MS-831: Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation Records, 1980–2008.
Series C: Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE). 1988–2003.
Subseries 5: Communication, Publications, and Research Papers, 1991–2003.

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Rapoport, Nessa. Report on CIJE Publications, March 1997.

CIJE
Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education

MEMO

To: Steering Committee Members

From: Nessa Rapoport

Date: March 31, 1997

Re: Report on CIJE Publications

Publications and Dissemination

"Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions," by Seymour Fox with William Novak

Jointly published at the beginning of March by the Mandel Institute and CIJE, this publication is included in the Steering Committee materials. The essay's discussion of the centrality of vision and the role of powerful ideas in educational transformation has been warmly received. 3000 copies of *Vision at the Heart* have already been distributed in North America; the Mandel Institute will be disseminating the work world-wide.

On the weekend of March 28, Seymour Fox was the scholar-in-residence at a national Ramah conference of 250 lay and professional leaders in the Chicago area. *Vision at the Heart*, distributed at the conference, served as the curriculum for the core presentation and discussion. As a result, we have already received an order of 100 copies from a synagogue in Saint Louis, Mo., for a congregational discussion of vision.

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CIJE and General Education

Within twelve months, CIJE's work will have appeared in three journals of general education:

Private School Monitor: **"Educational Leaders in Jewish Schools,"** by Ellen Goldring, Adam Gamoran and Bill Robinson (Fall 1996).

Peabody Journal of Education: **"Educational Leaders as Teacher Educators: The Teacher Educator Institute--A Case from Jewish Education,"** by Barry W. Holtz, Gail Zaiman Dorph and Ellen B. Goldring (forthcoming: Fall 1997).

Journal of Religious Education: **"Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools: Current Status and Levers for Change,"** by Adam Gamoran, Ellen Goldring, Bill Robinson, Roberta Louis Goodman and Julie Tammivaara (forthcoming: Fall 1997).

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The *Best Practices* Project

Barry Holtz was the keynote speaker at "A Vision of Excellence," a conference jointly sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Bureau of Jewish Education of San Francisco. His address, "The Success Stories of Jewish Education," focused on Best Practices. 250 copies of *Best Practices: Supplementary School Education* were purchased for the conference.

We receive weekly orders of the Best Practices volumes from around the country--Maine to Alabama!

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CIJE's publications continue to be ordered by both institutions and individuals. They are being used as curricula for graduate students in Jewish education and rabbinical students; as background for policy; and in adult education programs.

In addition, we distributed 200 kits of CIJE's materials at the annual conference of the **Jewish Funders Network** in Boca Raton on March 30. The opening plenary was a case study on new directions in Jewish education. Nessa Rapoport gave the introduction, "The Case for Jewish Education: 10 Principles for Making a Difference," and Karen Barth led a workshop on "Jewish Education: Think Global, Act Local."

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TEI

Enclosed is a full-page article on TEI that appeared in the *Cleveland Jewish News* on February 7, 1997. Although there are some omissions and errors as a result of editing, the article is a lively and positive examination of the rationale for TEI and its impact.

CIJE Education Seminar

On March 10, Dr. Tova Halbertal, of the Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, led a discussion of an excerpt from her dissertation, *"Mothering and Culture: Ambiguities in Continuity."* Written under Dr. Carol Gilligan, of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, the dissertation focuses on the subjective experience of Orthodox women who are both teachers and mothers as socializers of the next generation of young women. Dr. Halbertal examines the mothers' ambivalence about socializing their daughters into two realms: the modern feminist one and the traditional Jewish one.

For your interest, we have included the introduction to her dissertation and the chapter we distributed in advance; both were the subject of a far-reaching discussion of motherhood within culture and the complicated task of transmitting tradition in modernity. Attendees included an unusually wide range of both educators and policy makers from the New York area.

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CURRENT ACTIVITIES: 1997

The Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE)

Created in 1990 by the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, CIJE is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to the revitalization of Jewish life through education.

Its mission is to be a catalyst for systemic educational reform by: preparing visionary educational leaders capable of transforming North American Jewish education; developing informed and inspired communal leaders as partners in the reform effort; cultivating powerful ideas to illuminate Jewish learning and community; undertaking and advocating rigorous research and evaluation as a basis for communal policy; and creating a strategic design for strengthening the profession of Jewish education and mobilizing support for it.

In its pilot projects, CIJE identifies and disseminates models of excellence in Jewish education; and brings the expertise of general education to the field of Jewish education.

CIJE works in partnership with Jewish communities, institutions, and denominations to make outstanding Jewish education a continental priority.

"Our goal should be to make it possible for every Jewish person, child or adult, to be exposed to the mystery and romance of Jewish history, to the enthralling insights and special sensitivities of Jewish thought, to the sanctity and symbolism of Jewish existence, and to the power and profundity of Jewish faith."

Professor Isadore Twersky, *A Time to Act*

CURRENT ACTIVITIES: 1997

The CIJE Study of Educators

Policy Briefs and Research Reports

The Manual for The CIJE Study of Educators

The Best Practices Project

The Teacher Educator Institute

The Institute for Leaders in Jewish Education

The Seminar for Professors of General Education

The Goals Project

The Lead Community Project

Brandeis University Planning Consultation

Other CIJE Planning Initiatives

The CIJE Board Seminar Series

The CIJE Essay Series

The CIJE Education Seminar Series

CIJE Senior Staff and Consultants

CIJE Administrative Staff

The CIJE Study of Educators

In 1993, CIJE, in collaboration with its lead communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, carried out an extensive study of educators in all the Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools in the three cities. This work, known as *The CIJE Study of Educators* and supported by the Blaustein Foundation, was motivated by the need for clear information about the characteristics of educators, in preparation for policy decisions about building the profession of Jewish education. The study addressed a variety of important topics, including the background and training of educators; the conditions of their work, such as earnings, benefits, and support from others; and their career experiences and plans.

Close to 1000 teachers and 77 educational leaders responded to surveys administered in the study. Response rates were 82% and 77% for teachers and leaders, respectively. In addition, 125 teachers, educational leaders, and central agency staff responded to in-depth interviews.

Policy Briefs and Research Reports

Now in its second printing, the *CIJE Policy Brief on the Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools* draws on the study to offer hard data and an action plan for the professional development of Jewish educators. The Policy Brief focuses on what may be the most important set of findings of the study: the limited formal preparation of the vast majority of teachers in Jewish schools, alongside infrequent and inconsistent professional development--but the strong commitment to Jewish education among most teachers. These findings led to a call for more consistent, coherent, and sustained professional development for Jewish educators in communities across North America.

A new publication, *The Teachers Report*, moves beyond the Policy Brief to provide a more comprehensive look at the characteristics of teachers in Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools. The report provides information on work settings and experience, salary and benefits, and perceptions of career opportunities, in addition to further details about teachers' background and training. It also compares results from *The CIJE Study of Educators* to earlier studies carried out in Boston, Los Angeles, and Miami.

A research paper, *"Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools: Current Status and Levers for Change,"* is being published by the academic journal, *Religious Education*. This paper begins with the findings of the Policy Brief and poses the question, "How can the amount of professional development experienced by teachers be increased?" Of the policy levers examined, two appear promising: An incentives plan for supplementary schools and teachers in one community was associated with higher levels of professional development; and teachers in state-certified pre-schools engaged in more professional development than teachers in uncertified pre-schools.

Analysis of the data on educational leaders provided from *The CIJE Study of Educators* has been reported in an article published by the *Private School Monitor*.

A more comprehensive report on the characteristics of leaders in Jewish schools will be released in the future. A policy brief on educational leaders is also planned.

The Manual for The CIJE Study of Educators

In light of the work in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, the instruments used in *The CIJE Study of Educators* have been revised and prepared for use in other communities. *The Manual for the CIJE Study of Educators* contains two sets of instruments: *The CIJE Educators Survey* and *The CIJE Educators Interview*. *The CIJE Educators Survey* is a questionnaire designed to collect quantitative information from all of the educators (teachers and educational leaders) working in Jewish schools within a single community. It consists of four sections: Settings; Work Experience; Training and Staff Development; and Background.

The Manual provides instructions on how to administer the questionnaire, and indicates a set of anchor items from the questionnaire that should be retained for future comparability and for building a continental data bank. A separate document, *The Coding Instructions for the CIJE Educators Survey*, provides technical directions for entering and analyzing the survey results. *The CIJE Educators Interview* contains a protocol of questions and probes designed to elicit in-depth information from a sample of educators working in Jewish schools in a single community about their professional lives as Jewish educators. There are separate interview protocols for teachers and educational leaders. Both protocols consist of six sections: Background; Recruitment; Training; Conditions of the Workplace; Career Rewards and Opportunities; and Professional Issues. The Manual provides instructions on how to carry out the interviews.

Following the original work in the Lead Communities, versions of *The CIJE Study of Educators* have also been carried out in Seattle, Cleveland, and Chicago. Several other communities are in the planning stage in preparation for carrying out the study. In each case, results of the community's study of its Jewish educators are guiding policy decisions. The data serve as a baseline against which future change can be measured, and they help mobilize the community in support of educational reform. In the future, a continental data bank drawing on anchor items from the surveys will be maintained and made available for secondary analysis, subject to confidentiality requirements.

The CIJE Study of Educators was conducted under the direction of Dr. Adam Gamoran, Professor of Sociology and Educational Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Dr. Ellen Goldring, Professor of Educational Leadership and Associate Dean of the Peabody College of Education at Vanderbilt University. CIJE staff researcher Bill Robinson supervised the preparation and production of *The CIJE Manual and Coding Instructions*.

The Best Practices Project

In describing its "blueprint for the future," *A Time to Act: The Report of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America* called for the creation of "an inventory of best educational practices in North America." Accordingly, the Best Practices Project of CIJE documents exemplary models of Jewish education.

What do we mean by "best practice"? One recent book about this concept in the world of education states that it is a phrase borrowed from the professions of medicine and law, where "good practice" or "best practice" are everyday phrases used to describe solid, reputable, state-of-the-art work in a field. If a doctor, for example, does not follow contemporary standards and a case turns out badly, peers may criticize his decisions and treatments by saying something like, "that was simply not best practice." (Steven Zemelman, Harvey Daniels, Arthur Hyde, *Best Practice* (Heinemann, 1993), pp. vii-viii.)

We need to be cautious about what we mean by the word "best" in the phrase "best practice." The literature in education points out that seeking perfection will be of little use as we try to improve actual work in the field. In an enterprise as complex and multifaceted as education, these writers argue, we should be looking to discover "good," not ideal, practice. (See, for example, Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, *The Good High School* (Basic Books, 1983)). "Good" educational practice is what we seek to identify for Jewish education--models of the best available practice in any given domain. In some cases, best available practice will come very close to "best imaginable practice"; at other times the gap between the best we currently have and the best we think we could attain may be far greater.

In May 1996, CIJE published the third volume in its Best Practices series, *Best Practices: Jewish Education in JCCs.* Co-commissioned by the Jewish Community Center Association (JCCA), this comprehensive essay by Drs. Steven M. Cohen and Barry Holtz is an examination of a setting where dynamic Jewish education is taking place. Based on six "best practice" sites, the volume describes the evolution of JCCs from primarily recreational and cultural facilities toward a new emphasis on Jewish learning by members, staff, and administration. It also discusses the professional position of "JCC Educator" and the way a national system has become a champion of serious Jewish education.

The two previous volumes in the series, *Best Practices: Early Childhood Jewish Education* and *Best Practices: Supplementary School Education,* were reissued in Fall 1996. The portraits in these volumes are an inventory of outstanding practice in contemporary Jewish education.

The Teacher Educator Institute

What would it take to transform the supplementary school into an institution where exciting learning takes place, where students are stimulated by what they encounter, and where a love of Jewish learning and the commitment to Jewish living is the hallmark of the institution? CIJE believes--and current educational research confirms--that the heart of any transformation of an educational institution such as the supplementary school is linked to exciting, innovative teaching by knowledgeable and committed educators.

The CIJE Best Practices Project has demonstrated that there are institutions and individual teachers with the ability to teach in imaginative and inspiring ways. The CIJE Policy Brief, *The Background and Professional Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools* (1994), shows that in supplementary schools, the teaching pool is committed and stable. However, 80% of teachers are poorly prepared in both pedagogy and Judaica subject matter. Given the weak preparation and background of this teaching pool, in-service education becomes a crucial element in upgrading the profession. Yet, the CIJE research has shown that professional development for teachers tends to be infrequent, unsystematic, and not designed to meet teacher's needs.

What is required is a strategy that can capitalize on the commitment of teachers, redress the deficiencies in their preparation and background, and prepare them to actively engage children in meaningful encounters with the Jewish tradition. Old training models of professional development are simply not adequate for the scope of this task.

CIJE's Teacher Educator Institute (TEI) is a two-year program, partially funded by the Nathan Cummings Foundation, to create a national cadre of teacher educators. It focuses on the challenges of developing new approaches to issues of professional development for Jewish educators. The central goal of TEI is to develop leaders who can mobilize significant change in teaching and learning through improved and creative professional development for teachers in their institutions, in their communities, and on the national level. The core domains of study include: teaching and learning; Jewish content, including personal religious connection; knowledge of teachers as learners; professional development; and organizations/systems/the Jewish community. TEI graduates will be catalysts for change who are substantively grounded in ideas and concrete practices, and who also have a deep understanding of instructional improvement and educational change.

In order to create an experience that allows time for the development of and reflection about new ideas and practices, opportunities for experimentation, and feedback, TEI participants meet six times over the course of the two-year period. There are also assignments and follow-up work between group meetings. We are currently developing strategies for networking and supporting TEI graduates.

Cohort One of TEI has now completed its second year. Participants were Jewish educators who currently work in central agencies or as principals of supplementary schools (whose roles and responsibilities already include designing professional development opportunities). In Cohort Two, there are also participants whose responsibilities lie in the area of Jewish early childhood education.

Participants are invited to join TEI as members of educational teams. There are presently ten communal teams, as well as four teams that represent national movements involved in this pilot project (Conservative, Reconstructionist, Reform, and Florence Melton Adult Mini-School Project for Teachers). Cohort One, approximately 15 people, met six times; and Cohort Two, approximately 45 people, has met three times. The team structure is an integral part of our change strategy. It facilitates the creation of local cohorts of educators who have shared an intense learning experience and a common vision of powerful Jewish teaching and learning and good professional development. They can, in turn, plan and implement similar experiences for others in their own settings.

TEI will result in:

1. A national cadre of over 50 teacher educators.

2. A CIJE Policy Brief on "best practices" in professional development.

3. A videotape library to be used to create powerful professional development opportunities for others.

The evaluation component of this work includes:

1. A survey of current professional development offerings in a sub-sample of communities participating in the Institute describing in depth the nature and extent of those offerings for teachers in each focal community (including both communal and institutional offerings). The purpose of this document is to establish a baseline so that change can be assessed in the future.

2. An interview study on TEI participants' efforts to improve the quality of professional development opportunities in their communities.

3. A document or series of documents focusing on the same sub-sample of participating communities, evaluating changes in the structure and content of their communal and school professional development offerings. These reports will draw on interviews with participants and others from the focal communities as well as on observations of professional development activities in the communities.

In Fall 1997, an article describing the work of TEI will be included in the *Peabody Journal of Education*. Its title: *"Educational Leaders as Teacher Educators: The Teacher Educator Institute - A Case from Jewish Education."*

The Institute for Leaders in Jewish Education

The CIJE Study of Educators in day, supplementary, and pre-schools in three communities in North America found that many educational leaders are inadequately prepared for their roles as leaders. Furthermore, many leaders indicated a sense of professional isolation from colleagues and lack of professional growth opportunities designed specifically for Jewish educators in leadership positions.

In response to these findings, CIJE is embarking on a long-range planning process to establish how best to meet the continuing professional development needs of educational leaders. As part of the initial planning process, CIJE has developed three professional development institutes.

CIJE institutes are rooted in clearly articulated conceptions about leadership and adult learning. Leadership is conceptualized in a strategic/systemic perspective. According to this view, leadership is not only about technique and skills, but also encompasses Jewish content. Furthermore, this conceptualization invites deep discussion about the purposes and values of leadership and the moral bases of leadership. Leaders need multidimensional frameworks to analyze and understand their contexts from multiple perspectives.

The institutes are also rooted in recent developments in adult learning theory, specifically cognitive learning theories and constructivism. Prestine and LeGrand (1990) note that "proponents of cognitive learning theories argue that learning advances through collaborative social interaction and the social construction of knowledge...not the rather individualized, isolated and decontextualized processes emphasized in most education settings." (N. Prestine and B. LeGrand. *"Cognitive Learning Theory and the Preparation of Educational Administrators: Some Implications."* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston, MA 1990, p. 1).

The CIJE institutes for educational leaders are based upon a number of design parameters:

1. The institutes are developed to provide unique professional growth opportunities for leaders.

2. The institutes are committed to integrating Jewish content with leadership concerns, rather than addressing these two realms separately.

3. The institutes are geared toward building a professional sense of community among educational leaders. Therefore, the institutes include educational leaders from all denominations, settings, and institutions. The institutes also provide opportunities for job-alike discussions and community work groups.

4. The institutes provide mechanisms for support groups and networking when the participants return home.

The institutes have taken place at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education. They have focused on a common theme: creating and implementing a strong, compelling vision for Jewish education. Forty educational leaders attended the first institute, *"Building a Community of Leaders: Creating a Shared Vision,"* held in Fall 1994. Many of the same participants also attended the second institute in Spring 1996, *"Leadership and Vision for Jewish Education."* A third institute, *"The Power of Ideas: Leadership, Governance and the Challenges of Jewish Education,"* was held in January 1997. This institute, building upon the foundation of the first two institutes, was designed for a lay and professional leadership team from each participating institution. Over 60 leaders attended in teams from across North America.

The topics covered in the institutes are geared toward helping educational leaders move from articulating a vision to developing a strategy for implementation. They range from Jewish study sessions to discussions around questions such as: What kind of Jewish community and Jewish person are we hoping to cultivate through our educating activities and institutions? Other topics include practical considerations, such as engaging in strategic planning activities that will help achieve an institution's vision and models for involving staff in decision-making.

The institutes are staffed by preeminent faculty in both Judaica, education, and leadership and have included Professors Isadore Twersky, Robert Kegan, and Terrence Deal.

The institutes are rooted in four instructional strategies that aim to achieve maximum transfer of learning from the classroom to the work setting. Experiential activities, such as team-building exercises, tap personal needs, interests, and self-esteem. Skill-based activities develop and refine specific leadership skills, such as reflective thinking and staff development. Conceptual frameworks are presented to help participants implement multiple perspectives to solve problems, and feedback sessions are used to help participants see and move beyond current difficulties. Activities include text study, problem-based learning, case studies, simulations, videotape analysis, and group discussions.

The Seminar for Professors of General Education

Jewish education is a field severely understaffed at its most senior levels. Particularly in the area of research and advanced training, the North American Jewish community needs to develop ways to expand its personnel capacity. Increasing graduate training at the doctoral level is an important way to address this need, but such an approach requires many years of training and experience before graduates will be able to make a difference. While applauding the efforts of graduate institutions in their work, CIJE has been developing another, complementary, approach to this issue--taking advantage of the existence of talented individuals in the world of general education who might be interested in making a contribution to the work of Jewish education.

In its own work, CIJE has seen the enormous assistance that can be offered by outstanding academics in the field of general education when their research and teaching skills are applied to Jewish educational issues. The field has also seen the contributions in the past of such eminent figures as Joseph Schwab, Israel Scheffler, and Lee Shulman, as they turned to areas of Jewish concern and drew upon their own expertise to help the field of Jewish education. The leadership of CIJE, therefore, began to ask: "Would it be possible to attract Jews from the world of general education to devote some of their time to Jewish educational questions? And, if so, what kinds of orientation and learning would these academics need to be able to contribute to the field?"

Toward that end, CIJE recruited nine professors of education from among the most prestigious American universities and research institutes to attend an intensive seminar in Jerusalem in July 1996. The seminar, co-sponsored by CIJE and the Center for Advanced Professional Education (CAPE) of the Mandel Institute in Jerusalem, provided participants with an immersion in Jewish thought and issues of Jewish education. The staff and consultants of CIJE and CAPE developed an integrated program of Jewish study and engagement with issues of Jewish education and the contemporary sociology of American Jews. The outstanding teachers and scholars in the program included Aviezer Ravitzky, Menachem Brinker, Michael Rosenak, Seymour Fox, Gail Zaiman Dorph, Barry W. Holtz, and Steven M. Cohen.

A second seminar was held at the end of January 1997. Three additional professors were added to the group at that time. A third meeting is being held in June.

The professors in the group are serving as consultants, enriching the field of Jewish education with ideas and research from general education. CIJE will continue to expand the group, creating a new network of outstanding educators committed to revitalizing Jewish education.

