MS-831: Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Foundation Records, 1980–2008.
Series D: Adam Gamoran Papers. 1991–2008.
Subseries 1: Lead Communities and Monitoring, Evaluation, and Feedback (MEF), 1991–2000.

Box	Folder
55	7

Early development of MEF. Background research papers, undated.

3101 Clifton Ave, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220
513.487.3000
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Shulamith Elster

Adam —

Lee's take from GA!

P.

P.S. Not proofed!

DR. SHULMAN: This is the first time I've come to a G.A. It's quite a happening. To specially lovely -- even though it's the first time -- to encounter so many familiar faces. Seeing Don Will for the first time since I think we were wearing caps and gowns at high school graduation. Ten years ago, was it, Don? Ten, eleven, something like that.

But I speak to you today about the Lead Community notion. And let me make it clear that, with respect to this effort, I still feel very much as if I'm speaking from a perspective of an outsider.

I was not part of the deliberations of the commission that produced A Time to Act. I have not thus far participated in any of the deliberations or plans for the Lead Community Project. So I think I can speak somewhat dispassionately about this aspect of the plan. And I intend to do so.

Let me perhaps try to give you a sense of what one might learn from a Lead Community, by telling you a bit of a story.

Last June, about five months ago, I spent a day in Manhattan in order to go to a high school graduation. It was a graduation -- the first graduating

class of a very special public high school in Harlem, called Central Park East Secondary School, whose principal, Debbie Meyer, is a good and old friend of mine.

Now, it wasn't the high school graduation ceremony itself that was of much interest -- though Ted Sizer gave a lovely convocation address. It was rather that the graduation ceremony didn't end with the giving of diplomas.

Indeed, the most important part of graduation day occurred in the second half of the day, when we all returned to the school campus -- corner of 106th and Madison -- and we began to examine the work that the 55 graduates had done in order to qualify for 12th grade graduation. These 55 graduates were probably 90% or 95% black or Hispanic students, most of them from the neighborhood immediately surrounding the school.

And, in order to look at their accomplishments, we didn't look at print-outs of test scores. In order to graduate from Central Park East, every student must complete the requirements for 14 portfolios. A portfolio us a compilation of work -- some of it written, some of it taking other forms like videotapes, some of it written by other people in the evaluation of a project that the graduate has done.

There are seven major portfolios and seven minor portfolios.

And what was fascinating was not only examining what was in each kid's portfolio -- and the portfolios both had fairly standard titles -- like mathematics and science -- and fairly non-standard ones for a high school curriculum -- like philosophy and ethics.

In addition to preparing the portfolios, each youngster had an oral examination over each of the seven major portfolios. And we also were able to watch videotapes of some of the oral exams. The oral examiners were always a party of four: two teachers from the school, one designated by the youngster being examined and one selected by the principal, one member of the community. So you had community members sitting in as examiners of the students. And one other student not from the 12th grade, but from one of the younger grades.

Well, why do I tell you this story. I tell you this story because in its own way, Central Park East is an example of what might happen if a Lead Community strategy can be pursued vigorously, passionately, intelligently.

What's interesting to me about Central Park East is that it constitutes what some of us might call an

existence proof. At a time when people are saying that public education for minorities in the inner city is essentially a contradiction in terms. It can't be done, except maybe in Catholic schools that serve predominantly non-Catholic populations -- as the New York Times suggested yesterday. Or in special independence schools or in schools that are only for black males.

Here is an existence proof. Here is a school that not only appears to succeed in educating those whom others would deem uneducable, but doesn't do it merely by offering those students what is average or typical for most students graduating high school, is doing it with an outstanding, exemplary, innovative curriculum, that very few of our most elite private schools can approximate. It's an existence proof.

Now, there's a terrible weakness to the existence proof. And that is that, as of that first graduating class, that extraordinary experiment was not being adequately studied. There was a total absence of what I call deep evaluation.

By deep evaluation, I mean not merely counting the number of students that go on higher ed, not merely giving us average SAT scores, not merely giving us drop-out rates. But deeply documented the processes and

experiences that are undertaken by the students and teachers in the site and carefully analyzing the variety of outcomes that the school produces. That's a deep evaluation.

And so we may have, at Central Park East, what we have had all over the country for years. Which is what appear to be succesful educational innovations that have about the same half-life as dry ice. They sort of evaporate at room temperature.

Well, I was an active participant in Camp Ramar -- as a camper and as a counselor. And I have said this to my good friends in the Ramar Movement. The fact that there was no deep evaluation and had almost no superficial evaluation, of 40 plus years of Ramar, means that we are really not sure what we can learn from that experience.

And so the interplay of demonstration, innovation, and enthusiasm of educational processes, and of careful evaluation, documentation, and research, is absolutely essential. If the notion of Lead Community is not to be just another example of a great idea that everybody has anecdotes about, but no one has learned anything from.

Now I think Mort has done a fine job of describing the notion of Lead Community, as I understand it from what I have read, as well.

What is interesting is how parallel this strategfy is to a current national strategy which the federal government is mounting. I don't know how many of you have seen this little booklet and others like it. I'm sure you can all read this, can't you. It's called: Designs for a New Generation of American Schools.

This is a project that President Bush announced about a year ago in which major American corporations are supposed to come up with about $300 million, in order to establish new kinds of schools -- very different, perhaps, from the ones we've got now -- all over the United States, which will then be very carefully studied.

And I think the language in this document captures what I hope will be the spirit of the Lead Community's project of CIJE.

Let me quote: "DeToqueville once described the United States as a land of wonders, in which what is not yet done is only what we have not yet attempted to do."

That description was a prophecy. Over the generations, American creativity has helped erase natural boundaries and pushed back the frontiers of technology.

Bidders -- this is a document for those who want to bid, want to make application for creating these new American schools -- are invited to breath new life into that prophecy by imagining a new kind of American school -- public or private -- in which, A, assumptions about how students learn and what students should know and be able to do are completely re-examined.

B, visions of the nature and locations of schools are reconsidered. And, C, the manner in which communities create, govern, and hold their schools accountable, is redesigned.

Some of my colleagues in education get very worried about that hold their schools accountable clause. And my response to them is: at least if they hold us accountable, it's some evidence that they give a damn. I wish we were holding our schools more accountable, as a way of communicating that we really care about what they do.

Let me focus the balance of my remarks on three themes. One is the role of educational experiments, like Lead Communities. The second is a notion that is beginning to permeate educational reform more generally in this country, and that's the notion of systemic reform, rather than the reform of particular practices, which is a

notion that I think is quite clear in the Lead Communities idea. And, finally, some comments about the role of research and evaluation.

The notion of Lead Communities, as Mr. Mandell said, is one in which heavy and unusual investment is made in order, I think, to create an existence proof. I think there are many parts of the Jewish community that still have grave doubts about whether high-quality Jewish education is really possible. And I know that's perhaps a heretical thing to say in this setting, but I say it nevertheless.

And an existence proof, or two or three or five of them, seems to be terribly important, terribly important.

Now, my own view here is that the visions that ought to propel this project should not limit themselves to best practices that currently exist -- and I trust that Barry will comment on that -- nor, quite frankly, Mort, would I be satisfied with projects that will satisfy themselves with survival of the Jewish community as a goal.

One of the things I find lacking in the reports of the Commission, thus far -- and I can understand the political reasons why -- is that all of the

emphasis is on process: how to get ourselves organized to get first-rate educational systems going. And what is being left out is to what end. What kind of content, what kind of skills, what kinds of understandings, what kind of commitments and passions, are the aims of these educational organizations.

And I think there's one thing we've learned in educational reform secularly: if you limit yourself to thinking about the restructuring of education solely from the process perspective, you can get the organizations restructured, you get teachers with time to talk to one another and be collegially collaborative, and they sit together and say, so what should we talk about.

These reforms have got to be carried out with substantive -- substantive -- goals of Jewish education at their focus.

I don't think we need to have a national, cross-national, international consensus on those goals. We have enough segments of the Jewish community that define the goals of Jewish education differently, and we must respect that diversity. We must respect it and permit it to flourish.

But the notion of reforming education, without beginning with a substantive examination of to what end, I think will turn out to be fruitless.

The Lead Communities notion rests heavily on the recognition that reform has to be systemic; that you can't simply develop a better curriculum, or identify seven new techniques of teaching that seem better than seven old ones.

As an example from another field, isn't it interesting that, internationally, one of our most serious epidemiological problems in the health community is now measles. Now, we have known how to prevent measles for about three decades. The problem is not identifying the needed practice. The problem is having a system of health care and health care delivery around the world in which the services are made available to the clients, and the clients are brought to care enough to avail themselves of the services.

I mean, the health care system in the United States is a lovely example of the gap between knowing what the practices have to be and having a system that is organized to deliver it.

And what I see in the Lead Communities notion, which is very positive, is this recognition that you have to work simultaneously at multiple levels of the system, so that when it all comes together, you not only have first-rate personnel to teach the kids, you have kids to teach.

You have parents who care enough to support their kids doing this kind of work. You have interaction and even maybe collaboration between the different segments of the Jewish community that offer educational services. And, you have a set of financial supports that can keep the whole thing going.

This is a very enlightened aspect of the Lead Communities notion, and one I think that its authors ought to be complimented for.

Well, a word about research and deep evaluation. As I said before, innovation and reform without deep evaluation, without documentation, research, it dissipates. Its lessons are unlearned. Its legacy is unclaimed. It's a little bit like living in a state of perpetual amnesia in which you never remember what happened to you yesterday.

Learning from experience is remarkably easy to say, and unbelievably difficult to do.

At the very same time, the best research -- research that aims at improving education -- we now understand can't be done in artificial laboratories. It can't be done by putting people in front of television screens on university campuses. The best educational research depends on the creation of settings like Lead

Communities because those are the richest laboratories for the study of educational change.

So the two bear a synergistic relationship to one another. And having said that, I want to call to your attention that we not only have a personnel problem at the level of practicing educators. We have at least as severe a personnel problem with regard to having men and women who can conduct educational research and evaluation of the highest quality in a Jewish education setting.

You can't walk in with a masters degree in evaluation, and no Jewish background, and make sense of a Talmud class. I mean, having studied Talmud for many years, it's difficult enough to make sense of it when you're studying it after many years. But, as an evaluator, you've got to understand the content, you've got to understand the setting. We don't have enough people with that kind of training.

Well, what's missing in this report. I've mentioned the emphasis on goals, on content, on substance, on what we call technically takless (?).

The other thing that's missing -- and I find this interesting -- is what's missing is a recognition that Jewish education takes place in communities and in a nation where secular education also takes place. That

when those kids in supplementary schools are not with us in the supplementary schools, you know where they are? They're down the street, 25 hours a week, in other schools, called public or private schools.

The relationship between public and private K-12 education and Jewish education has never been adequately explored. And I would maintain that when we think about a flourishing of Jewish education, we've got to recognize that the competition for Jewish education is not simply apathy. That's easy for us to say. It's not simply disinterest.

It's advanced placement examinations. It's other activities in the schools that parents value deeply, and which we tend not to look at seriously enough. I maintain that if we see Jewish education in a constant competition with secular education -- given the nature of this society -- Jewish education will always lose.

Instead, I believe I can see all kinds of ways in which the two forms of education can work on each other's behalf. And here is an example of where much more deliberation, much more R & D, would be called for.

Well, let me conclude by saying that if we want to excite those who are not know committed to and invested in Jewish education -- both professionals and lay

people alike -- I don't think either reproducing current best practices or cloning what looked like best practices in the public sector, will do the job.

Another five years of mastery learning, another ten years of cooperative groups. No.

I'm firmly convinced that if this Lead Communities project is going to work, we're going to need extraordinary vision. We're going to need to ask ourselves what, in their wildnest imaginations, do any educators dream that a school and a support system for it in the year 2000 could possibly look like.

(END OF FIRST SIDE OF TAPE, START SECOND SIDE)

-- erosion of the lines between school and community. What concepts of new forms of assessment and evaluation. What are the most exciting visions out there. How can we implement those in the Lead Communities.

I frankly believe that without <u>that</u> kind of courageous, ambitious vision, we will see another cycle of good intentions. But I sense, perhaps for the first time, that we may now have the potential for looking to those kinds of goals for Jewish education in North America.

Thank you.

(END OF SPEECH)

My agenda for tomorrow -

CIJE, Aug.1992

Methods for Lead Communities Evaluation
Guiding Questions and Issues

1. Types of Data:
 --records, documents
 --observations
 --interviews
 --informal watching and listening
 --requests for specific information
 other?

2. Sampling:
 --settings
 --actors
 --events
 --processes
 Where? When? Who?

3. Data Collection Processes:
 --key factors or variables
 --frameworks for documentation, storage, use, and comparability
 --focusing and bounding
 --data accounting
 other?

4. Data Analysis:
 --summary forms
 --coding
 --descriptions
 other?

5. Reporting:
 --getting feedback from informants
 --documenting
 --format

Other Issues:

Rapport
Feedback (field workers, Adam and Ellen, CIJE, Communities, etc)
Roles (participant, unobtrusive, etc).

LOGISTICS:
Meetings between field workers and Ellen and Adam (where, when, agendas)
Communication and sharing between field workers and Ellen and Adam
Schedules for products (interim summaries, reports)

A Look at the North American Jewish Community

Rule #1: Trends in general society always affect the Jewish community.

Response #1: Like an organism, Judaism must adapt to these stimuli to survive. Judaism has proven very adaptable.

A. Introduction

- My Goals:
  - To give an overview of the emergence of the American Jewish community and its immigrant motif.
  - To present the new motif of the blended and intermarried Jewish community as Jews reach a new stage of development in the experiment of living in the open society.
  - To identify the major Jewish communal issues today.
  - To present a model of a North American Jewish community: what are its institutions; who are its clients; what are they trying to achieve.

B. Citizenship and the Dawn of the Open Society

- impact of citizenship on pulling down ghetto walls and social barriers
- Group Activity: Answer these questions:

1. Is it lawful for Jews to marry more than one wife?

2. Is divorce allowed by the Jewish Religion? Is divorce valid when not pronounced by courts of justice by virtue of laws in contradiction with those of the French Code?

3. Can a Jewess marry a Christian and a Jew a Christian woman? Or does the law allow the Jews to marry only among themselves?

4. In the eyes of Jews, are Frenchmen considered as their brethren? Or are they considered as strangers?

5. In either case, what line of conduct does their law [Jewish law] prescribe towards Frenchmen not their religion?

6. Do Jews born in France, and treated by the laws as French citizens, consider France their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound to obey the laws and to conform to the dispositions of civil code?

7. Who names the Rabbis?

8. What police jurisdiction do Rabbis exercise among the Jews? What judicial power do they enjoy among them?

9. Are these forms of Election, and that police-jurisdiction, regulated by law, or are they only sanctioned by custom?

10. Are there professions which the law of the Jews forbids them from exercising?

11. Does the law forbid the Jews from taking usury from their brethren?

12. Does it forbid or does it allow to take usury from stranger?

- o open society vs. traditional society
- o voluntary vs. mandatory
- o freedom and barriers falling away
- o Jewish community's power is no longer legal and formal, it is social/cultural/individual and voluntary
- o assimilation and acculturation
- o beginnings of secularism

- o Emergence of Reform Judaism

  - o Reform Judaism allowed one to be cosmopolitan and be Jewish
  - o privatization of Jewish life vs. public displays of Jewish identification
    (keep Kosher at home, but eat anything in another person's home)
  - o begin incorporating majority culture's patterns:
    the Reform synagogue
    prayer in the vernacular
    men and women sitting together
  - o in Germany

C. Coming to America

- o waves of immigration
  Sephardim
  German Jews mid-1800s economic
  Eastern European Jews 1880's - 1910's econ/oppression
  Holocaust survivors

- o 1900's explosion of Jewish communal life and beginnings of the structures we now know for the person of Americanizing the immigrants:

  (time of Dewey - progressivism - universal public education)

  synagogues and cemeteries

religious schools/cheder
rabbinical colleges
JCC
BJE
orphan's associations (beginnings of Jewish Family services?)
Hebrew charities (beginnings of Federation)
women's and men's organizations
youth movements and later camping
butcher, baker, and taxation

- religious movements
  - Reform
  - Conservative (role is to Americanize the immigrants)
  - Reconstructionist movement origins in this time with Mordecai Kaplan: Judaism as a civilization
    - we live in two civilizations
  - Orthodox (becomes a movement because of Reform)
  - Chassidic (rebels who put spirituality back into a stiff, legalistic Judaism)

4. How this plays out in terms of generations:

INTERMARRIAGE RATES

11.6% Immigrant generation - makes the sacrifice
12.7 1st - task is to become Am./speaks Yiddish
28.8 2nd - is Am., doesn't know Yiddish, marries Jewish
43.5 3rd - 100% Am., little contact with immigrant relatives, wants to know why by Jewish?
4th - no immigrant relatives; lucky if have any relatives nearby at all; high rate of intermarriage

UNTIL 1960's INTERMARRIAGE UNDER 10%
NOW 1/5 - 1/3%

- Today, demographics:

  Reform is largest
  Conservative
  Orthodox

  - whereas the three movements represented econ and ed success and Americanization, no longer

- impact of the Holocaust:
  - promise of rational/Western culture producing the good society is not true
  - can't escape being who you are: anti-Semitism still exists - it can happen in our time

- impact of 60s Black Power, Women's Liberation, Jewish Pride
  - The Jewish Catalog - counterculture
  - CAJE - grassroots
  - '67 War and views on Israel

5. Today's Issues

- no longer immigrant grandparents or even great-grandparents
  - Jewish immigrants are non-refusnik Russian Jews, Sephardic Jews (Iranians) - imp. in Montreal, secular Israelis
- free to identify or not identify
  - fall out of the middle
- intermarriage rate
  - 33% - 50% all Jews
  - 1st and 2nd marriages
  - extended and blended families of all configurations
  - positive and negative
    - if Judaism is so imp. to you that I should convert or your children should be raised Jewish, prove it to me
  - patrilineal descent
  - fashionable to marry Jews
- Reform and Orthodox
  - brit milah
  - patrilineal descent
  - women rabbi's
  - divorce
- low birth rate, later in life births
  - follow all patterns of well educated
  - two career marriages
- ambivalence toward Israel
- dispersion of Jews
  - not living together
  - living in more pol. areas than before
  - mobility: no longer living where grew up
- political influence
  - PACs
  - in Congress, nationally and state
  - way of identifying as a Jew
- spirituality, traditionalism and fundamentalism
  - ba'alei teshuvah
    - Jewish answer to a cult
  - parental ambivalence about children being more Jewish than they are
    - becoming a rabbi or educator, making aliyah,

keeping Kosher

- tension between secular Jews and religious Jews
  - battle ground: Federation vs. the synagogues
  - concern for unaffiliated

- economically Jews are middle and upper middle class
  - expensive to be Jewish (send to day school, Jewish camp, synagogue, good university, etc.)
  - this generation doesn't give as much money
    - increasing professionalism vs. entrepreneur and ownership of manufacturing companies/ retail
  - teenagers working more
  - econ success no longer indicates movement affiliation

- the university scene
  - impact of college courses in Judaic and Hebraic studies in over 250 major universities
  - Hillel's loosing funding
  - on campus Jewish student groups, grassroots
  - interdating
  - role of the Jewish university professor

- age of Particularism and not Universalism
  - day schools versus public schools
  - spirituality versus social justice and social action

- SECULARISM, ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION
  - affected by all the same things the rest of the culture is:
    drugs including alcohol
    divorce: blended family
    longevity
    child and spouse abuse
    AIDS

- multi-culturalism
  - Jews are a minority group
  - but, US government does not recognize them as such

- regional differences
  - growth cities vs. dying cities
  - Southern Jews and high affiliation rate and lack of cultural manifestations
  - Canada
    - more recent immigration, more Holocaust survivors
    - govt. gives money for multi-culturalism
    - more day school orientation

- more traditional [not more conservative]
- no tax deduction for contributions

6. Jewish Communal Institutions

Federation

Goals:

- raise money for Israel
- raise money for Jewish communal life
- plan for Jewish communal life
- arrange for (sometimes implement) Jewish communal programs
- be the Jewish address in and outside of the community
- represent all the Jews of the community

Services:

- annual fundraising campaigns
  - Women's Division
  - Professions
  - Super Sunday
- allocate monies to Israel
- allocate monies to communal agencies
  - largest recipients:
    - Jewish Home for the Elderly
    - Jewish Community Center(s)
      - day and overnight camps
    - Jewish Children and Family Services
    - Board of Jewish Education
      - day schools
  - other recipients of note:
    - Hillel Foundation
    - B'nai Brith Youth Groups
- provide grants for special projects
- create endowment funds
- community relations council for work with non-Jewish world
- Jewish newspaper
- do community planning including demographic studies

Jewish Home for the Elderly

Goals:

- to provide affordable housing for the Jewish elderly

Where would you go if...

