___ (1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9)	Lack self-confidence
Critical of others		Tolerant of others
Skillful with others		Awkward with others
Reserved		Talkative
Value myself high		Value myself low
Participant		Non-participant
Authoritarian		Democratic
Competent		Incompetent
Non-aggressive		Aggressive
Honest		Dishonest
Active		Passive
Likeable		Not likeable
Competitive		Cooperative

Insightful about myself	Lack of insight about myself
Follower	Leader
Timid	Bold
Moral	Immoral
Individualistic	Conformist
Hostile	Affectionate
Tense	Relaxed
Unfair	Fair
Unintelligent	Intelligent
Liberal	Conservative
Friendly	Unfriendly
Independent	Dependent
Free	Constrained
Religious	Non-religious

III. Alienation.

A. Middleton (1963).

	Agree	Disagree
There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today. (Powerlessness)		
Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand what is going on. (Meaninglessness)		
In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right. (Normlessness)		
I am not much interested in the TV programs, movies, or magazines that most people seem to like. (Cultural Estrangement)		
I often feel lonely. (Social Estrangement)		
I don't really enjoy most of the work that I do, but I feel that I must do it in order to have things that I need and want. (Work Estrangement)		

B. Nettler (1964)

For each of the following statements and questions, indicate your response by circling the appropriate word:

(Mass Culture)		
Do you read Reader's Digest?	Yes	No
Do national spectator sports (football, baseball, hockey) interest you?	Yes	No

Our public education is in pretty sorry shape. (Reversed)	Agree	Disagree
Do you enjoy TV?	Yes	No
(Familism)		
Are you interested in having children (or would you be at the right age)?	Yes	No
For yourself, do you think a single or married life would be more satisfactory? (Reversed)	Single	Married
If people really admitted the truth, they would agree that children are more often a nuisance than a pleasure to their parents. (Reversed)	Agree	Disagree
Do you think most married people lead trapped (frustrated or miserable) lives? (Reversed)	Yes	No
(Politicalism)		
Do you vote in national elections? (Or would you if of voting age?)	Yes	No
Are you generally interested in local elections?	Yes	No
Looking backward, did the last national elections in the United States interest you?	Yes	No
In the long run, and with some rare exceptions, who gets elected or doesn't hasn't the slightest influence upon social welfare. (Reversed)	Agree	Disagree

C. Dean (1961).

For each of the following statements, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate letter: A-Agree a-tend to agree U-uncertain d-tend to disagree D-Disagree

	4 3 2 1 0	
Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.	A a U d D	SI
I worry about the future facing today's children.	A a U d D	P
I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.		SI
The end often justifies the means.		N
Most people today seldom feel lonely.		SI(R)
Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.		P

People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.	N
Real friends are as easy as ever to find.	SI(R)
It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.	P
Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by.	N
One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.	SI(R)
I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.	N
There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.	P
The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.	SI(R)
There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."	P
The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.	N
There are few dependable ties between people any more.	SI
There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.	P
With so many religions abroad, one doesn't really know which to believe.	N
We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.	P
We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.	P
People are just naturally friendly and helpful.	SI(R)
The future looks very dismal.	P
I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.	SI

SI--Social Isolation; P--Powerlessness; N--Normlessness; R--Reversed item.

IV. Values--Rokeach (1968)

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Arrange them in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important to you, etc.

The value which is least important, relative to the others, should be ranked 18. The end result should truly show how you really feel.

____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
____ FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
____ HAPPINESS (contentedness)
____ INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
____ SALVATION (saved, eternal life)
____ SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

V. Zionism Scales

A. Zionist Self-Description.

I consider myself a Zionist. A a U d D

B. Zionist Beliefs Scale--Youth Mobilization (1971); Verbit (1968).

Below is a list of 11 possible goals that the Zionist Movement in the United States could concern itself with. Assuming that greater emphases should be placed on the more important goals, rank the 11 goals in order, from 1 (the goal you think the Zionist Movement should emphasize most) to 11 (the goal you think should be least emphasized). Rank the goals in Column A.

After you have ranked each goal, indicate by circling the appropriate letter in Column B whether you personally agree or disagree that the goal should be achieved. The letters mean: A-Agree a-tend to agree U-Uncertain d-tend to disagree D-Disagree

A		B
____	Building the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.	5 4 3 2 1 A a U d D
____	Building the unity of the Jewish People.	A a U d D
____	Convincing American Jews to migrate to Israel.	

A	B
	5 4 3 2 1
____ Fostering Jewish and Hebrew education and Jewish spiritual and cultural values.	A a U d D
____ Improving the State of Israel (in the area of _____)	
____ Living a life according to Jewish values.	
____ Personally migrating to Israel.	
____ Protecting Jewish rights everywhere.	
____ Strengthening the State of Israel.	
____ Striving for peace with the Arabs.	
____ Supporting those Jews who need or want to migrate to Israel.	
____ Other: additional goal(s) you consider important_____	

For each of the following statements, indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate letter: A-Agree a-tend to agree U-uncertain d-tend to disagree D-Disagree

A Jew should view Israel as the basic homeland of the Jewish People.	A a U d D
A Jew should help Israel in some significant way.	A a U d D
A Jew should relate to Israel as to any other foreign nation. (Reversed)	
A Jew ceases to be Jewish when he becomes an atheist. (Reversed)	
A Jew should live in Israel.	
A Jew has greater responsibility for other Jews than he does for non-Jews.	
A Jew should visit Israel.	
A Jew should feel a special cultural or religious bond with Israel.	
A Jew should be a Zionist.	