The group currently includes:

Deborah Ball, Professor of Education, University of Michigan.

Sharon Feiman-Nemser, Professor of Teacher Education, Michigan State University.

William Firestone, Professor of Education, Rutgers University.

Adam Gamoran, Professor of Sociology and Education Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Ellen Goldring, Professor of Educational Leadership and Associate Dean, Peabody College, Vanderbilt University.

Fran Jacobs, Associate Professor, Tufts University, with a joint appointment in the Departments of Child Development and Urban/Environmental Policy.

Barbara Neufeld, President of Education Matters, Inc., and a lecturer on education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

Daniel Pekarsky, Professor of Educational Policy Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Anna Reichert, Associate Professor of Education, Mills College.

Barbara Schneider, Senior Social Scientist at NORC and the University of Chicago.

Susan Stodolsky, Professor of Education and Psychology, University of Chicago.

Ken Zeichner, Hoefs-Bascom Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The Goals Project

A joint project of CIJE and the Mandel Institute in Jerusalem, the Goals Project is an ongoing effort to encourage the infusion of powerful Jewish ideas into Jewish education. It is guided by the assumption that Jewish educating institutions will become more interesting and effective places when their work is guided by powerful visions, grounded in Jewish thought, of what Judaism is about and of the kinds of Jewish human beings and community we should be trying to cultivate.

The Goals Project grows out of the Educated Jew Project of the Mandel Institute, conceptualized and developed by Professor Seymour Fox. The Goals Project is under the direction of CIJE consultants Dr. Daniel Pekarsky, Professor of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and Daniel Marom, senior staff member of the Mandel Institute.

Beginning with the CIJE Goals Seminar in 1994, the Goals Project has advanced its agenda through consultations to various agencies and institutions and through pilot projects and seminars aimed at lay and professional leaders in Jewish education at both the communal and institutional level. Recent activities include:

1. **The Summer 1996 Goals Seminar**: This seminar in Jerusalem initiated into the project new colleagues who play significant roles in the landscape of Jewish education. The seminar was designed both to develop personnel for the Goals Project and to enable the participants to use goals concepts and concerns to illuminate their own work in building and/or guiding educating institutions.

2. **Pilot Projects**: Pilot Projects are designed to strengthen education in participating institutions, to deepen our understanding of what is involved in catalyzing vision-sensitive educational growth, and to provide case studies of the process of change. Daniel Marom has been involved in the pilot project launched in the fall of 1995 with the Agnon School in Cleveland; this community day school is engaged in the process of deepening its guiding Jewish vision and its relationship to practice. Daniel Marom has been presenting aspects of this ongoing case study in various settings, including the Summer 1996 Goals Seminar. A carefully documented case study is projected to result from this project. A second pilot project, coordinated by Daniel Pekarsky, has recently been launched with Congregation Beth Israel of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

3. **Goals Consultations**: CIJE staff served as consultants in a year-long planning process leading up to a retreat organized for the East Coast alumni of the Wexner Heritage Foundation. Organized around the theme "What Works: Innovations for Revitalizing American Jewry," the retreat emphasized the role of vision in four critical areas: day schools, summer camping, adult education, and Israel experiences.

Other recent consultations focused on the development of guiding visions for community agencies and for educating institutions have been held in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, as well as with the Jewish Community Center Association in the area of camping. Currently, CIJE is consulting to groups in Cleveland and Phoenix that are working to establish new community

high schools, as well as to the planning sub-committee of education of the Federation of Rhode Island.

4.   Under the auspices of the Goals Project, CIJE organized an initial meeting of the professional leadership of emerging and existing community day high schools. This meeting provided an important opportunity to identify and explore basic questions concerning the nature and guiding purposes of such institutions.

5. **Goals Publications and Resources**: In 1996-97, the Goals Project will continue to develop a number of materials that will serve as resources to the project and to the field of Jewish education.

Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions, by Seymour Fox with William Novak: Published in March 1997 by the Mandel Institute of Jerusalem and CIJE, this essay offers a portrait of an ambitious effort to infuse an educational setting with powerful ideas about the purpose and meaning of Jewish life.

In addition to the Agnon case study, Goals Project materials will include an article entitled *"The Place of Vision in Jewish Educational Reform,"* by Daniel Pekarsky.

These materials are designed to nurture among lay and professional constituencies a richer appreciation of what a vision-guided educating institution is and of the benefits of moving in this direction.

The Lead Community Project

One of the original recommendations of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America was the selection of communities that would serve as lab sites for the recommendations of the commission. Three communities--Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee--were chosen.

From the point of view of the Commission, the task was clear: These communities would be sites where the hypotheses generated by the Commission would be tested. They would demonstrate in "real life" how building the profession of the Jewish educator and mobilizing communal support on behalf of the education agenda could begin to transform the quality of Jewish life. The successes and processes--and even failures--of these lab sites would be described and analyzed in the reports written by the Monitoring, Evaluation and Feedback team (one of whose members would live and work in each community). From this work, the Jewish community would gain some diagnoses of the current status of education and of educators; some images of what could be; and descriptions and analyses of what works. Lead communities would also be laboratories for institutional change and for other educational innovations.

CIJE was faced with a variety of challenges as its work with the lead communities began. The address for the lead community initiative was the federation because of its anticipated success in driving forward an agenda of the whole community. The strength of the federated system has always been its ability to create consensus among communal members. And yet CIJE's agenda, although communal, was one of change rather than consensus.

Each community was asked to create a wall-to-wall coalition of communal members across institutions and denominations; and to designate a person in charge of this change process. Although each community did so, the work required to create communal support for making education in general and building the profession in particular key communal priorities was more difficult and time-consuming than originally imagined. It required its own planning and implementation processes. In addition, the leadership of the community, presumed advocates of this agenda because of their support of the lead community process, nevertheless needed to be educated about the requisite pre-conditions and implications of this approach.

Today, we have indeed begun to see progress. Two communities have created innovative pilot projects: a long-distance Masters degree program for Milwaukee Jewish educators run by the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies; and a professional development program in early childhood in Baltimore: Machon l'Morim: Breishit. The first of these programs, funded through communal and private foundation funding, is a cooperative effort of the central agency in Milwaukee, the local Lead Community Project, and the Cleveland College. The latter is privately funded and has the benefit of expertise from Baltimore Hebrew University and the central agency. Both have benefited from CIJE planning and consultation.

Lead communities, with CIJE's help, have also become venues for other innovative Jewish educational projects. At this time, for example, each of the communities will have a synagogue affiliated with the Experiment in Congregational Education (ECE) of Hebrew Union College. A pilot project for developing lay leadership for Jewish education in Milwaukee is now underway.

Lead community educators have taken part in all of CIJE programs in a greater proportion than educators in other communities, which is to be expected. More important, there is greater post-program communication and follow-up work in these communities than in others represented in our programs. Groups of educators who have attended the CIJE/Harvard educational leaders seminars have continued to meet together, usually with the encouragement of the director of the central agency. Participants in CIJE seminars have begun to take leadership roles at home in both the professional councils of educators and in communal committee structures. All of these are positive signs that the agenda of educational reform is now becoming part of the lead community landscape.

Brandeis University Planning Consultation

One of the primary missions of CIJE is to help Jewish educational institutions do the strategic planning necessary to have a significant impact on Jewish life in North America. In the spring of 1995, Brandeis University began a series of conversations with CIJE about the expansion of the university's capacity for and impact on Jewish education. In the fall of 1995, Brandeis submitted a funding proposal to the Mandel Associated Foundations to plan for Brandeis's future in Jewish education. The central deliberative body of the planning process, The Task Force on Jewish Education at Brandeis, met for the first time in December 1995.

The primary purpose of the university planning process for Jewish education is to determine what Brandeis's priorities should be in serving the educational needs of the Jewish community. The process is overseen by the task force, consisting of Brandeis faculty and leaders of the Boston-area Jewish educational community; a steering committee of five members of the task force; and two consultants from CIJE.

The task force is considering the following questions:

- What are Brandeis's current involvements in Jewish education?

- What are the educational needs of the North American Jewish community?

- How can Brandeis build upon its strongest resources to meet a set of identified needs of the Jewish community?

- What are the university's highest priorities in developing its resources to serve the identified educational needs of the Jewish community?

Under the leadership of Brandeis president Jehuda Reinharz, the planning process involves a valuable collaboration between the university and the CIJE. CIJE consultants are working closely with the task force on identifying the Brandeis resources most appropriate for addressing the community's educational needs, targeting areas for most immediate attention, and developing a framework for the university's Jewish educational initiatives.

Following this planning process, Brandeis intends to put these resources to work on meeting the specific programming, training, and research needs in North American Jewish education.

Other CIJE Planning Initiatives

In 1995, CIJE, together with JESNA, convened a first consultation toward the goal of establishing a national program for training locally based evaluators of Jewish educational initiatives. As the Jewish community and its leadership allocate resources to a range of Jewish educational projects, the issue of evaluation is becoming urgent. When new initiatives are undertaken, how can their impact be measured and assessed against other approaches?

CIJE is committed to increasing the capacity for research and evaluation with implications for communal policy. With JESNA, we are currently planning and designing an **Evaluation Institute for Jewish Education** to be launched in the coming year.

CIJE is also a consultant to the following projects:

Machon L'Morim, an early childhood initiative in Baltimore funded by the Children of Harvey and Lyn Meyerhoff Philanthropic Fund;

The **New Atlanta Jewish Community High School**;

The Milwaukee **Masters of Judaic Studies in Jewish Education,** a pioneering M.A. program funded by the Helen Bader Foundation. The M.A. degree, from the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies, will be earned by Milwaukee educators in a distance-learning program of the Lead Community Initiatives project of the Milwaukee Jewish Federation.

CIJE is also actively consulting on the professional development of teachers with the **Torah U'Mesorah** movement; and with **She'arim**, a new program for the recruitment and education of future day school teachers, co-sponsored by **Drisha Institute** and the **Beit Rabban Center** in New York.

The CIJE Board Seminar Series

Beginning in Fall 1994, CIJE has held an invitational seminar twice a year preceding the CIJE Board Meeting. The seminar, convened for Board members and communal and professional leaders in the New York area, invites speakers from the academic community to apply their disciplines to the current Jewish condition and Jewish educational policy.

Previous programs have included:

Dr. Terrence E. Deal, Professor of Education and Human Development at Vanderbilt University and Co-director of the National Center for Educational Leadership (NCEL):
Frames for Thinking about Educational Leadership.

Dr. Jonathan Sarna, Braun Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University:
A Great Awakening: The Transformation that Shaped Twentieth Century American Judaism and its Implications for Today.

Dr. Arthur Green, Philip W. Lown Professor of Jewish Thought at Brandeis University:
Transforming the Aleph: Judaism for the Contemporary Seeker.

Rabbi David Hartman, philosopher, activist, founder of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem:
The Road to Sinai in Our Time.

Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, Professor of Liturgy at Hebrew Union College-JIR:
The Transformation of the Synagogue in the Coming Century.

The CIJE Essay Series

CIJE publishes the Board Seminar series in essay form and distributes the publications widely to communal and educational leaders in the North American Jewish community.

Currently available:

A Great Awakening: The Transformation that Shaped Twentieth Century American Judaism and its Implications for Today, by Jonathan Sarna.

Transforming the Aleph: Judaism for the Contemporary Seeker, by Arthur Green.

Co-published by the Mandel Institute of Jerusalem and CIJE:

Vision at the Heart: Lessons from Camp Ramah on the Power of Ideas in Shaping Educational Institutions, by Seymour Fox with William Novak.

Other publications are forthcoming.

The CIJE Education Seminar Series

Since Fall 1995, CIJE has convened an invitational seminar that meets four times a year to consider recent academic and conceptual work in the broad field of Jewish education, identity, and policy. Participants are drawn from the greater New York area's academic institutions, Jewish communal organizations, and foundations. Papers or chapters are mailed in advance to participants, who meet to reflect upon findings and raise interdisciplinary questions to further one another's work.

Previous programs have included:

Dr. Jonathan Woocher, Executive Vice President of JESNA:
"Toward a 'Unified Field' Theory of Jewish Continuity."

Professor Michael Rosenak, of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education at Hebrew University:
"Realms of Jewish Learning: Two Conceptions of the Educated Jew."

Dr. Gail Z. Dorph, Senior Education Officer at CIJE:
"Content-Specific Domains of Knowledge for Teaching Torah."

Dr. Sherry Blumberg, Associate Professor of Jewish Education at Hebrew Union College:
"To Know Before Whom You Stand: A Philosophy of Liberal Jewish Education for the Twenty-First Century."

Dr. Bethamie Horowitz, Senior Scholar at the Center for Jewish Studies at the CUNY Graduate Center:
"Beyond Denomination: Emerging Models of Contemporary American Jewish Identity."

Dr. Barry Kosmin, Director of Research for the Institute for Jewish Policy Research in London and member of the Doctoral Faculty in Sociology at the City University Graduate Center:
"Sociological Insights for Educators Arising from the Survey of Conservative B'nai Mitzvah Students in North America."

Dr. Tova Halbertal, of the faculty of the Melton Centre for Jewish Education in the Diaspora of the Hebrew University:
"Mothering and Culture: Ambiguities in Continuity."

Dr. Steven Bayme, Director of the Jewish Communal Affairs Department at The American Jewish Committee:
"Understanding Jewish History: Texts and Commentaries."

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Program Assistant
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Executive Assistant
Chava Werber
Program Assistant

The Case for Jewish Education: 10 Principles for Making a Difference

Nessa Rapoport

Whenever I tell people that I now work in a foundation whose mission is to transform Jewish life by revitalizing Jewish education, I can see the yawn they are politely suppressing. "Jewish education?" says the cartoon above their head. "I hated Hebrew school."

Whenever I tell people that in 1987 I held one of the most glamorous jobs in New York publishing, having edited a presidential memoir when I was 28 and the best-selling book of the decade three years later, the first thing they say to me in 1997 is: "Don't you miss your old life?"

Well, I do miss those publishing lunches in spectacular restaurants. But I find my current life strangely more glamorous than my old one. So before I offer some principles for funding Jewish education wisely, I want to speak about why Jewish education is worth funding at all.

First, let me say emphatically that Jewish education is not an ethnic hazing ritual called "bad Hebrew school" that our parents forced us on us because their parents forced it on them. And it certainly is not only for children--or only for other people's children. I offer instead the words of the eminent historian of education, Lawrence Cremin, who said: "Education is the transmission of culture across generations."

"The transmission of culture across generations": What might that mean for us? To me, all education is about knowing where you come from so that you can give something back. In any culture worth its name, that is the definition of aristocracy.

Can we associate aristocracy and Jewish education in the same sentence? Here's why I think we can. In this country, Jews constitute fewer than 2% of the American population. In the world, our numbers correspond to the margin of error in the Chinese census. If we look back on our unique history as a people, why are we still here? We have never had

the most citizens, the most power, or the most money--and we never will. What has enabled us not only to survive but to flourish? Powerful, transforming ideas.

Yes, these words are brought to you by the people who gave the world monotheism, the Bible, the Sabbath, prophetic justice, the only successfully revived language in history, psychoanalysis, the theory of relativity, Abstract Expressionism, and American feminism.

Only education can cultivate the habits of mind and heart that have enabled us to contribute these new ways of seeing the world and solving its problems. This is the paradox: American Jews are among the most highly educated citizens of this country. In fact, American Jewish women are by far the most educated of all American women. For decades, we have pushed ourselves and our children to attend the most prestigious colleges, to flock to law, medical and business schools, making Jews and education virtually synonymous.

Why, then, do we not bring the same expectations to Jewish education as we do to general education? Why do we not demand that the settings in which our culture is transmitted be as rigorous and exhilarating as private elementary schools or Ivy League universities?

One reason is that we have such an impoverished view of what Jewish education can look like. If you've never seen and experienced excellence, it is much harder to imagine it.

What would it take to move Jewish education from reluctant bar mitzvah preparation for our children to a fascinating, lifelong journey for ourselves and our children? What would it take to move from obligation to astonishing pleasure--and profound meaning? A great education gives you the tools to ask the richest questions: "Why is there suffering in the world and how might we respond to it? What can we know about love and how can we sustain it? Why is it worth imparting an old and complicated tradition in the unreflective, quick-fix culture in which we find ourselves?

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To begin to understand how to make Jewish education important, even indispensable, I have spent the last four months asking a range of funders and recipients across the country for the wisdom they've gleaned after immersing themselves in the difficult--and addictive challenge--called "revitalizing Jewish education."

Here is what they told me:

1. There is no magic bullet, neither in general education nor in Jewish education. If you are looking for a quick and easy way to make a difference, this isn't it. Education is about two very complicated entities: people and change. If you've ever tried to change just one personal habit, you know there's no wand to wave. So if anyone claims, "It's day schools; no, it's spiritual retreat centers; no, it's trips to Israel," as the sole solution to Jewish alienation, rather than as a critical leg of a lifelong journey, be skeptical.

2. "Act local, but think global." Most Jewish education takes place locally. But it's also important to remember that the local scene--in its strengths and problems--is inseparable from national conditions.

If, for example, you have become convinced that a community Jewish high school would be a wonderful new institution for your city, you would not be alone. New community day high schools are one of the exciting phenomena or the American Jewish landscape. But when the time comes to hire the dynamic principal who is steeped in Judaica and progressive pedagogy, the one who can create the school to transmit the heritage we've talked about and still enable your children to go to Harvard, I can tell you without even knowing where you live that you're going to have to be creative. Because of the field's crisis in personnel--the stunning shortage of qualified leaders and teachers--there are very few people with the training and experience to do the job, and those few are the subject of fierce competition.

3. If the problems are systemic, the solutions can also be systemic, even at the local level. One critical systemic problem, for example, is the area of early childhood education. In Baltimore, the Children of Harvey and Lyn Meyerhoff Foundation created an innovative pilot project in professional development for early childhood educators open to all educational institutions of any denomination.

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A second example took place in the city of Milwaukee. In-depth research has shown that Jewish teachers are strongly committed to education as a career, but are severely undertrained. In Milwaukee there is no institution of higher Jewish learning to fill the gap. And so, in a cooperative effort, a long-distance Masters degree program for Milwaukee Jewish educators was funded in part by the Helen Bader Foundation. This funding takes advantage of sophisticated new technology that makes it possible for teachers to complete part of their M.A. requirements by studying, in Milwaukee, with educators teaching at the Cleveland College of Jewish Studies.

These two programs suggest Principle Number 4.

4. Educational change demands change in people. Changing a program or curriculum is not enough. As one educator said to me: "A smart funder will give money not just for materials, but to train the teachers who will use them and to acculturate the lay leaders supporting them."

5. New vs. old. One of the paradoxes in funding something new is that funders are often drawn to the new because it seems more imaginative and exciting that what already exists on the landscape. Unfortunately, there is also a learning curve for new ventures that can entail spending a disproportionate amount of time and money on support systems, logistical mishaps, staff turnover--those tedious problems that were the very reason the old seemed unattractive. If you're starting something new, one funder told me, "know that the project will need help in organizational development and non-profit management from day one."

The existing project may therefore seem enticing. It is already successful and less risky. Often, the old needs help precisely because it doesn't seem as sexy as the idea that is still on the drawing boards. Sometimes, however, the old is also not meeting the genuine needs of the day. To quote a funder: "Sometimes a new idea is put down because it's a bad idea, but sometimes it's put down only because it's new." Certainly, our times demand new ideas, and in today's Jewish landscape, it may be that only a private foundation can be bold enough to have a dream and take a chance.

6. Whatever you decide, don't engage in what one educator calls "scatterology," where you fund many projects in small pieces. Concentrate your resources and focus your effort. It's the only way to make a real difference. And if your resources are too limited in the face of the problem you want to solve, consider becoming a partner with another foundation.

7. Being well educated is not the same as understanding education, so criticize your basic assumptions. Make sure that you elicit a diversity of opinion about what you're considering, especially from people who really disagree with you. Do your homework about what else is going on around the country, in both Jewish and general education, so that you're not reinventing the wheel--or making the same mistakes someone has already paid for.

8. If the idea matters, give it yourself--or your best people. Don't fund it merely dutifully. One educator went so far as to say: "The leadership of the project is absolutely critical. If the key change agent leaves in the middle, shepherd the project very carefully until there's a strong successor in place."

9. Evaluation. Evaluation, like research, is seemingly expensive and not very glamorous. But there is nothing less glamorous than embarking on a big project and discovering five years down the road that because you never took the measure of your starting point, you now have no way to tell if you're succeeding. So build in the evaluation component from the beginning. You need to establish a baseline, with clear goals and objectives that are assessed periodically. Then pay attention to the findings and, says one funder, "have the guts to do something about it."