...you wanted your children to be with other Jewish children.
...you were new to town and wanted to meet other Jewish adults.
...you wanted a course in Hebrew.
...you lost your job.
...you wanted help in preparing a Chanukah presentation for your child's class.
...you wanted to learn how to prepare for Passover.
...you were thinking of marrying a non-Jew.
...you just found out your cousin has AIDS.
...your child's school has scheduled parent orientation on the High Holy Days for the second year in a row.
...you were making plans for your children for the summer.
...you wanted to do some volunteer work in the Jewish community.
...you wanted to better relations between Jews and gentiles.
...you felt strongly about the U.S. supporting Israel.
...you are an alcoholic.

Why would you go to those places?
In what ways does your participation in these organization, institutions or programs contribute to your living a fuller Jewish life?
Why would you go to a Jewish organization or institution and not to a similar secular organization?
Why would a Jew go to a secular organization and not to a Jewish organization when both provide the same service?
What would make you choose to financially support, either through membership or donations, a Jewish organization or institution?
What would keep you from financially supporting any Jewish organization or institution?
What makes each of these organizations Jewish?
What does participation in each of these organization have to say about Jewish values?

<u>Education</u>

Put together an intensive Jewish education for your child.
Put together an intensive Jewish education for yourself.
Put together a minimal Jewish experience for your child.
Put together a minimal Jewish experience for your self.
What role does education play in each of these organizations?
What does each of these organizations have to say about the value of Jewish education in Jewish life?

A LOOK AT JEWISH EDUCATION

Goals:

- To familiarize the group with the communal and continental set up of and resources in Jewish education.
- To present the key issue affecting Jewish educators: personnel and professionalism.
- To identify some of the key issues in Jewish education.

Presentation:

1) Professionalism and Personnel

- Stimulus Probe #4 The Supplementary School Teacher
  - Follow up questions:

    1) What does this tell you about Jewish teachers?
    2) What does this tell you about professionalism in Jewish education?
    3) What type of professional development would you provide to these people?
    4) Who would you invest in?
    5) What are your alternatives for creating a new supply of teachers?

  - Points:
    1) same issue for day school teachers of Jewish studies and Hebrew; and for education directors; poignant for day school directors
    2) director does lots of in-service
    3) full time vs. part time directors
    4) paying part time people on a scale by which they can make a living
    5) is it even a profession? (Isa Aron and Adrian Banks work)

  - Issue: Personnel vs. Materials
    - Jewish education is still about humans touching humans
      - materials needed, but secondary
    - textbook in Jewish world is not a curriculum as they try to be middle of the road
    - teaching texts not textbooks
  - Professional Development
    - need non-traditional ways
    - no way could possibly educate number of

people for all the available jobs

- Why are people Jewish educators?
  - dedication and sense of purpose
  - it can be rewarding
  - allows people to be creative

2) Major Issues in Jewish Education

- programming
  - participatory, labor intensive, costly
  - lots of activity for all different groups
- Jewish survival vs. Jewish celebration (Friedman)
  - where have all the children gone?
    - declining birth rate
  - intermarriage
  - Jewish education as a way of saving our children
    - fallacious assumptions:
      - can learn everything you need to know as a child (problem of copying the school system)
      - Jewish knowledge has no relevance to adult life
- widening of the gap between the affiliated and the unaffiliated
- what type of Jewish survival: identification or core values
  - good feelings or enduring commitment
  - good feelings or knowledge
  - faith development: what meaning will people attribute to their experience?
- lay support of Jewish education
  image of Jewish education
  - always an apple pie topic, but no funding
  - general educational malaise
    - issue of good and best
    - vignette of Leon evaluating the school in Atlanta
    - Joe Riemer a la the good high school (Goodlad and Sizer)
  - Barry Holtz - best practices
  - power people not adopted it as an issue for the most part
  - to be a power player, you do not have to be Jewishly knowledgable
  - relationship between the BJE and the Federations
    - issue of accountability

- role of research in Jewish education

- is Jewish education a priority that can bring together the synagogue and the community?
  - images of Jews: religious vs. secular
  - autonomy vs. accountability
  - CAJE as a model

- BJE
  - started literally as a supervising board to set curriculum, standards, and salary
    - evaluated the schools and gave them advice
  - many BJEs did not change from that model
  - direct services
  - providing services that the educational institutions cannot do or are better done on a communal level
  - need for communal Jewish educational institution but neither synagogues nor federations particularly happy
    - need for process (a la Chicago)

- Family Education take over as hot issue
  - Whizzin Institute
  - next trend: adult education

CIJE EVALUATION PROJECT

NON-TRAVEL EXPENSE REPORT

Please complete the form below and submit it to Nathan Mandel, Jewish Community Centers Association, 15 East 26th St., New York, NY 10010-1579. Please attach all receipts.

NAME _____

STREET ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE ____ ZIP _____

TELEPHONE ( ) _____

DATES COVERED BY THIS EXPENSE REPORT _____

I. SUPPLIES AND EXPENSES

A. Postage $ _____

B. Telephone/fax charges $ _____

C. Copying $ _____

II. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Computer supplies -- disks, paper $ _____

B. Audiotapes $ _____

C. Other (please describe in detail) $ _____

_____

_____

TOTAL for which reimbursement is requested $ _____

_____ _____

SIGNED DATE

Classroom Ethnographic Research

I. Introduction to Classroom Research

A. Purpose (Erickson, 1986): "Combine close analysis of fine details of behavior and meaning in everyday social interaction with analysis of the wider societal context--the field of broader social influences--within which the face-to-face interaction takes place." (p. 120)

B. Key elements of ethnographic classroom research (Erickson, 1986)

1. Classrooms are socially and culturally organized environments for learning
2. Teaching is only one aspect of the learning environment
3. The meaning perspectives of teacher and learners are intrinsic to the educational process

II. Access and Ethics

A. Basic Ethical Principles of Ethnographic Classroom Research (Erickson, 1986)

1. Participants need to be as informed as possible about the purposes and activities of the research
2. Participants must be protected as much as possible from psychological and social risks

B. Trust and Rapport

1. "Access in itself is of no use to the researcher without the opportunity to develop trust and rapport." (Erickson, 1986, p. 142)
2. Negotiation of entry is a complex and continuous process--the goal is complete and broad access (ability to observe anywhere in the setting at any time)
3. Information that should be provided to teachers:
   a. goals of research
   b. samples of field notes
   c. preliminary reports--gain teachers' feedback

4. Handout--Chapter 7, "Gaining Entry" (pp. 198-201)
5. Building trust and rapport is essential
   "...research access under conditions that are fair both to the research subjects and to the researcher....A noncoercive, mutually rewarding relationship" (Erickson, 1986, p. 142)

   What's in it for the teacher?

   Trust is a two-way street for researcher *and* participant--need to use "open lens" in observing--Handout, Chapter 7, "Building Trust" (pp. 201-203)
6. "Humbling Oneself"
   Nonjudgmental--separate judgments from observations; contain biases

   Advice:
   a) Be humble and forget what you know--approach researcher role as learner
   b) View teachers in process of growing
   c) Keep judgments separate
   d) Stay on focus of study (curriculum changes, interactions, student growth, teacher change)
   e) Take time off as needed

   Handout--Chapter 7, "Humbling Oneself" (pp. 203-204)

III. Data Collection--Observations
   A. Descriptive Field Notes
      1. Key words: detailed (thick/rich description), accurate, specific, systematic, comprehensive
      2. Capture a picture of the setting, people, actions, and dialogue in words

"...represents the researcher's best effort to objectively record the details of what has occurred in the field. The goal is to capture the slice of life..." (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p. 84)

3. Setting
   Use words and sketches to describe setting

   * Context is critical to ethnographic research--setting represents physical, social, and cultural context

   Handout--Sketch of site
   Handout--Chapter 3, "The Classroom" (pp. 32- 39)

4. Events and actions
   Note events, differentiating between special events and daily or routine events--note actions within those events

   Handout--Chapter 3, "Activities" (pp. 42-57--Excerpts)

5. Participants
   Paint portraits in words of the participants

   Handout--Chapter 4, "Participants" (pp. 62-66; 69-71--Excerpts)

6. Reconstruction of dialogue
   Focus on words frequently used in or unique to the setting
   Note nonverbal communications and interactions and describe in detail

   Handout--FN, 9/14/89; 9/21/89; 10/2/89

B. Reflective Field Notes
   Key words: speculation, hunches, feelings, problems, ideas,

impressions, prejudices/biases

1. Reflection on analysis
   Handout--FN, 10/12/89; 10/13/89

2. Reflection on observer's frame of mind/thinking
   Handout--FN, 10/13/89

3. Points of clarification
   Handout--FN, 10/17/89

4. Speculation/questions
   Handout--FN, 10/13/89

5. Ethical dilemmas and conflicts
   Handout--FN, 11/3/89; 11/6/89

IV. References

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CHAPTER 7

Changing Perspectives

This chapter is a self-reflection on my relationship with Cathy and how that relationship evolved over the course of the study. Although it is an unusual chapter for a dissertation, it is important because it reveals a behind-the-scenes look at the methodology of the research. Chapter 2 provides a clinical view of the methodology (i.e., what was done), while this chapter gives an indepth view of the evolving relationships that were central to methodological decisions that were made during the periods of data collection and analysis. It is, moreover, a story of growth and changing perspectives.

Lessons Learned

The children, of course, changed and grew throughout the year, but they were not the only ones. Cathy and I also changed through my involvement at the site. At no point was I ever just "a fly on the wall." Nor can any person be. Prior to the study, from some of my reading (e.g., Erickson, 1986; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984), I thought it might be possible to have control over my effects on the site and its participants through immersion in the setting, although my previous experiences with qualitative research told me otherwise. I should have heeded the words of Harste et al. (1984):

> An ethnographic perspective assumes that all aspects of the context of situation, including the researcher, are an integral part of the process and hence an integral part of the phenomena one is attempting to explain. (p. 53)

Throughout the study, my presence in the classroom had an effect on the people I came into contact with (direct or indirect) and their presence had an effect on my data collection and subsequent interpretations.

One of the major effects was the change the study made in my perceptions of doing qualitative research and my role as a researcher. In this chapter, I will describe those changes in relationship to my interactions with Cathy, and how the research and changes in my perceptions effected changes in her views of the children and their developing literacy.

Gaining Entry

The first stage of the research involved gaining entry into Cathy's classroom. I soon discovered that this involved much more than just physical access. Negotiations that evolved from this stage of the research centered on access to classroom and school events, my role as a researcher, and building of trust between Cathy and myself.

Access negotiation. My conceptions about gaining access to a site were greatly altered by the experience of actually negotiating with Cathy throughout the year. I learned, early in the process, that:

> Negotiation of entry is a complex process. It begins with the first letter or telephone call to the site. It continues throughout the course of research, and continues after the researcher has left the site, during later data analysis and reporting. (Erickson, 1986, p. 142)

From the first day I met Cathy, I realized that complete access to the site would be difficult and would require extensive negotiations. We met in May, 1989, and spent part of that first meeting discussing the class or classes I would observe. That first negotiation was easily resolved. Since Cathy wanted an additional adult in the total communication class and I wanted to observe at least five children and the only way that could be achieved was if I observed in both classes, the decision to conduct the research in the two classes pleased both of us.

Another access issue of concern to me at the start of the study was that of broad access. I wanted to gain the broadest kind and amount of access possible and to "ideally be able to observe anywhere in the setting at any time" (Erickson, 1986, p. 141). I introduced this idea to Cathy through my research proposal. We discussed issues of access to parent interviews and mainstreamed events. Cathy asked how I would decide which parents to interview and I told her I would talk to her about that later in the study. (We actually did not negotiate that part of the data collection until May, 1990, and the interviews were conducted over the summer of 1990.) Concerning mainstreamed events, we discussed what I meant by that and Cathy commented that I would probably see few such events. In actuality, however, I was able to observe the children in several mainstreamed events, including

other hearing-impaired classes, school events, and recess with hearing children.

I was concerned about providing Cathy with sufficient information concerning the research so I began the process by briefly explaining the goals of the study and then providing her with a copy of my research proposal for her perusal and input. On September 8, 1989, I arrived early at the site to briefly discuss the proposal with Cathy and to set a time when we could meet and discuss it in depth. Cathy, however, was very cool and did not give me a chance to talk with her. She told me to put the proposal on her desk and we could meet in a couple of weeks. I realized at this point that access to Cathy's classes was far from definite. I placed the proposal on her desk and told her I had a flexible schedule and could meet with her the following Monday or Tuesday afternoon. When I arrived the following Monday, Cathy mentioned that she had read my proposal and wanted to discuss it with me. She commented that she had no major concerns with it, but there were a few points she wanted to make about it. Later that day, we discussed the proposal and the notes I was taking. I told Cathy I would be taking notes on the children's oral and sign language as well as literacy interactions. Early in the research, I tried to provide Cathy with copies of the notes to give her a sense of the type of data I was collecting. Even though I did this several times, Cathy did not seem to have a grasp of the research and why I was in her classes. For instance, on a day in November when Eileen was sick, Cathy asked me to serve as her aide that day. At the end of the day, Cathy thanked me for being her aide and said she wished I could get paid for it. I told her my payment was in the data and she looked perplexed by my response.

Role negotiation. Negotiating physical access was one thing, but negotiating my role was much more difficult and spanned most of the school year. At first, Cathy wanted another aide for the total communication class and permitting me to conduct research in her class seemed to be her solution for that problem. In September, I attempted to resolve the misconception that I could serve as an aide while conducting my research by providing Cathy with a copy of my research proposal that clearly stated my perception of my role:

> I will become a participant-observer in the classroom, gradually increasing my participation as relationships develop with the children, teachers, and aides. My participation will include interacting with students during individual work times, book reading activities, play times, clean-up activities, and snack-time. I will observe and take comprehensive field notes during group lessons and activities. In addition, I will remain in a non-teaching role. At least 70 to 75% of my time at the site will be focused directly on my research (i.e., observations and note-taking, expansion of notes, interactions with participants in literacy-related events, interviews).

After reading the proposal, Cathy and I met to further negotiate my role. At that time, we decided that I would just observe and take notes until October 1, 1989. Cathy asked if I would be willing to participate after that date by reading stories to the children or helping at centers with structured activities. I agreed

but still was not sure if further negotiations would not be necessary at a later date.

A major problem I encountered throughout the research was adjusting to Cathy's way of introducing me to others. She did not often acknowledge to others that I was a researcher or a doctoral student conducting research in her class; rather, she introduced me as "her ASU student." Of all the problems in the relationship with which I was challenged throughout the year, this one proved most troublesome. I felt unable to correct the impression Cathy was giving others of my role and I think, in some ways, it probably affected my self-image as a researcher. I finally resolved the conflict by accepting it as a form of control that Cathy needed to exert, but that it was not a reflection of my capabilities or the nature of the research project.

Building trust. From the start, I felt that trust and rapport with Cathy were essential to the process of doing a qualitative study.

> Careful negotiation of entry that enables research access under conditions that are fair both to the research subjects and to the researcher establishes the grounds for building rapport and trust. Without such grounds mutual trust becomes problematic and this compromises the researcher's capacity to identify and analyze the meaning-perspectives of those in the setting . . . .
>
> A noncoercive, mutually rewarding relationship with key informants is essential if the researcher is to gain valid insights into the informant's point of view. Since gaining a sense of the perspective of the informant is crucial to the success of the research enterprise, it is

necessary to establish trust and to maintain it throughout the course of the study. (Erickson, 1986, p. 142)

Gaining this trust and rapport was a continuous struggle. I kept trying to assure Cathy that I was not taking notes on her or judging her, but words alone did not work. The first action I initiated that helped was to provide Cathy with copies of my field notes for several days. By reading the notes, Cathy could get a sense of what I was focusing on; namely, the children and their engagements in language and literacy events rather than Cathy's lessons or instructional techniques. When the children first started writing in my notebook, I watched to see Cathy's response. On occasions when I sensed her disapproval, I stopped the children's activity as quickly as possible without interfering with their learning. Trust, thus, was a two-way street. Both Cathy and I needed to trust each other's motives and actions and become more comfortable with the situation.

One way I gained Cathy's trust and improved the rapport between us was by providing her with write-ups of my preliminary findings. In November, I gave Cathy a copy of a report on the importance of learning names for the children (see Appendix D, "Knowing Names in a Preschool Hearing-Impaired Classroom"). When I wrote the report, I was very concerned about not offending Cathy in any way and so I carefully controlled all statements that directly related to her role in the classroom. However, in doing this, one of my committee members astutely pointed out that I was so worried about not writing anything negative about Cathy that I had completely left her out of the article! The report pleased Cathy, but since I viewed context as critical to the research (and Cathy definitely was part of the context of the classroom), I

realized that I would have to find some compromise. By the time of my second report (March, 1990), I had reached one: Cathy was a part of that report, but I focused on what she did to further the children's literacy learning rather than on what she did to hamper it. This report achieved two goals that improved my relationship with Cathy and helped me as a qualitative researcher. First, it opened her eyes to what was occurring in the classes, and gave her a better picture of the research. Second, it forced me to use a more open lens in viewing the classroom and its participants. I had to learn to take the advice of a committee member and be "humble" and forget what I knew as an educator of the hearing-impaired and view events in the classroom from the lens of a less biased researcher.

"Humbling" Oneself

On the first day of the study, I had a positive and hopeful view for the year. I was impressed with all the displays of literacy in the room and I was certain data collection would yield a wealth of surprises. This view changed, however, during the early months of the research. Partly this was due to the frustrating challenges I was facing in access and role negotiation and partly due to my own biased perspective. I had many years of experience as a teacher of the hearing-impaired, including several years in preschool, and it was hard not to judge Cathy's instruction. In addition, I had a theoretical framework concerning literacy learning: I strongly believed that literacy learning occurred in social contexts and without direct instruction, especially not instruction in subskills of reading and writing. This view was definitely in conflict with one held by Cathy; i.e., that of reading and writing readiness (see Chapter 3, "Site," for a complete description of Cathy's perspective). Under

these circumstances, I found it quite difficult to not be judgmental. Particularly blinding to me early in the study were the dichotomies I observed in what Cathy said and what she did. For instance, Cathy often said "This is a language-based class," yet few experiences were accompanied or followed by language activities. Field trips were inconsistently talked or written about during or after they occurred, although much preparation occurred prior to the trips. Cathy said she believed children learned through social interactions, but talking was discouraged among children during group activities such as routines or art activities. Cathy frequently commented on how "creative" the children were and that she valued this creativity; however, she provided no clothes for dressing up, no crayons or paints for expressive art, and few, if any, expressive music or movement activities. Centers were going to be started in October; by May, there had still been little evidence of centers in the classroom.

By the end of November, my field notes were filled with judgmental comments. At this point, I spoke with several committee members on how I could contain my biases and not let them interfere with the focus of my study: the children and their developing literacy. I received excellent advice from several members. One told me to view Cathy as a teacher in the process of growing, another suggested I keep the notes on Cathy but as observer comments, and a third member reminded me of the focus of my research. I was also advised to take time off from the site. Thanksgiving break and two weeks away in December helped tremendously. I went back in January with a new outlook and determined to follow the advice given. Once I started to see Cathy, as well as the children, in a process of growth, I could concentrate on the research goals more clearly. My notes contained fewer and fewer

criticisms of Cathy's instruction. I began to note the changes in her actions and how they related to the children's growth in literacy. And Cathy's approach to me improved. She was friendlier, reacted positively to my interactions with the children, and occasionally introduced me as a researcher.

Reaching a Middle Ground

As my perceptions of Cathy changed, I recognized that Cathy, like the children, was actually a risk-taker. She was permitting an outsider to spend time observing in her classroom. That requires any teacher to take risks. But, in addition, Cathy was accepting my presence in her room for an enormous amount of time (50% of her teaching time), over an entire school year, in a district with a strong administration and philosophical stance concerning curriculum and instruction, and during her second year of teaching in the district. Realizing this made it easier for me to accept and understand some of Cathy's instructional practices that I might have perceived as inappropriate at earlier points in the year. For example, on February 6, 1990, Cathy recounted an incident from her student teaching days: "The preschool I was working in was so structured that when the teacher told the children to play, they just stood still and didn't know what to do." Until this point, I had viewed Cathy as rigid and the classes as very structured; however, listening to this anecdote helped in understanding why her classes seemed so structured. In fact, relative to her student teaching experience, Cathy's classes now seemed much less structured.

While my perceptions of Cathy's instruction and role were changing, so were her perspectives on my role. I had more and more freedom to interact

with the children particularly in terms of book reading and writing activities. Cathy began to acknowledge my effect on her view of literacy learning. A major turning point in our relationship occurred on January 26, 1990. While David was writing in my notebook, Cathy commented that my presence in the room made her more aware of literacy activities to do with the children and that it was good for her that I was there. This declaration by Cathy helped us reach a middle ground in our relationship. We both felt greater trust and security in our roles and began to see the positive aspects of the research relationship. As Cathy gained security in her teaching abilities, I gained confidence in my capabilities as a researcher. And, of course, throughout this growth period for Cathy and myself, the children grew as emergent readers and writers. Their growth, as documented in this dissertation, was in many ways responsible for the changes in Cathy and me. For as we watched what they could do, it opened our eyes to the entire context of the classroom.

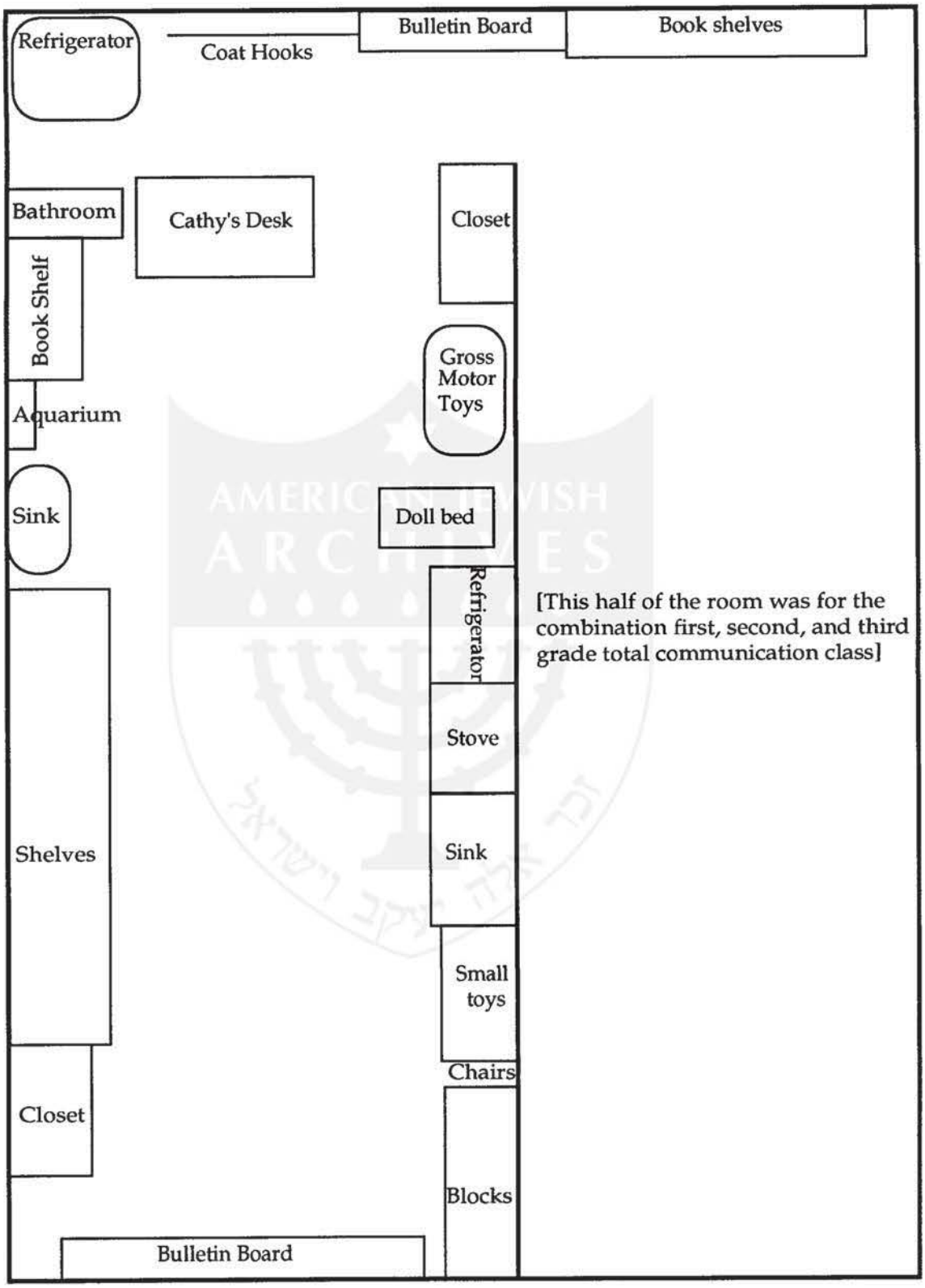

Figure 1. Layout of classroom.

{From Rottenberg, C. (1991). *Literacy learning is important work: Emergent literacy of preschool hearing-impaired children.* Doctoral Dissertation, Arizona State University.}

The Classroom

The two preschool hearing-impaired classes that participated in this research shared a classroom and were taught by the same teacher (Cathy). The children in the total communication class arrived at school at 8:30 a.m. and stayed until 11:15 a.m. The oral class started at 12:15 p.m. and the children left at 3:00 p.m.

Physical Layout

The classroom was small and narrow, barely large enough for a class of four or five active preschool children. The room was shared with a combination first, second, and third grade total communication class. The two sections of the room were separated by a partial wall that left approximately a three-foot opening between the two classrooms. On entering the rooms from the outside, Cathy and her children had to walk through the back of the other class. This part of the room was lined with shelves until it became Cathy's classroom. (See Figure 3 for the layout of the classroom.)

Play Area

The play area had five types of toys: (a) blocks and large vehicles; (b) puzzles, building toys (e.g., Lego blocks), and various other small toys, mostly intended for fine motor skill development; (c) kitchen area toys; (d) gross motor toys; and (e) doll area toys.

Blocks. Two types of cardboard blocks, each block approximately 12" x 18" x 6", were in the room all year. In addition, large cars, trucks, buses, and airplanes were kept in the same toy shelves as the blocks. These toys included a Playschool bus with strangely-shaped people (heads and round bodies that fit in holes in the bus), an airplane with a hatch that opened to allow the children to place play people inside, and a dump truck.

Small toys. Next to the block area were two sets of shelves for the puzzles and small toys. These items were changed several times during the year to match the curriculum goals Cathy had for the class. For example, in November, Cathy taught a home unit and on November 7th a new toy was placed on the shelf--a Playschool playhouse with furniture. When community helpers were studied in February and March, doctor's clothes and a doctor's bag were on the shelves during free play, as well as assorted community helper puzzles (e.g., policeman, fireman, doctor).

Other puzzles placed on the shelf during the year included alphabet, vehicle, fruit, tree, body parts, and *Big Bird* color-matching puzzles. Most of the puzzles were well-used and showed signs of wear-and-tear, including some with missing pieces. The district's budget for materials for the preschool classes seemed to be limited and Cathy had to manage without much outside financial support. Toys designed to improve fine motor skills included discs, beads, and string; *Wee Waffle* blocks; Tyco blocks; a tool set; tower rings; pegs and pegboards; and slate boards. An additional toy that remained in the play area most of the year but was rarely used by the children was a toy telephone. Considering the severity of their hearing losses, it was understandable that this toy received little use.

Kitchen area. The kitchen area had several pieces of furniture (stove, sink, cabinet, refrigerator), dishes and silverware made of blue plastic, including large cups, dinner plates, spoons, and forks, and plastic food items, such as eggs, vegetables, and fruits. The stove had four dials with direction and temperature control words written on them--left front, right front, left rear, right rear, low, med, hi, and off. Beneath the stove was an oven with a side opening door. A removable plastic bin was inside the sink and cabinet space was below it. The refrigerator was a combination unit with a freezer on top. In addition to these items, the children could cook and bake in metal pans and heat water in a teakettle.

The kitchen was often in disarray. The children cleaned up the area by tossing food items, dishes, silverware, and pans into the sink or cabinets. Neither Cathy nor the teacher's aide (Eileen) showed the children how to organize the area and the children were never required to do so. The only time I observed that the area was neatly organized was on a day when Janine, one of the children, of her own volition, arranged the dishes and food items on the shelves and in the cabinets.

An interesting item along the wall in the stove area was a set of cardboard alphabet blocks strung together. These blocks occasionally attracted the children's attention, both during playtime and booktime.

Gross motor toys. The section of gross motor toys contained toys designed to improve coordination, balance, and gross motor skills. The toys included a large green bouncing ball, a wooden rocking horse, a see-saw boat, a balance board, and, early in the year, a beach ball.

Doll area. The doll area was limited, especially for a preschool setting. There was one sole female baby doll, approximately 18" in length. The doll slept with a blanket in a doll cradle that could be rocked back and forth. There was an adequate supply of clothes for daytime or bedtime wear. In addition, an iron was kept in the kitchen area and the children occasionally made certain the doll's clothes were well-pressed.

Missing areas. Noticeably missing from the play area was an area for painting. There were no easels in the classroom and the only time the children had the opportunity to paint was during structured art activities. Also missing was a dress-up area. Except for the weeks before Halloween and during the holiday, dress-up clothes were not available.

Books

Besides the play area, another area where the children had free access was the book corner. They could take books to read during free play and at booktime.

The book corner was sandwiched between the bathroom and the aquarium. At the start of the year, this location seemed to be distracting to the children, but that problem did not last. Within a week or two after the start of school, the children found the book corner to be an accessible and enjoyable place to be. Cathy placed a rocking chair in front of the bookshelf and this soon became a favorite spot during booktime. There was also a large (approximately 36" square) green pillow on which the children could lean and rest as they read books.

The book area, like the kitchen area, was usually in disarray. The children were not required to clean up the book area and, when they completed reading books, they usually tossed them on the shelf.

The books, like the puzzles, reflected the limited financial resources of the district for supplies. Cathy supplied many of the books, often purchasing them herself from used bookstores. Although there were numerous books (far too many to count), few, with the exception of fairy tales later in the year, represented known children's authors or literature (see Appendix E for a representative list of the books).

Occasionally, books with predictable texts or by known authors were placed on the bookshelf. These included a book on seasons by Richard Allington and a

Bank Street book with predictable text entitled *Does Soap Go in Soup?* These books, like fairy tales, community helper books, and books of nursery rhymes had a limited life on the shelf. They usually represented a current unit of study and would disappear shortly after the unit was completed.

The best choices of books and, by far, the children's favorites, fell into two categories--fairy tales and sign print (or Signed English) books. The fairy tales made it to the shelf after the stories had been introduced by Cathy through planned lessons. Cathy usually tried to provide several versions of each story, often including a *Golden Book* version and a Signed English version.

Signed English or sign print books have stories depicted three ways--with illustrations, in English print, and with illustrations of signs to correspond to each word in English print. These types of books, naturally, are not found in classrooms with hearing children, and, therefore, provided unique reading experiences for the hearing-impaired children. Most of the children, whether in the total communication class or the oral class, were fascinated by these books and spent extended amounts of time reading and studying them, often trying to form the signs depicted. The sign print books in the classroom generally were of two types--fairy tales or books related to themes or units being taught, such as community helpers.

The Teacher

Cathy, the teacher, had a master's degree in deaf education from a large southwestern university. The year of the study was her second in the district and her fifth year in teaching. Previously, she had taught preschool and kindergarten hearing-impaired children in a neighboring state.

Cathy's philosophy of teaching appeared, at times, to closely match that of the district. Based on physical evidence in the room, it appeared that Cathy had the notion of reading and writing as composed of discrete subskills, each of which had to be mastered before movement to the next was possible. For example, the bulletin board display in the back of the room (by the coat hooks) listed fine motor skills (e.g., painting) as activities that were necessary preparation for writing. Professional materials in the room consisted primarily of books and materials on perception, gross and fine motor activities, and sign language. The speech charts

Cathy taped to the wall in early November listed specific speech, listening, and receptive and expressive language skills each child needed to master. Included in these skills were tasks such as producing the *f* sound, using the pronouns *he* and *she*, and following a single oral or signed direction.

Activities

Activities of the class day represented both the district's philosophy of education and Cathy's theory of teaching and her goals for the children. Each day began with a free play period followed by opening routines. This activity was then followed by another free play period. The day continued with art, recess, snack, and ended with booktime. The afternoon class also had fifteen minutes of music each day. In addition, on specified days, the children had a period of motor activities with the occupational therapist and her aide and short periods (five to ten minutes at most) of individual speech practice with the speech therapist. The school day for each class lasted two hours and forty-five minutes, four days a week. (See Figure 4 for typical class schedules.)

Free Play

Each section of the free play area had a poster with a red light (i.e., red circle) on one side and a green light on the other side hung on a hook in the area. Cathy would turn the lights to green prior to free play in any area where the children were allowed to play. These areas generally included the block area, toy shelves, kitchen area, doll area, and gross motor toys section. The book area was also an open area for free play. To inform the children in the oral class of the end of free play, Cathy would set a timer and tell the children to listen for it. For the total communication class, Cathy would sign, "Time to clean up" while also verbally saying it, making certain at least one or two of the children were attending. The children would clean up the various play areas and then prepare for group routines or, after the second play period of the day, for art or music.

Routines

Listening check. For the listening check, Cathy would use a wooden puzzle of a hand with separate pieces for each finger. She had written the numbers one through five on the fingers, one number per finger. She would administer the listening check to each child individually. First, she would ask the child to find a numbered finger (e.g., "Where is number one?"). While the child held the finger to his/her ear, Cathy would cover her mouth with her hand and make one of five sounds (e.g, "Sssss"). When the child heard the sound, he/she would place the puzzle piece in the puzzle frame. This activity was a part of the class routines for

the first half of the year and then dropped from the schedule.

Draw-a-person. The *Draw-a-person* activity was one that Cathy began on the first day of school and continued until the middle of January. For the first month of school, Cathy started the activity by writing a child's name on the chalkboard. On September 22, 1990, she added the words "[Child's name] is here." After writing this, Cathy would draw the outline of a child's body and certain body parts, leaving out other features such as an eye or a hand. Cathy would ask the child she had drawn, "What do we need?" and the child was expected to name the missing body parts with Cathy aiding in giving the correct response (e.g., if the child pointed to his/her eye, Cathy would have them say or sign, depending on their primary mode of communication, "another eye"). When the child had finished labeling his/her body parts, Cathy would direct the attention of all the children to the child's clothing and would ask about the colors she needed for the picture. Cathy would then permit the child chosen for the picture to color his/her clothing with colored chalk. The other children throughout this activity were expected to sit and watch Cathy and the child being drawn. They were not permitted to talk or participate in the activity except after Cathy wrote the words "[Child's name] is here." If the children showed interest, she would let them read the sentence. If they tried to get actively involved in any other way, Cathy would remind them that today was not their turn. The entire activity lasted approximately five minutes and the children seemed to accept it as part of their schooling.

On January 16, 1990, Cathy replaced the *Draw-a-person* activity with the dressing of two paper dolls. She posted two large paper dolls (a boy and a girl) on the bulletin board, each wearing only underwear. She would display paper clothing for the dolls and the children would tell what each doll needed that day. The children would come up individually and, after deciding which doll to dress, tell Cathy (in sign, voice, or by pointing) which item of clothing to clip onto the doll. As with the *Draw-a-person* activity, only one child would participate at a time and the others were expected to wait quietly for their turns. Every month after that, Cathy replaced the activity with a new one.

For February, the words *Where is it?* were written on the top of the bulletin board. Under these words, Cathy posted a picture of a heart and placed directional

words written on cards around the heart: *top* and *over* at the top center portion of the bulletin board, *under* and *bottom* centered below the picture, *by* on the left side of the heart, *behind* in back of the heart, *in front* on the right bottom portion of the heart, and *on* directly on top of the heart. At the bottom of the bulletin board, below the heart and the word cards were two pictures, one of a boy (on the right side of the bulletin board) and the other of a girl (on the left side of the bulletin board). Cathy started the activity by pointing to the words as she read them and giving an individual child directions to follow, such as "Put the flower under the girl." The activity changed only slightly in the beginning of March--the pictures of the boy and girl were replaced with pictures of a bird and butterfly.

Other Activities

Besides the daily schedule of activities, Cathy provided other experiences for the children at various times during the school year. These activities included: (a) structured language lessons, (b) filmstrips, and (c) assessments.

Filmstrips. Beginning in September, Cathy occasionally supplemented her lessons with related filmstrips. These filmstrips varied from well-captioned and illustrated supports for Cathy's goals to outdated and poorly made learning aids. Cathy would sit in front of the children while Eileen operated the projector for the filmstrips. As she read the captions, Cathy would simultaneously sign and use voice for the total communication class and, for both classes, would simplify or elaborate on the captions as necessary to enhance the children's learning from the filmstrips. On some occasions the activity was passive for the children, but, more often, Cathy would try to involve them in reading the captions or discussion about the filmstrip. (See Appendix I for a list of filmstrips used during the school year.)

Assessments. An activity that occurred during specific times of the year were assessments. The most common of these activities were combination auditory training lessons and assessments. Cathy would work individually with the children on recognizing sounds (mostly environmental sounds) using a tape accompanying a pre-packaged set of pictures. For example, Cathy might lay three pictures on the table--a fire engine, a telephone, and a man--and ask the child what each picture was. She would then play a segment of the tape that represented one of the pictures (e.g., a fire siren, a phone ringing, or a child saying "Bye dada") and ask the child

to point to the picture for the sound.

Participants

Seven children participated in the research, four from the preschool total communication hearing-impaired class and three from the preschool oral hearing-impaired class. The children's ages at key points in their lives in relation to their hearing losses as well as their ages at the start of educational services are listed in Table 2.

The degrees of hearing loss for the children ranged from moderate to profound. Pure tone thresholds and speech reception thresholds are given in Table 3. Pure tone awareness (PTA) refers to the average threshold for responses to pure tones at 500, 1000, and 2000 Hz. (Davignon, 1988/1989); speech reception threshold (SRT) represents the level at which a child can repeat simple words or can understand connected speech (Newby, 1972).

Table 4 classifies the children by mode of communication. Two of the children, Janine and Michael, were in different classes the year prior to the research--Janine was in the total communication class while Michael spent five months in the oral class before Cathy transferred him to the total communication class.

In addition to signs and speech, the children used gestures, body movements, and facial expressions to communicate. Gestures included pointing and invented signs, whereas body movements were actions such as head nodding, acting out expressions and situations, and physically communicating with others through taps, pulls, and other similar actions. The children expressed themselves through facial expressions such as lifted eyebrows, open mouths, and grimaces.

Michael

Michael can best be described through his writings and his self-portraits. Starting early in the year, although Michael was only four years and four months old, he drew self-portraits that captured his uniqueness in their explicitness and detail. For example, his portraits included the long hair on the back of his neck and his long eyelashes. He often added other family members (mother, father, brothers) to his drawings, illustrating his physical placement within the family structure (see Appendix A, "Drawing and Writing Samples," # 15 and # 17).