I see I've now reached Principle Number 10. The Ten Principles has a good Biblical ring to it, so I'll end with a principle from my own experience. In working at CIJE, I have had the chance to watch philanthropic thought in action. My final principle comes from one specific moment.

I was sitting at a breakfast at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations one Friday morning a couple of years ago. Like all GA breakfasts, this one began too

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early, and I was getting as much caffeine into my body as possible while I listened to a discussion of various ideas being funded in Jewish education. One organization was describing to the group a project that sounded quite exciting. While I was busy feeling gratified that an imaginative idea had indeed found support, the chair of CIJE, Mort Mandel, asked a question.

The question he asked was: "How long is the funding for?"

The answer came: "Three years."

Mort asked: "What will happen to the project when the three years are up?"

The answer? "It will probably have to end when the funding runs out."

Mort quietly suggested that it was not responsible for a funder to give support for three years without assuring that there was a way for the project, if it succeeded, to survive, grow, and make the difference it was designed to make. "It's going to take thirty years to transform the big picture of Jewish education," he said.

What did I learn from this brief exchange? That three years of funding in the field of education is simply not enough to make a sufficient difference. This is the single point on which there was universal agreement among all my sources. You have to be willing to be a committed partner to whatever project you fund--not necessarily to continue to fund it yourself, but to ensure that everyone involved has thought through carefully the time and resources it will take to win.

And you need to carry within you a big picture of what's possible. Instead of discouraging you, the big picture allows you to be clear about what it will take to make real change happen, and how your own piece of that picture will contribute to the challenge of renewing this ancient, majestic and little-known tradition of ours.

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Why is the religious civilization that gave birth to both Christianity and Islam so little known? I think some of the attention lavished upon Madeleine Albright's revelation comes from the electrifying possibility that in the middle of your adult life, you can suddenly find out that your past is not what it seems, and that an entirely different past can unfold before you, instead of behind you--a past you knew almost nothing about.

Albright's discovery is the metaphorical condition of many Jews today. Our past has been hidden from us, lost in a century in which a third of our people--and memory--were murdered, and millions more lived under regimes that brutally tried to eradicate our history.

The great philanthropic frontier today is to redeem a culture that is every Jew's birthright, to fashion Jewish education into a vehicle of such evident excellcnee that it will be not an obstacle but an invitation.

The invitation is not only to explore the glories of our remarkable inheritance. It is also to do what Jews have always done--to draw on the wisdom of other cultures and civilizations, thereby renewing our own. Some of the ideas just waiting to be addressed in order to reinvigorate Jewish education--and Jewish life--are these:

1. What does current American research on how adolescent girls learn and fail to learn mean for Jewish girls?

2. What is the connection between nature and Jewishness? How can a new emphasis in American life on the beauty and fragility of nature challenge us as Jews to better protect the created world?

3. How can the arts become central to Jewish education and be understood as necessary, rather than as an irrelevant frill?

4. What role can the meditative tradition play in enriching Judaism today?

5. How can we do our work--and not only our holidays--Jewishly?

6. How do we locate pluralism within Judaism, and live it out, truly?

These are only a few of the powerful questions drawn from American life from which we can learn and grow.

I began by quoting Lawrence Cremin on education as "the transmission of culture across generations." Let me close by offering the words of the esteemed scholar of Jewish studies at Harvard, Isadore Twersky. When asked about the purpose of Jewish education, he said:

"Our goal should be to make it possible for every Jewish person, child or adult, to be exposed to the mystery and romance of Jewish history, to the enthralling insights and special sensitivities of Jewish thought, to the sanctity and symbolism of Jewish existence, and to the power and profundity of Jewish faith."

That says it all.

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Understanding Jewish History

Texts and Commentaries

by

Steven Bayme

KTAV Publishing House, Inc.

in association with

The American Jewish Committee

Contents

Introduction

This book constitutes an invitation to a unique adventure—a *tour d' horizon* of the Jewish experience from ancient through modern times. Organized in 34 units, the volume is effectively a guide to all facets of Jewish historical experience—cultural, religious, political, and social. If there is a message contained here concerning Jewish identity, it is that to be a Jew today means ongoing contact and dialogue with Jewish tradition.

The volume is aimed at the general reader desiring a core course covering the main contours of Jewish history. Based upon my two decades of teaching college students and adult education, this book assumes that most American Jews have attained a relatively high level of secular education but only rarely have applied the same level of rigor and expertise to the study of the Jewish experience. To address this gap, this book has been conceived of as a thinking person's teaching volume.

Its particular objectives include an understanding of the primary historical experiences of the Jews, the distinctive ideas which Jews and Judaism have advocated, and some exposure to the classical texts of the Judaic heritage. It is unrealistic, of course, to attempt to cover everything that has ever happened in Jewish history. Rather, this book's teaching goals address broad currents, seeing where Judaism has differed, and attaining a basic literacy in reading classical Jewish literature. Each unit will be accompanied by textual readings, questions for discussion, and additional bibliography.

Given the limitations of scope, this volume is shaped by several assumptions about Jewish experience: continuity rather than dis-

continuity, salience rather than irrelevance, and the value of honest and informed confrontation with Jewish sources.

Continuity: There are no radical breaks in the course of Jewish history. Change, although significant, occurs only over prolonged periods. Jewish emancipation did not take place overnight, nor did the exile begin with the destruction of the Second Temple. Although events such as these were doubtless significant, they developed in the context of long pre-existing conditions. Therefore, in speaking of continuity in history, the evolutionary nature of change suggests continued common ground with past generations. The contemporary Jewish condition comprises an outgrowth of the sum of Jewish experience. Understanding contemporary Jewish life, therefore, presupposes understanding how the Jews have evolved as a people.

Salience: The relevance of the past does *not* mean there are particular lessons to be applied to contemporary experience. All too often, individuals seeking to "learn" from history develop facile instructions for state leaders based upon historical experience. Human nature and development, however, are far more diverse and complicated. Conditions are rarely equivalent, and human behaviors cannot so easily be predicted.

Rarely, therefore, can history provide unequivocal instruction in particular decision-making. The value in studying history, and its continued salience, lie elsewhere. Contemporary issues and problems do not exist in a vacuum. The origins, development, and contemporary context are all rooted in the past. To approach issues from a strictly present-day perspective will blur complexities and limit understanding. The Middle East conflict is a good case in point.

It did not begin with the Intifada nor, for that matter, with the 1967 Six-Day War. The root causes of the conflict lie in Arab rejection of Jewish nationalism as an alien and intrusive force within the region. From this historical perspective, statecraft requires recognition that peace will come, not by signing a treaty, but only through fundamental changes in the perceptions of Zionism in Arab consciousness, underscored by extensive efforts at public education to signal that the Jewish State is now, indeed, welcome in the Middle East.

Jews are heirs to a unique and rich tradition. Dialogue with the past enables, not current decision-making, but rather understand-

ing the context of contemporary life. Study of Jewish tradition, in this view, is not the study of an obsolete body of teachings, but rather an attempt to understand Jewish civilization through the prism of teachings that have guided, subject to development, Jewish life for millennia.

Jewish sources: There are three ways to read Jewish texts: Initially, students read primarily for information—to understand what is inside the text. On a secondary level, individuals may read texts as documents from the time in which they were written—voices from the past providing a record of the society, its values, and the culture of the times. This is known as the historical reading of texts. It requires some distancing between the reader and the text, asking questions of what the text meant in its own time period. On a third level, we ask what this text says to me personally and existentially. All too often, unfortunately, readers become stuck on the first level of reading and fail to ask the necessary questions concerning what a document meant in its own time, much less what it means today.

This course will utilize all three levels of reading. Jewish sources, to come alive for the reader, must speak on multiple levels. It is not enough to know Bible stories in terms of what happened. Far more significant is to utilize sources to provide a snapshot of the culture in which they were written and, subsequently, to be able to ask whether these sources can address the existential dilemmas of being Jewish in the twentieth century. Although these three levels apply to virtually any text, the course will begin by utilizing a number of biblical texts and then progress through rabbinic, medieval, and ultimately modern source materials.

Goals: Given these three assumptions of continuity, salience, and value in reading texts, what can a course in Jewish history accomplish? The course will operate on diverse levels: On one level, the aim is to nurture understanding of how the Jews evolved as a people. Accumulating data and bits of information is insufficient. Rather, the questions must concern what historical events mean in shaping the evolution of the Jews as a people.

On yet another level, the goal is to ensure confrontation with Jewish texts and enhance Judaic literacy. Each unit is therefore followed by guided readings taken exclusively from primary source materials. The student is encouraged to study the text in question

after reviewing the historical background and context contained in the study unit. In this way, the text acts not only as a repository of information, but as a voice calling to us from the historical past.

Beyond information-gathering and textual literacy, the distinctiveness of this volume lies in its emphasis upon Jewish ideas and their continued salience to the modern Jew. On this level, readers will be asked not only to understand which ideas were distinctive Judaically and how they developed, but to continue the process of dialogue and questioning of these ideas to determine whether, how, and should these ideas affect contemporary Jewish living.

This work would not have been possible without the ongoing cooperation, encouragement, and assistance of numerous individuals. At the American Jewish Committee, David Harris, AJC Executive Director, has stimulated the broad expansion of Judaic literacy initiatives and seminars. I am grateful both to him and to Shula Bahat, AJC Associate Director, for encouraging this project and for granting me a sabbatical to complete it. Moreover, I have been privileged over many years to work with AJC's lay leadership. In many ways, this book is an outgrowth of the forums we have run at AJC chapter and national events. Robert S. Rifkind, AJC National President, Alfred Moses, his immediate predecessor, and Jack Lapin, Chair of the Committee's National Council, have served as a constant inspiration for my labors through their dedication to Jewish continuity and the future of the Jewish people.

The idea for the volume itself originated, as have so many good ideas, from a Shabbat luncheon with my dear friends Jack and Mierle Ukeles and Ezra and Batya Levin. Their encouragement helped transform a dim vision into reality.

Over the years I have been privileged to study with some of the outstanding teachers in contemporary Jewish life. The late Yehuda Rosenman initially invited me to work at the American Jewish Committee and served as my direct supervisor. Under Yehuda's close supervision, we developed the idea for an adult curriculum in Jewish history. Bert Gold, then AJC's executive director, appointed me to succeed Yehuda and gave me the opportunity to help transmit Yehuda's love for Jewish learning. At Yeshiva University, I was privileged to study with Dr. Irving Greenberg, currently President of the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership (CLAL). He first articulated for me the excitement in relating Jewish tradition to modern values and contexts. He has

since served as mentor and role model for me in more ways than I can count. Professor David Berger, then at Yeshiva University, first introduced me to the value for all Jews in a core survey course in Jewish history. Subsequently, I was privileged to study at Columbia University with Profs. Zvi Ankori, Lloyd Gartner, Arthur Hertzberg, Paula Hyman, and Ismar Schorsch. Dr. Norman Lamm, President of Yeshiva University, first exposed me to the beauties of Jewish philosophy. He subsequently invited me to develop and teach courses in Jewish history at Yeshiva on both undergraduate and graduate levels. Professors David Berger and Jonathan Sarna read drafts of numerous chapters and provided many useful suggestions and corrections. The influence of these people, both individually and collectively, is reflected on virtually every one of the following pages. They are, of course, in no way responsible for my errors.

Partial funding for this volume was made possible through the American Jewish Committee's Susan and Jack Lapin Fund for Jewish Continuity and by a fellowship from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture. I thank Dr. Jerry Hochbaum of the Memorial Foundation for his assistance and constant friendship.

It has been my pleasure to work with Bernard Scharfstein of KTAV Publishing House on this and other projects. Roselyn Bell expertly edited the final manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions for improving it.

Last and by no means least, the volume would not have been possible without the constant love and support of my family. My three children, Ilana, Eytan, and Yehuda, participated in regular Friday evening lectures on Jewish history (over raspberries), while my wife Edith has been a guiding and inspirational presence since graduate school. It is to them that I lovingly dedicate this volume.

Steven Bayme
January, 1997

Unit I

Creation, Covenant, Redemption

The Hebrew Bible is divided into three components: the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses, detail narratives of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the formation of Israel as a nation via exodus from slavery, and its wanderings in the desert for 40 years before entering the Promised Land of Canaan. However, the essential meaning of the word Torah is instruction. In that context, the Pentateuch is by no means a history book, although it contains much historical information. Its primary purpose is to instruct the Jews in the distinctive legal codes of the Jews governing personal, familial, and societal behaviors. The Prophetic Writings contain both historical accounts of the settlement of the Jews in Canaan (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) as well as the moral exhortations of the literary prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Minor Prophets). The Hagiographa, or Holy Writings, contain religious, historical, and wisdom literature, often in the form of parables or stories, which offer good advice on how to lead one's day-to-day life. A fourth body of writings, the Apocrypha, consists of uncanonized books that relate primarily to Jewish life in Second Commonwealth times. These writings were preserved in the Christian Bible as intertestamental literature, meaning literature composed between the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament.

Judaism begins distinctively as a religion of law. What sets the Jews apart as a people are the distinctive laws governing Jewish practice. In some respects, these laws are moral in nature, govern-

ing human relations. In other respects, the laws are ritualistic in nature, binding the Jews together as a people through their distinctive practices. Genesis, in particular the patriarchal narratives, communicates the essential origins of Judaism as a religion. Like other religions, Judaism begins with the question of how we came here. How did this world come into existence?

Classical religions originate with mythological tales of stories of the gods. The essence of ancient paganism lay in the reality that forces of nature governed day-to-day human activities. Ancient men and women looked around themselves and saw their lives regulated by many forces over which they had no control—thunder, lightning, rain, and sunshine. It was natural to assume that each of these forces represented a godly presence. In that sense paganism begins in the context of pluralism—namely, that there are many forces at work in the universe and none can claim exclusive power or truth. Ancient tales of creation, such as the Sumerian or Enuma Elish epic, posit creation as a result of struggle for supremacy among the deities.

Judaism rejected this paganism. The origins of Judaism as a religion lie in a struggle with paganism, in which Judaism posits a moral order and Divine Creator. Precisely because creation arose not by chance or struggle of the gods, but rather because of a Divine mind imposing order on the universe, Judaism articulated the principle of unity rather than pluralism and moral order rather than chaos. Genesis, therefore, begins with the statement "In the beginning God created heaven and earth"—meaning that creation occurred in time and through a Divine plan and purpose. Similarly, the second verse of Genesis states that the earth was chaotic; the process of creation imposed order amidst the chaos. Lastly, just as creation imposes a natural order on reality, the creation of human beings imposes a moral order in which the purpose of human existence is to build society and to shape it toward purposeful and moral ends. Man and woman, standing at the apex of creation, in effect become elevated into Divine partners. Just as God created nature, the message of Genesis to human beings is to build society for constructive and moral purposes.

The creation story gives humanity a past and an origin. The story of covenant suggests an ongoing presence. Several covenants dot the biblical narratives. The initial covenant is by no means designated as such. Rather it is simply assumed that humanity will

carry on the work of creation. The record of humanity, however, is by no means that benign. Genesis records the story of the great flood as a Divine reaction to human corruption, i.e. to humanity's failure to fulfill the ongoing work of creation. The flood narrative is both similar and dissimilar to the Sumerian Epic of Gilgamesh. Most distinctively, Genesis emphasizes moral responsibility and culminates in the first formal covenant between God and humanity symbolized by the rainbow. This covenant with Noah we might refer to today as a covenant of natural law. God promises that nature will never overwhelm humanity again as happened in the flood. Conversely, Noah assumes the responsibility of fulfilling the moral code to respect human life. The symbolism of the rainbow is significant—a statement of beauty that the forces of nature, while powerful, are ultimately preservative of humanity. Only humanity has the capacity to effect its own self-destruction. Nature, as terrible as its actions may be, ultimately culminates in the rainbow—a symbol of peace and safety. Human actions, by contrast, contain no built-in guarantee and are, in fact, unpredictable.

This initial covenant is a universal one. God promises all of humanity that never again will nature overwhelm society. The responsibilities of natural law are incumbent upon all men and women. This universal covenant, however, is transcended by yet a third covenant between God and Abraham, applying strictly to the Jews. This covenant is symbolized by circumcision, suggesting that sexual prowess must be restrained by human responsibilities and obligations. More particularly, precisely because the Canaanites had been guilty of sexual abominations, they will forfeit the land of Canaan. The Jewish promise of a land of their own is directly conditioned upon whether the Jews will fulfill the obligations of covenant. To the extent that the Jews will adhere to the moral and legal imperatives of Torah, their presence in the land of Israel is secured. But there are no guarantees. If the covenant of Torah is not fulfilled, Jewish presence and security are jeopardized. To be sure, although the promise of covenant is eternal, implementation will require human activity.

This covenant with Abraham, binding upon all future generations of Jews, is ultimately translated as a concept of the chosen people—perhaps the most difficult concept to grasp in the entire corpus of Jewish literature. To be sure, the rabbis were troubled by the notion of why God would choose one people to the exclusion

of all others. Their answer was that only the Jews accepted voluntarily the moral code of Torah. Similarly, the covenant with the Jews was by no means a racial covenant. It was available also to all born outside the covenant but who chose to join it.

In historical terms, moreover, the concept of the chosen people is indeed understandable. Virtually every nation has assigned itself a sense of distinctive mission and national purpose. Certainly the American doctrine of nationhood articulates American distinctiveness and even American exceptionalism. John F. Kennedy's inaugural address in 1961 proclaiming the New Frontier clearly articulated that American distinctiveness. The phrase, "The sun never sets on the British empire" similarly assigns a distinctive status to England. The Jewish concept of chosenness is by no means unique. Every nation wishes to see itself as pursuing a distinctive purpose and national dream.

Similarly, the idea of chosenness does speak to us on theological levels. It does not suggest that other peoples are less favored by God. Rather, it suggests that being a Jew is a heavy burden. It imposes specific responsibilities and obligations upon individual Jews and upon the Jews as a collective people. Elie Wiesel, for one, has gone so far as to argue that the price of the covenant with the Jews has simply been too heavy. Because the Jews were a chosen people, they were singled out for the most unique and destructive genocide known to human history. Others argue that the idea of chosenness articulates Jewish responsibility to the world at large. This was the famous "mission theory," first articulated by the prophet Isaiah and later emphasized heavily in Reform Judaism, as well as in German neo-Orthodoxy. Zionist theoreticians, particularly Ahad Ha'am and Martin Buber, have underscored the moral responsibility of the Jewish State to be a light unto the gentiles.

Common to these ideas of chosenness is the Jewish concept of holiness. The terms of the covenant dictate the Jews become a holy people, whose content forms Jewish distinctiveness. Holiness means separateness—the Jews are set apart from the nations of the world by their adherence to the Divine covenant. The Jews as a people must communicate distinctive content and national purpose in accord with the terms of covenant and chosen peoplehood. It is this sense of holiness and separateness that, in some respects, is most endangered today, when the boundary line between Jew and gentile has become so fluid in contemporary America.

Yet the idea of covenant remains salient. For minorities to survive in a democratic majority culture, they require distinctiveness, separateness and borders. The minority can and should open itself up to those who wish to join it—but not at the surrender of distinctive purpose and national content. For these reasons, Jews are enjoined not to intermarry with the surrounding gentile population. To be a Jew means to assert the covenant, to share it with others who wish to enter, but, at the same time, to recognize that it cannot mean all things to all people. The language of inclusiveness, so politically popular in our own day, must recognize that Jewish continuity presupposes some level of corporate distinctiveness that will be exclusionary to those who do not enter. Although that language of exclusivity may often seem harsh or insensitive, the very idea of a distinctive covenant with the Jews presupposes that it is not a covenant with all of humanity. The covenant with humanity at large remains, as symbolized by the rainbow, but the distinctive covenant with the Jews applies only to those who enter the *brit* of Abraham.

One other consequence of this covenant applies to monotheistic religions as a whole. Monotheistic faiths, particularly the Western ones, have been known for their religious intolerance rather than tolerance. In fact, it was the Jews who introduced the abominable concept of forced conversion to Western history in the time of the Maccabees. Needless to add, the Catholic Inquisition, the Moslem *jihad*, and the Protestant wars of religion all contained features of religious intolerance.