Michael, unlike most of the other children in the study, did not come to school

looking as if much care had been given to him. Sometimes he looked as though he had not been bathed for a day or two or more. The only time I observed him wearing new clothes was immediately after his birthday. His clothes, like his long hair which his mother occasionally braided, represented Michael's individuality. He often wore T-shirts and jeans (like the other children), accompanied by socks and army-type boots.

Michael communicated mostly with two- or three-word combinations of English signs accompanied by some intelligible speech. The clearest speech he used during the year were the other children's names or words he repeated after hearing an adult pronounce them. Like most of the other children, especially those in the total communication class, Michael used hand gestures (e.g., pointing), body movements, and facial expressions to aid in his communication with others, particularly if his attempts with Signed English or speech had failed. When he communicated with adults, his first attempts usually were a combination of signs and speech, but when he spoke with peers, particularly those with no oral language, he primarily used signs and gestures.

Table 2

Ages of Children

Children	Ages			
	Hearing Loss Diagnosed	First Aided	Educational Support Began[a]	Entered Hearing-Impaired Program
Darrell	3 yrs.	3 yrs.	3 yrs.	3 yrs. 4 mos.
Jon	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	2 yrs. 6 mos.	3 yrs. 5 mos.
Michael	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	2 yrs. 10 mos.	3 yrs. 4 mos.
David	2 yrs.	2 yrs.	2 yrs. 9 mos.	3 yrs. 5 mos.
Jeffrey	under 1 yr.	under 1 yr.	1 yr.	3 yrs. 7 mos.
Janine	2 yrs.	2 yrs. 5 mos.	2 yrs. 7 mos.	3 yrs. 7 mos.
Billy	4 yrs. 2 mos.	4 yrs. 2 mos.	4 yrs. 7 mos.	4 yrs. 11 mos.

[a]Usually parent advisory program operated by state funded school for the deaf and blind.

Table 3

Degrees of Hearing Loss

Children	Category of Hearing Loss	Hearing Losses[a] PTA Unaided Left	PTA Unaided Right	SRT Unaided Left	SRT Unaided Right	SRT Aided Left	SRT Aided Right
Darrell	profound	90	90	-	-	-	-
Jon	moderate	45	NR	40	NR	15	NR
Michael	profound	90	90	-	-	-	-
David	severe	70	70	-	-	-	-
Jeffrey	profound	NR	NR	NR	NR	60	60
Janine	severe	80	80	60	60	35	35
Billy	moderate	50	50	45	45	25	25

[a]NR = No response.

9/14/89

Ad was the only one vocalizing throughout this activity. He got very excited when CB pulled out the starship {She called it a "star airplane"}. R started vocalizing ("La la la"). Ch got the starship from CB and Jas grabbed it.
R: (in imitation of airplane) Ya ya.

R: Ba be, bah, bah. {Voice}
Jas got the doll's shoes and said "Yah" (voice) in response to CB's request.
Ad vocalized during the activity ("La la, wah, wah").
Jas indicated shirt by pulling at his own shirt (sign for "shirt"). CB let him put the shirt on the doll.

9/21/89

Jas: Brown (sign) {for hair color}.
R signed "I love you" to E.
Jas: Brown eye (sign).
Ad was looking at the bulletin board signing to himself: Eat . . . clock (?).

10/2/89

J: A chus . . . Another eyes . . . My hand . . . Another eard . . . A mouth . . . A nose . . . I wanna draw my docks . . . I wanna color brown my eyes . .
J colored his eyes--one completely in the shape and one in the shape and out past the nose. He used his left hand to color.

When CB said Sh had the share bag, J said, "Sh have it."
CB got out another share bag and J said, "I wanna feel what's in there." He guessed "dog" when he saw the dog's ear.
J: Get it out . . . Get him out. Get that out. I wanna see that. I wanna see that.

C got a book and brought it to the table. J sat at the table eating and told CB, "I gonna finish this first."
CB read to C. J got two books and sat next to be and said, "Read this to me" as he

handed me a book titled "I Help Mommy" (a Golden Book). As I read the first pages, J commented on the story.

J: I help Mommy at home.

J interacted with me and the book for the first few pages, but then seemed to lose interest. He watched and listened to CB and then would turn his attention back to our book. Occasionally he turned the page before I finished reading it. On some pages I asked him if he wanted me to read that page or not.

When I finished the first book, J gave me the second book ("Playtime") and took the other book back to the shelf.

J: I be back.

With the second book, he again interacted with me and the book on the first few pages ("I go to the park." "I play on this.") and then lost interest.

When we finished, J took the second book back and brought a third book over.

J: I gonna read this book.

J called this a "Fireman" book {it had a picture of a firetruck in it}.

On the first page, J started to tell a story about the picture.

J: The choo choo train. I wanna go bye bye.

On the next page there were 3 large pictures and the words for the objects written on the page and J labeled the pictures: a car, a big truck, airplane. J continued reading several more pages in the book, always telling a story for pages with actions and labeling pictures for pages with only objects and names. When he got to the last page, I asked him to read that page to me (he had skipped reading several pages prior to this one). J turned back to the first page and again told me the story of the choo choo train. He then turned to the second page and again labeled the pictures exactly as he had done the first time: a car, a big truck {the book had only "truck" written}, airplane.

10/12/89

Group--R imitated the signs CB and Ch were making when talking about the shell Ch had.
Ad picked Jas' name after studying his and Jas' name cards {playing?}.
R picked his name card and then imitated CB's fingerspelling of "a" and "y".
CB showed Ch's and Jas' name cards to Jar and asked which was his. He looked at both and almost picked Jas' card, but stopped himself. CB then got his card. Jar fingerspelled his first name by himself and then CB told him that was his first name. She then fingerspelled his last name for him.
R vocalized during much of this activity--his vocalizations sounded like singing.
CB gave R a sticker to put on his bus card and Ad pointed to R's name on his bus card.

{o.c.: Again Ad was trying to share his knowledge of names--CB told him he was right that was R's card. This achievement for Ad appears to be extremely social--he is still constantly using it to interact with the other children.}

R came by and E stopped him. He wanted the bathroom and E took him to the rocker to wait. He took a book cover that was missing the pages. He looked at and seemed to be wondering what happened to the rest of the book. I found the rest of the book for R and placed it inside the covers. He looked at another book and when he missed a page because he had turned two pages at a time, he went back to the page he had missed.
R read several books. Occasionally he would share pages with me.

{o.c.: R likes to share books with others--when he sees something that interests him or pleases him, he will try to get someone else's attention and then show that person the page.}

10/13/89

When NR came in, Ad wanted to show her his drawing.

{o.c.: Ad likes to share his achievements with adults - his discovery of names, his writing and drawing last week, and his drawing today.}

Ad wanted to draw a window, but he wanted help. He would not try it himself - he was unwilling to take the risk.

{o.c.: R and Ch seem to be most willing to take risks when using pencils, markers, crayons, etc. and Ad and Jar seem most reluctant and Jas just seems uninterested.}

10/13/89

Jar then wanted my pencil and he explored how to click it before writing. He then drew some lines on my paper. E came by and helped him write his name. I then wrote his name with upper and lower case letters and let him try by himself. He made an attempt (Jaom) and then wrote an uppercase "A". I next wrote his name for him in all uppercase letters and he shook his head "Yes" and pointed to his name in all uppercase letters and then to himself. I pointed to both versions of his name and said they both said "Jar" and he nodded "Yes." Jar then wrote his name in all uppercase letters and except for the "M" did a close approximation. {See writing samples}

{o.c.: I learned something important today by letting E help Jar on the first try. Until she helped him, he was not willing to take the risk of writing his name, but after the one attempt with her aid, he was able to do it by himself. Interventions may sometimes be necessary, as long as the children still have the chance to explore and take risks.}

10/17/89

{o.c.: While J was playing I asked CB about the children's hearing losses. J has one dead ear and a mild to moderate conductive loss in the other ear. C has a moderate to severe bilateral loss - a 30 to 70 dB quick slope. CB and his mom suspect it may be a progressive loss. Sh has a severe loss, but CB feels the testing, which was done over a year ago, may be inaccurate.}

10/13/89

{o.c.: E was very impressed with Jar's attempts to write his name and after the children left, she told me to show it to CB. CB did not seem overly impressed. She commented that Jar's parents probably write his name with upper and lowercase letters at home. If that's the case, why was Jar so much more comfortable with using only the uppercase letters? I'll have to observe the other children also when they have the opportunity to write their names and see if they have a preference. I'll also explore the literature on name writing.}

11/3/89

Ad spelled his name by himself.

{o.c.: CB commented to me that last year he didn't even pay attention. CB seems to think I'm not impressed by Ad's ability to fingerspell his name but, in fact, I'm probably more impressed than she is, having seen his discovery of names go to fingerspelling names to reading words.}

11/6/89

Group (of one)

Sh: Fi than oo. {in response to "How are you?"}

{o.c.: Even when CB has only one child she does the group activities. She continues to do all the routines even if the one child has them down pat - e.g., J or C with the listening check. The routines are extremely important to CB - she has mentioned on occasion the importance of routines for the children. It's interesting to note that on occasions where routines were not carried out, C has had difficulty with the change (see notes from day when C pointed out on clock that it was not time for snack). As important as routines might be for the children, flexibility might also be important. CB often looks at her watch and seems to be very concerned with keeping to her schedule, yet her daily schedule definitely does not match the one posted on the chalkboard over the toy shelf - the activities are similar (she still has not set up learning centers even though she was going to start those in Oct.), but not in the same sequence or time frame.}

Adam Garson DRAFT NOT FOR PUBLICATION!

The Educational Background of American Jews[1]

by Seymour Martin Lipset

The unique aspects of American Jewry compared to other ethno-religious groups fall into five categories: religious behavior, income, demography, politics, and education -- both religious and secular. The best effort to document their characteristics, the National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) of 1990, yields information on all of these matters and much more. This paper focuses on education and is one of a series of reports analyzing the data. The sample was selected from those identified as living in a Jewish household. 125,813 randomly selected persons were asked questions about their own religious preference and that of their household. This method produced 2,441 completed interviews, giving information on 6,514 persons in those households.

The report presented here is based on interviews with 2,134 households providing information on 4,601 individuals. For the purpose of this analysis, roughly one-sixth of the respondents were not used because their responses to various questions indicated that they did not consider themselves Jewish and belonged to another current religion. The Core Jewish Population (CJP) as defined by the demographers who conducted the survey includes Born Jews whose religion is Judaism (BJR), converts who are Jews by Choice (JBC), and born Jews who do not have a religious but a secular identification (JNR). In addition, 84 percent of the CJP had at least one Jewish parent. The data were then weighted through a process

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[1] This paper was commissioned and financed by the Mandel Institute in Jerusalem through a grant to the Willstein Institute. I am indebted to both institutes and in particular to Morton Mandel, Seymour Fox, Annette Hochberg, and David Gordis. The Hoover Institution also gave considerable support. John Torres, Jeffrey W. Hayes, and Moti Rimor contributed much to the analysis.

which involved using all of the original 125,813 screening interviews.[2] The analysis presented here is based on the weighted sample of the CJP.

There are a number of stereotypical observations about Jews that are confirmed by the 1990 NJPS.[3] These include that Jews are, by far, more well-to-do than the population as a whole, and that they are politically much more liberal. They are also the best educated of any ethno-religious group. Educational achievement has been one of the great prides of American Jewry, and the survey data indicate that it is justified. Among all adults 18 years and over who identify themselves as Jewish in religious terms, just under a third, 30 percent, do not have any college education, while just over 50 percent are college graduates. Almost half of these, 24 percent, have gone beyond college to some form of post-graduate education. Secular Jews, those who are not religious in any way, are slightly better educated than religious Jews. Only 27 percent have not attended college. It is interesting to note that born Jews who have converted out and belong to other denominations (six percent of the enlarged sample), are less well educated. Over one-third have no college background. The picture is somewhat similar for persons who report Jewish parentage or descent, but were raised from birth in another religion.

Other trends regarding marriage and family are also clear. Jews are less likely to marry and do so later than others with similar backgrounds; they have a lower birthrate than

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[2] The background of the survey and a description of the sample is presented in Barry Kosmin, et al., Highlights of the CJF 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (New York: Council of Jewish Federations, 1991), pp. 1-6. See also Sidney Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry: Insights from the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey," in the American Jewish Yearbook, 1992.

[3] For a more comprehensive description of the current state and historical background of American Jewry, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "A Unique People in an Exceptional Country," in Lipset, ed., American Pluralism in the Jewish Community (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), pp. 3-29.

other groups in the population; and their rate of intermarriage is high and increasing steadily.[4] Immigration apart, these behavioral traits mean that the Jewish population in America is likely to decline. At the extreme, one demographer predicts a near extinction in the not too distant future. The hope, suggested by earlier studies on intermarriage, that such behavior might actually add to the population given conversions and Jewish identification of intermarried families, does not seem to be borne out by the 1990 survey. Fifty-nine percent of currently married households are both Jewish, six percent are conversionary households and 35 percent are mixed-marriage households. Only one-sixth, 17 percent, of intermarried Jews have a spouse who has converted. The mates of the rest have remained Gentiles. Since 1985, the majority, 57 percent, of Jews married non-Jews.[5] This compares with 10 percent for those who mated before 1965, and 31 percent for those who wed between 1965 and 1974. As Barry Kosmin et al. note in their preliminary report on the results of the overall study "since 1985 twice as many mixed couples (born Jew with Gentile spouse) have been created as Jewish couples (born Jew with Jewish spouse)."

In addition to the problem that is posed by low fertility for Jewish continuity, is the concern that most children with only one Jewish parent are not being raised as Jews. "Only 28 percent of... children [in religiously mixed households] are reported as being raised Jewish. Some 41 percent are being raised in a non-Jewish religion." Almost a third, 31

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[4] Regarding fertility rates, Goldstein points out that average completed fertility for Jewish women "was not only 20 percent below the...average for those aged 45-49 20 years earlier, but also 19 percent below the average for all white women aged 45-49 in 1988, and 10 percent below the 2.1 level needed for replacement." Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," p. 122.

[5] Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," p. 126. For similar documentation, see Sylvia Barack Fishman and Alice Goldstein, "When They Are Grown They Will Not Depart: Jewish Education and the Jewish Behavior of American Adults," *Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies Research Report 8*, March 1993.

percent, are not being given a religious identification.[6] If we look at the full picture, we find that not only has intermarriage doubled but that "just under half of all children in the surveyed households are currently being raised with Judaism as their religion and another 16 percent qualify as secular Jews."[7]

Education is obviously the principal mechanism to socialize succeeding generations into being Jewish, and to stimulate adult Jews and Gentile spouses to foster religious and cultural interests in the community. What the Jewish community of the future will look like -- occupationally, culturally, and Jewishly -- will be, to a considerable degree, a function of both non-Jewish and Jewish education.

This article attempts to understand the determinants and consequences of Jewish education through an exploration of the NJPS data. The first section of the paper examines the factors that influence the probability of a respondent securing Jewish training. These factors include gender and age, as well as denominational, generational, regional, and familial background. The second part lends support to the hypothesis that the greater the exposure to Jewish learning, the more likely the recipient is to be involved in Jewish life and the religious community, and to pass the commitment on to his or her children. The conclusions drawns from the bivariate data of these segments are then given additional credence through multivariate regression analyses. Finally, the paper addresses the future of the Jewish community -- its youth. The determinants of Jewish education among the young are evaluated by examining the role family socio-economic status, geographic mobility,

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[6] Kosmin et al., Highlights, p. 16. See also Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," pp. 124-28.

[7] Kosmin et al., Highlights, p. 15.

patterns of religious observance, as well as denominational, familial, and regional background. Those enrolled in college are given particular attention because of the great problems and potential solutions posed by secular education for Jewish continuity.

The concern for Jewish continuity focuses, therefore, on Jewish education as the major tool available to the community to stem the weakening which is taking place. The study permits an examination of the relationship between different types of Jewish education and subsequent participation in, and commitment to, the community. The basic picture is clear. Those who are classified as religious, whether they are as born as Jews or converted to Judaism, are likely to report some form of Jewish education. Eighty-four percent of the males and 65 percent of the females do so. The figures, however, drop for those born Jewish but classified as non-religious or ethnic-seculars. Three-fifths, 61 percent, of the men and 45 percent of the women said they have had a Jewish education. People who were born and raised Jewish but converted out were much less likely to have had Jewish education, 27 percent for the males and 24 percent for the females.

These findings present us with a classic chicken and egg problem in trying to explain the role of religious education: To what extent do family religious commitments, which themselves might be a reflection of prior education, influence the strong linkages between Jewish education, Jewish identification and community involvement. Can schooling overcome the lack of commitment of those reared in weakly identified families? No definite conclusion is possible in absence of longitudinal data (information gathered over time from the same respondents), particularly since the decision to educate or not reflects, in most

cases, the degree of religiosity in the home. Still, the evidence is congruent with the hypothesis that Jewish education makes a difference.

Determinants of Jewish Education for Adult Respondents

Turning to the analysis, we may start with the finding that approximately 66 percent, of the core respondents reported in the 1990 NJPS had, at some point, been exposed to formal Jewish education. Participation has been measured by the type of education received and the number of years completed. For those who have received it, the type of their education can be differentiated into four groups: 1) full-time Jewish schools including day schools and *yeshivas*; 2) part-time schools that meet more than once a week; mainly afternoon schools; 3) Sunday schools and other, once-a-week Jewish educational programs; 4) Private tutoring. There was no question in the survey about attendance at Jewish secular schools, such as those run by the Workmen's Circle. It is not possible to evaluate the quality of Jewish educational programs from the data. The formal Jewish education measures, e.g., types of schooling or years in different educational programs, are dependent variables when analyzing determinants, while in the next section, they serve as independent variables when looking for consequences.

Most Jews living in America were not exposed to intensive religious education. More than half of those who ever attended, 53 percent (or 35 percent of the whole sample), went to part-time, largely afternoon programs. The next to largest group is composed of those who had attended Sunday school (28 percent), followed by full-time day schools (11 percent)

and private tutoring (8 percent). Almost all of those who have some Jewish education took part for more than a year. Only 2.5 percent did not attend for a full year. As shown in Table 1, thirty percent participated less than five years, and another 36 percent were involved for longer periods, with 15 percent having been in formal Jewish training for 11 years or more.

Table 1: Number of Years of Formal Jewish Education

No. of Years	Born Jews - Religious Jews	Jews By Choice	Ethnic-secular Jews	Total CJP
< 5 years	31	56	20	30
6-10 years	26	4	8	21
11-14 years	8	1	1	6
15+ years	11	2	3	9
Never Attended	25	37	67	33
Types of Schooling				
Day School	13	–	3	11
Part-time/Afternoon	54	14	54	53
Sunday School	27	24	34	28
Private Tutor	5	62	9	8

Given that traditional Judaism places much greater emphasis on men than on women with respect to synagogue observance and religious study, it is not surprising that males are more likely than females to have been exposed to Jewish education (Table 2). The former are also more likely to have been involved in the more intense forms of Jewish education. Around two-thirds, 66 percent, of day schoolers and 63 percent of the part-timers are men. The picture reverses sharply for Sunday School (the least stringent form of training), and somewhat less for private tutoring. Sixty-two percent of Sunday schoolers and and 50

percent of the privately tutored are female. To sum up, women are less likely to have been enrolled at all, while those who did so are more likely to have been involved in programs that met less frequently or for less time.

Table 2: Form of Jewish Education by Gender (Percent)			
	Male	Female	Total
Day School	11	5	7
Part-time/Afternoon	46	25	35
Sunday School	15	22	19
Private Tutor	6	5	5
Never Attended	23	42	33

Basically, the same conclusions are reached with respect to the quantity of education received. Among those who received any, men have attended more years than women, although the gender difference diminishes for those who have studied for 10 years or more, 17 percent male and 13 percent female. Still, the most noteworthy finding is that within each age group, women are much less likely to have any Jewish education and, if ever involved, to have studied for fewer years than men (Table 3).