The concept of covenant to some extent explains why religious intolerance has been a feature of monotheistic faiths. The claim of monotheism is its possession of truth. By definition, that excludes those who do not share those truths. Taken to excess, this concept can and has been translated into violence against the infidel or those who do not share the truths of that monotheistic faith. Paganism, by contrast, precisely because of its pluralism, suggests that you can have your deity while we have ours. Deities are different, but by no means superior or inferior. In fact, there are even echoes of this pluralism within biblical references to ancient pagan cults. For example, in the Book of Judges, the judge Jephthah, on a diplomatic mission to the Ammonites, suggests to them that whatever their god Chemosh has given to them is theirs and whatever the God of the Jews has given to the Jews belongs to the Jews as a

people. Although this may be dismissed as diplomatic parlance, the statement reflects the basic values of pagan pluralism—namely, a plurality of deities in which no deity can claim exclusive truths. Consequently, while pagan religions have often featured many unsavory practices, including witchcraft and human sacrifice, they have been relatively free of the religious intolerance that has characterized monotheistic faiths. Judaism, offended by contemporary pagan sexual and sacrificial practices, mounted a permanent protest against the essence of paganism. In effect, the message of the Jewish covenant was to fly in the face of reality—to assert the principles of ethics and monotheism in a world in which the reality of pluralism held sway.

Moreover, the idea of the covenant undergoes further development in later Jewish history. For Abraham, the covenant is primarily theological and territorial—belief in God rewarded by possession of land. The Mosaic code extends the covenant to a broad array of legal practices, the corpus of which defines the Jews as a moral people. At yet a later stage, David centralizes the covenant in the particular locality of Jerusalem, suggesting that while its terms apply to Jews everywhere, the sanctity of Jerusalem symbolizes a central address that will claim the passions, energies, and attention of Jews throughout the ages. Some of the prophets went a step further in suggesting that the covenant will remain binding until the end of days, at which time it will be replaced by a new covenant. This statement, originating in Jeremiah, became the basis for the Christian reading of the covenant that the New Testament supersedes the Old Testament, that the covenant of law applicable to the Jews gives way to a covenant of grace applicable to all humanity. Paul was the first to articulate this doctrine of supersessionism, that the covenant of law granted to the Jews was simply inadequate to work out human salvation. Paul stated that "the just shall live by faith alone," meaning that God became man to bestow the gift of faith in Him and make it available to all of humanity. For much of later Christian thought, Judaism was an obsolete faith—a covenant which had gone unfulfilled because human beings were incapable of working out their own salvation. Jews, of course, understood Jeremiah's "new covenant" as essentially a reaffirmation of the traditional covenant.

In more recent years, Jewish theologians have been perplexed by the reality of the Holocaust and have asked how the covenant

could remain binding if the Jews had fallen victim to the worst genocide in history. Elie Wiesel, Irving Greenberg, and David Hartman, in particular, have emphasized human responsibility for the covenant in the aftermath of Auschwitz. Wiesel has articulated this theme most brilliantly through his novels, which portray an exchange of roles between God and man. As history has progressed, human beings have increasingly had to take the responsibility for their destiny and for the fulfillment of the covenant. The Holocaust, in that context, suggests the reality of human power to affect history toward ends that are clearly demonic. The Jews cannot rely upon a Divine promise. They can rely only upon their own power, tempered, to be sure, by covenantal concepts of justice. Irving Greenberg has, therefore, described Auschwitz as shattering the traditional covenant and replacing it with a voluntary covenant in which Jews assume the burdens of their destiny and history.

Although the terms of the covenant may have been altered by the reality of the Holocaust, most Jewish thinkers would agree that its ultimate promise remains that of Redemption. In that sense, if creation suggests a past from which we stem, and covenant suggests a present reality in which we live, redemption suggests the promise of a future in which the world will be better. This idea of redemption stands at the very root of the Jewish optimistic reading of history. Unlike Paul, the Jew is never overwhelmed by the reality of contemporary history. The idea of redemption offers a promise that no matter how dark individual moments in history may be, its overall direction is progressive. Although Jewish thinkers always attempted to marginalize messianic drives because they could be so destructive of contemporary reality, they did not marginalize the messianic idea or the dream of a future redemption. In their day-to-day lives, Jews are exhorted to live by the covenant in the present reality and to reject messianic activity as destructive. Yet at the same time, Jews pray every day for an ultimate arrival of the Messiah, who will fulfill their dreams of a national restoration and of universal peace among the nations.

These central ideas of creation, covenant, and redemption form the building blocks of Judaic distinctiveness. The books of the Jews transmit their historical memories—of being born as a nation in bondage, of being liberated, and of being granted their Promised Land. These historical narratives are not valued as history per se. The Bible makes no claim to offer a straight historical sequence.

Rather, it provides us with a wealth of information to articulate the distinctive Jewish ideas of creation, covenant, and redemption. The Jewish "story" reveals how these ideas not only preserved the Jews as a people, but provided them with the essential content of what being a Jew meant. In subsequent units of this study course, we will look at the particular historical experiences of the Jews and ask how these seminal ideas of Judaism developed under the impetus of concrete historical circumstances.

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Readings: Genesis I: 1–5, 24–31; IX: 1.–17; XV: 7–18

The Book of Genesis serves as a "pre-history" for the Jewish people. The patriarchal narratives of Genesis trace the family dynamics within the clans of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Genesis, in effect, implies that before the Jews could become a people, they had to learn how to build family by resolving conflicts. The selections from Genesis detail the nature of covenant. Note in particular the differences between the universal or Noahide covenant, symbolized by the rainbow, and the Abrahamic covenant, uniquely with the Jewish people, symbolized by circumcision.

Chapter One

[1]When God began to create heaven and earth—[2]the earth being unformed and void, with darkness over the surface of the deep and a wind from God sweeping over the water—[3] God said, "Let there be light"; and there was light. [4]God saw that the light was good, and God separated the light from the darkness. [5]God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, a first day . . .

[24]God said, "Let the earth bring forth every kind of living creature: cattle, creeping things, and wild beasts of every kind." And it was so. [25]God made wild beasts of every kind and cattle of every kind, and all kinds of creeping things of the earth. And God saw that this was good. [26]And God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. They shall rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, the cattle, the whole earth, and all the creeping things that creep on earth." [27]And God created man in His image, in the image of God He created

him; male and female He created them. [28]God blessed them and God said to them, "Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on earth."

[29]God said, "See, I give you every seed-bearing plant that is upon all the earth, and every tree that has seed-bearing fruit; they shall be yours for food. [30]And to all the animals on land, to all the birds of the sky, and to everything that creeps on earth, in which there is the breath of life, [I give] all the green plants for food." And it was so. [31]And God saw all that He had made, and found it very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

Chapter Nine

[1]God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, "Be fertile and increase, and fill the earth. [2]The fear and the dread of you shall be upon all the beasts of the earth and upon all the birds of the sky—everything with which the earth is astir—and upon all the fish of the sea; they are given into your hand. [3]Every creature that lives shall be yours to eat; as with the green grasses, I give you all these. [4]You must not, however, eat flesh with its life-blood in it. [5]But for your own life-blood I will require a reckoning: I will require it of every beast; of man, too, will I require a reckoning for human life, of every man for that of his fellow man!

[6]Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed; For in His image did God make man.

[7]Be fertile, then, and increase; abound on the earth and increase on it."

[8]And God said to Noah and to his sons with him, [9]"I now establish My covenant with you and your offspring to come, [10]and with every living thing that is with you—birds, cattle, and every wild beast as well—all that have come out of the ark, every living thing on earth. [11]I will maintain My covenant with you: never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of a flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth."

[12]God further said, "This is the sign that I set for the covenant between Me and you, and every living creature with you, for

all ages to come. [13]I have set My bow in the clouds, and it shall serve as a sign of the covenant between Me and the earth. [14]When I bring clouds over the earth, and the bow appears in the clouds, [15]I will remember My covenant between Me and you and every living creature among all flesh, so that the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh. [16]When the bow is in the clouds, I will see it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and all living creatures, all flesh that is on earth. [17]That," God said to Noah, "shall be the sign of the covenant that I have established between Me and all flesh that is on earth."

Chapter Fifteen

[7]Then He said to him, "I am the Lord who brought you out from Ur of the Chaldeans to assign this land to you as a possession." [8]And he said, "O Lord God, how shall I know that I am to possess it?" [9]He answered, "Bring Me a three-year-old heifer, a three-year-old she-goat, a three-year-old ram, a turtledove, and a young bird." [10]He brought Him all these and cut them in two, placing each half opposite the other; but he did not cut up the bird. [11]Birds of prey came down upon the carcasses, and Abram drove them away. [12]As the sun was about to set, a deep sleep fell upon Abram, and a great dark dread descended upon him. [13]And He said to Abram, "Know well that your offspring shall be strangers in a land not theirs, and they shall be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years; [14]but I will execute judgment on the nation they shall serve, and in the end they shall go free with great wealth. [15]As for you,

You shall go to your fathers in peace;
You shall be buried at a ripe old age.

[16]And they shall return here in the fourth generation, for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet complete."

[17]When the sun set and it was very dark, there appeared a smoking oven, and a flaming torch which passed between those pieces. [18]On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying, "To your offspring I assign this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates: [19]the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, [20]the Hittites, the Per-

izzites, the Rephaim, [21]the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites."

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Educator tells rabbis: Value Hebrew schools

LESLEY PEARL
Bulletin Staff

Barry Holtz recalls meeting a rabbi who was working with two bar mitzvah students.

One of the youths attended a Jewish day school. The other received his Hebrew education at the synagogue school. After the ceremonies, the rabbi commented, "Isn't it wonderful what a day school can do?"

The remark was not simply "rude and insensitive," said Holtz, an instructor in the school of education at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and a consultant to the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE) in Cleveland, Ohio.

It also showed that "the rabbi didn't value his own Hebrew school," said Holtz.

Because of that rabbi's attitude, chances are his religious school will never be successful either, Holtz added.

"The idea that Jewish education is a total failure and that we should throw up our hands is ridiculous," Holtz said. "If a community gets serious, a lot can be done."

On Sunday, Holtz shared his suggestions, culled from the CIJE's "Best Practices Project," at a conference for parents and teachers at Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco.

Titled "A Vision of Excellence: Partnership for Strengthening our Children's Jewish Education," the meeting was a joint effort of the S.F.-based Bureau for Jewish Education and the regional office of the American Jewish Committee.

Nearly 100 people attended workshops on topics like "Making Hebrew Come Alive," "Creating a Family Friendly School" and "Inviting Tzedakah into the Bar Mitzvah Party."

Holtz, who also spoke at Congregation Netivot Shalom in Berkeley the same weekend, cited examples of successful Jewish congregation schools and the principles they share. He then asked participants to think about how they could bring these traits into their own schools.

For instance, all good schools the CIJE studied "are driven by a clear sense of mission: a vision that underlies the school," he said. "There's a clear sense of what they want to accomplish."

In most cases, successful schools receive strong support from the rabbi. He or she doesn't have to run the school or even be an expert in education. However, the rabbi does "have to help make the school a favorite child," Holtz said.

"The rabbis are keen on day schools for obvious reasons, but they need to support their own schools," he said. "Most kids still get their Jewish education in congregation schools."

A third key factor is "seeing the school as part of a bigger system, including Jewish summer camp, family education, youth group

Barry Holtz

and junior congregation," Holtz said.

"This way kids don't see Jewish education as [merely] four or six hours a day in school but part of a greater thing."

Holtz refuses to divine the future direction of religious-school education. In fact, he insists the CIJE "is not taking a national temperature.

"This is just to say there are examples of success," he added. "A conference like this is good for raising questions, getting people excited and starting to think."

Robert Sherman, BJE executive director, agreed.

"We learn from success as much as we learn from anything else," he said. "In a world of congregational school education, we focus an awful lot of time on what doesn't work and what failed.

"We spend insufficient time on that which is working and making a difference."

Parents, children meet in April workshops

Parents Place, at 3272 California St., S.F., offers a workshop for lesbian mothers at 7 p.m. Wednesdays, April 4-11. Cost is $30 per person, $50 per couple.

Mothers with babies under 6 months meet at 12 p.m. Wednesdays, April 9-May 28, for $80.

Parents of babies aged 6-12 months gather at 10:30 a.m. Fridays, April 11-May 30, for $80.

Parents of Preschoolers begins at 10 a.m. Wednesday, April 9, and continues through May 28 for $80.

For information, call (415) 563-1041

Excerpt from

"Mothering and Culture: Ambiguities in Continuity"

by

Dr. Tova Halbertal

CIJE Jewish Education Seminar

March 10, 1997

Introduction

Mothering in a culture has been overlooked to a large extent by traditional psychological theories that decontextualize mothering, presenting "motherhood" in an essentialist universalistic mode. In addition, its child-centered lens neglects and marginalizes mothers' own self-perceptions. Drawing upon the important contributions of feminist research concerning women's development, my research explores the missing perspective of the contextualized and cultural experience of mothering.

The particular focus of this work is on modern Orthodox Jewish women who adhere to Western ideas of self and of the equal place of women in the public sphere, while simultaneously accepting the authority of two thousand years of Jewish tradition. Thus these women are at a crossroad of seemingly contradictory values. As educators and mothers of adolescent girls they draw attention to the special role women have in transmitting cultural values and ideals.

This focus enables me to explore the role of women and their self-perceptions as transmitters of tradition. "Where do I as a woman stand in relation to the traditions I am passing?" (C. Gilligan, 1990) This question is crucial for an understanding of a woman's own experience of a given tradition, of her role in transmitting this tradition and of how this affects her relationship with her daughter.

The conflicts and uncertainties a mother experiences as a woman influence her relationship with her daughters, the next generation of women. In becoming a woman she had to define herself in relation to a given social

reality, to conform or pay the price of non-conformity. Her feelings towards this choice, be they positive, negative or ambivalent, affect her relationship with her daughter, her student or any girl she may influence.

My sample is comprised of nine women who are all mothers and teachers of adolescent girls, who identify themselves as modern, Israeli, Orthodox, Jewish women. This complex string of adjectives is indicative of the multifaceted nature of these women who simultaneously define themselves in terms of diverse cultural affiliations. (See Appendix 1 and Ch. 3, "Women in Jewish Law and Tradition" for detailed descriptions of the women in this study and of the normative Orthodox tradition.) The different parts of their identities are not easily synthesized and in many cases are experienced as incompatible. The nature of modern Orthodoxy in Israel can well be described in terms of a range of different understandings of and commitments to these distinct frameworks.

The mothers whose voices are heard in this study are all educators, conscious of the difficulties of balancing these components and especially of transmitting them to the next generation. These women are not necessarily "representative" of modern-Orthodoxy in general. They are all university graduates at the graduate or post-graduate level. Their interaction with secular culture forms a central part of their lives. The role of educator is a significant aspect of how they see themselves and how others see them. Whether serving as school principals, curriculum designers or public lecturers, they are all recognized as leading educators in the various educational frameworks in which they work.

Given that the goal of my research is to explore the subjective experience of mothers and teachers as agents of socialization, I chose qualitative methods that would enable me to explore the complexity of mothering within a

culture. These women were chosen through "discriminate sampling" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In addition the "snowball affect" helped me find some of the women. (This was not a methodological problem for me as I was purposefully looking for a very specific sample of people, i.e. mothers of adolescent girls who also teach girls and are all university graduates.) I conducted semi-structured clinical interviews (Seidman, 1991) consisting of two one-on-one open-ended phenomenological interviews with each of the women over a nine month period (Seidman, 1991) as a means of collecting narratives of their experiences.

I introduced open-ended follow-up questions in each interview in order to allow the women to articulate the unique meaning and definitions that each of them brought to their experiences and to their narratives of these experiences. As a mother of daughters, as a former teacher of adolescent girls in the Orthodox tradition, I was aware of the fears that these women might have in speaking about such a sensitive topic that makes them so vulnerable. As a researcher, my goal was to create a context in which the women interviewed could feel that they were being listened to with sensitivity and without intimidation.

The narratives were analyzed primarily according to the guidelines of the "Listening Guide" (Gilligan, Brown and Rogers, 1989) which enabled me to enter the data several times, attending each time to the different voices and themes that emerged during the interviews.

The central questions guiding my research are: How do women experience their tradition in the light of seemingly contradictory values? How and where do they give expression to these thoughts and feelings? How are these tensions manifested in their roles as keepers and reproducers of their culture? In what ways do their perceptions of their roles as transmitters of a

culture negate some of their deepest convictions as women? Do they see themselves as passive collaborators in a patriarchal system, or as active agents of the transformation of tradition itself, or is this a false dichotomy? How do their roles as agents of socialization affect the intergenerational relationships with their daughters and students? How do they share, suppress or subtly express their complex experience of their tradition to their own daughters and students?

The structure of the thesis is divided between the voices of theory and the voices of the women themselves. The specific questions I raise are informed by psychological theory and normative Judaism. The work as a whole and each of the individual chapters juxtapose theory and narrative analysis. The research is presented according to several themes. "Mothering in Culture" presents a survey of psychological theory about "the mother" and "the mother-daughter relationship." The glaring absence of what appears to me to be crucial components of mothering led to my formulating the main underlying questions of this work.

"Mothering and Motherhood" deals with various psychological aspects of the relationships between the mothers and their daughters in terms of the legacy of mothering relationships between the generations and the influence of social and psychological prescriptions of ideal motherhood on mothering. "Women in Jewish Law and Tradition" surveys the Jewish normative tradition, the framework which informs the women's cultural and religious world-view and way of life. "Religious Norms and Ritual" presents different responses to the traditional role of women in Jewish life. Do the mothers experience silencing? Is there a distinction between how they think and how they feel about issues? What bearing does their commitment to feminist ideals, the tradition and social and inter-personal considerations have on the

celebration of their daughter's Bat Mitzvah, the traditional Jewish rite of passage to womanhood?

"Abdications and Coalitions" explores the different voices that characterize the women's role as socializers. Through in-depth voice analysis, I examine the lines of resistance and resignation which emerge in the course of the interviews. At what point do the women abdicate their socializing roles in the face of conflicting visions? While the notion of an "inner" versus an "outer" voice was helpful in parsing their discourse and in identifying points of conflict between the community and the individual, these voices all represent aspects of a whole. No one voice is less an expression of the person than the others. Contrary to psychological theory with respect to women's serving as passive tools of "the father's law," the "Teaching" chapter shows that as teachers, the women are aware of the dilemma of being agents of socialization. They are conscious of and hold definite opinions about their role, their power, and what they desire for themselves, their daughters and their students, given the constraints and opportunities of their social and religious cultural framework.

Rather than treat women as victims, I show that women are often not unaware of their predicament and their struggle to live according to values and commitments with which they must negotiate or accept or reject. Their willingness to tolerate ambivalence and to make difficult choices among competing goods or values is not a sign of bad faith or passive collaboration with the patriarchy but the expression of a conscious decision to mother within a culture with all its limitations. Although the mothers I interviewed are embedded within a particular cultural context, in important ways they manifest the circumstances of mothers and teachers in other cultures who face the ambiguities of receiving and reproducing tradition.

5

Abdications and Coalitions

There are times when conflict and ambiguity are more indicative of normality than of abnormality. The current situation of women in Western society is a good example of this observation. And if this is true of women in general, then it certainly is true of "modern Orthodox Jewish women."

Without exaggerating contemporary Western society's openness and commitment to pluralism, it is safe to claim that the borders separating its competing life styles and social ideals have been eroded and blurred. The individual's exposure to a variety of cultural traditions and the availability of alternative ways of life as genuine "live options" in the Jamesian sense, have made ambiguity and conflict common features of ordinary social experience.

Given this reality, it would be superfluous for me to "conclude" that the modern Jewish women I interviewed felt ambiguity with respect to their combined roles as mothers and cultural agents. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to claim that given the social situation of these women, the *absence* of ambiguity would have required more of an explanation than its presence! The point of these interviews, however, was not to reveal *that* these women were conflicted but rather *how* they experienced and managed the conflicts they faced.

In raising their daughters, the women in this study encounter emotional and intellectual ambiguities which are inherent in their lives. As modern Orthodox women, they face the tradition within themselves, and as mothers,

they meet their daughters and thereby re-encounter the dilemmas they once faced. The choices they are required to make reflect the ambiguities of their being in the tradition, in themselves as women, and in their daughters. This is the psychodynamic situation which the women shared with me in describing themselves as mothers and teachers of adolescent girls. They are socializers with responsibility to the community and allegiance to religious Judaism. In addition they also experience their relationships with their daughters independently of their social contexts, even if informed by them.

Their socializing role itself also contains a contradiction, because the community's notion of socialization is sometimes at odds with the socialization they themselves hope to achieve. The community expects conformity to its own religious standards, while they would like to see their daughters walk the same fine line they themselves walk—that of resisting the role that normative Orthodox Judaism assigns to women, without rebelling against or abandoning the system altogether. The result, in the case of nearly all these women, is that they often speak to their daughters in different voices—one that conveys "weakness and doubt" and one that expresses strength and clarity. The latter, they believe, would be dangerous to their daughters and to the tradition and, therefore, they often choose the former, even though they realize the consequences of this choice for their daughters, themselves and their relationship.