Table 3: Years of Attendance by Age, Controlled for Gender (Percent)									
	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Row Total
Male									
< 5 years	25	29	34	36	34	38	42	32	35
6-10 years	25	25	24	29	25	26	14	17	24
> 11 years	15	11	16	18	12	17	19	27	17
Never Attended	36	35	26	17	19	20	24	24	25
Female									
< 5 years	20	25	26	26	29	28	20	21	26
6-10 years	27	22	19	20	21	16	18	8	19

> 11 years	11	10	15	13	9	12	12	27	13
Never Attended	42	43	40	41	37	44	50	44	42

The same pattern, of course, holds up for the correlates of Bar or Bat Mitzvah ceremonies. It should be noted that the proportion of the denominationally identified who have been confirmed has increased over time, particularly among the younger. The converse is true for the ethnic-secular; only one-sixth of the 18 to 29 year olds have been confirmed as compared to two-thirds of the religiously linked. For the core Jewish population as a whole, less than half, 46 percent, have gone through the coming of age rite. Confirmants include a majority, 56 percent, of the religiously identified birth-right Jews (85 percent men and 27 percent women), compared to 24 percent of the ethnic-seculars (35 percent men and 13.5 percent women).

The fact that younger Jews have been less exposed to Jewish education than the middle-aged is congruent with the evidence that assimilation, particularly intermarriage, has increased. The relationship that exists, considering all age groups is, however, curvilinear. Older and younger people have been less exposed to Jewish learning than the middle generation. Sixty-one percent of the 18 through 29 year olds have been involved in some form. This figure increases gradually to 72 percent for those in the 50 through 59 years old category, but then declines to 67 percent for the 60 through 69 year old group and to 64 percent for those who are 70 years or older (Table 4).

Table 4: Number of Years of Formal Education by Year of Birth and Age (Percent)							
	Years of Birth and Age						
Years Attended	1960-72 18-29	1950-59 30-39	1940-49 40-49	1930-39 50-59	1920-29 60-69	1919 and before 70+	Row Total
1-5 years	27	30	31	31	32	30	30
6-10 years	24	21	24	23	21	15	21
11-15 years	6	10	7	6	4	3	6
15+ years	5	5	9	12	10	16	9
Never Attended	39	33	29	28	33	36	33

Looking at the data in terms of decades, the largest proportion involved in Jewish education for substantial periods is found among those born in the 1930s followed by the war and post-war cohorts, those born in the 1940s. It is impossible to account for this pattern using the available data, but an interpretation may be suggested. The parents of the generations who reached confirmation age during the years that included the coming to power of the Nazis, increased anti-Semitism in the United States, the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel, were exposed to very strong stimuli to affirm their Judaism. These events had a positive effect on Jewish identity, activating latent religious loyalties. Logically these events should have led more parents to send their children to Jewish schools. But they were sent disproportionately to the weakest and least effective form, i.e., Sunday school. It may be hypothesized further that as those events and experiences receded into history, the assimilatory forces regained strength.

Socio-political conditions during the school years appear to have had less effect on the type of Jewish education received than on length of time enrolled (see Table 5). Across all age or time cohorts, little more than one-third, 35 percent, of the respondents report having

attended part-time schools. Sunday school attendance is, however, curiously curvilinear. It is greatest for those who were born during the 1930s and 1940s (e.g., aged 40-59 when interviewed), but less for younger cohorts and least for the oldest ones, who partook during the 1920s or earlier. Presumably such a limited form of schooling was less available for the older respondents and may have been more disapproved of by families closer to the old country experience. The proportion who went to day school has grown slightly but steadily over time, from six percent for the 1930s cohorts to seven for those who reached school age in the 1940s and 1950s, and 9 percent for the youngest cohorts. Thus there has been an increase at the two extremes, those not participating and those attending the most intensive form, day schools. The latter change has particularly involved women.

Table 5: Type of Education by Year of Birth or Age (Percent)

Years Attended	1960-72 18-29	1950-59 30-39	1940-49 40-49	1930-39 50-59	1920-29 60-69	1919 and before 70+	Row Total
Day School	9	7	7	6	12	6	8
Part-time/Afternoon	32	36	37	36	36	37	35
Sunday school	17	17	24	23	17	14	19
Private Tutor	3	5	4	9	5	9	5
Never Attended	39	34	27	26	30	35	33
Column Total	21	25	19	10	11	13	100

How does assimilation to American society affect Jewish education? Examining the length of family residence in America provides an answer to this question. The relationship between Jewish education and national origin has been analyzed by breaking the sample into four generations. The first is composed of the foreign-born, 10 percent; the second of those born in the U.S. with two foreign-born parents, 20 percent; the third of those born here,

with at least one parent born here and grandparents who are foreign-born, 27.5 percent; and the fourth of native-born, with at least one U.S. born parent and at least one grandparent born in America, 43 percent. The relationship between these "generations" and the types of Jewish education is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Types of Jewish Education by Generational Background (Percent)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Day School	29	12	5	3
Part-Time	20	43	46	29
Sunday	7	13	22	22
Private Tutor	7	6	3	6
Never Attend	37	26	24	41

As is evident from the table, those from abroad include close to the largest proportion (37 percent) without any Jewish training and the biggest of those with the most intensive, day school (29 percent). The latter finding may reflect the greater availability of such education in the "old country." One-fifth, 20 percent, had attended part-time school. Few, 7 percent, went to Sunday School, a form of education linked largely to the Reform movement, which did not exist in Eastern Europe and had a limited membership elsewhere. Clearly, day school attendance falls off steadily with length of generational stay in America, while Sunday school attendance increases.

These findings clearly imply that assimilation pressures are operative. The interplay between generational background and type of training reinforces the assumption that Americanization works against Jewish education. As noted, the foreign-born show great propensity to have attended day school. Not only is it true that American-born Jews are seemingly more assimilated in terms of educational involvements, but logically they are also

less Orthodox. These relationships are reinforced when we relate patterns of school attendance to the third generation, i.e., grandparents. As noted above, those with no grandparents born in the United States are the most likely to have attended day school. More than four-fifths, 84 percent, of all day school students do not have a single American born grandparent. The latter are also more likely to have gone to part-time afternoon than to Sunday school, and are the least likely to report a private tutor or to have no Jewish education, while those who have all four native born show the opposite pattern. Forty-four percent of the latter have not been involved in any form of Jewish education compared to 26 percent of those with four foreign-born grandparents.

The curvilinear relationship between generation and non-attendance (highest for the first and fourth generations) may reflect two diverse patterns of assimilation. Many of the foreign-born respondents and their parents were reared in cultures which contained large segments of highly religious Orthodox and extremely irreligious radicals.[8] As noted however, the Population Survey unfortunately did not inquire into exposure to secular Yiddish education. In America, both groups were exposed to cultural pressures to give up the strict requirements of orthodoxy and adherence to atheistic irreligious politically radical doctrines, as they aspired to or made their way into the middle class. The more acceptable behavior was Americanized moderate Conservatism for those of Orthodox background and Reform for the scions of secularity.

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[8] For a fulsome account of the leftist Yiddish culture, see Irving Howe, The World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976).

Whether one is the offspring of an intermarried family or not is an even more decisive factor. The dysfunctional effects of intermarriage on Jewish continuity are clear. The likelihood of receiving a Jewish education is greatest when both parents are Jewish. This is true for roughly two-thirds of the respondents. Four-fifths of them have been to Jewish schools, compared to about 30 percent of those from intermarried families. As noted earlier, relatively few respondents attended day schools, but 93 percent of those who did were from fully Jewish families, while only 48 percent of those who are Jewishly identified but without any exposure to religious education had two Jewish parents. Thirty-nine percent of the respondents with intramarried parents continued their studies for six or more years, compared to nine percent of those with intermarried ones.

A Jewish mother appears somewhat more important for educational continuity than a Jewish father in religiously mixed families. This finding may reflect the fact that Judaism is a matrilineal religion, and that in America generally, females are more religiously committed and involved than men. Still, as indicated in Table 8, only 34 percent of the offspring of intermarried Jewish women had any religious education, a bit more than 27 percent of those whose one Jewish parent was a male.

Table 8: Intermarriage Effects on Jewish Education (Percent)				
Years Attended	Both Parents Jewish	Mother Jewish	Father Jewish	Total
< 5 years	41	24	19	37
6-10 years	27	8	5	21
11-15 years	7	2	1	6
15+ years	5	—	2	5
Never Attended	20	66	73	31

The denomination of the family of origin is obviously important in affecting the propensity for Jewish education, though by some measures less than might be anticipated. Surprisingly, an identical proportion, 20 percent, from Orthodox and Reform families never took part, while for Conservatives the ratio is a bit higher, 23 percent. Those from Orthodox homes, however, exhibited the highest commitment if type of education is considered. Forty-six percent attended day school while 28 percent went to part-time afternoon classes. Over half of them, 53 percent, spent six or more years in a Jewish curriculum. Conservative offspring were much more likely than scions of Reform to have attended day school, 12 percent, or afternoon classes, 46 percent. Curiously, the children of Conservative families spent fewer years absorbing Jewish learning than those from Reform origins. More than two-fifths of the former, 38 percent, compared with 42 percent of the latter, continued their education for six years or more. Fifty-six percent of those from an ethnic-secular background did not partake of any Jewish education.

Table 9: Denomination Raised and Years in Jewish Education (Percent)					
Years Attended	Orthodox	Conservative	Reform	Ethnic-secular	Total
< 5 years	29	38	38	31	34
6-10 years	30	27	29	7	23
11-15 years	9	6	9	4	6
15+ years	12	5	4	2	5
Never Attended	20	23	20	56	31

Current affiliation produces somewhat stronger correlations, presumably because level and intensity of the Jewish education experience reflect degree of religiosity of respondents. Twenty percent of today's Orthodox report having gone to a full-time day school as compared to less than seven percent of the Conservatives, and only three percent of the Reform. Conservatives lead the Reform in proportion of those who have attended part-time school, 50 percent to 34 percent. Conversely, however, those now affiliated with Reform are more likely to have been exposed to the least stringent training (Sunday school), 41 percent, compared to the Conservatives' 16 percent, and Orthodox's 9 percent. Not surprisingly, those who have remained Orthodox are much more likely to have had day school education than those who left the denomination. This may suggest that the latter's families were actually much less Orthodox than the former's. In any case, the modal relationships to religious denominations are clear: day school for the Orthodox, afternoon for the Conservatives, Sunday for the Reform. Not surprisingly, most of those who report some form of secular identification were not involved in any form of Jewish religious education.

The part of the country in which respondents were born also has a clear relationship to exposure to religious teaching. Forty-eight percent of those from the western states and

34 percent of Southerners had never partaken of any form of formal Jewish learning, compared to 30 percent of Northeasterners and 28 percent of Midwesterners. Those from the Northeast, the oldest region of American Jewish settlement, also show the highest propensity for day school, seven percent, and afternoon school, 42 percent, as compared to three percent and 25 percent for those from the South. These results again are congruent with our impressions of the correlates of assimilation: most in the West, least in the Northeast. The foreign-born, it may be noted again, were the most likely to have received a day school education, 29 percent, whereas only five percent of the American born secured such an intensive education.

Considering the different variables — gender, age, denomination, generational background, intermarriage, and region — a clear picture emerges of the factors associated with educational enrollment. The most likely candidate to have received formal Jewish education has the following profile: a male who is foreign-born or has foreign-born parents and grandparents, with practicing non-intermarried parents who raised him in the Northeast and in one of the three major denominations, preferably Orthodox. The more the indicators reflect Americanization, the less chances of having been trained for Jewish continuity. None of these are surprising, and the implications for Jewish continuity are discouraging since all the negative factors are increasing.

These factors were combined in an Americanization scale, comprised of variables such as generations in the U.S., denomination and region reared, and Jewishness of parent. Respondents scored from zero to four. As shown in Table 10, the more Americanized one's score, the less exposure to Jewish education.

Table 10: Americanization Score and Years of Jewish Education				
Years Attended	Very Jewish	Jewish	Americanized	Very Americanized
< 5 Years	35	45	36	36
6 - 18 Years	29	27.5	19	2
11 - 15 Years	8	5	7	1
15+ Years	9	4	3	-
Never Attended	18	18	35	61
Total	10	41	39	10

The Consequences of Formal Jewish Education

The previous section related measures of Jewish education to various background variables. This section considers the educational items as independent variables to see how the degree of Jewish training, secured while young, is associated with various adult attitudes and behaviors. The following areas can be hypothesized as consequences of Jewish education: Jewish identity, denomination, synagogue attendance, philanthropy (especially Jewish), involvement in Jewish organizations, intermarriage, attachment to Israel, attitudes regarding Jewishness, adult Jewish learning, and children's Jewish education. Importantly, it should be noted that what follows are reports of correlations, not of causal processes.

Perhaps the best single indicator of commitment to continuity and the community in the survey is the question "How important is being a Jew for you?" Only 22 percent of those who had never been exposed to any form of Jewish education replied "very important." The same answer was given by 75 percent of those who had been to day school, 68 percent of the privately tutored, 47 percent of the former students at part-time/afternoon classes, and 40 percent of respondents whose training was limited to Sunday school. A strong

relationship exists between length of Jewish studies and the response "very important," from 41 percent of those who had five years or less of Jewish education to 70 percent for those who had 11 years or more. It is noteworthy that the 16 percent of the core Jewish population who were classified as ethnic-seculars -- over half of whom had no Jewish schooling -- were overwhelmingly very low on commitment.

Historically, Jewish life has centered around the synagogue. This is less true in America. As of 1990, 67 percent of Jewish households reported that they are not a member. But 73 percent of the respondents said that they attend a religious service at least once a year. Only 22 percent participate once a month or more. 52 percent attend from once to a few times a year, presumably on the High Holidays, while 27 percent never partake. Synagogue behavior, of course, correlates with religious education. The more involvement when young, the more participation as an adult.

Table 11: Years of Education and Involvement in the Synagogue (Percent)

	Never Attended	< 6 Years	6-10 Years	11+ Years	Total
Member	18	34	44	52	33
Attended Once a Month or More	17	19	28.5	38	22

Close to half of American Jews, 48 percent, report that they observe the most serious personal obligation, fasting on Yom Kippur. Willingness to do so correlates strongly with type and duration of religious training. Most former day and afternoon schoolers, as well as the privately tutored -- 70, 59, and 70 percent respectively -- abstain from food on that day. Less than half of those who attended Sunday school, 47 percent, fast while the overwhelming

majority, 72 percent, of those who never had any Jewish education eat on this High Holiday. As expected, abstaining from food on Yom Kippur correlates strongly with amount of training: from 28 percent for those who never attended religious school to 52 percent for those who went for the five years or less, to 67 percent for those with 11 or more years education.

To further demonstrate the relationship, a scale was constructed of four so-called "identity" items used in many studies of Jewish commitment. These items are: 1) candles at Hanukkah, 2) candle ceremonies on Friday nights, 3) attendance at Passover seders, and 4) eating Kosher foods. The scale ranges from "very high" (following all four rituals most of the time) to "very low" (never observing any). As expected, the more intense the educational experience of respondents, the higher their score on ritual observance. Close to a fifth, 18 percent, of those who score in the very high category are former day school students. Conversely, only three percent in the very low group have the same background. More than three-fifths, 67 percent, of the extreme non-identifiers lack any Jewish education. Those whose Jewish training is limited to Sunday school are the least likely of the religiously educated to be in the highest identity category. Eighteen percent are, as compared to 52 percent of those who had been to day school.

Table 12: Type of Schooling and Ritual Observance (Scale) (Percent)							
		Very Low	Low	Average	High	Very High	*Row Total*
Day School	*Row*	*5*	*6*	*20*	*17*	*52*	*8*
	Column	3	3	6	5	18	
Part-time	*Row*	*6*	*14*	*27*	*28*	*26*	*35*
	Column	16	31	38	39	40	
Sunday School	*Row*	*8*	*14*	*25*	*36*	*18*	*19*
	Column	12	17	19	27	15	
Private tutor	*Row*	*4*	*14*	*28*	*26*	*29*	*5*
	Column	2	4	6	6	7	
Never Attended	*Row*	*25*	*22*	*23*	*18*	*13*	*33*
	Column	67	45	30	22	20	
Column Total		12	16	25	25	22	100

The same relationship holds true for the number of years of Jewish education. Close to half, 44 percent, of those with more than 15 years of study are in households which observe all four rituals, while, as noted earlier, two-thirds, 67 percent, of the interviewees without any religious training are not involved in any. The propensity to be totally non-observant correlates in linear fashion with the amount of education: 25 percent for none, 19 for one to five years, seven for six to ten, four for 11 to 15 years, and three for those with 15 years or more. The ritual observance scale has been disaggregated in Table 13 below to demonstrate that the longer one attends Jewish schooling, the more likely one is to follow each observance.

Table 13: Years of Jewish Education and Ritual Observance (Percent) (Rows)								
Years Attended	Hanukkah Candles		Attend Seders		Friday Candles		Kosher Meat	
	Never	All of the time	Never	All of the time	Never	All of the time	Never	All of the time
1-5 years	21	51	18	47	65	8	59	13
6-10 years	13	61	8	65	54	15	56	13
11-15 years	12	73	11	77	44	25	60	23
15+ years	22	65	12	65	46	30	42	33
Never	48	33	40	31	75	7	65	9

The decline of involvement in the Jewish religious community is paralleled by a fall-off in intra-communal social relationships if the popular impression of close ties in the old country or areas of first generation immigrant settlement is accurate. Close to two-fifths of the respondents, 37 percent, reported most or all of their closest friends are Jewish. About a fifth, 23 percent, said none or few are, while 41 percent responded "some." As with earlier indicators, the more education, the more Jewish friends (Table 14). The data showing most or all are Jewish has, however, fallen steadily over time, from close to three-fifths for those over 65 years old to below a third for those between 18 and 29 years of age. And as with other indicators of Jewish commitment, informal ties are linked to religious training. Over half, 53 percent, of those with more than 15 years of Jewish education reported most or all of their closest friends are Jewish, compared to over a quarter, 27 percent, for those who never partook in any formal Jewish learning.

Table 14: Jewish Friendship and Years of Education (Percent)						
Jewish Friends	< 5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	15+ Years	None	Row Total
Few/None	20	20	18	16	29	23
Some Jewish	41	39	33	30	44	40
Most/All	39	41	49	53	27	37
Column Total	33	23	6	5	33	100

Much more important than friendships, of course, is marriage. The most publicized result of the Population Study is that the rate of intermarriage has steadily increased to 57 percent for those wed in the last five years. This is a new development in the history of the American Jewish family. As Egon Mayer points out, the Jewish family has been a remarkably stable institution through much of the twentieth century during which time "Jews continued to marry other Jews, and through the forces of intergenerational continuity, continued to raise children stamped with some inchoate sense of Jewish identity...."[9] Signs of change were revealed in the 1970 NJPS: "What shocked the community was the reported rise in the level of intermarriage from less than 2 percent of those individuals who had married before 1925, to about 6 percent of those marrying between 1940 and 1960, to 12 percent of the 1960-64 marriage cohort, to a high of 29 percent of all Jews marrying in the five years preceding the survey."[10]

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[9] Egon Mayer, "American-Jewish Intermarriage in the 1990s and Beyond: The Coming Revolution in Jewish Demography and Communal Policy," in Mayer, ed., The Imperatives of Jewish Outreach (The Jewish Outreach Institute and The Center for Jewish Studies, City University of New York, 1991), p. 39.

[10] Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," p. 125.

The 1990 NJPS indicates the pace of change has not decreased. If we consider the entire core Jewish population in the sample, not just the recently married, 61 percent of the respondents report that their first and usually only spouse was born Jewish. Another five percent are married to converts. Of the remaining, 10 percent have Catholic spouses, 13 percent Protestants, six percent "others," and four and a half percent wedded people with no religion. The latter two categories are probably predominantly of Jewish origin.