The women in this study stand unequivocally with both feet in tradition, so even as they challenge the ideas or assumptions behind normative prescriptions of behavior, they by and large comply with those norms. In their relationships with their daughters, and in their roles as agents of socialization, the women face two opposing questions: 1) at what point

does resistance turn into rebellion? and 2) at what point does compliance silence their independent inner voices?

They want to bequeath to their daughters a stance of resistance *within* tradition, a conformity that does not negate their daughters' individuality–their "inner" world. In the final analysis, however, their allegiance to Orthodoxy is such that they may be willing to abdicate their roles as socializers so as to ensure their daughters' loyalty to society rather than take the risk that the resistance they preach will lead their daughters into open rebellion against traditional values.

Be Like Them! / Why Are You Like Them?

The mothers in the study want to believe that both their inner and outer voices are heard by their daughters. Consciously, they want to communicate a message of individuality: "Be different! Explore your uniqueness in spite of group pressure to conform. Question the notions of femininity laid down by your teachers, your youth leaders, your peers." They believe (and want to believe) that their voice that says: "Don't make waves, fit in" is less influential than their other voices. Yet, because they do not feel totally secure about their unconventional attitude towards religion and because they are not sure that they can pass it on to the next generation, their external voice is heard all too clearly by their daughters.

In fact, the women intentionally keep their "inner voice" at a low volume. They believe that adolescents see things in black and white (Bruria) and that therefore their message of resistance is potentially dangerous. As they see it, their questions and reservations about religion are suitable only for adults–mature individuals who are deeply committed to the system and sufficiently secure to dare question it. As educators and as mothers they feel a

responsibility to inculcate affiliation to the community and to its standard belief systems. Although they voice resistance and express views that differ from the norm at home, they know that their influence on their daughters is often overridden by the schools to which they chose to send them and by the communities in which they chose to live. Ironically, they are disappointed when these social and educational institutions prove successful. They are disconcerted by their daughters' complacency and conformity and by their lack of autonomy; they hope that eventually their daughters will learn to appreciate the need for cultural resistance. After all, their daughters are repeating the same educational process they themselves underwent—a formal education that assures allegiance, together with an exposure to ideas that promote questioning and resistance.

Yehudit

After much deliberation, Yehudit decided to send her daughter to a school that was more rigid and religiously conservative than what she considered to be appropriate for herself.

> I chose to send her to Ulpana because I was afraid that religiously the other schools would not be positive enough for her. Ulpana encourages *yirat shamayim* [reverence of G-D]. I felt my own weakness in making clear statements about these things at home. I find it easier to talk about sex than *yirat shamayim*. So I felt I wanted the school to do that for me. I wanted her to get something clear from her peer group, straight answers: "yes" or "no." There are doubts in my mind whether it was the right decision.

The school that Yehudit chose was meant to give her daughter the straightforward religious education that she felt she herself could not provide. In the face of her "weakness," she chose Ulpana over the more liberal alternatives. Yehudit's references to herself in this passage are lined with a sense of "fear", "weakness" and "doubt." (I was afraid... I felt my own

weakness... There are doubts...) The emotional background against which she made her choices was characterized by a lack of enthusiasm and self-confidence. Although the use of the term "choice" often indicates inner strength and conviction, here, her choice grew out of a sense of inner weakness and an inability to convey her convictions to her daughter. Ulpana, on the other hand, would provide her daughter with clear "yes" or "no" answers in situations where she herself might express hesitation or ambiguity. Yehudit knows that vagueness and complexity often reflect the objective nature of life's problems (as she says in other parts of her interview), nevertheless, with respect to her daughter's religious education, she views clarity and decisiveness as virtues and the inability to make simple yes/no judgments as a vice.

Her provocative juxtaposition of sex over and against fear of God, places sex in the category of issues that do not require simple yes/no judgments. Fear of God must be conveyed in straightforward, didactic discourse whereas sex belongs to a less exact, more flexible area of human experience. As a matter of fact, sex is not a pressing issue for her daughter because "she does not yet have a boyfriend." At other points in our discussion, Yehudit mentioned of the ease with which she could talk to her daughter about movies and novels–once again secular topics where yes/no, either/or judgments were not necessary for creating interest and conviction.

Ironically, however, once the chosen school actually shows signs of success, Yehudit laments that her daughter "has this hard-headed Israeli approach to religion." She knows that her own weakness had pushed her daughter to the ideological right. She regards her intellectually and spiritually sophisticated attitudes towards religion and Bible, which she expresses in her teaching, as weaknesses with respect to her daughter's education. She

therefore chose a school that would undermine an otherwise important part of herself in order to transmit the clarity and simplicity that she believed were necessary to inculcate religious loyalty and conviction. Nevertheless, today she is not fully convinced that she made the right choice.

> We have a slightly adversarial relationship to her school. We discuss its lack of liberalism. The teacher seems to be pushing a position to which I would like to see a much more open attitude. For instance, she is subtly indicating that she is not in favor of national service, which is a surprise to me. She is not saying it blatantly but more like: "If you meet someone wonderful, you should not close your minds to it [marriage]." It is part of her agenda to get them onto the straight path, away from danger, because all kinds of things could happen. I don't want to do her teacher injustice, but Adina knows what my attitude is.

Interestingly, Yehudit begins to voice her doubts in terms of *we.* In other parts of the interview she did not refer to her husband as a partner with whom she shared her ideas on education, yet here *"we"* appears twice in this context. ("*We* have a slightly adversarial relationship... *We* discuss its lack of liberalism...). Yehudit reverts back to the first person singular when she addresses specific details, e.g., her criticism of Adina's teacher for subtly conveying messages about the dangers of the outside world. Adina's teacher believes–and subtly teaches–that the best way to protect girls is o get them married right after high school.

Yehudit is opposed to the view of life into which her daughter is being indoctrinated at school and she believes that Adina is aware of her opposition. She does not hesitate to express opinions contrary to those which Adina's teachers express. Nevertheless, she doubts whether she can succeed in communicating and convincing her daughter about the correctness of her deeply-held beliefs. "I probably did not succeed" she concludes, blaming herself for her inability to transmit a more balanced religious world-view to her daughter: "Perhaps it is because I don't feel all that balanced myself."

Yehudit chose a school for her daughter that would provide her with the "straight answers" she felt incapable of conveying. It is as if Yehudit wanted her daughter to achieve the inner balance that she lacked. The fact is, however, that the school she chose to counteract her own "imbalance" could not do so precisely because of its either/or, yes/no religious outlook. The true balance and harmony that Yehudit believes in are not parts of the school's educational agenda.

> I have a question about the religious part [of Adina's schooling]. I am not sure I managed to communicate that to her very well. I don't know what she gets from it. That is where I don't feel I've managed to communicate with her, to balance things. Perhaps that is because I don't feel all that balanced myself. I feel that I am constantly struggling. For example, what do you feel religiously when a friend dies? I found I was very involved in such a situation. She would not even ask questions like that, which means I probably did not succeed. She would never ask, how could G-D do that? I don't feel I have managed everything with her. She is her own person. Very much so. She has, in a way, a very conventional attitude to religion. She has a hard-headed Israeli approach.

Yehudit's expressions of doubt and indecision stand out in strikingly contrast to her daughter's no-nonsense "hard-headed" attitude to religion.[1]

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[1] See Gilligan et al. *The Listening Guide* where "reading for self" is one of the standard reading methods described. This method aims at tuning the reader's/interpreter's ear to the multiple voices contained within an individual voice. I will be using components of this method as a way to help hear and understand the different ways the women I interviewed connect themselves to their beliefs and culture. See my discussion of *Sima* below for a further example of this method.

I	She
I am not sure	She would not even ask
I don't know	She would never ask
I don't feel	She is her own person
I don't feel all that balanced	She has a very conventional attitude to religion
I am constantly struggling, a bit	She has a hard-headed Israeli approach
I *probably* did not succeed	Very much so...

In contrast to her questions and struggles–her "imbalance"–Yehudit's daughter shows few signs of such complexity. Instead, her religious voice is a conventional voice, one that doesn't ask painful questions when a friend dies, that mourns without exposing the vulnerable side religious belief. Yehudit realizes that the religious voice to which her daughter listens most is not her own. And this means that her daughter does not really know her either as a teacher or as a mother.

When I asked Yehudit whether her wanting Adina to be religious might have prevented her from sharing with her some of her more complex attitudes, she answered that the opposite was in fact true.

> The things that I tend to share with her are the *apikorus* [heretical] things–my thinking about the world, the kinds of things that can be talked about. I am afraid I might have overdone it.

Again, Yehudit divides the universe of discourse she shares with her daughter into what can be talked about, i.e., secular topics–which do not require hard and fast answers, and religious issues–the complex, "imbalanced" world of her spiritual and theological concerns. Along with her fears that her daughter does not know or appreciate her religious complexity, Yehudit is also anxious about the harmful effect of the "heretical views" that she openly airs at home. In this sense Yehudit fears that her daughter knows her *all too well*.

The string of thoughts connecting Yehudit's feelings and fears can be graphically represented as a multi-layered verbal structure.

I have ambivalences. I am afraid
therefore
I cannot communicate
I do not want to communicate

I am afraid my daughter won't know me
I am afraid my daughter might know me
therefore
I cannot communicate
I do not want to communicate

Yehudit believes that she has been unsuccessful at transmitting an alternative to the hard-headed religious approach which her daughter receives at school. Too often she feels she is "without an opinion on a lot of issues, [which she] leaves for the school." Hence if her daughter really knew her, she would lack the "straight answers" Yehudit believes are vital for religious development. Hence the religious voice that she chose for Adina to hear most clearly was not her own but that of her school. Her own religious voice conveyed the message: "Do not count on me, I am confused. I am not clear or decisive enough for an adolescent daughter. Instead, I will talk to you about literature, about plays, ... about sex. Even though many people might look to me as their teacher, when it comes to my daughter's education, I step down. I abdicate in favor of a hard-headed, dogmatic educational system which will give you the proper and safe religious education you need."

Rachel

Rachel, in the face of more liberal alternatives for her daughters education, also "chose" a more disciplined, right wing, all-girls school. While she herself taught in a more liberal institution where she enjoyed greater

openness and freedom, she rationalized this as a personal preference: "I teach in Nevei Galim for my soul." The immediate implication is that what is good for *her* soul may not be good–in fact it may be detrimental–for *her daughter's* soul. Her daughter needs clarity and stability.

> I chose the school [for my daughter] because its values are clear. It directs the girls in one direction, there is no ambiguity. I think there is a big difference between what adolescents can handle and what adults need. I teach at Nevei Galim it is important for me, but I do not think that adolescents have to be exposed to all those questions. I tell parents thinking about sending their children to this school Nevei Galim that it is a gamble. They can win, but, if they lose, they will lose much more than they would at another school. I chose not to take that gamble with my girls.

Rachel chose the school whose "values are clear." The school that "directs," where "there is no ambiguity." The school in which she teaches is "a gamble." It exposes its students to "all those questions" which could result in far greater loss than failure in a more conventional religious setting. Rachel choose between "those questions" and "clear values" and decided not to gamble with her girls..

While choosing any educational institution involves risks, the dangers are not always equivalent. At one school, openness may lead to heresy and disloyalty, while at another, narrowness may inhibit a girl from fully developing all aspects of herself. Rachel is thus keenly aware of the possible consequences of her choosing a conventional but safe schooling for her daughters, yet she is less than completely satisfied with her choice.

> It is hard for me to think of my daughter choosing a male kind of career where she would have to invest so much of herself and would be considered a threat to certain men. I think she presents herself with expectations that are realistic and she conforms with the norms of her peers. I have ambivalent feelings about that. On the one hand it bothers me that she won't develop herself; on the other hand, I understand her. I think she would be willing to

conform, to sacrifice herself in order to fit in with her husband's needs.

Rachel is ambivalent: "on the one hand... on the other...." She is not happy about the human cost of her daughter's appeasing her peers and of thinking about doing what is expected of a dutiful wife. Yet she "understands" her willingness to "sacrifice" in order to be accepted in a society where fitting in and not threatening men are overriding concerns. Her daughter is willing to forgo a demanding (and satisfying) career – a "male kind of career"–which "certain men"–the kind of men which most of her peers would like to marry–consider to be theirs exclusively.

Rachel believes that the price of her daughter's conformity to her peer group is self-sacrifice and self-denial in the name of satisfying a future husband's social needs. To be in relationship with men is to appease men, to give up part of yourself in order not to threaten a potential husband's ego. To be "in relationship," Rachel's' daughters must live according to a script that keeps parts of them submerged.[2]

By choosing a certain type of schooling for her daughter, Rachel chose a path that had far-reaching implications for her life in general. Education–and especially religious education–involves more than intellectual development. Rachel and Yehudit are both aware of the price of the schools they chose for their daughters. Yehudit points to the lack of religious depth and sensitivity, to the absence of the kind of religious dimension which she appreciates and values. Rachel focuses more on her daughter's personal development and her obsessive concern with becoming a "good wife."

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[2] C. Gilligan (1993) speaks of this very issue: "The dissociation of vital parts of the inner world are essential to patriarchal societies and cultures..."

Neither Yehudit nor Rachel try to whitewash the negative effects of their choices of educational institutions for their daughters or, to downplay the significance of these schools as compared to their influence as mothers and role models. Their choice of schools and its problematic consequences were carefully weighed and considered. Now, both women stoically accept the repercussions of their choices as unavoidable, or at least as preferable to the alternatives.

Aside from the negative consequences of their choice of schools on their daughters, there were additional indirect benefits which they, as independent women, enjoyed. For example, sending her daughter to a strict Orthodox school gave Rachel the freedom and license to continue to live a more open and liberal way of live.

> I am in an easy position. I can be the understanding one, the more lenient one compared to what their school demands of them. It is much easier and more pleasant to be an open, liberal parent than to be a strict one. At Lustig, my daughters have the opposite problem [than at Nevei Galim]. There is a very strict dress code there, the opposite extreme.

By sending her daughters to Lustig, Rachel could continue to be an "understanding," "lenient," "pleasant," "liberal" and "easy" parent. The strict, demanding environment at her daughter's school relieved her of the onus of socializing her daughter into the religious discipline of Judaism, freeing her to live as a free and easygoing religious parent.

Despite this sense of relief and liberation, Rachel mentioned quite a lot of self-silencing at home. Much of her thoughts and critiques of the religious establishment remain closed within her. She is reticent to discuss openly many issues about which she holds definite opinions. For example, she is very critical of the religious establishment and the place it assigns to women.

Furthermore, she does not accept rabbinical hegemony on all levels. "My relatives always take what the rabbis say at face value. I don't feel that way."

Nevertheless, she questions whether and to what extent to share her strong views with her daughters. She is afraid of leading them astray, but she also believes that they "know" her opinions even without her having to express them openly. She is so aware of her convictions that she is convinced that everyone around her must be aware of them.

> With regard to feminist issues in the home, about sharing the workload, etc., I don't tell them about it explicitly, but I think I *really* tell them because they know where I stand. The same is true with religious and political issues. They can't grow up in our home without knowing some of my quandaries. My relatives always take what the rabbis say at face value. I don't feel that way, but I don't feel I have to share that with them all the time. They will be exposed to the world of questions when they are older, at the university.

> I would not say out loud that I do not think that the Halakha can solve every problem... I also now try to be more quiet at home, for example, not to argue with my father-in-law about feminist things. One doesn't have to say everything that's on one's mind.

> My daughters tell me to stop fighting with the world–not because they don't agree with me but because they want more peace at home. I am not one hundred per cent sure they actually agree with me though.

Rachel talked to her daughters "explicitly" and "out loud" but now "tries to be more quiet," "not to argue" for the sake of peace at home. She herself questions the role of women in her society, the authority and the competence of the rabbis and even of the Halakha to solve all of life's problems. Although her daughter's school provides the kind of clear directives and guidelines that liberate her (Rachel) to engage in religious "quandaries," she is afraid of destroying the peace she enjoys at home with futile arguments and confrontations. Her father-in-law's presence and her daughters' desire for domestic peace provide her with reasons to silence herself at home. Her

daughters do not want her to speak her mind at home, possibly because they want their home to mirror their school.

Rachel thus doubts whether her daughters really agree with her and whether they really understand her way of thinking. Yet, a part of her believes that they do know her and that she has conveyed her beliefs and disbeliefs if only non-verbally ("One doesn't have to say everything that is on one's mind"). Her daughters *must* know her even when she does not speak to them. Her silence is so loud that surely they must have heard even what was not said! In the end, however, Rachel realizes that her daughters do not necessarily share her views. She accepts the fact that her religious voice has been muffled by the other, louder voices competing for her daughters attention.

Miriam

Miriam, who left the city living in favor of a small, homogenous religious settlement, was also concerned by her daughter's successful socialization outside of the home.

> I am disappointed that she always listens to her friends. The group is the most important thing for her. She will do things just because *they* do them. Because of her personality, I think she will fit in to what is accepted in our community. She is not a fighter. She accepts the norm. She does what everyone else does. "This is what everyone does" is her favorite expression.

Miriam is less understanding of her daughter's conformity than was Rachel. She wants her daughter to stand up for her own opinions, to evince the spirit of individualism and autonomy she was taught at home. The justification "This is what everyone does" should never enter the mind of a daughter whom Miriam raised.

After expressing her disappointment with her daughter's conformity, she corrected herself for creating a one-sided impression and for ignoring some of the individualistic aspects of Merav's behavior. "When she goes to class," Miriam noted, "she sometimes expresses her father's or mother's unconventional opinions." "But," she continued, "I do not think that feminist issues are really issues for her. When I was her age, I already had thought about and was bothered by these things, but she is not at all."

Miriam is cognizant of the differences between herself and her daughter. Merav is not bothered by the same issues as her mother was at her age. Sometimes, however, she is a good daughter as, for example, when she "comes home from school and tells me that I would be proud of her because she expressed a feminist opinion which was not the norm." Yet these unconventional attitudes are Miriam's, not Merav's. Even when she gives voice to "correct" opinions, Merav is not really expressing herself own views. She knows that her parents hold unconventional views and she sometimes expresses them herself.

Nevertheless, the community voice is by far the most influential voice to which Merav pays attention. It is the voice which she regards as her own. Miriam herself realizes the power of this voice in shaping even her own choices and way of life. While she prides herself on her independence and individuality, she knows that she too is neither "a loner" nor an iconoclast untouched by "what everyone does."

> I feel that we stand alone in our community on political issues and that is difficult for her [Merav]. She was so relieved when I told her that Mr. X also voted as we did. We do not have a VCR in our home, but, in the end, we are quite similar to most of the people who live here.

Sara

Sara's disappointment with her daughter's behavior centers primarily around religious issues. Her daughter failed to internalize the deeper values that Sara believes in, choosing instead a more right-wing, ultra-religious life style. Once again the main cross- currents of wanting and not wanting your daughter to "be like them" inform Sara's analysis of her daughter's religious identity.

Current A: Be like them; be a good girl:

I want her to be not only like me but better than me, I want her to be everything that I am not. I want her to be properly religious, with the correct opinions, get married at the right time (i.e., earlier than I did)...

Current B: Why are you like them (and not like me):

When she said "no" to this kind of Bat Mitzvah, she said "no" to me, but on second thought...

Transition before returning to Current A:

... it is her right. She is quite ultra-Orthodox in terms of the way she dresses. My husband and I both went through an ultra-Orthodox period before reaching a synthesis in our lives.

Current A: I understand why you prefer to be like them rather than like me

I understand her allergy to the quasi-traditional type of modern Orthodoxy. It also drives me crazy, even though I am less strictly observant than my daughter. I can't stand the laxness that hides behind slogans of religious openness. It's baloney. It's not openness, it's not serious. I am very proud that in my family it is more real and more serious. It is natural that at her age she takes the whole business more seriously.

In many parts of the interview, Sara expressed considerable dismay over her daughter's having made religious choices different from her own. Her daughter's rejection of her plan to spend a year in Tel Aviv where together

they would attend a synagogue which had a women's service and where Hadas would go to a more liberal, culturally diverse school .was, in Sara's mind, a way of "saying 'no' to me." Nonetheless, Sara not only understands but also congratulates her daughter for her seriousness and earnestness. Hadas goes so far as to question openness as a form of hypocrisy. Unlike Rachel's daughter's wanting domestic peace and Miriam's daughter's opting for conformity, Hadas is described as a non-conformist and rebel in her own right, despite her rejection of her mother's distinctive way of life.

Sima

Sima's daughter is described like most of the other daughters whose primary social attitude is to fit in. Her mother has deep reservations about Maya's over-reliance on the group, her characteristic way of always looking over her shoulder at her peers.

> What I miss a bit in her is some adventurousness, a little silliness, not to pay attention to the others but to say: "So what, I won't be the best.