Once again, the extent and nature of Jewish education correlate strongly with the probability of mating with another Jew. The more Jewish education one has, the less likely one is to marry a non-Jew. Over three-quarters, 78 percent, of those who attended a day school married birth-right Jews, a figure which falls off to two-thirds for both private tutorees (65 percent) and persons educated in part-time school (67 percent), and to 57 percent for Sunday schoolers. Half, 50 percent, of interviewees who had no Jewish training wed non-Jewish partners. The full picture is presented in Table 15 below:

Table 15: Type of Schooling and Intermarriage (Percent)					
Religion of Spouse (First Marriage if More Than One)	School Type				
	Day School	Part-time	Sunday School	Private Tutor	Never Attended
Born Jewish	78	65	57	67	50
Converted	1	8	5	3	4
Catholic	6	9	11	5	14
Protestant	3	11	18	19	14
Other	4	3	6	6	9
No Religion	9	4	3	—	7

The growth in the intermarriage rate reflects current attitudes dominant among adult Jews. The Population Survey inquired: "Hypothetically, if your child were considering marrying a non-Jewish person, would you: strongly support, support, accept, or be neutral, oppose, or strongly oppose the marriage?" Only 16 percent would oppose or strongly oppose (six percent strongly). One-third would support a child doing so, 47 percent would accept it or be neutral. More religious education only marginally reduces the willingness to accept or support intermarriage, except for those with more than 15 years of schooling, presumably largely dedicated Orthodox. Still, only minorities in each category are antagonistic: 34 percent in the 15+ years group, 23 percent among the six through ten years one, 15 percent for the five years or less, and only eight percent among those without any formal Jewish education.

The decline in concern for intermarriage is reflected in Jews' preferences with regard to the ethno-religious character of the neighborhoods in which they live. The proximity to Jewish or Gentile neighbors presumably affects the probabilities for marrying in or out of the community. The majority of those interviewed report living in areas which are not Jewish,

35 percent, or little Jewish, 28 percent. Only nine percent reside in very Jewish districts. The proportion living in the latter falls off in linear fashion by age from those over 60, 15 percent, to the 18 through 29 year old group, 8 percent. Many, of course, do not have much choice when their communities lack distinctively Jewish districts as more and more cities do.

The NJPS inquired as to how important the Jewish character of the neighborhood is to the respondent. A majority, 62 percent, replied that it is either not important or not very important, while 32 percent answered somewhat important. Only 14 percent said it is very important to reside in a predominantly Jewish district. Not surprisingly, such feelings strongly relate to the extent and type of education received, much like the behavioral and attitudinal items presented earlier. As reported in Tables 16 and 17, the longer and more intense the Jewish educational experience, the more people are interested in living among their co-religionists, presumably, at least in part, to facilitate the upbringing and marriage of their children with other Jews. But as we have seen this is not a major concern of most American Jews. Only 27 percent of those with 15 or more years of religious education said it is very important to live in a Jewish neighborhood, while fully 44 percent did not consider it important. The indicators of sentiments toward the religious background of their children's spouses and neighbors suggest that the walls have been permanently breached, that education alone will not maintain the community.

Table 16: Importance of Neighborhood Jewishness by Years of Jewish Education (Percent)							
		1-5	6-10	11-14	15+	none	*Row Total*
Not important and not very important	*Row*	*32*	*22*	*4.5*	*4*	*8*	*54*
	Column	52	51	39	44	62	–
Somewhat important	*Row*	*36*	*26*	*6.5*	*5*	*26*	*32*
	Column	35	36	33	29	26	–
Very important	*Row*	*30*	*21*	*12*	*10*	*28*	*14*
	Column	13	13	27.5	26.5	12	–
Column Total		33	23	6	5	33	100

Table 17: Importance of Neighborhood Jewishness and Type of Jewish Education (Percent)							
		Day school	Part Time	Sunday	Private Tutor	none	*Row Total*
Not important and not very important	*Row*	*5*	*32*	*21*	*5*	*38*	*54*
	Column	34	48	60	47	62	–
Somewhat important	*Row*	*8*	*40*	*19.5*	*6*	*26.5*	*32*
	Column	34	36	33	36	26	–
Very important	*Row*	*17*	*40*	*10*	*6*	*27*	*14*
	Column	32	16	7	17	12	–
Column Total		7	35.6	19	5	33	100

Nathan Glazer once noted that Israel had become the religion of the Jews. That is to say, it is the major source of Jewish identity or commitment. The findings of the Population

study, however, challenge the assumption that Jews, regardless of their background, are deeply committed to the Jewish state. The responses to four questions provide evidence: "How emotionally attached are you to Israel?"; "How many times have you been to Israel?"; "Do you often talk about Israel to friends and relatives?"; and "Do you contribute to the United Jewish Appeal?" Most of the funds for the latter are collected in the name of Israel's needs.

The responses to the first question clearly suggest that most American Jews are not strongly dedicated to the Jewish state. Only 10 percent said they are "extremely attached to Israel," while another 20 percent answered "very attached." The most common response given by over two-fifths, 45 percent, was "somewhat," while 25 percent replied they were "not attached." At first glance, the picture looks more positive with respect to the second query, conversations about Israel with friends and relatives. Over two-thirds, 68 percent, said they talked about Israel. When the interviewers inquired further, "How often would that be?" giving them the choices of often, sometimes, rarely, or not at all, the interest seems less than implied by the affirmative answers. Only 18 percent of the total sample replied "often." Two-fifths, 40 percent, answered "sometimes." A tenth said "rarely," which, when added to the 32 percent in the never category, comes to nearly half, or 42 percent, for both.

Similar distributions of reactions to Israel are reflected with respect to visits to Israel. Only 26 percent of adult Jewish Americans report ever having travelled to the Jewish state. The proportion of those who have done so three or more times is six percent, the same as for those who have visited two times, while 14 percent went once.

These four measures of commitment to or interest in Israel clearly correlate with various indicators of Jewishness, such as type of religious involvement and adherence to Jewish ritual. Secular and intermarried Jews are less close to Israel. And as might be expected, attitudes and behavior correlate with educational background. A good majority, 63 percent, of those who attended day school report themselves extremely, 34 percent, or very, 29 percent, attached to Israel. The small group who had private tutoring are a far second in indicating that they are very or extremely attached to Israel, while the part-timers are third and the Sunday schoolers fourth. Almost half of those without any Jewish education, 47 percent, said they feel no attachment; only five percent of them indicate extreme attachment.

Table 18: Type of Schooling by Attachment to Israel (Row Percent)

	Extremely Attached	Very Attached	Somewhat Attached	Not Attached	Row Total
Day School	34	29	23	14	8
Part-time/Afternoon	11	22	51	16	36
Sunday School	5	24	53	18	21
Private Tutor	13	30	46	11	4
Never Attended	5	10	39	47	30
Column Total	25	45	20	10	100

The same pattern turns up in the analysis of the other three items -- how often Jews visit Israel, talk about the Jewish state, and contribute to the United Jewish Appeal. As can be seen in Table 19 below, the more years of education, the more likely a Jew will visit Israel.

Table 19: Years of Jewish Education and Visits to Israel (Percent)					
	Never	< 5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	15+ Years
Never Visited	87	75	67	47	49
Visited Once	7	17	18	22	17
Visited Twice	3	4	6	14	17
Visited Three or More Times	3	4	9	17	17

And once again, type of Jewish school attended and number of years involved are associated with propensity to engage in discussions about the Jewish state. Three-fifths of those without any formal training rarely or never discuss Israel, while the parallel figures for day schoolers is 23 percent. The proportion who talk "often" is much more, 55 percent, for day schoolers.

Table 20: Type of Schooling and Propensity to Talk About Israel (Percent)		
	Rarely or Never	Often
Day School	22	45
Part-time/Afternoon	41	18
Sunday School	29	20
Private Tutor	29	28
Never Attended	61	7
Total	42	18

Looking at sources of Jewish communal financial support and activity, Jewish education is clearly relevant. Over four-fifths, 83 percent of the respondents in households

that contribute to Jewish charities, have received formal Jewish schooling. Furthermore, it appears that close to 60 percent of former Jewish school pupils are in households that donate.

The recurrent pattern reported here is reiterated with respect to the background of contributors to the UJA/Federation, as well as to other Jewish charities. More Jews, however, give to the latter, which are not necessarily related to the state of Israel. The more education Jews were exposed to as young people, the greater their propensity to contribute to both types of philanthropy.

Table 21: Household Contribution to Jewish Charities and UJA Federation (Percent)

Years Attended	Jewish Charities	UJA
< 5 years	57	38
6-10 years	61	45
11-15 years	65	38
15+ years	65	53
Never	33	21
Total	51	35

And in a similar vein, willingness to belong to and volunteer services to Jewish organizations correlates strongly with educational history. The range of those who report volunteer activities descends from 29 percent for those with more than 15 years of study to 16 percent for those with less than five years of study, and ultimately to 10 percent for those unschooled in Jewish learning. Similarly, the more intensely educated, the more likely people are to subscribe to Jewish periodicals: 37 percent for individuals with 15 years or

more of Jewish education, 21 percent for those with five years or less schooling, and 12 percent for the Jewishly uneducated.

Further, the propensity to continue with Jewish education into adulthood is closely linked to previous attendance and type of former schooling. Even though only 14 percent of the respondents reported attending adult programs during the year before they were interviewed, 78 percent who did so had formal Jewish education. Of the small group who had spent 15 or more years in some form of religious study, 22 percent have continued their education as adults, as have 24 percent for those who were exposed to Jewish education for 11-15 years, and 12 percent for those who had five years or less. Type of education differentiates in the same way. If respondents had attended day school in their youth, they were more likely to be involved in adult Jewish educational programs than were those who had been involved in other forms of schooling. Close to 28 percent of former day schoolers, as compared to 14 and 12 percent of former part-timers and Sunday schoolers respectively, took part in adult Jewish educational programs.

The results of the 1990 NJPS clearly point up the weakening of American Jewishness. As indicated at the beginning of this paper, the combination of assimilation processes (especially growing rates of intermarriage) and a low birthrate have reduced the proportion of Jews in the national population significantly as well as decreased the stringency of the commitment to Jewishness of those who remain identified. Almost one-fifth of the survey respondents report that the denomination in which they were raised was Orthodox, but only five percent identify their current affiliation as such. Conservatives have remained constant at 31.5 percent, while Reform grew from 25 to 35 percent. The proportion who report their

family origin or themselves as non-religious or "just Jewish," increased from nine to 14 percent.

The data reported in Table 22 emphasize anew the weakening of traditional Judaism and the power of assimilation. Thus, as noted, less than a quarter, 23 percent, of the offspring of Orthodox parents, have remained in the same denomination. Conservatives have retained 58 percent, while the most Americanized group, the Reform, have held on to 79 percent. Goodly majorities of the children of the secularized or non-denominational parents fill into similar categories. It is noteworthy that both the Reform and the Conservatives have recruited about one-seventh of their supporters from persons of non-Jewish origins.

Table 22: Denomination Raised and Current Denominational Affiliation (Percent)

Raised	Current	OR	CO	RE	CB	JJ	MX	NR	NJ	Total
Orthodox (OR)	*Row*	*23*	*46*	*19*	*4*	*7*	–	*1*	*1*	*19*
	Col	84	28	10	27	14	–	4	2	–
Conservative (CO)	*Row*	*1*	*58*	*26*	*4*	*5*	–	*3*	*4*	*32*
	Col	4	57	23	38	16	38	23	11	–
Reform (RE)	*Row*	–	*5*	*79*	*1*	*5*	–	*3*	*7*	*25*
	Col	–	4	55	11	13	37	15	15	–
Combina-tions (CB)	*Row*	*1*	*39*	*30*	*17*	*56*	–	*2*	*6*	*3*
	Col	1	4	3	16	2	–	1	2	–
Just Jewish (JJ)	*Row*	*4*	*6*	*14*	*1*	*63*	–	*5*	*6*	*7*
	Col	5	1	3	3	47	–	9	4	–
Mixed J & NJ (MX)	*Row*	–	–	*11*	*11*	–	–	*16*	*63*	*1*
	Col	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	4	–
Non-religious (NR)	*Row*	–	*12*	*5*	–	*3*	–	*80*	–	*2*
	Col	–	1	–	–	1	–	36	–	–
Not Jewish (NJ)	*Row*	*3*	*14*	*16*	*1*	*6*	*1*	*3*	*57*	*12*
	Col	6	5	5	3	7	25	9	63	–
Column Total		5	32	35	3	10	–	4	11	100

To sum up, the iron law of the "more the more" prevails. The longer Jews have been exposed to Jewish education, the greater their commitment to the community, to some form

of the religion, and to Israel. The relationships among type of school attended, attitudes, and behavior reiterate this conclusion again and again. For all items presented above, those who went to day school were much more likely to give the most intensely Jewish responses than respondents who attended part-time/afternoon school. The latter in turn exhibited a higher degree of Jewish commitment than interviewees whose education was limited to Sunday school. It is impossible, however, to conclude from the separate bivariate analyses presented so far that a Jewish learning experience is the most important causal factor in the processes. Obviously, the religious education a young person receives reflects his or her family values and the character of the community within which he or she lives. Such background factors undoubtedly influence him or her as much or more than what goes on in the classroom. But these variables are interactive, mutually supportive or negating. Clearly, the better (whatever that means) and more intense their training, the more likely Jews are to continue in the faith and community. The next section utilizes multivariate regression to clarify and support the contingency table analysis in the preceding parts of the paper. Using statistical controls, this approach allows us, on the one hand, to evaluate and compare the different determinants of Jewish education for adult respondents and, on the other, to consider Jewish training as a single independent variable within a larger model of the causes of adult behaviors and attitudes.

Multivariate Analysis of the Adult Respondents

This section seeks to confirm and further specify the analysis of the determinants and consequences of formal Jewish education. The first part deals with the factors that determine

the type and duration of Jewish schooling a respondent receives. Since the purpose is to derive the determinants of enrolling in Jewish educational programs, the factors or covariates logically must be causally prior to the outcome. The second half studies the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of receiving a religious education as measured by a composite Jewish Identity Index.

Data and Variables

The first series of regressions utilizes five different measures of Jewish education as dependent variables: 1) the number of years of formal Jewish training not controlling for the type of education, 2) years of day school, 3) of part-time school, 4) of Sunday school, and 5) of private tutoring. The independent variables for each of these models include denomination in which the respondent was raised (Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform), generational background (a four point scale described above), gender (male=1, female=0), age, intermarriage of respondent's parents, and region raised. A variable for respondents who converted to Judaism is added to the final model for private tutoring since adult converts secure this type of education.

The second series of multiple regressions uses as a dependent variable a scale of Jewish identity composed of 18 factors: adult Jewish education, synagogue membership, subscription to a Jewish newspaper, giving to Jewish causes, volunteering to Jewish causes, membership in Jewish organizations, lighting Shabbat candles, Seder, keeping Kosher, having separate dishes, observing Hanukah, Purim, and Yom Kippur, handling money, Jewish friends, celebrating Israel's Independence Day, giving Jewish education to children,

and intermarriage. All factors were transformed into dummy variables and the scale was computed ranging from 1-18. Like the first section, the independent variables include denominational and generational background as well as gender and age. Other variables are: level of secular education achievement (number of years completed), synagogue attendance (scaled 1-9 with 1 representing "a few times a week"), number of trips to Israel (1-3), current region, and income. Four models are generated to observe the different effects of day, part-time, and Sunday school training on Jewish Identity.

Hypotheses

The contingency table analysis in the preceding sections has laid out in detail our expectations for the multiple regressions. For the determinants of Jewish education, denominational background -- in particular, the parents of respondents being Orthodox or Conservative -- should demonstrate the strongest relationship with propensity to seek a Jewish education. Reform should show a similar but weaker pattern. More specifically, being Orthodox is expected to be an important factor in the likelihood of a respondent receiving Jewish training, particularly day school. All measures of assimilation -- intermarriage of a respondent's parents, generational distance from the old country, and age -- should relate negatively to education. In addition, generational background and age should demonstrate curvilinear trends, as suggested in the above bivariate analysis. Gender (being male) is expected to show a positive relationship. Finally, a conversion background should significantly increase the likelihood of having private tutoring.

For the consequences of Jewish education on Jewish identity, we are primarily interested in the hypothesis that training has a positive relationship to identity and that the type of schooling matters (day school having the greatest impact on identity, followed by part-time, and then Sunday school). Denomination is again expected to be a crucial variable in determining Jewish identity. Generation, gender (being male), secular education, and income are expected to produce negative correlations with Jewish identity. With the exception of gender, all of these are indicators of assimilation. Our expectations with regard to gender are generated by the larger American pattern of females demonstrating higher levels of religious commitment than males. Age, synagogue attendance, and trips to Israel should show a positive relationship.

Methods

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression with dummy variables was used to analyze the data. Forced entry multiple regressions were run with independent variables entered according to their order of relationships expressed in the zero-order correlations with the dependent variable.

The following equation was used to estimate all the models:

(1) $Y_i = \beta_0 + \gamma_1 D_{1i} + \ldots + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \ldots + \gamma_k D_{ki} + \ldots + \beta_k X_{ki} + \rho_i$

where Y_i is a numerical dependent variable observation, X_{1i} and X_{ki} are fixed independent variable scores and the D_{ki} are dummy variable regressors. Note that the age and generation

variables have been transformed in order to correct for their expected nonlinear form. Both tables report beta-weights or standardized partial regression coefficients for:

(2) $$\beta_k^* = \beta_k (\delta_x / \delta_y)$$

where β_k^* is interpreted as the expected change in Y, in standard deviation units, for a one-standard deviation in increment X_k, holding constant the other independent variables.

Lastly, the e_i is an error random variable with the same properties as the error in a simple bivariate regression. Errors are assumed to be normally and independently distributed with zero expectations and common variance, δ^2.

THE REGRESSION ANALYSIS HAS NOT BEEN FINALIZED. THE RESULTS REPORTED BELOW ARE INCOMPLETE. HOWEVER, FINDINGS REGARDING THE DIRECTION OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES ARE GENERALLY ROBUST AND WILL NOT CHANGE SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE FINAL VERSION.

Results: Determinants

As indicated earlier in the contingency tables, denomination raised played a significant role in explaining both duration and type of formal Jewish education received. The results from Models [1] through [5] discussed in this section are presented in Table 23.

In model [1], where type of schooling has not been controlled for, denomination was an important explanatory variable. With standardized coefficients of .18, .13, and .09 for Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform respectively show the greatest effect of all the

explanatory variables in the model. Only the Reform variable is not signficant at the 5 percent level, but the magnitude of the coefficient is more important for our purposes. Generation also reveals a notable negative relationship, as expected. Further, the gender variable shows a small and statistically insignificant beta weight, but the direction of the relationship is as predicted.

The only surprising result was the negative effect of increasing age on years of Jewish training. However, we discount this finding due to the small size of the coefficient and its failure to achieve statistical significance.

Once type of educational program is controlled for, the analysis indicates that the duration of Jewish schooling will be best determined, again, by denomination background. Model [2] indicates that being Orthodox had the greatest impact on the number of years a respondent attended Day school with a standardized coefficient of 0.36. Model [3] shows being Conservative, with a standardized score of 0.26, best predicts duration in part-time schools and Model [4] shows being raised Reform best explains the length of enrollment time in Sunday schools.

Generational background is not a crucial factor in determining Jewish education levels when the type of education is controlled for. Age also demonstrates an ambiguous relationship with education. The standardized coefficients in the first three models are negative while the latter two are positive. However, the magnitude and statistical significance of these results call into question the importance of age as a factor in our models. Finally, the gender variable has widely varying effects on the dependent variable in the different models. With a beta of -.32, being a man greatly decreases the likelihood of

securing day school training in Model [2]. However, this relationship is sharply reversed when years of afternoon school is the dependent variable in Model [3]. Further, analysis of the data is required to explain these findings. An analysis of the impact of intermarriage and region awaits further regressions to be included in the final version of this paper.

The final model in Table 23 produces clear and predictable conclusions. Having converted to Judaism best explains how much time was spent with a private tutor. Being raised in any denomination has a consistent and strong negative effect on the likelihood of receiving this type of education.