> I think it's also an age thing—being worried about what her peers will say, what the world will say or what this imaginary other will say. In general she is not very flexible. She has very rigid ethical codes of behavior.

Sima would like to see her daughter standing just a little more "on the edge." Sima's "imaginary other" is a very real other for her daughter. It is her peer group, her school, her community, her father (the dominant figure to whom Sima willingly defers with regard to her daughter's religious education). Sima is also grateful for having these "others" around, especially when they relieve her of some of the heavy burden of her daughter's religious socialization.

> It is comfortable for me to raise my children within a religious framework. What is permitted and prohibited become very simple and clear. There is a supreme power that helps you establish these boundaries. I use it rather cynically, in other words intentionally, even though I also think there is intrinsic value in religion.

In her "rather cynical" choice of schools, Sima knowingly abdicated her role of providing a religious voice for her daughter.[3]

The women's accounts about their roles in their daughter's religious education all testify to a puzzling phenomenon. Instead of socializing their daughters themselves many of them chose to rely on other people and institutions. This form of maternal abdication was not accidental but was consciously considered and chosen.

> I chose to send her to Ulpana... because of my own weakness... because I was afraid.... in spite of our adversarial relationship to the school.

> I chose the school because its values are clear... even though I teach in Nevei Galim.

> I chose not to gamble ... she would be willing to conform, she would be willing to sacrifice herself.

My husband does the religious teaching in our home.

While the educational institutions in question did represent their religious convictions in some respect, they themselves often described their choices as acts of abdication.[4] The idea of *choosing* to abdicate indicates the

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[3] Elisheva expressed her awareness of the phenomenon of parents sending their children to more religious schools than they themselves would attend--although she made a point of excepting herself from this rule.

> We did not send our children to schools where there is a conflict between what we think and do at home and what the school educates towards. But most people like us do that.

[4] The irony that the community sees fit to entrust them, as teachers, with the selfsame socializing role they abandon as mothers, will be examined in the next chapter.

complexity of the act involved. As I pointed out in previous discussions, an either-or analysis of the choice in question fails to capture the depth of the psycho-social reality involved.[5] There are no simple answers to the type of questions that I as an interviewer could not help but ask. How would women who abdicate respond to their own daughters' abdication? What would it mean not to abdicate? What would be the consequences in terms of their daughters and in terms of the tradition? What does it mean for a tradition to demand abdication for its continuity? Can a person sustain resistance together with commitment to the tradition or does this combination invariably lead to abdication? What message is being transmitted do the daughters by their mothers' abdication?

Good Enough Mothering: A Path to Resistance

In response to my question about the seemingly delayed rebellion of the women I had interviewed, Miriam claimed that had I interviewed these women in their late teens, I would have met with a very different group of women. She pointed out that most of the women I interviewed had experienced a period of rebellion and inner change in their thirties rather than in their teens. She attributed this delayed rebellion to the influence of Israeli youth movements and the general cultural ethos of conformity to ideologies. Many young Orthodox Israelis join ideological youth movements with clear prescriptive social ideals and codes of behavior.

Miriam claims that they were all conformists before they got married. Nobody wanted to stick out, nobody dared to be different. One might argue

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[5] Voicing/silencing, heresy/faith, good/bad (splitting as in object relations theory) and other such either/or dichotomies (see Erikson on adolescence and totalism) often miss the subtlety of the psychology of ambiguous human dilemmas.

that, on the surface, these women are still "good women." They do not live on the fringe but within the boundaries of traditional religious communities. They teach in established religious institutions, they dress modestly and most of them cover their hair in compliance with tradition. And as shown above, they all do their best to ensure that their daughters become "good girls." Nevertheless, as individuals they feel differently. They question authority and traditional beliefs concerning their place as women in their traditional Orthodox societies.[6] (In fact it hard to image their doing otherwise.)

For them, adulthood is more than adapting to changing roles and expectations. Having relationships, living in community and being mothers involve them in a dynamic process of individuation and resistance, compliance and conscious abdication. The women I interviewed had all experienced significant changes *after* they were married and had children. They all underwent radical changes in their belief systems and in their identities vis a vis their pasts, their traditions, their tradition's myths and sacred texts.[7]

I should point out, however, that they felt free and secure enough to rebel only after (and perhaps because) they fulfilled what they believed their

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[6] Many theorists of adult identity development in general (see E. Erikson, 1950, D. Levinson, 1978, J. Loevinger, 1966) and of women's development in particular (see R. Josselson, 1987) have challenged the Freudian notion that adolescence marks the termination of development.

[7] J. Giele writes: "In Roger Gould's scheme persons confront different aspects of their own arbitrary internal beliefs and inhibitions and gradually learn to question them. By age fifty most people will have shed all illusion of absolute safety given by rigid internal beliefs that came from childhood. They will then be freer than before to act as truly autonomous individuals." (p. 154) One might interpret these women's questioning in this light, however, I would not automatically describe religious beliefs as "rigid" or "arbitrary." The women to whom I spoke are questioning people who do not believe they have all the answers.

communities expected of them.[8] In other words, these women are very much a part of their communities. They conform to their community's ideals of the good woman and mother and, as teachers, they continue to socialize adolescent girls (other than their own daughters) into the very culture which they question as individuals.

Abdication is not necessarily a sign of powerlessness. Although they chose to abdicate, they could have chosen to use their power otherwise. As I see it, the *choice* of abdication reflects their power and their perception of their power to determine their daughter's future relationship to the tradition. Being married, having children and living within the recognized religious frameworks of their communities, allow them to be different. They have all, as it were, paid their dues. They cannot be browbeaten into believing that their questions will lead to the breakdown of traditional values because their daily lives embody these values. Marriage and other institutions have enabled them to be resistors, to listen to other voices challenging the status quo.

One of the central conclusions of this section is that the conservative safety net which enables these women to take risks is partly held together by their choice of schools for their daughters. This safety net reflects the socio-cultural balancing that exists between the women, their daughters and their communities which enables them to maintain their individuality with regard to their traditions. One might even venture to speculate that if their

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[8] Daniel Levinson (1980) cites Jung who, he says, "observed a process of 'mid-life individuation' which begins at about age forty and may continue throughout the remaining years." (p. 268) The women I interviewed were around age forty but, in my opinion, their process of individuation is related more to the "permission" they earned for themselves by fulfilling their social obligations. Levinson alludes to this when he writes: "We cannot learn much about personality development in adulthood as long as we operate within a purely psychological framework. Our thinking must become more sociological if we are to study adult personality development more effectively." (p. 270)

daughters were also resistors, they, as mothers, would not have felt sufficiently secure to act on their own. Good daughters make good mothers. Raising good girls is not only a way of protecting daughters, it is also an insurance policy protecting mothers themselves. While they may express disappointment at their daughters' conformity, they are more than a little relieved by its consequences for their daughters and for themselves.

It is also possible that these women want to transmit their tradition with a touch of cynicism. They want their daughters to fulfill what Orthodoxy demands, but with a bit of ambivalence. The message is: "Do what is expected of you. Continue this tradition, but don't feel too good about it." In this way, they convey allegiance to the tradition together with a sense of distance. The challenge is how to raise active, full-fledged and *critical* members of community. As they themselves have done, they want their daughters to master the fine art of standing at a distance while positioning themselves within the boundaries of community.

By *almost* abdicating their roles as major socializers of their daughters, they may have paved the way for their daughters to begin to question and to individuate when they will reach their mothers' ages. Continuity thus makes ambivalence possible.

The Ideal Good Girl

Throughout in my interviews, I tried to find out about the similarities and differences between the women's expectations of their daughters and the community's definition of the "good girl." How does what "I" mean by "good girl" compare with what "they" mean by being a "good girl"? What makes a girl successful? What does a "good girl" think about? What does she wear?

Getting the women to define the ideal good girl was a way of learning about their perceptions of their community's values in relation to their own. Did they want to perpetuate the prevailing cultural ideals or did they want to change them? Was there a difference between how they judged themselves and their daughters with respect to the community's ideal of the good girl? Were they as critical about their daughter's socialization as they were about their own?

Bruria was the most consistent in her attitudes to herself and to her daughters and in her sense of the disparity between her own and the community's ideals. Her perception of her culture's expectations was that it expected girls to become non-people. "They expect nothing from girls," she complained. "It is enough that she does *not* do things. She should *not* desecrate the Sabbath, she should *not* be wild,..."

For Bruria, that fact that "society does not expect anything of women" is not only a form of losing voice, but a form of cultural non-existence. Bruria's description of the place of women in the tradition reminds me of the medieval doctrine of negative attributes with respect to God.[9] While descriptions of "what God is not" may be the appropriate way of describing a divine being, when applied to women this is no more than a way of silencing women as active participants in the tradition. Girls should be known by what they are not, by the noise they do not make. In other words, girls are not to be known, they are to be silent.

For Bruria, being a religious woman means being actively religious. She abhors the passive model of the woman whose religiosity is contingent on men's religious life. She attaches great importance to her study of religious

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[9] See Maimonides: *The Guide to the Perplexed.*

texts and to her observance of mitzvoth. She wakes her daughters up early to pray and expects them to observe all the mitzvot, even those from which women were traditionally exempt. Her interpretation of the operational significance of the principle that women are exempt from time-dependent mitzvot is simply that women may not do things. In other words, a good girl is a non-active, quasi-participant in her community's way of life.

She strongly condemns the community's values with regard to girlhood and womanhood. Girls should not make waves. They should be passive and socially invisible. Or, as she sums up her analysis of the place of women in the synagogue: "We are allowed to be silent." Her own views about being a good girl are straightforward and uncomplicated. She must

> be a good person, an honest person, deeply connected to her tradition. The values she lives by should have practical implications. Her actions should reflect these values.

All in all, she resents the ideal image by which the tradition molds girls. She feels that her daughters, like the ideal girl, are silenced and curtailed. Like the God who can only be described by negative attributes, they too cannot be known positively. In their case, however, the reason is not metaphysics or ontology but social conventions which forbid them to express themselves fully. As far as Bruria is concerned, not allowing women a religious voice means not allowing them a voice at all!

Sima was less critical of her daughter's socialization or of the "look" by which good girls are recognized.

> A good girl in Beit Ariel (our community) wears long skirts, never mini-skirts, a little bit of makeup, a stylish haircut but not freaky, not colored or punk. She never combs her hair with lots of jell or looks punk, because that is not accepted. It would never even cross her mind.

The dress and appearance of the good girl is so much a part of her internal self that dressing otherwise "would never even cross her mind." Although these girls may read magazines and newspapers and watch television, they have a very clear picture of how they ought to look and not look. They may not look like "them." They must look more refined, more pure. A good girl not only does not engage in sexual behavior, she also looks virginal. While she need not appear sexless like some of the ultra-Orthodox, she must conform to a dress code which differentiates her from others. She doesn't wear jeans but instead she wears denim skirts hemmed at knee-level or lower. She does not wear her hair in long braids as is the practice in ultra-Orthodox circles. She may have her hair styled fashionably—but within (socially defined) limits.

The good girl is patriotic and serves in the army or in *Sherut Le'umi*, the alternative national service framework for religious girls. Sima knows what the good girl looks like and has no qualms about her daughter's adopting the good girl "look." This "look" extends beyond clothing and surface appearance. "An intelligent and good girl reads books and listens to classical music," says Sima, "but even if she herself doesn't listen to classical music, she knows that it is considered better music than Israeli or American rock music."

Sima feels relatively comfortable with the accepted definition of a good girl. She would not mind her daughter's wearing pants but she knows that she wouldn't because she dresses like the other girls in her milieu. Sima describes her own contribution to her daughter's socialization rather modestly, as an addition to the good girl ideal with which she generally agrees. "For me," says Sima, "a good girl is polite. The teachers tell me that all my children are well-behaved, so I guess I do transmit that message pretty strongly."

Rachel's description of the good girl was basically congruent with the community's values. The qualifications she added suggested that while her own views may deviate somewhat from the accepted norms, she was not willing to make an issue of these differences. When discussing the norm of girls getting married in their early twenties, her ambivalence was apparent.

> To say that it is an ideal of mine that she be married by 25 is difficult. If she won't, I would be sorry but...

> An ideal is something that–theoretically–you say is correct and desired. I am not sure I would say that... But practically speaking, my answer would be "yes."

While "practically" concurring with the community's norms and definition of the good girl, she felt the need to indicate where she differed. "A good girl should be independent, not dependent on what others think of her." For Rachel, this independence was expressed in her feelings of ambivalence towards some of the accepted norms and values. While, for example, she says that she agrees with the socially sanctioned age for marriage, she does not accept this as a matter of personal conviction. While this is what good girls in fact do, it is not what she herself believes in. This is consistent with her ambivalent feelings about her daughters' education. She wants them to finish most of their education before they get married, but she realizes that putting off marriage to a later age might make finding a good match that much more difficult.

Shoshi's response to this dilemma was most unequivocal. "My daughter is the embodiment of the good girl both by the community's standards and by my own. She does extremely well in school. She is very accepted in her class. For me, her caring for others is an important criterion of her being a good girl..."

Elisheva, like many of the mothers, initially defined herself as not being officially part of any specific community. "I can't tell you about the religious community's ideal of a good girl," she pointed out "because I don't feel that I live in such a community. I used to live on a kibbutz, where there were clear definitions." Compared to her kibbutz, the city presents her with no community with which to identify. Nonetheless, she was prepared to present her own definition of the good girl.

> For me the most important thing is personal integrity and honesty. Not to live in a reality of double standards. Not to think one thing and say another. The dress codes are a bit funny. They are not allowed to wear pants in school, but, afterwards, most of the girls do wear pants. I find this absurd. I do not wear pants but I think it is fine for my daughter to wear pants. Pants are modest. I don't like short skirts.

While emphasizing personal integrity and honesty and rejecting the hypocrisy of many of her religious friends with respect to modest dress and *lashon hara* (gossip), Elisheva accepts her daughter's conformity to community standards even if she personally does not fully agree. "I think she is a very good girl," says Elisheva positively, but quickly adds: "Sometimes she has to pay a price for being so good. I think she silences herself to fit our standards of goodness." Although as a mother and a socializer, she is aware of the painful experience of female socialization, the interests of producing a good girl predominate. "*I* think *she* silences herself to fit *our* standards of goodness." The alliance between *I* and *they* have molded *her* according to *our* standards of goodness.

Yehudit's instinctive response to my raising the issue of being of good girl was: "Sexually?" Her answer was basically positive with a few qualifications. As she described the situation, her daughter was not a member of a youth group and, therefore, in addition to the norms of sexual modesty

which she had learned at school and at home, she "did not know a thing about boys." Yehudit was not especially enthusiastic about the ideals that inform the sexual norms of the community, yet she accepted them with only minor reservations.

> There seems to be some kind of ideal scenario. When you are ready to get married, a match is made for you and that's it. A good girl is really not terribly interested in the whole business until it actually happens.

I asked her what she meant by "the whole business"?

> Meeting boys, sexual attractions, choosing a husband... I would be happy if she were to go out more. I haven't discouraged her going out. I think it is something that needs practice. But, a good girl basically has her mind on other things... *Yirat Shamayim* (fear of Heaven, piety), doing well in school, getting good grades, doing her matriculation, good works.

Yehudit feels comfortable with the cultural ideal of premarital sex life. "The model good girl is not an oppressive model," she insists. There is, however, one minor exception: "The one aspect which I think is problematic is the lack of sufficient opportunities for boys and girls to mix—which is based on the assumption that it will happen at the right time, whatever the circumstances."

Havva felt no hesitation in describing Tami as a good girl. "She is a good student, she has the right sort of ideals and she is not wild. So, in many ways she *is* a good girl." The only hint of criticism in 's description of Tami as a good girl was her suggestion that she may have internalized the social ideal too completely. .

> I think it would be terrible if she left the kitchen too neat. Then she would be *too* good. It was good to see her becoming a little impertinent. She was thrown out of class. I was happy about that... of course she stood by the door taking notes.

Despite individual differences, most of the women expressed satisfaction with their daughter's socialization in accordance with the prevailing social ideal of the good girl. The women's narratives about the ideal good girl referred repeatedly to the primary distinction which I heard throughout the interview: the community ideal versus their ideal. Sometimes these were identical; at other times, some woman emphasized their preference for their own ideals. At first it looked as if each woman had defined "good girl" differently because each spoke from a particular perspective. Most, however, seemed to agree with the definitions of the others.

Although most live within quite tight-knit religious communities, the women relate to the community as something external and see themselves as distinct individuals living in distinct families. Nevertheless, most described their daughters as good girls according to the community's—and not their own—standards. Bruria was somewhat exceptional in her sharp criticism of the communal norm. She perceives the community as being "out there" and feels very little harmony with its values. She does, however, feel that she belongs to the community. Elisheva is almost at the other extreme. Although she has positioned herself outside of community, she feels comfortable with her children's schooling. Sima, who lives within a community but considers herself to be on its fringe, is basically in agreement with its ideal type. Moreover, living in community has made her feel less personally responsible for her daughter's education.

While the women were explicit about those aspects of the community standard with which they disagreed, the general thrust was that they did not see the community's standards and their own as conflicting or even discontinuous. Although teachers by profession, they do not perceive themselves as defining the rules or as enforcing a foreign, heteronomous

"father's rule." Raising children in accordance with their community's ideal is not a form of social capitulation. In short, they accept and identify with their roles as agents of socialization.

Their aspirations for their daughters' futures are, for the most part, traditional. "I hope she marries someone like my husband, someone who is sensitive, caring, and who shares the workload at home" says Yehudit. They want their daughters to have families and children and they all expressed the hope that their daughters would remain religious, although some defined this rather vaguely. Elisheva spoke of her daughter's life having a "religious dimension," which meant choosing Conservative or Reform Judaism rather than Orthodoxy. Yet it is clear that passing on their religious values is very important for them. While they all said they would not disown their daughters if they were to become non-religious, this certainly would be very painful for them and would evoke feeling of personal failure.

All the mothers want their daughters to be self-fulfilled. Their definitions of this term, however, was clearly culture-bound. As they see it, he self is not an atomic, independent entity. For them, self-fulfillment takes place within community and includes family, nation, community and army service, etc. Some of them explicated their ideals in terms of a feminist ethos.[10] Rachel corrected herself when she heard herself use the term "self-fulfillment." She immediately added a qualification distinguishing between the Western ideal of the individual self as an end in itself, and the notion of self within the context of relationships and commitments. Elisheva stressed

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[10] C. Gilligan (1995) distinguishes between a feminist and a feminine ethos. A feminine "ethic of care rests on a faulty notion of relationships" (p.125) and is based on the ideal of selflessness; a feminist ethos involves relationships which do not entail a woman's being "out of relation" with herself. It is the latter ethos which some of the women expressed with regard to their daughters.

that her daughter should choose a fulfilling career independent of what a "good husband" would most appreciate, even if this meant delaying marriage a few years. Bruria's notion of self-fulfillment is part of her feminist understanding of Judaism. She believes strongly that girls should be religious just like boys. While realizing that this might make some men feel uncomfortable, she could not imagine her daughter's giving up this essential part of her self.

All the women wanted to see their daughters married, yet all of them qualified this hope by stressing that they did not want their daughters to sacrifice their personal careers for the sake of this single overriding goal. They also believe that men are changing (Yehudit), and that even today not all men subscribe to the old stereotypes of which careers good women ought to choose.

Notably, none of the women mentioned hoping that their daughters would become rich. For these women, money is more an instrument than an end in itself. Most have little in any case (teaching is one of the lowest-paid professions in Israel). They, however, did express the hope that their daughters' lives as women would be easier than theirs. For example, they hoped that their daughters would be able to balance motherhood and a career more easily than they had. Yehudit was more pessimistic than the others and felt that there was no reason to believe that her daughter would not "fall into the same catch that I fell into." After all, she concluded, "it is the destiny of all women, we have no way out."

In conclusion, most of the women did not describe experiencing disharmony between personal and community values with respect to their notions of the "good girl" or their ideal expectations of their daughters. While

there were instances where a schism did exist, there was a general sense of satisfaction and of agreement with their community's ideals.   .

Life versus Law

Jewish law claims to cover all areas of life so that there are very few areas that could be called "neutral." On the face of it, there seems to be no room for differences, for individual initiative or for change. The women in this study all regard themselves as Orthodox Jews. Their answer to the question about what governs their lives and sets the standards for their behavior was quite clear from the very outset of the interviews. "I live according to Halakha" was their immediate, unqualified response. Yet, despite what sounds like a categorical commitment, the discussions soon revealed many areas where they struggled to find a path of their own which was not always identical with accepted Orthodox practice. Even in situations where the Halakha was quite clear and unambiguous, they seemed to be searching for different rules, ones which would be more in accordance with their individual convictions and with their daughters' changing needs.