Finally, it should be noted that once the type of education had been controlled for, the fit of the models improved. Model [1] had a total variance explained of 0.20. The R^2 jumped to 0.47 once Model [2] controlled for day school graduates and dropped to 0.31 for part-time and Sunday school graduates.

Consequences and Jewish Identity

Table 24 presents a total of four models used to analyze the consequences of formal Jewish education. Model [1] partially confirms that duration is one of the best predictors of Jewish identity. Frequency of synagogue attendance and trips to Israel explain it best. The more frequently the respondent attends the synagogue and visits the Jewish state, the higher the Jewish Identity score. The standardized scores for attendance and trips to Israel are 0.67 and .22 respectively, whereas the score for duration of Jewish education is 0.09. Unquestionably, the effect of Jewish education is strong and significant, controlling for all

other covariates, but synagogue attendance and visits to the Jewish homeland are stronger correlates of Jewish identity.

Controlling for type of schooling, Model [2] shows that the respondents' time spent in day school has the most significant effect on Jewish identity with the exception of synagogue attendance. This is confirmed by the magnitude of the standardized score at 0.53. Also, Model [3] shows part-time schooling as having a significant positive effect on Jewish identity at a standardized score of 0.12. Duration of Sunday school education has a smaller effect on Jewish identity as reported in Model [4]. In essence, Jewish education programs that require a greater time commitment have greater impact on Jewish identity after controlling for other important covariates.

The factors and mechanisms that form women's Jewish identity vary considerably from those for Jewish men. Despite women's lower Jewish educational attainment, they are more likely to have higher Jewish identity scores than men. Models [1] through [4] show statistically significant positive relationships between being female and Jewish identity. The mechanisms by which Jewish women consolidate their ethnic and religious identities are clearly different from those for men.

Expectations regarding generational background and age are generally born out by the models. Income shows a surprisingly strong and consistent positive relationship with Jewish identity. These results will be interpreted in greater depth in the final version of this paper after further runs of the data.

Conclusion

The determinants and consequences of Jewish education for adults are extremely consistent and logical. The duration of enrollment in Jewish educational programs and the type of education experienced is largely a function of denomination raised, including ethnic-secular. Nevertheless, when the independent effect of Jewish education is decoupled from denominational background, it turns out to be highly significant in Jewish identity formation. The increase in the various indicators of assimilation, that is, links to the larger outside community, are associated with declining commitments to Jewry.

Table 23: Regression Analysis of Formal Jewish Education Determinants
Dependent Variable: No. of Years of Formal Jewish Education

Variables	Model 1 Years of Formal Jewish Education Not Controlling for Type of Education	Model 2 No. of Years of Day School as Formal Jewish Education	Model 3 No. of Years of Part-Time Formal Education	Model 4 No. of Years of Sunday School	Model 5 No. of Years of Private Tutoring
Orthodox	.18***	.36***	.07	.05	-.17*
Conservative	.13*	.12	.26**	.18*	-.28*
Reform	.11	-.17*	.04	.48***	-.30*
Generation	.09**		.03	.02	.05
Gender	.05	-.32***	.13**	.00	.03
Age	-.04	-.08*	-.02	0.01	.05
Intermarriage of Parents					
Region Raised					
Converted	-	-	-	-	.26**
Constant	1.8	4.8***	-2.2*	-2.4*	-1.2
Adjusted R^2	.20	.47	.31	.23	.08

Reported results are standardized coefficients. $P < .0001$ ***, $P < .005$**. $P < .05$*.

Table 24: Regression Analysis of Formal Jewish Education Consequences. Dependent Variables: Jewish Identity Index				
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Secular	-.05	.13*	-.04	-.06
Conservative	-.02	.21**	.06	-.05
Reform	-.06	.14*	-.07	-.11
Generation	-.05*	.05	-.07**	-.06
Gender	-.08***	-.19***	-.10**	-.07*
Age	.03	.06	.03	.02
Secular Education	-	-	-	-
Jewish Education Of Any Type	.10**	-	-	-
Day School	-	.53***	-	-
Part-Time	-	-	.15**	-
Sunday School	-	-	-	.11*
Synagogue Attendance	.64***	.48**	.63***	.65***
Trips to Israel	.15***	-.04	.14***	.15***
Income	.11***	.14***	.10***	.11***
Current Region				
Constant	-.41	-2.4**	.34	.72
Adjusted R^2	.64	.69	.64	.63

The dependent variable remains the same for all four models: the Jewish identity index. Reported results are standardized coefficients. Values in parentheses report t-statistics. P < .0001***, P < .005**, P < .05*.

The Education of the Young

The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, like the U. S. Census, inquired about children, thus permitting an analysis of the next generation's actual and planned exposure to Jewish learning.[11] The survey included 1241 children in 801 households. This sample comprises both school-age (ages 6 through 17) and younger offspring (ages 0 through 5). The question dealing with Jewish education for the under 18 population differs from those for

[11] Children's data are not subject to multiple regression analysis in this paper. A continuous dependent variable measure does not exist for children so OLS Regressions could not be estimated. Contingency tables presented below suggest that intergenerational effects, especially parents' type of formal Jewish education, may be the best predictor of the offsprings' type of Jewish schooling.

adults reported in the previous sections in that the former inquired whether the children had received formal Jewish education in the past year, while adult respondents were asked whether they had ever received formal Jewish education. Similar categories were used for the type of education, i.e., day schools, Sunday schools, etc. Parents who did not report offspring enrollment were then queried as to whether they expected to register their children in the future. As Table 25 indicates, one-fifth of the children were enrolled in school, while almost another quarter, 23 percent, largely those under six, were expected to go sometime in the future. Over two-fifths, 44 percent, of all youth in Jewish households were not attending Jewish classes and were not expected to do so in the future. The future status of the remaining 12 percent is unclear. The proportion of parents who anticipate enrolling their children (identified as less than six years-old) is less than half, 40 percent, a troubling statistic for the community. Thirty-five percent said they would not send the children to Jewish schools, while the rest, 24 percent, were uncertain (Table 27).

Table 25: Children's Enrollment Status in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)	
Enrolled in past year	21
Not enrolled in past year, yet expect to enroll in future	23
Not enrolled in past year, and will not enroll in future	44
Do not know	12

The children participating in Jewish training (one-fifth of the total) were fairly evenly divided as to the type of education they were receiving. Of those enrolled, 29 percent were in day school while 35 and 28 percent attended part-time and Sunday school respectively. 8 percent had a private tutor.

Table 26: Children 6-18 Enrollment Status in the Past Year by Type of Education (Percent)	
Day School	29
Part-Time	35
Sunday School	28
Private Tutoring	8

The age of the older children did not markedly differentiate attendance in the past year. Given the emphasis on being confirmed at age 13, the natural expectation is that enrollment peaks at ages 12-13. It does in fact do so, but not to the degree expected. Almost half, 47 percent, of the former are receiving some sort of Jewish education. This is five percent more than among both the 11 year old group and the 13 year old cohort. Overall, the variations among those between six and 13 years of age are not striking. They do not increase steadily among older cohorts. As expected, however, they do go down sharply for those 14 and older.

Table 27: Children's Ages by Formal Jewish Education Enrollment in the Past Year for Those 6 through 17 Years Old (Row Percent)					
	Attended In Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Total
6 years	35	26	32	7	10
7 years	38	21	35	6	11
8 years	45	10	37	7	10
9 years	39	13	38	9	10
10 years	37	14	48	2	9
11 years	38	4	55	4	9
12 years	47	9	39	5	7
13 years	38	5	55	2	8
14 years	25	6	68	1	7
15 years	23	9	67	1	6
16 years	15	4	81	--	7
17 years	20	4	76	--	7
Column Total	34	11	50	4	100

What is perhaps most striking is that at every age a majority of young people are not obtaining any form of Jewish training (Table 27). And among those past the Bar/Bat Mitzvah age, around three-quarters are outside the educational system.

Parents' expectation to enroll children who are under 6 years of age in Jewish education declines with increasing age of the children. Anticipation is highest for infants and lowest for those 5 through 6 years of age. This pattern is understandable since parents' plans for their children's education are relatively unrealistic when offspring are younger. The prospects for securing a Jewish education either solidify or weaken as children get closer to being enrolled in a particular type of education.

Table 28: Parents' Intentions for Formal Jewish Education Enrollment Intentions for Children under 6 Years of Age (Percent)				
Children's Ages	Expect to Enroll	Will Not Enroll	Do Not Know	Row Total
Under 1 year	50	30	20	17
1 year	45	37	18	18
2 years	46	40	14	17
3 years	41	31	27	15
4 years	35	32	32	17
5 years	23	41	36	16
Column Total	40	35	24	100

The major factors associated with children's actual or planned attendance are, as expected, the same as the correlates of parental education. Family educational background, denomination, Jewish identity, and intermarriage, are strongly associated with whether children secure or will be receiving Jewish religious training.

Thus, when both parents have had some formal Jewish education, 58 percent have enrolled or expect to enroll at least one child. The percentage of actual or planned attendance for children from families in which only one parent is Jewishly educated drops off to 32 percent. The proportions for the two groups who actually were attending when the interview occured were 23 and 9 percent. And only four percent of the households in which neither parent has a Jewish education reported enrolling at least one child, while another 14 percent said they expect their children to attend. The differences are similar among single-parent households. Two-fifths, 42 percent, of the households in which the parent is Jewishly trained, had at least one child enrolled or expected to do so. This is in contrast to the 11 percent of households in which the single parent had not received a Jewish education.

Table 29: Parents Jewish Education Background by Their Intention to Enroll their Children in, and Actual Attendance by their Children in Formal Jewish Education (Percent)

Parents' Educational Status		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Households with both parents						
Yes-Yes	*Row*	*23*	*35*	*23*	*19*	*29*
	Column	57	41	14	33	
Yes-No	*Row*	*9*	*23*	*50*	*17*	*46*
	Column	33	42	46	46	
No-No	*Row*	*4*	*14*	*70*	*12*	*27*
	Column	10	15	40	21	
Column Subtotal		12	24	48	16	100
Single Parent Household						
Yes	*Row*	*18*	*24*	*50*	*10*	*40*
	Column	60	83	30	30	
No	*Row*	*8*	*3*	*73*	*15*	*60*
	Column	40	17	70	70	
Column Subtotal		12	12	63	13	100

As hypothesized, the depth of parental Jewish education has a strong effect on the probabilities that children will receive Jewish training also. The more years a respondent has spent in Jewish institutions, the more likely it is that s/he will enroll his/her children in school. A less powerful relationship exists between type of education a parent had and that which his/her children are securing. Thus, as noted in Table 30, of those children in day school at the time of the NJPS, 43 percent had parents with a similar background. And of children enrolled in part-time/afternoon classes, 49 percent had a parent with a comparable experience. Thirty percent of the Sunday schoolers had a parent who went there as well.

But of the children with a private tutor (an idiosyncratic form), eight percent had a parent with the same background.

Table 30: Respondent's Type of Formal Jewish Education by Children's Type of Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (For Children 6 through 17)

Respondent's Type of Formal Jewish Education	Children's Type of Jewish Education in Past Year (percent)			
	Day School	Part-time	Sunday School	Private Tutor
Day School	43	11	4	50.5
Part-time	23	49	26	21
Sunday School	13.5	14	30	2
Private	21	10	8	8
None	--	15.5	32	18
Total	7	24	26	12

The denominational background of the children's household is obviously a major determinant. As noted in Table 31, a large majority of the scions of the Orthodox, 61 percent, had their children attend school during the past year while another fifth, 20 percent, expected to enroll their children. The proportions of young people among those of Conservative and Reform backgrounds who attended school were nearly identical, 31 to 32 percent. Reform supporters, however, were insignificantly less likely than Conservatives to say that their youth will not attend in the future. Around two-thirds of ethnic-secular Jewish families said that their children do not receive any Jewish education and are not foreseen to secure any in the future.

Table 31: Denomination of Children's Households by Children's Enrollment in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)					
	Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Total
Orthodox	61	20	4	15	*6*
Conservative	31	31	29	9	*20*
Reform	32	34	27	11	*27*
Mixed Jewish	37	19	41	7	*3*
Ethnic-Secular Jew	11	20	62	6	*12*
Jewish & Other (mostly ethnic-secular)	3	13	68	16	*31*
Column Total	22	23	43	12	100

The effects of intermarriage and conversions out of Judaism may be seen in Table 32. Only four percent of the mixed households enrolled at least one child in Jewish schools in which the only Jewish parent is also identified denominationally. When the parent is ethnic-secular, only two percent did so. In fully Jewish households in which both parents are ethnic-seculars, no children were enrolled. Conversely, for those who did not and will not enroll their children, the figures are 24 percent for households with two religious Jews, 53 percent for the intermarried households with one religiously identified member, 66 percent for the Jewishly "mixed," religious and ethnic-secular households, 78 percent for households where the Jew in a mixed marriage is ethnic-secular, and 78 percent for households where both are ethnic-seculars.

Table 32: Religious Background of Parents for Children under Age 18 by Children's Attendance in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)

		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Households with Both Parents						
Both Denominationally Jewish	*Row*	*26*	*35*	*24*	*16*	*39*
	Column	86	57	19	38	
Denominationally and Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	*--*	*18*	*66*	*16*	*5*
	Column	--	4	6	4	
Denominationally Jewish and Non-Jewish	*Row*	*4*	*22*	*53*	*21*	*33*
	Column	11	30	37	43	
Both Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	*--*	*14*	*78*	*8*	*4*
	Column	--	3	7	2	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish and Non-Jewish	*Row*	*2*	*9*	*78*	*11*	*18*
	Column	3	7	30	12	
Column Subtotal		12	24	48	16	100
Single Parent Households						
Denominationally Jewish	*Row*	*22*	*15*	*50*	*14*	*65*
	Column	100	91	50	80	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	*--*	*3*	*91*	*6*	*35*
	Column	--	9	50	20	
Column Subtotal		14	11	64	11	100

Table 33: Religious Composition of Parents for Children between Age 6 through 13 Years by Children's Attendance in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)

		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Household with both Parents						
Both Denominationally Jewish	*Row*	*37*	*25*	*22*	*16*	*44*
	Column	86	53	20	65	
Denominationally and Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	–	*16*	*81*	*4*	*6*
	Column	--	4	10	2	
Denominationally Jewish and Non-Jewish	*Row*	*7*	*24*	*60*	*9*	*28*
	Column	10	32	34	24	
Both are Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	–	*5*	*85*	*11*	*4*
	Column	--	1	7	4	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish and Non-Jewish	*Row*	*4*	*11*	*82*	*2*	*17*
	Column	3	9	29	4	
Column Subtotal		19	21	49	11	100
Single Parent Households						
Denominationally Jewish	*Row*	*37*	*7*	*45*	*11*	*71*
	Column	100	100	55	74	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish	*Row*	–	–	*91*	*9*	*29*
	Column	--	--	45	26	
Column Subtotal		26	5	59	10	100

Similar results were obtained in a smaller, earlier study among American Jews conducted in 1989 by the Israel Gallup poll for the Mandel Commission. Since the questions and sampling procedures for the Gallup poll vary from the NJPS, the findings are not directly comparable. Still, it may be noted that this study reported that 80 percent of the children with two Jewish parents had, at some point, attended day or supplementary schools (the only two choices offered), as compared to 22 percent of offspring of religiously mixed marriages.

The NJPS findings are particularly striking. Attendance is, by far, the greatest when both parents are denominationally identified. Among children aged 6 through 13, the proportion who attend or are expected to do so rises to 62 percent as reported in Table 33. They are also relatively high, 44 percent, for single parent households which are so identified. For intermarried families in which the Jewish parent is religiously linked, the proportion falls to seven percent enrolled, and to 24 percent who expect to do so. The estimates decline much further for mixed marriages involving an ethnic-secular Jew. Four percent of those parents have their children enrolled and 11 percent expect to do so. The situation is not better when one parent's identity is religious and the other is ethnic-secular. None of them had their children enrolled and only 16 percent planned to do so. Having two ethnic-secular Jewish parents produces a worse outcome in terms of enrollments than does intermarriage between a denominational Jew and a non-Jew. None of the children of the former are enrolled in Jewish education. Single parent religiously identified households are more likely to educate their offspring in the Jewish tradition than all other combinations of family backgrounds except when both parents are denominationally-linked.

Table 34: Religious Composition of Parents for Children between Age 14 through 17 Years by Children's Attendance in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)

		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Households with Both Parents						
Both Religious Jews	*Row*	*40*	*9*	*48*	*2*	*54*
	Column	94	75	38	74	
Jew and Ethnic-secular Jew	*Row*	--	*4*	*89*	*7*	*7*
	Column	--	4	9	26	
Jew and Non-Jew	*Row*	*5*	*2*	*94*	--	*24*
	Column	6	--	33	--	
Both Ethnic-secular Jews	*Row*	--	--	*100*	--	*4*
	Column	--	--	6	--	
Ethnic-secular Jew and Non-Jew	*Row*	--	*12*	*87*	--	*11*
	Column	--	21	15	--	
Column Subtotal		23	7	69	2	100
Single Parent Households						
Religious Jew	*Row*	*18*	*5*	*66*	*12*	*56*
	Column	100	65	49	82	
Ethnic-secular Jew	*Row*	--	*4*	*93*	*3*	*42*
	Column	--	35	51	18	
Column Subtotal		10	4	77	8	100

Other indicators of Jewish commitment produce the same results. The more the parents feel the importance of being a Jew, the more likely the children are to be counted in the ranks of those studying Judaism at present, or are expected to be when they reach school age. Of those who enroll their children, 78 percent think it is "very important," 20 percent "somewhat important", and three percent "not very important." None of those who feel it is not important have registered a child. Conversely, as indicated in Table 35, 87 percent of

those parents who do not and will not enroll a child feel that being Jewish is "not important," compared to less than a quarter, 24 percent, of those who think it "very important."

Table 35: The Importance of Being a Jew by Enrollment of Child in Jewish Education (Percent)

	Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know
Not Important	-	-	87	13
Not Very Important	2	6	82	10
Somewhat Important	6	29	48	17
Very Important	23	43	24	11
Column Total	11	28	48	13

The relationship between synagogue attendance by adults of a household and a child's enrollment in Jewish education is strong. Only 13 percent of parents who never attend services have children enrolled or expect to send them later (Table 36). For those who participate from one to three times a year, the proportion rises to 31 percent (three percent enrolled and 28 expected to be), while among families who partake more than three times a year, the actual and expected enrollment jumps to 54 percent (23 percent enrolled).

Table 36: Parents Frequencies of Synagogue Attendance by Enrollment of Child in Jewish Education (Percent)

	Not at All	Less Than Three Times	More Than Three Times	Row Total
Attended in Past Year	2	3	23	13
Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	11	28	31	26
Did Not and Will Not Attend	73	50	30	45
Do Not Know	13	20	16	16
Column Total	29	15	56	100

The survey inquired of those parents whose children under 18 are not currently enrolled or are not expected to be enrolled in the future: "What is the major reason you do not expect to enroll [name of child] in a program of formal Jewish education?" Responses were grouped into 11 categories (Table 37). One-tenth, 11 percent, reported a child now in non-Jewish religious education, while slightly fewer, eight, said they are planning to enroll their offspring in the future in non-Jewish schools. Another nine percent did not qualify as candidates because they were too young, too old, or had sufficient education. Over a fifth, 22 percent, of the respondent parents said they were not interested, while another 12 percent thought their child was not interested. Only four percent reported that Jewish education was too expensive for them.

Table 37: Reasons Given for Children Not Being Currently Enrolled (Percent)

Reason Category	Percent
Too young	4
Too old	1
Has sufficient Jewish education	4
Parents uninterested	22
Child uninterested	12
Schools are too expensive	4
Schools are too far away	4
Schools are poor quality	1
Now in non-Jewish religious education	11
Will enroll in future in non-Jewish schools	8
Other	28
Total	100

Relating the reasons given to indicators of family Jewish identity produces a clearer picture, although the amorphous category of "other," which includes over one-quarter of the responses, confuses the issue. However, the pattern is still fairly consistent with expectation (see Table 38). A tenth, 11 percent, of parents reporting that their child(ren) has sufficient education or is too old to continue are religiously identified Jews married to religiously identified Jews (J-J). The proportion approaches zero for the various categories of ethnic-secular or intermarried families. Why do some children of school age of the religiously identified not attend? The most common response is, by far, lack of interest, either by the parent (26 percent) or by the child (26 percent). Relatively few complain that Jewish schools are too expensive (four percent), too far away (four percent), or of poor quality (one percent). It is interesting to note that ethnic-secular Jews are more likely than the religiously identified to account for non-enrollment by citing cost or distance. The negative import of intermarriage seems again obvious. Close to 30 percent of parents with non-enrolled children explained the failure to give their children a Jewish education by the fact that their offspring were receiving a non-Jewish education, or that they expected to place them in a non-Jewish religious school. This group of parents were also the most disposed to give responses which have been coded as "other" under current religion.

Table 38: Reasons for Non-Involvement in Jewish Education for Children Under 18 Years of Age (Percent)

Parents	Too Young	Too Old to Continue	Have had Sufficient Jewish Education	Parents Not Interested	Child Not Interested	School Too Expensive	School Too Far	Poor Quality School	Now in Non-Jewish Education	Future Non-Jewish Education	Other	Row Total
Households with both parents												
J-J	3	5	6	26	26	4	3	1	0	0	27	21
J-ESJ	--	--	14	18	7	16	13	--	11	0	21	6
ESJ-ESJ	--	--	--	16	8	7	--	--	19	13	36	35
J-NJ	1	--	--	42	20	--	8	--	0	0	29	7
ESJ-NJ	7	--	--	24	3	--	6	3	14	13	30	30
Column Total	4	3	2	22	9	4	4	3	12	9	28	100
Single Parent Household												
J	--	--	--	2	35	19	2	9	0	--	31	44
ESJ	--	--	--	--	71	--	--	--	6	--	22	55
Column Total	--	--	--	40	17	9	1	--	6	--	26	100

Key:
J = Religiously Identified Jew
ESJ = Ethnic-secular Jew
NJ = Non-Jew

A consistent pattern emerges when parents are differentiated by whether they have had formal Jewish education or not. The main reasons given for the failure to enroll their children by parents who were themselves educated are lack of interest by the child (20 percent) and by the parents (33 percent). Over 90 percent of the non-attendees have one or both parents who did not receive a religious education. Those parents most commonly say that their child is not Jewish or that they (the parents) are not interested in giving their child(ren) a Jewish education.

Table 39: Relationship of Parental Jewish Education by Reason Given for Children Not Being Currently Enrolled (Percent)

Reason Category	Parent Education			Row Total
	Yes-Yes	Yes-No	No-No	
Too Young	4	1	7	4
Too Old	4	1	0	1
Have Had Sufficient Jewish Education	13	2	4	4
Parents Not Interested	33	16	24	22
Child Not Interested	20	9	12	11
School Too Expensive	0	3	5	4
Schools Too Far	4	5	6	5
Poor Quality Schools	0	3	0	1
Now in Non-Jewish Education	0	18	7	11
Future Non-Jewish Education	2	8	7	7
Other	19	33	26	28
Column Total	14	45	41	100

Asking respondents why they do or do not act in a certain way does not necessarily reveal the "true" reasons for their actions.[12] It is more fruitful to compare indicators of behavior or position which logically may affect the propensity for Jewish education. The survey permits the examination of some possible sources such as the region of the country people are living in, geographic mobility, and family income. Recent relocations have negative effects on enrollment in Jewish educational institutions. The children of the respondents who have moved to another community since 1984 are less likely to attend Jewish schools than those in non-mobile families. Similar to the findings for the parental generation, children living in the West and South are less prone to be enrolled in Jewish education, or, if under six, less likely to be intended for enrollment than those in the Northeast and Midwest. There appears to be a very positive relationship between the Jewishness of the district a family lives in and the enrollment of children in Jewish schools. As indicated in Table 40, 52 percent of the children living in what the respondent described as a very Jewish neighborhood are enrolled or are expected to be; conversely 58, a slightly larger percentage, of those residing in an entirely non-Jewish area are not so registered or are not expected to be in the future. The figure for a "somewhat Jewish" neighborhood is 41 percent and for a "little Jewish" neighborhood 39 percent. This relationship, however, may be an artifact of self-selection. The more Jewish Jews are, the more likely they are to seek to dwell among their fellows, while those with little or no commitments may prefer to reside among Gentiles or are indifferent as to the ethno-religious character of the neighborhood.

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[12] Paul Lazarsfeld, "The Art of Asking Why ?," FULL CITATION

Table 40: The Jewish Character of the Neighborhood and Child Enrollment in Jewish Education (Percent)					
Neighborhood	Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Total
Very Jewish	21	31	24	23	7
Somewhat Jewish	17	24	41	18	22
Little Jewish	13	26	46	14	30
Not Jewish	7	21	58	14	41
Column Total	12	24	48	16	100

Finally, the evidence indicates that, in spite of what the respondents say, economic factors appear to play a role in determining parental behavior with respect to their children's attendance at religious schools. The cost of such an education is rarely given as a reason for not sending children to a Jewish school, but of those who attend, more children come from the higher income levels. Although Jewish identity, conformity to rituals, is stronger among the less affluent than the well-to-do, the latter are more disposed to have their children receive some Jewish education. As indicated in Table 41, more than half, 58 percent, of those with a family income of under $40,000 a year neither send or expect to send their offspring for Jewish education. Conversely, less than half, 45 percent of those with annual incomes of $80,000 or more do. There is a linear relationship between income and propensity to send children for religious education.

Table 41: Relationship between Family Income and Attendance at Jewish Schools (Percent)				
Family Income	Are Attending	Expect to Attend	Neither Attend or Expect To	Do Not Know
Under $40,000	7	21	58	14
$40 - $50,000	15	13	52	21
$50 - $60,000	12	24	48	16
$60 - $80,000	15	27	43	14
$80,000 +	14	26	45	15

The findings reported point out both the weakness and power of Jewish education. The power is reflected in the finding that those who have received Jewish training are disposed to transmit their heritage through formally educating their children. The weakness refers to the fact that most children in the sample between six and 13 years of age were not exposed to Jewish education during the past year (Table 33). These figures decline sharply for parents with children between 14 and 18 years of age, and, as noted earlier, only 40 percent of parents with children under six state that they have definite expectations to enroll them (Tables 32 and 34). Given the growing rates of intermarriage among young people and the extremely low proportion of the children of mixed marriages who are sent to Jewish schools, the proportions of children of some Jewish parentage who are exposed to such education should be much lower a decade from now.

The Future: College Students and The Campus

A discussion of educational trends among the Jewish community and particularly its youth would be incomplete without mention of the importance of higher education. Secular education has complex consequences for Jewish identity and continuity. On the one hand, higher levels of education correlate positively with Jewish training. Yet, as I will argue, the two types of learning environments have opposite

effects on one's Jewishness. However, even though higher education should logically weaken commitment to the community through its emphasis on universalistic values, the geographic concentration of young Jews in higher learning institutions presents an opportunity for young Jews to meet and for organizations such as Hillel to reach students at the same time as the university environment weakens their particularistic religious norms.

The linkage of Jewish to secular education is linear. That is, the more Jewish learning a person has received, the more likely s/he is to have an extended higher education. The lowest level of Jewish attendance is among those who have not completed high school. Only 51 percent of them have had any Jewish education. Conversely, 74 percent of all college graduates without post-graduate work, and 80 percent of those who have some, or have completed, graduate education, have had some Jewish training. The relationship is more consistent for women than for men.

Table 42: Secular Education and Attendance at Jewish Education by Gender (Percent)

	Men	Women	Total
Some High School - High School Graduate	61	41	51
Some College	81	56	68
College Graduate	84	65	74
Graduate School	87	73	80

Not surprisingly, the relationship between Jewish and secular education is similar when attained degrees are considered. Four-fifths of those with graduate degrees have had some Jewish training as compared to 51 percent for those whose only diploma is from high school. Those with the least secular attainments (less than grade 12) report the highest population of day school attenders, 11 percent, probably reflecting the behavior of some Orthodox. But there is no relationship between the two forms of education

for the rest of the respondents, differentiated by extent of secular education from high school onward. The proportions going to day school are roughly the same for all groups from those with a high school diploma to persons with post-graduate training. Attendance at afternoon classes, however, increases steadily with secular education, moving up from 21 percent among those with high school diplomas to 39 percent among those with a bachelor's degree, and 47 percent for persons who went on to post-graduate work. Sunday school peaks among college graduates at 24 percent, but drops off to 21 percent among those who attended graduate school.

Ironically, Jewish education achievements may be a major source of the long-term trends that are undermining Jewish continuity. As noted, attendance at higher educational institutions is commonplace among young people. According to the Population Survey, more than five-sixths, 87 percent, of religiously identified Jews who are 18 to 24 years of age have been to college. College attendance rates for Jews have remained constant since the 1970 NJPS.[13] For all Jews, religious or secular, it is the same. But as is well known, higher education, particularly in the leading liberal arts colleges and research universities where Jews tend to be disproportionately represented, is the most universalistic institution in the country with respect to attitudes toward ethnic particularism and religious identification and practice. A basic belief in this environment is that students should not "discriminate" according to religious and/or ethnic criteria with respect to dating and mating. This norm is strongest among the more politically liberal segment of the population, one which disproportionally includes Jews. It may be hypothesized, and perhaps even assumed, therefore, that a major source of the extremely high rate of intermarriage is the pattern of attendance by Jews at colleges and universities. Education makes for higher income and status, more culture, and greater

[13] Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," p. 111.

influence, but it is also associated ultimately with lesser involvement in the Jewish community, although low income may be an even greater barrier to participation.

The college students exhibit a low resistance to intermarriage. Less than a quarter, 22 percent indicate that they would oppose or strongly oppose a child of theirs marrying a non-Jew (7 percent strongly), while 62 percent would support or strongly support such an action (17 percent strongly). The remaining 15 percent say that they would "accept" intermarriage. Not surprisingly, the proportions accepting or supporting intermarriage increase when the question is posed in terms of a spouse who converts to Judaism. Although these figures are discouraging, they are similar to the response patterns of all Jewish adults with regard to opposition to intermarriage, 16 percent. The whole sample, however, exhibits much less support, 33 percent, than the students' 62 percent.

Table 43: Attitudes of College Students to Intermarriage (Percent)

	If a Child Considers Marrying a Non-Jew	If the Potential Spouse Will Convert
Strongly Support	17	39
Support	45	12
Accept	15	38
Oppose	15	10
Strongly Oppose	7	--
Do Not Know	--	--

Equally disturbing as an indicator of possible drift is the reply of students to the question of how emotionally attached they are to Israel. Fifteen percent reported "extremely attached." None responded "very attached," while nearly equal amounts chose either "somewhat attached" (43 percent) or "not attached" (42 percent). These findings indicate a weaker commitment than the findings for the whole sample. They are reinforced by the responses to inquiries as to whether students talk about Israel to friends

and relatives, and if they do, how often. Thirty percent report that they never or rarely engage in discussions about Israel. Another 70 percent say they "sometimes" do, and none reply "often." Thirteen percent have visited the Jewish state. Thus, those high in commitment seemingly number at most around one-quarter of the sample of college students, down from the older cohorts.

On the positive side, three-quarters of students interviewed in the Population Survey reported a denominational affiliation: 31 percent Conservative, 36 percent Reform, and eight percent Orthodox. The proportion identified, however, is 13 percent lower than that of their parental families, from 88 percent to 75. Or conversely, one-fourth of the students are secular compared to 11 percent of their parents. Slightly over half, 53 percent, had no Jewish education, compared to 64 percent among those over 25 who had been to college. In terms of gender, this breaks down to 73 percent for males and 59 for females for all Jews who have been to college. Men were less likely to have had a confirmation ceremony, 42 percent, than women, 58 percent. The best indication of continued Jewish religiosity is that close to half of the students, 42 percent, said they fast on Yom Kippur. Thirty-six percent said that they have personally belonged to a synagogue. None believe that the "Bible is the actual word of God," while four percent refrain from handling money on the Sabbath.

Table 44: Denomination of Students and Parents		
	Students	Parents
Orthodox	8	10
Conservative	31	41
Reform	36	37
Secular	25	11

The campus is particularly important for the Jewish community. It is easier to reach Jews in the university environment to make them aware of the Jewish message, existence, and activities, than to find the unaffiliated anywhere else. Campus organizations can do this more easily than other organizations dealing with the general population. Students can be written to, personally contacted, leafletted, and the like. Hence, even the completely secular who have never partaken of any formal activity -- educational or other -- will hear about Hillel or other Jewish groups. For the great majority, to take part in them or to attend services is physically easier than it has ever been before they came to college or ever will be after they leave.

Therefore, Hillel and other Jewish campus organizations are potentially one of the most important forces for Jewish continuity. Yet the findings of this study indicate that they have only been effective for a small minority, that most students are not deeply involved in Jewish activities, and that on average, they are less committed than their parents. The Population Survey included 88 students in the sample, 73 undergraduates and 15 graduates between the ages of 18 and 24. Only 21 percent of them reported that they had taken part in any Jewish educational program during the past year. There was no difference between undergraduates and graduates. A more limited survey conducted by Israel Gallup in 1989 sampled identified American Jews and found that 21 percent of college aged children took part in Hillel programs,

while an overlapping 15 percent belonged to other Jewish student groups. Twenty-two percent of those interviewed reported belonging to at least one Jewish organization. Less than one in ten, eight percent, volunteered during the past 12 months for a Jewish organization.

Conclusion

Concern over the state of religious education and its relationship to the continuity of the community is not a new phenomenon. Jewish immigrants of the nineteenth century were unable to replicate the extensive system of religious schools that existed in Europe. Referring to the Northeast in particular, Glazer writes: "The established American Jewish community offered no model for Jewish education. Following the collapse of the synagogue schools of the 1850s under competition from the public schools, the established synagogues of New York had limited themselves to Sunday or Sabbath schools...."[14] The weakness of Jewish education was a persistent worry for later generations of German Jews. And as Irving Howe points out, "The Yiddish press during the early years of the [twentieth] century constantly laments the condition of Jewish education."[15] Headlines such as "Jews Neglect Jewish Education and Blame America" were not uncommon in publications such as *Tageblatt*. Following up on similar findings by Mordecai Kaplan eight years earlier, a 1919 survey by Alexander Dushkin found that "only 65,000 out of an estimated 275,000 Jewish children of school age were receiving Jewish instruction at any given time...."[16] In the early 1900s, much as today, the focus of criticism was the on quality of the Jewish

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[14] Nathan Glazer, American Judaism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 71.

[15] Howe, World of Our Fathers, p. 202.

[16] Ibid. For New York City, there was a modest rise in participation between the mid-1930s when 25 percent of Jewish children of elementary school age attended Jewish schools and 1955 when the figure had increased to 31 percent. According to Glazer, the increase was attributable to the increased activity of the Orthodox. Glazer, American Judaism, p. 111.

training that the young were receiving, as well as the limited numbers receiving it. With many living in poverty and possessing limited community resources, Jews in America were still struggling to break through the barriers of anti-Semitism to enter the ranks of the middle class and beyond. In 1993, their affluent descendants are concerned about the numbers who are not involved in any form of Jewish education and are defecting from the community -- particularly through intermarriage.

Ironically, contemporary Jews have to worry whether their community will survive, not because of its enemies, but because the larger environment is too friendly, not sufficiently hostile. The walls of anti-Semitism, which once held Jews within the fold, have largely crumbled.[17] There is nothing to stop them from walking out. The status barriers which identify marriage with a Jew as a step down for a non-Jew no longer exist. If anything, the opposite is true. Many non-Jews, particularly the well-educated among them, often view Jews as part of a superior culture, defined in educational and intellectual terms. In Europe, when Jews married non-Jews, the Jew almost invariably converted to Christianity, or at any rate, dropped all his or her affiliations to Judaism. Here, the opposite is true. Intermarried Jews on the whole remain identified as Jews, although with less commitment to the religion and the community, while, as noted, a minority of non-Jews convert and another considerable portion of them identify their family as Jewish. These developments have led the so called "optimists" within the Jewish community to argue that intermarriage results in an increase of the number of self-identified Jews in the country. There is some evidence that this may be true in the short-run, but in the long run, it is not. The children of the intermarried are very loosely affiliated, if at all, uneducated Jewishly and even more likely to marry non-Jews than birth-right Jews so their children, while perhaps aware of their background, will have no

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[17] See Gregory Martire and Ruth Clark, Anti-Semitism in the United States (New York: Praeger, 1982), pp. 113-19 and Lipset, "A Unique People in an Exceptional Country," in Lipset, ed., American Pluralism in the Jewish Community, pp. 16-18.

communal commitment. As Sidney Goldstein notes, of the children of intermarried couples, only 25 percent were being raised as Jews, while the remaining cohort was either being raised in another faith or without any religion at all.[18] The membership and financial problems faced by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai Brith and ADL attest to the effects of these developments.

Beyond the impact of anti-Semitism, the changing relationship of American Jewry to Israel is important. Clearly, hundreds of thousands, if not more, have become deeply involved in communal activities because of their interest and commitment to the Jewish state. Much of the activity of the community has been related to Israel. This has been true for the so called "defense organizations," the American Jewish Committee, the ADL, and the American Jewish Congress, as well as the local Jewish communal federations. Hillel, the main organization on campus, devotes a great deal of its activity to Israel. Synagogue and temple affiliated groups are Israel oriented. The link to Israel, however, has been declining, especially among younger Jews. As with anti-Semitism, what has kept a lot of Jews involved in Israel oriented activities is concern about security, about the fact that the state has remained for so long a pariah nation, facing a military threat. But as of now, there is some reason to believe that this situation will end. Israel's Arab neighbors and the Palestinians are beginning to reveal a willingness to accept the Jewish state, to end the conflict by trading land for peace. Clearly this chapter of history is not written yet, but possible reactions of the American Jewry to something resembling a real peace might entail lessened interest in the Jewish state, reduced financial contributions, lesser participation in communal activities designed to help Israel in welfare, economic and political terms, and as a consequence less

[18] Goldstein, "Profile of American Jewry," p. 127.

identification with Judaism. The discussion about a possible merger of the U.J.A. and the C.J.F. reflect a concern on the part of their leadership about decline.

The problems of Jewry in the former Soviet Union still offer a cause to rally around. A great deal of activity and money has been dedicated, collected to help Soviet Jews resettle in Israel or elsewhere. There is foreboding about the future of the Jews left in the former Soviet areas. But still, their prospects there are reasonably good. In any case, the evidence suggests that this cause is not at all comparable to those of anti-Semitism or Israeli security as motives to take part in Jewish activities.

Beyond the conditions which affect the commitment of Jews to their community, it is necessary to emphasize the consequences of demographic factors. Jews have a very low birth rate, even less than most other extremely educated and well-to-do urban groups. Jews simply are not reproducing themselves. The one major exception, which also does not adhere to the generalization about high intermarriage rates is, of course, the Orthodox. But they constitute somewhere around seven percent of the total American Jewish population, that is about 300,000 people. They have very large families, but those who rely on them to reproduce or expand Jewry forget that in America, as in days gone by in eastern Europe, a significant minority of Orthodox young people do not stay Orthodox. The estimates for drop-outs by youth from Orthodoxy, though not from Judaism, run as high as one-third. All the indicators suggest the economic and social integration of Jews will continue.

In the future, as in the past, the great majority of Jews will be born into the faith. The basic problem for the community is and will be to hold them, to keep them Jewish. The most important means to do this is education. The findings reported here indicate that the longer and more intensive the Jewish training, the more likely people are to be committed to and practice Judaism. But many drop out. In any case, as documented here, the main factors which determine school exposure are linked to family

background. We obviously should try to develop better educational techniques, recruit more sophisticated educators and provide a more meaningful social and physical environment for Jewish youth. But the main problem is America. Its universalistic openness undermines ethnic particularism. The intermarriage rate will grow. Hence, while we must do what we can to reach out, we must continue to concentrate on the committed "remnant."