The women were aware that this uncertainty could be interpreted as inconsistency and a lack of faith by those who expect coherence and strict obedience from Orthodox women. For these women, however, their commitments to Halakha and to their inner voices coexisted at a very deep level of their identities. While they lived in communities that accepted the written and oral laws according to the rabbinic tradition, they also felt claimed by a world of human needs and values that sometimes conflicted with formal halakhic constraints.

On the whole, however, the women believed that these problems could be resolved within the system—in fact, the search for internal solutions is

one of the defining characteristics of this group. Yet, unlike members of some other Orthodox groups, they do not repress the influence of the outside world. Their secular experiences and their feelings and thoughts are significant aspects of their experience which they try to combine with their religious ways of life. Unfortunately however, not all these "foreign" elements can be integrated into the tradition even by the most creative of interpretations, and this creates a very serious dilemma.

The disparate elements of their selves do not always fit together in a neat package. The edges are often jagged and may tear the wrapping. And when this occurs they feel compelled to choose between different parts of their beings. In Yehudit's words, they must then choose between "life and law." And even if this formulation seems to be weighted in favor of a particular solution ("I find myself favoring the life side of the life-versus-law antithesis" says Yehudit) it usually is followed by qualifications which reveal underlying feelings of ambiguity and uncertainty.

When competing values or goods can not all be subsumed under the umbrella of religion, "fitting in" may take various forms: acquiescence, self-denial, silence, etc. Sometimes, it is easier to silence a part of yourself than to negate yourself entirely. Furthermore, the role of mother *qua* transmitter of culture may conflict with interpersonal mother-daughter relations. Even when mothers feel comfortable acting out their roles as cultural transmitters, they cannot assume that their daughters will accept their normative traditions at all times. As important as tradition and religion are for them, they are not in themselves the *sine qua non* of their relationships with their daughters.

Elisheva's statement: "Look, we live according to Halakha!" was reiterated in one form or another by each and every one of the women, yet

not once was it used as a declaration of faith aimed at dispelling all doubt and uncertainty. All the women knew that there were no simple solutions to their complex cultural identities and that religious faith and tradition were as much parts of the problem as of the solution. Furthermore, for them, the "synthesis" of modern Orthodoxy was less than perfect. Antitheses remained, sometimes forcing them to choose sides in the conflict between life and law..

Although at different times in their lives each of these women experienced theological crises (such as Yehudit's reaction to the death of a close friend's son), none of them questioned religion or Halakha *per se*. They did not feel coerced or trapped. Their membership in their religious communities was based upon free choice. This is not to say that they did not feel frustration or doubt. Yet when they did express criticism they often distinguished between the system and its implementation.

They often expressed the conviction that their religious needs as women could be fulfilled within the halakhic framework if the spirit of the system were implemented with greater sensitivity. They blamed the rabbinate and the communities themselves for their active and passive resistance to change. Paradoxically, they felt deep antipathy to the current institution of rabbinical authority, while expecting the rabbis themselves to initiate changes (since rabbinical interpretation of Halakha is the traditional way of changing the system). Reinterpretation of canonical texts and legislation is a necessary condition for rabbinic innovation. Hence the anger and frustration which these women feel towards those who can—but who refuse to—initiate religious changes.

The dilemma these women face is thus exacerbated by their knowledge of the mechanisms for change within the system. However much they recognize the need for and the legitimacy of change, they feel disempowered

to bring it about. This too places them in a position of having to choose between silent acquiescence and the "life" side of the "life-versus-law" dichotomy.

There is also a personal dimension to life-versus-law conflicts. The issues in question often involve the opposition between "life"–*my* life, *my* voice–and "law"–*it* or *their* voice. In other words, notwithstanding the women's' deep identification with Halakha as one of their voices, problematic halakhic situations may be perceived as personal confrontations between *my* autonomous voice–*my* understanding of what serves *my* or *my daughter's* happiness–and *their* voice–the impersonal, heteronomous voice of the law. The ambiguities these women face may thus extend beyond the specific issues in question to the very basis of their relationships with their culture and tradition.

One of the topics which invariably elicited this kind of crisis reaction was their daughters' sexuality. Elisheva vacillates between not-knowing and knowing, between self-doubt and confidence, between what "we do" and what "I think." Her existential dilemma takes the form of a kind of inner debate between the two parties–the two voices–in the discussion.

> Look, we live according to Halakha and therefore I don't think it is a good idea to have premarital sex. However, on some level I think there is a correlation between age and sex. If my daughter comes to me at 29 and is still unmarried it is different. I don't know, but it is different.

First voice: Elisheva accepts halakhic restrictions on sexual activity before marriage. She presents the law as a premise, but then qualifies her conclusion as if she were expressing a subjective opinion.

> *"Look"*: the normative force of Halakha is 'visible,' objective, public, clear-cut.
>
> *"we live according to Halakha"*: *we* = I + she + they; *Halakha* = the 'visible,' normative, heteronomous system

"and therefore I don't think it is a good idea ..." : a rather weak, subjective statement of Elisheva's submission to authoritative law.

Second voice: There are situations where other, non-halakhic considerations would be legitimate.

"However": despite the strength of the first position, there are alternatives.

"on some level": the authoritative, normative alternatives are not as 'visible' and public as Halakha; they exist "on some level" (below the surface?).

"I think there is a correlation ...": a more positive and definite statement than: *"I don't think it is a good idea ..."*. The hidden, non-halakhic alternatives produce a more positive conclusion than the clear and objective voice of Halakha.

Although the age of 29 makes the debate somewhat hypothetical, Elisheva is aware that her daughter's needs might lead her to endorse a set of rules not based on current religious law. Since Halakha does not recognize this situation as a valid exception to its rules prohibiting pre-marital sex, Elisheva should draw the conclusion that the two positions are incompatible. Yet, although she realizes the logical implication of juxtaposing these two premises (voices), she is less than certain about *her* conclusion.

"I don't know" : a cautious expression of uncertainty

"but" : a change of direction, a transition

"it is different" : a definite expression of certainty

Elisheva's predicament involves not only her own conflict with what *we* (I + they) do but also involves her daughter (we = I + she). She believes that her daughter knows about her ambiguity. While her daughter knows that her mother endorses the halakhic position on premarital sex, she also knows that she believes there are situations where other, non-halakhic considerations might take precedence over current halakhic practice.

Bruria was not bothered by the differences between Halakhic and "Western" attitudes to sexuality and romantic love independent of marriage as long as the issue only involved her own life. She did not feel the need to rationalize her living according to Halakhic norms and felt comfortable explaining her way of life as her personal choice between legitimate alternatives. The difficulty arose, however, when she began to realize that her daughter might not choose as she did.

> We are speaking of two conflicting frameworks. The halakhic framework looks positively on relationships between men and women but only within the confines of marriage. Going out and having relationships are preparations for marriage; sexuality is beautiful but only within the marital framework... The Western point of view tells us that meaningful, loving relationships between men and women are possible outside of marriage.

> These are two standpoints—each has its own logic, its own truth,... but one has to make a choice.

Bruria's choice was to adopt the halakhic standpoint without denouncing Western values. In this way she defined herself in relation to both frameworks. Sexuality from the Jewish point of view is positive but it is confined to married life and includes such ritual practices as *nidah* (abstinence during the menstrual period) and *mikvah* (ritual immersion). Bruria's pluralism was challenged, however, with respect to her daughter's future choice. "As a person," says Bruria, "I completely understand and endorse the halakhic perspective." "But," she continues, "what would I do if my daughter did not?" The connecting "but" raises the issue whether Bruria "as a person" is the same as Bruria as a mother.

> Since it has not arisen as a real issue, it is easy for me to be generous and say I would accept her no matter what. I would like to state my opinion and, even if it were not accepted, maintain a close relationship with her. If she does not accept the path that I

have chosen, I hope that we will accept each other, that she will not see me as narrow-minded and I will not see her as cheap.

Bruria captures the essence of her concern with maintaining a genuine relationship with her daughter in the event of her choosing a different path. She hopes "that she will not see me as narrow-minded and I will not see her as cheap." While she wants her daughter to follow in her path, she does not believe that their relationship is contingent on this continuity. Although informed and influenced by Judaism, their relationship is independent. While she hopes for continuity and spends enormous energies on educating and convincing her daughter about the beauty of an halakhic way of life, she is aware that her daughter may choose differently.

Also, the issue of sexuality should not be made into a test case of a person's overall commitment to Judaism. "It is important for me to stress that I am not that uptight about her virginity, that's not the issue... Virginity is a very formal thing. What I care about is her whole acceptance of the framework." Nonetheless, Bruria would like her role as a mother to extend beyond the parameters of Halakha. She is not completely sure, however, that she could overcome her feelings of loss and betrayal, although she wishes she would.

Although in some sense mothering cannot be separated from culture, this is precisely what many of the women hoped for in their relationships with their daughters. Mothering should extend beyond culture. While they did not want to create a mother-daughter relationship in a cultural vacuum, they did not want to confine their relationship to any specific culture or tradition. This reflect the predicament of women who see themselves both in and out of society. To be *in*, they must abdicate themselves; to be themselves, they must change their society. This is not a unique crisis, but one that is faced

by mothers who begin to socialize and realize the impossibility of their task: it is impossible to socialize from within culture and it is impossible to mother from without.

Havva feels less comfortable with the halakhic standpoint on sexuality than Bruria even with respect to her own life. In this sense, she believes that the law falls short of the ideal form of human relationship. Although qualifying her views on sexuality with a prudent "It's an individual thing," she is quite confident about her psychological opinions.

> I think that it's not good to grow up without loving and without experiencing close feelings for someone else, whether or not they are sexual... Sexuality in the fullest sense is important in order to have a good marriage, in order to pick a partner, in order to understand a person. (I'm not talking about what you see on t.v. where people jump into bed, look at each other and if they like the face, they check out the rest of the body the same evening.)
>
> It should not be done lightly. But in a serious relationship you can't cut off this part (although I understand and I respect people who can learn about each other without it).
>
> It is a conflict, though. And there's nothing you can do about it. You have to live with that conflict or you have to make a decision one way or another.

Havva feels that current Halakha does not answer life's needs in terms of the deepest relationships between men and women. She is not derisive of the halakhic viewpoint (as she is of the t.v. attitude to sexuality), but she is aware of its shortcomings. In spite of her overall commitment to Halakha, she does not accept the halakhic position on sexuality as an alternative "truth" because she believes that sexuality is an important factor for developing serious relationships before marriage. Halakha thus can be detrimental to human relationships. She mentioned the possible negative consequences of a couple's first getting "to know each other" [in the Biblical sense] after marriage. While she still goes to the *mikvah*, she does not

observe all the laws of sexual abstinence during married life. While she acknowledges having made comprises in this area of Halakha,, she continues to live with the conflict without reaching a final resolution.

The "life-versus-law" conflict is sharpest when the life side is believed to be based on "objective scientific" reasons. This is most apparent with regard to issues involving psychological or physiological considerations which modern Western society considers to be relevant for arriving at a moral judgment. As Bruria observes, traditional notions of health and family life may conflict with: 1) the norms of non-religious society and 2) with her most firmly held beliefs and opinions. The controversies over homosexuality and the family are two cases in point.

> On the one hand, psychology tells us that homosexuality is an innate trait, so how can one call something that someone has no control over "an abomination" as the Bible does? On the other hand, the Halakha is very clear that the family must be made up of a male and female parent and must replicate itself. A way has to be found for the Halakha to retain its values of the normative family and the continuation of society while at the same time allowing for individual differences.

"A way has to be found" to resolve this quandary because the issue of homosexuality can no longer be discussed within the framework of the Bible alone. For Bruria, calling an act an "abomination" implies that it was done freely and without coercion. She attributes scientific authority to psychology and takes it for granted that its findings about the physiological factors underlying homosexuality must be taken into account before making a judgment. Bruria thus lives within two seemingly incompatible frameworks. While her modern scientific knowledge does not necessarily undermine the normative halakhic family, it does call its exclusivity into question.

Bruria hopes that "life-*versus* -law" will change to "life-*and*-law" and that it will be possible to live according to both. When I asked her whom she

empowered to initiate the necessary legal changes she could not give me a clear answer. The changes must occur within the law itself and must be made by legal authorities, i.e., the rabbis. She did not feel personally empowered, but she believed that the rabbis would not act unless there was pressure from the community at large. According to Bruria, the rabbis do not act in a social vacuum and therefore supporters of the "life" position must bring pressure on their leaders.

Many of the women spoke of a time in their youth when "life" and "law" were two neat packages that could be isolated from one another, and of a later period in their development when this bifurcation became less and less possible. Yehudit describes how the clear distinctions of her early religious education gradually became blurred and frustratingly ambiguous.

> At one time in my ultra-religious period, when I went to Michlala, I was exposed to the world of intense Orthodoxy. There everything had meaning if the rabbis said so, and everything could be justified. Now, however, I am aware of situations where the human and the legal clash, and my general reaction is that the human is more important. This does not mean that the Halakha should be set aside. I am very far from that, but if you don't have the human or the healthy, then something is going on that can't be justified, something is wrong. Whatever you do, you have to find a way to affirm the human, preferably (and that's putting it mildly) by not disregarding the Halakha and by trying to hold the two together. But there must be a definite emphasis on human satisfaction when the issue comes up.

> For instance, a religious music student at our Shabbat table described her feeling frustrated and deprived [because she could not perform artistically before men and women together] and I noticed that my reaction to her was a kind of double-bind feeling. There is something wrong if a talented young women can't express herself; that is not the way it should be. On the other hand, I feel the force of the Halakha and I try to say to myself: "Well, why doesn't she sing and compose for women?" But that is really not good enough for a woman seeking excellence—nor is it good occupational therapy! She wants to perform and she feels she is talented. This is a situation in which I feel very frustrated.

Yehudit tries to maintain the perspective of an objective, dispassionate observer but gradually slips into an empathic identification with one of the subjects. Her slide away from objectivity begins when she–the observer–observes herself. *"I noticed ... my reaction.."* The self she observes is conflicted, but the two sides of the "double-bind" are not really equal. The life side is clear and unequivocal ("There *is* something wrong..." "that *is not* the way *it should be*"). The law side, however, is less categorical ("I *feel* the force of the Halakha and I *try* to say to myself..."). It is no wonder, therefore, that the conclusion is: "But that *is really* not good enough...". In the end, Yehudit leaves her detachment by identifying with her student. *"She* wants to perform," and *"she* feels *she* is talented," lead to *"I* feel very frustrated."

As if re-living her own childhood, Yehudit sent her daughter to a school where the clashes between life and law would be minimally felt because a) at a young age she would not be exposed to life's more difficult problems, and b) she would be taught that the Halakha can solve just about any problem by finding loopholes in the system, by redirecting the human, or by showing that the human was not "all that human" after all.[11] Yehudit herself believed in this approach when she was a student in the religious educational system. Now, however, the human alternative to certain halakhic positions cannot be ignored. The non-halakhic alternative may express a dimension of her inner world[12] which keeps trying to emerge into her outer reality. While Yehudit does not want of abandon the normative halakhic framework, she

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[11] See Rappaport, Penso and Halbertal, 1995.
[12] C. Gilligan (1994) describes the difficulty and pain of trying to bridge the gap between inner and outer worlds. "Bringing women's inner world into voice and thereby into relationship feels threatening because it threatens a psychologically costly but culturally sanctioned dissociation in both women and men." (p. 23)

admits that she tends to side with the "human" side, i.e., with "life" as opposed to "law."

> It used to bother me when I was a child that a girl can't be a singer or a dancer. Theoretically, if I had a daughter who was tremendously talented in one of these areas, I think she would have to find a favorable ruling. I think it might be possible.

Yet, if what "might be possible" were not to happen and if she were forced to choose,

> I would be less hurt if she ended up less religious but she was fully "present"–she was realizing all parts of herself.

Elisheva also expressed a preference for her daughter's happiness and self-realization over her religious conformity.

> My daughter has a non-religious boyfriend. I know that maybe I should be against it. I know what kind of problems can and will emerge, but I do not want her to give up her happiness.

Elisheva sets what she "wants" over and against what she "knows." Ideally, she would have liked her daughter to fall in love with someone religious. That did not happen, but she does not want her daughter to give up love, "to change her life plans because someone out there lives differently." The bottom line is: "I don't want her [Tali] to give up the Tali in her." It is not that she thinks that Tali will be free of the ambiguities with which she lives. Her concern for Tali's happiness is informed by her knowledge that life often involves discontinuity. Elisheva wants continuity but not at the price of making Tali less Tali. She wants her to live by, not to be silenced by Halakha.

Yehudit and Elisheva were very clear about their perceptions of their daughters as individuals, and these perceptions were not mediated only by religion. Not only were their relationships to their daughters not contingent upon their daughters' acceptance of tradition, but they positively appreciated their daughters as individuals. And they did not want their uniqueness to be

lost. They would have liked to have lived in the best of possible worlds but they knew that law and life were sometimes at odds with one another and that at some point hard choices would have to be made.

Sima thought she had resolved her personal dilemma about not covering her hair as a married women only to realize that her *personal* decision involved another person as well, namely, her daughter. Not covering your hair is not a private matter which can be hidden from public scrutiny. Sima realized that her decision would have repercussions on her daughter who believed (and thought that others believed) that "mothers are supposed to cover their hair." Despite Sima's urburdening her inner feelings to her daughter, she could not reverse the powerful influence of the social ideal of the "good mother."

> It bothered her very much. It disturbed her image of me as a *"yiddishe mama,* (Jewish mother) because all her friends' mothers covered their hair. As an adolescent she believes that this is the and that's it! How could there be such flexibility all of a sudden.

Sima did not argue her case by means of the traditional way of justifying change. She did not try to reinterpret the tradition or to seek out some rabbinic loophole. Her mother had covered her hair as did generations before her. Sima knew that she was flatly opposed to an accepted practice which she experienced as oppressive.

> I simply told her that I personally can't take it anymore. Yes, it's true, it is the Halakha and even though I am aware of this, I just can't do it anymore. It bothers me so much.

Sima tried to explain plainly and honestly that she could no longer live according to this law. This is the rule, but I cannot obey it. Sima's victory of life over law was not repeated or understood by her daughter. Sima's candor and intensity were no match for the powerful influence of the community's ideal type. "Still," observed Sima "when she dresses up as a mother, she puts

a kerchief on..." "I guess," she continued (consoling herself by reminding herself that the issue in question is basically a matter of individual choice) "when she gets married, she will have to make her own decision."

For the above women, mothering cannot be separated from the culture in which they live, the culture they are transmitting.[13] It is a crucial lens through which they perceive and focus upon their experiences. As individual mothers, however, they often are cast as resistors to the law when they believe that they and especially their daughters would suffer psychological harm by strict adherence to Halakha. In such cases, they remained true to themselves as mothers. They would thus rise above the demands their culture made of them as socializers, casting off their roles as transmitters of Orthodoxy and leaving only the core mother, the essential mother,[14] who cares for her daughter because she is her daughter.

The socializing role of the mother is thus not perceived as a necessary and sufficient condition of a mother-daughter relationship. While it is an essential condition of cultural and historical continuity it does not warrant sacrificing their children's happiness and psychological well-being. Although their relationships with their daughters exist within culture, their roles as mothers extend beyond the boundaries delimited by their given normative tradition.
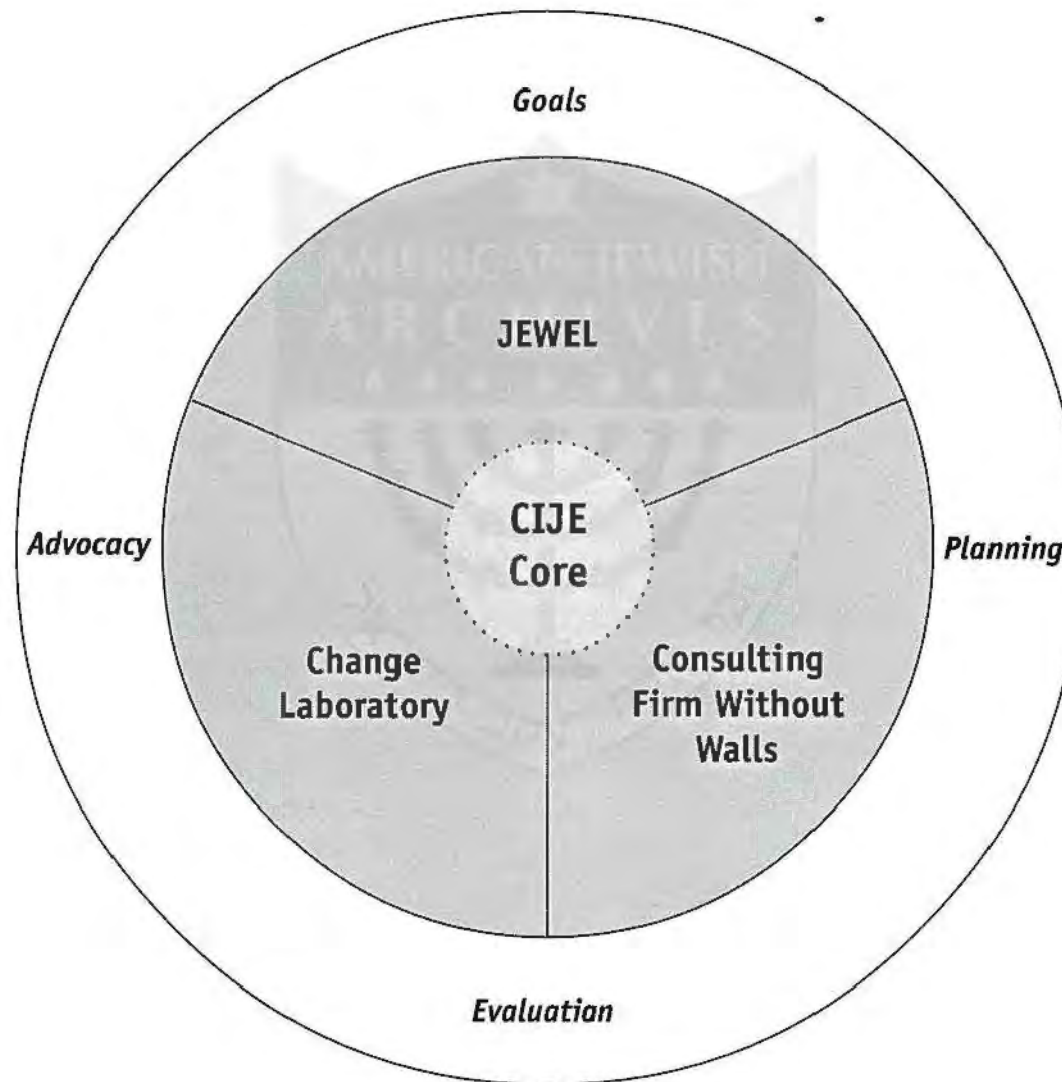
In bringing themselves fully to their relationships, they confront the most compelling of human dilemmas: How to maintain their own and their daughters' vitality within the constraints of their given social reality? Despite their awareness of the limitations of their culture and tradition, they are not prepared to give them up. Just as partners in marriage often choose to work

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13 See LeVine & Miller, 1990.
14 See A. Rich, 1976.

out their difficulties within their existing framework, so too these women choose to seek out creative solutions within their cultures and societies. The conclusion of this chapter, then, is not that women mother in culture or in spite of culture, but that they relate to their daughters and to themselves within a dynamic context of cross-currents of abdications and coalitions.

CIJE 10-YEAR STRATEGIC PLAN

Goals

Advocacy

Planning

Evaluatian

JEWEL

CIJE Core

Change Laboratory

Consulting Firm Without Walls

JEWISH EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP CENTER (JEWEL): THE NEED

- It is our strong view that visionary lay and professional leadership is the most important ingredient in bringing about the systemic change needed in Jewish Education

- There is an urgent shortage of lay and professional leadership personnel in the field of Jewish Education and the field has a history of difficulty in attracting "the best and brightest"

- Among those people who are currently in the field in junior and senior leadership positions, many received no formal leadership training and few have had the opportunity to reflect on a personal vision that could drive change in the institution where they are involved

- There is currently no system of on-going development through which professionals can gain needed vision and skills

- There is no systematic approach to developing lay leaders as champions and consumers of Jewish educational excellence or for current Jewish educational lay leaders to transmit their knowledge to their successors

- There is also no integrated leadership development system for Jewish education that addresses personnel planning, recruiting, placement and development.

1

JEWEL: THE CONCEPT

- An organization with five closely linked functions:

    - Supporting planning for senior personnel (professional and lay) at the national and communal level by working with communities and national organizations on long-term personnel planning, evaluation of personnel and development of career paths, and by maintaining a national database to facilitate the movement of personnel between communities.

    - Developing a program for recruiting the best and brightest as professional and lay leaders into the field of Jewish Education -- both from the pool of especially talented young people just starting careers and from among mid-career professionals in Jewish life and other fields.

    - Providing in-service training or programs for professional and lay leaders allowing them to combine work in the area of Jewish Education with medium or long-term study, with the goal of enhancing their leadership capabilities and the ability to act as change agents.

    - Assisting in the placement of individuals in jobs that will help them develop into high-quality, senior-level leadership for Jewish Education.

- Target Groups

    - Professionals -- Senior Leadership, Principals, Rabbis, Federation and Bureau Executives, JCCA Executives, Camp Directors, Teacher Educators, Early Childhood Directors

    - Lay leaders -- Federation, institutions, foundations

    - High potential lay and professionals not currently involved in Jewish life

- Basic Guiding Principles

    - Training rooted in Jewish content

    - Ongoing programs -- not one shot seminars

    - Drawing on resources from both inside and outside the Jewish world

    - Centrality of goals and vision

    - Analytic, reflective approach to practice

    - Importance of mentoring, networking and on-going support

    - Commitment to Evaluation

    - Partnership in learning between lay leaders and professionals

JEWEL: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

There have been a lot of attempts at leadership training already in the Jewish world with mixed results. Why is this different?

JEWEL would not just be a training program. It would be a human resource development system for the field of Jewish education. Also, the training component would be much longer-term than most of the programs and would draw more heavily on state-of-the-art thinking in General Education, Business, and other fields. Finally JEWEL would involve opportunities for lay and professional leaders to work together

There are so many unanswered questions in the development of an institution like this -- e.g. educational goals and philosophy, physical facilities, faculty, etc. How will these get resolved?

We envision a planning process that would begin with a year of research into existing models of leadership development and into community needs. This would be followed by 1-2 years of in-depth planning. In the meantime, we would be intensively involved in creating and evaluating pilot programs which would inform the planning process. Also we would draw heavily upon the thinking that already has been done by the Mandel Institute and what we have learned from our work, especially TEI and the Professor's group.

How will we find someone to run JEWEL?

We imagine undertaking a major search and recognize that we will need to think creatively about the type of person we would recruit. It may be necessary to put together a team of two people -- one a Jewish educator and the other from the field of leadership development.

CONSULTING FIRM WITHOUT WALLS (CFWW): THE NEED

- Change is a difficult and painful process. While visionary leadership is key to the process of change, experience in the business world and elsewhere suggests that even great leaders often need the help and advice of skilled people who can help plan and facilitate change. The objectivity of the outsider coupled with the wealth of ideas that such a person gathers from seeing many different situations is of enormous help to a leader who is working in one institutional setting. The interplay of the objective broad knowledge of an outsider with the deep institutional understanding of an insider can create results that neither could have achieved alone. In addition, the process of working with a consultant can be an important contributor to the development of a leader's vision and skills, and when coupled with formal training, is often far more effective than the training alone.

- The demand for consulting help in the Jewish world is enormous, especially so in the field of Jewish Education. The phone rings constantly at CIJE and elsewhere with institutional leaders looking for the help from the small handful of people who possess the content and process knowledge to do quality consulting work. Many more institutions want help but do not even know where to call.

- For the few people working in this field, there are no training programs, conferences, tools, colleagues, resource libraries, etc. upon which to draw. Each practitioner must "reinvent the wheel."

- Most of the people who are doing consulting know much about the content area in which they are consulting but very little about the basics of good consulting.

CONSULTING FIRM WITHOUT WALLS: THE CONCEPT

- CIJE would set up a network of consultants qualified to work with Jewish educational institutions.

- Membership in this "firm" would be by invitation only. Members would include leading academics and partners in Jewish Education, Judaica and General Education (our professors group could form the nucleus of this) and consultants from the business world, other fields or business school professors.

- The Firm would provide the following services:

  - Matching service between consultants and projects -- typically a team of people with both content and process knowledge would be assembled
  - Assembling advisory boards for the projects, sometimes including some CIJE staff
  - Content ideas and process tools (e.g. case studies of institutional change)
  - Courses in the basics of good consulting
  - An annual conference of practitioners to exchange ideas and lessons learned
  - Convening of small groups with specific interests/backgrounds (e.g. evaluators working in local communities)
  - A network of practitioners who can call each other for advice (maybe a website)
  - Peer review process to provide feedback to consultants

- Internal CIJE staff would manage these services, be available for troubleshooting on problem projects and work on a few high profile projects that are core to our own work and learning

- Consultants would be paid primarily by the clients, although CIJE might decide to support a few projects of great importance or potential impact. CFWW internal resources would be paid for by CIJE. Occasionally consultants would be hired by CIJE to write up their work or create tools.

- It is worth noting that just as McKinsey has become a de facto post-graduate training ground for the business leaders, this organization could also be a place that develops senior leadership for Jewish Education.

6

CONSULTING FIRM WITHOUT WALLS: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

How will the quality of consultants be controlled?

Control of quality will never be perfect (nor is it perfect in for-profit consulting firms). However, by growing the group slowly, by carefully screening potential members and by ongoing peer review we can minimize quality problems.

How will the limited resources of the CFWW be allocated to projects?

Emphasis will be given to projects that relate to CIJE's goals and other areas of work. Of course, the members of this group would be free to choose projects on their own as well.

Why would top quality consultants want to join this network?

Most people working this field have no resources to draw upon; no tools and no colleagues to turn to for advice and help. Even the best and brightest need a community of colleagues with whom they can discuss their successes and failures and with whom they can share methodologies.

Will the clients be willing to pay for consulting services?

There is a growing recognition among Jewish organizations that paying for consulting services is a worthwhile expenditure. There is also growing support among lay leaders and funders for this type of approach to solving problems. This is evidenced by the frequent phone calls that we and others receive asking to pay us for consulting work that we don't have the time to do.

CHANGE LABORATORY: THE NEED

- There is a scarcity of excellent Jewish educational institutions (schools, camps, synagogues, JCCs, etc.) to use as models for those who wish to improve their effectiveness (i.e. "best practices" are the best available but often fall short of where we need to be)

- While there are many great ideas on the table at CIJE and elsewhere about what these institutions should look like educationally, there is still much work to be done in defining a vision (or multiple visions) for effective Jewish education and in developing processes to move organizations toward this goal

- This work needs to be done "in the field." It is critical to focus on institutional transformation (not programs) and on multiple types of institutions in one location (instead of scattering resources around) and on improvement of the "systems" of infrastructure support for these institutions (e.g. professional development)

- There is currently no change laboratory, no place where we can test ideas for systemic change, learn from the test and revise the ideas. There is a need to learn from mistakes on a small scale rather than "rolling out" a defective "product" nationally

CHANGE LABORATORY: THE CONCEPT

- A laboratory for developing models of excellence in Jewish Education and models for the change process itself would be created with a focus on institutional transformation

- A partnership of leading funders and organizations who are interested would be formed to guide and provide resources for this project

- A cluster of change-ready educational institutions in one locale would form the core of the project

        - Supplementary School
        - Day Schools
        - Synagogues
        - Camps
        - JCCs
        - Early Childhood
        - Adult Education
        - Israel Programs

- These institutions would be guided through a process of creating a vision, reexamining their culture and developing and implementing a change strategy

- Systemic, infrastructure-oriented programs (e.g. professional development of Rabbis and teachers, mobilizing lay leadership, etc.) would be tested in this context

- Full-time evaluators would be employed to carefully document ongoing impact and challenges and to track "leading indicators" of success

CHANGE LABORATORY: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Isn't this the same as the Lead Community project? This is a fundamentally different idea. The focus is on building model institutions, not on planning at Federation. The local Federation would be a partner in the project not the focus of the project. Also, the project would have a long lead time for planning the details of the change process and a high level of dedicated consulting resource on-site.

Won't the human and financial resource requirements of a project like this be prohibitive? We believe this project can be done and done well with two full-time consultants and 1-2 evaluators focused on the project, provided that partnerships are set up with other Foundations and institutions interested in helping to transform institutions. Our hope would be to involve foundations and institutions like Bronfman, Cummings, Wexner, Brandeis, HUC, JTS in the work and funding of this project from the outset as partners in areas that are in synch with their mission and current work.

Why do the project in one location? Why not work with the most change-ready institutions all over the country? Doing the project in one location would create the type of powerful synergies described in "the tipping point" article. It will also make it easier to study the process and outcomes of change.

Won't the politics of picking one city be difficult? How will funders be persuaded to fund a project in someone else's city? It is a difficulty but we believe it can be overcome in four ways: 1) the excitement of the project itself will be contagious and funders and organizations won't want to be left out; 2) the investment will not be that large for any one organization or funder; 3) organizations and funders will appreciate an opportunity to test their ideas in an environment where rigorous evaluation and research can be done; 4) part of the concept is to mobilize the local community in support of this project so a major portion of the funding will come from local private sources.

How will you be able to evaluate the outcomes of this project when there are so many external variables? All projects, whether in business, community work, public health or education are subject to external factors and still are held accountable for meeting their goals. Understanding and acknowledging externalities is important but it cannot become an excuse for failure. We must find a solution to the revitalization of Jewish life that is robust enough to succeed in spite of external ups and downs.

10

CIJE CORE: THE NEED

- The field of Jewish education has few measurement tools, few solid pieces of research and most importantly, virtually no opportunities for high level thinkers to come together to wrestle with the most important problems. As a result, leaders of Jewish educational institutions usually have to start from scratch in thinking through their vision and strategy

- This problem is compounded by the fact that there are few, if any, effective vehicles for disseminating lessons learned from the work of change and examples of successful projects. It is almost shocking how little is known by change leaders about the work of other change leaders.

- The three other areas of CIJE's proposed plan -- leadership development, creation of consulting capacity and development of change models -- if they are going to be implemented with the level of excellence that CIJE has become known for, will require a strong foundation of high-level thinking and research, real work on development of big ideas to inform the work and careful documentation of what is being learned. Unless this is explicitly planned for, it is unlikely that the proper level of resource will be available.

CIJE CORE: THE CONCEPT

- The core of CIJE would have four areas of focus:

  - Supporting or conducting research and consultations on key issues in Jewish Education
  - Producing a journal and policy briefs
  - Creating materials and providing faculty for training programs
  - Running conferences on important topics

- An Advisory Committee of lay and professional leaders would help set an annual agenda of 2-4 issues to be tackled. This list would feed into and/or respond to the current work of CIJE. The end product of a center project could be a publication, program, a curriculum, a set of tools or even a spin-off institution. Topics that might be addressed in the near term are:

  - Leading Indicators
  - Change processes in Jewish Institutions/Communities
  - The future of the Supplemental School
  - Norms and Standards as a tool for building the profession
  - The economics of Jewish Education
  - Rethinking the roles and boundaries of Jewish educational institutions
  - Defining pluralism and its implication for educational institutions
  - Making early childhood programs more Jewish
  - Rethinking Rabbinic education
  - Making community day high schools work
  - Developing new types of institutional settings for Jewish Education

- This would be the place where we would integrate, synthesize and distribute what we are learning in the field

CIJE CORE: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

How will you ensure that this work will be a tool for change in the real world and not just become a nice bunch of documents on the shelf?

The process of choosing projects will involve people working in the field on real-world problems (from CIJE and elsewhere), so the choice of projects will be driven by a real-world agenda. Also, the work itself will involve practitioners in the thinking process and the development of ideas and solutions, and of course, the use of the tools that are developed.

How will decisions be made about what problems to work on?

There will be a competitive process of proposals and review by the Advisory Board, with advice from CIJE's staff and its network of faculty and consultants.

Why do we need a separate entity to do this work?

Those who are involved in actual work of consulting and leadership development are unlikely to be able to make the time for the type of in-depth research and reflection that is needed to address the most difficult problems in the field of Jewish Education.

Lifestyle

Teaching Education Institute energizes teachers

Conference focuses on developing pool of educators to enhance approach to Jewish education.

JANE G. LEFKO Freelance Writer

By the time Rivkah Dahan was in the fourth grade, she says, she knew she wanted to be a teacher. A lover of learning, and of children, she "enjoys being creative artistically and musically," and sensed that teaching would give her "a good channel for all my energies and interests."

Currently director of the Teacher Center at the Jewish Education Center of Cleveland, Dahan has taught gifted and special-needs children from New York City to Cleveland.

The self-effacing, soft-spoken Jewish educator was one of 60 participants in a Teacher Education Institute (TEI) recently held on the campus of Case Western Reserve University. The institute was sponsored by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE) and supported, in part, by the Nathan Cummings Foundation.

Dahan says a good teacher must have "a vested interest in her subject and in seeing her students succeed." Earlier in her own career, Dahan says, she entered the classroom with an agenda. Today, she would enter with "objectives and then let the class happen."

For the past couple of years, a group of professional educators and leaders from across the country, like Dahan, have enhanced their approach to Jewish education through CIJE, a growing enterprise with deep Cleveland roots.

The Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education, created in 1990, is the brainchild of Cleveland industrialist/philanthropist Mort Mandel and is fully supported by his brothers. Mandel, who believes that "constructive change is possible where the will and vision are there," expects CIJE to serve as a "catalyst for systemic educational reform."

When CIJE's studies indicated that teachers in Jewish schools share a strong commitment to

A good teacher should relate a lesson to a child's interest.

their work, but often lack professional training, a Teacher Education Institute was developed to help fill the gap. The goal of the project is to create "a national cadre of teacher educators."

Unique to the TEI effort is the use of "the best" secular educators to work within the Jewish education program. Fundamental is the belief that "leadership is not only about techniques and skills, but also encompasses Jewish content."

According to Sylvia Abrams, TEI participant and JECC director of educational services, one of the most exciting results of the two-year-old enterprise, is bringing together Reform, Orthodox and Conservative educators who would not otherwise interact. Participants share intense learning experiences, meeting several times a year and doing homework assignments and follow-up tasks between meetings. The result, says Abrams, is that participants have discovered a newfound respect for each other and created lasting professional friendships. They call each other between meetings to share teaching tips.

The three-and-a-half-day TEI seminar at CWRU was liberally sprinkled with "text study." Dr. Deborah Ball, professor of education at the University of Michigan, used videotapes of actual classes as she led a session on "Investigating Teaching: The Case of *Tefillah* (Prayer)."

A workshop bearing the intriguing title, "Hide and Seek: A Game About God," came complete with a game board featuring summaries of biblical stories and a sharing space designed to make participating educators think about their own spirituality. Playing the game led to a discussion about objectives and goals if such a tool were used in a classroom, notes Carol Pauli, director of the Mandel Jewish Community Center Preschool.

In the early years of American Jewish education, Hebrew school teachers had "lots of Jewish knowledge, but no passion," says Dr. Barry Holtz, CIJE consultant and associate professor of Jewish education at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Today, he says, the reverse is often true. Teachers may have passion and be well trained in the secular realm, but possess little Jewish knowledge.

One of TEI's goals, he says, is to give educators "a clear sense of why they are teaching a particular lesson on a particular day," and how that lesson fits into "the big picture of what is worth knowing and feeling."

Gail Dorph, CIJE's senior education officer, insists a good teacher should relate a lesson to a child's interests. For instance, teaching about the blessings which are said with the *Shema* prayer, upon arising and before going to bed, can lead to a classroom discussion on being afraid of the dark. Of course, Dorph says, to teach this lesson successfully, "a teacher must know the prayers well and have had her own moment of feeling connected to the words, the Divine, the spirit."

Sometimes feeling connected takes on an almost mystical aspect, according to Boston Bureau of Jewish Education family education consultant and TEI participant Susie Rodenstein. When she was 13, Rodenstein and a group of Jewish youth-group friends, "sleep-deprived after an all-night *tikkun lel Shavuot* (traditional all-night study session on the first night of the Shavuot holiday), shared "a sunrise, that piece of the creation story all around us." With their teacher as a role model leading the service and *"davening with kavanah"* (praying with fervor), the experience had a tremendous impact on the group, Rodenstein recalls. "To be exposed to great teachers who loved Torah with their hearts and their heads, and could communicate it, created a cycle within me," she says. "I hope my experience will show teachers how important they can be."
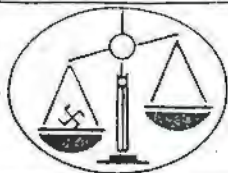
Rivkah Dahan, left, director of the Teacher Center, and Nachama Moskowitz, curriculum director at the Jewish Education Center of Cleveland, share what they learned about enhancing Jewish education at the recent Teacher Education Institute held here.

DAILIDE

Judge orders denaturalization
of area man with Nazi past / **3**

TRAGEDY

73 die in Israel's worst military
disaster in its history / **10**

CLEVELAND
Jewish News

Shattered families, shattered myths

DOMESTIC ABUSE IN JEWISH HOMES

Cover story by Arlene Fine on page 14.