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Series D: Adam Gamoran Papers. 1991–2008.

Subseries 1: Lead Communities and Monitoring, Evaluation, and Feedback (MEF),  
1991–2000.

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Gamoran, Adam, et al. The Teachers Report. Includes article,  
"Gender Differences Among Teachers in Jewish Schools",  
1997-1998.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the  
American Jewish Archives website.

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Date: 08 Apr 97 09:10:27 EDT  
From: Bill Robinson <74104.3335@CompuServe.COM>  
To: Adam Gamoran <gamoran@ssc.wisc.edu>,  
Ellen Goldring <goldrieb@ctrvax.vanderbilt.edu>  
Subject: Data Archive Guidelines

Adam,

Concerning the Code of Practice for the CIJE Educators Survey Data Archive, I have four suggestions:

1. Almost always, insert "data from" in front of "the CIJE Educators Survey", "other surveys", "a survey", and "Surveys". [The exception is in the section called Survey Procedures.]

2. The section Survey Procedures should probably be called Conditions for Accepting Data. It should read:

"4. Data from the CIJE Educators Survey and other surveys will be accepted into the Data Archive under the following conditions:

a. ..."

[Points 4-7 as listed in the draft become sub-points a through d. The tense of the sentences should read "...should have been...".]

3. I am concerned about the identification of individual communities (cities) in the reporting of data. Communities may have chosen to give a certain spin to their data in the reports they have disseminated. If researchers publish information about a particular community that doesn't quite match the data the community reported or reveals data that the community decided to omit in their report, we could be in political trouble (not to forget the ethics of this). I suggest that communities only be described in ways that will NOT allow their identity to be easily known. For instance, they can be described by the number of teachers in the community or their size according to Federation standards, as well as other characteristics that fit a group of communities. They could not be described in such detail as only one community would fit the description, such as "a community in the Southeast with a large-size Federation."

4. At the end of the second paragraph on the Declaration of Confidentiality, I would add: "... or appointed representative."

That's it,  
Bill

ANNETTE@vms.huji.ac, 09:52 AM 5/12/97 , Gender and Privacy

Date: Mon, 12 May 97 9:52 +0300  
From: <ANNETTE@vms.huji.ac.il>  
To: Adam Gamoran <gamoran@ssc.wisc.edu>  
Cc: annette  
Subject: Gender and Privacy

Dear Adam,

this is to confirm again that I see no problem with the paper on gender differences regarding questions of confidentiality. I see no breach of confidentiality in the text, whether regarding individuals or a specific community.

I hope there will be an executive summary and policy brief on this analysis. It could both empower women teachers to make their case more effectively and female community leaders or men sympathetic to equality to alter practice.

See you soon,  
chag sameach,  
annette



Date: 19 Jun 97 15:00:53 EDT  
From: Bill Robinson <74104.3335@CompuServe.COM>  
To: Nessa Rapoport <74671.3370@CompuServe.COM>  
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Ellen Goldring <GOLDRIEB@CTRVAX.VANDERBILT.EDU>  
Subject: Teachers Report

Nessa,

I haven't forgot about you.

1. I checked all the numbers on the October 1996 version this past winter. Adam informs me that the tables and figures have not been changed since then (unless they were per my request).
2. Sorry for the delay on sending you the tables and figures in separate files. I had the figures, but only Adam had the tables in a file (embedded in the text). I will send you it all in separate files next week.
3. In regard to Table #9:

DEFINITIONS [I continue to expand on these definitions in the following section.]

- Career Development refers to the possibilities for career advancement in the field of Jewish education. Thus ---> Would the availability of positions beyond classroom teacher that one could move into at a later date be an incentive for full-time employment?
- More Job Opportunities refers to the availability of other jobs, not necessarily ones further up the career ladder (though there is overlap with Career Development).
- Training Opportunities refers to the availability of affordable (subsidized?) formal professional development opportunities.
- Work Resources refers to both material and collegial support in one's work as a teacher. Thus --> Would better equiped classrooms and curricular guides (for instance) be incentives to full-time employment?
- Presence of Colleagues refers to the opportunity to work and learn (informally) with and from colleagues in one's school or community. Thus ----> Would opportunities to co-teach with colleagues and/or observe each others' teaching (for instance) be an incentive to full-time employment?

#### NATURE OF INCENTIVES

You are correct. Many of these items are not actually incentives in the sence of being a "carrot."

- More Job Opportunities and Change in Family Status is better conceptualized as the removal of a possible obstacle to full-time employment. The latter could also be conceptualized as increasing the need to obtain full-time employment
- Training Opportunities, Work Resources, (having had a) Better Judaica Background, and (having had a) Better Education Background are connected to the desire for more full-time employment through the proposition that if one was better equiped to perform the job successfully one may be more likely to engage in full-time work.
- Presence of Colleagues could be seen as connected to the desire for full-time employment in both of the ways stated above, and, additionally, through the proposition that a more pleasant work environment might lead to an increased desire to work full-time.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT when we revised the Educators Survey, we eliminated More Job Opportunities, Better Judaica Background, and Bettter Edcuation Background from the list.

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Council for Initiatives  
in Jewish Education

# The Teachers Report:

*A Portrait of  
Teachers in  
Jewish Schools*

CIJE RESEARCH FOR POLICY

Adam Gamoran

Ellen Goldring

Bill Robinson

Julie Tammivaara

Roberta Goodman

## COUNCIL FOR INITIATIVES IN JEWISH EDUCATION (CIJE)

Created in 1990 by the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, CIJE is an independent national organization whose mission is to help transform North American Jewish life through Jewish education. We promote educational excellence by developing:

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# C O N T E N T S

<i>Overview</i> .....	1
<i>Introduction</i> .....	3
<i>Questions for Research and Policy</i> .....	4
<i>About the Study and its Participants</i> .....	4
<i>Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools</i> .....	5
Educational Background.....	5
Pre-Collegiate Jewish Educational Background.....	7
Professional Development.....	8
Summary and Implications.....	10
<i>Conditions of Work</i> .....	11
Settings and Hours of Work.....	11
Salary.....	12
Benefits.....	14
Work Conditions and Motivation for Teaching.....	15
Summary and Implications.....	16
<i>Career Patterns</i> .....	16
Entering Jewish Education.....	16
Experience.....	17
Career Opportunities.....	18
Career Perceptions.....	18
Future Plans.....	19
Teacher Empowerment.....	19
Summary and Implications.....	20
<i>Conclusions</i> .....	21
Improving Opportunities for Professional Development.....	21
Improving Conditions of Work.....	22
Toward a Comprehensive Plan.....	23
<i>Appendix: Data and Methods</i> .....	24
<i>References</i> .....	26
<i>Further Reading</i> .....	27



# O V E R V I E W

What can be done to improve Jewish education in North America? According to the Commission on Jewish Education in North America (1988-1990), one essential condition for revitalizing Jewish education is to build the profession of Jewish education.

The Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE), a not-for-profit organization whose mission is to help transform North American Jewish life through Jewish education, was established to implement the Commission's recommendations. To embark on this task, CIJE first posed the question: What are the characteristics of teachers in Jewish schools? In collaboration with its three Lead Communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, CIJE carried out a study of educators in all the Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-school programs.

Key findings of this study—the strong commitment of teachers, coupled with their limited training and minimal opportunities for professional development—have already influenced the continental debate about revitalizing Jewish education. This report provides the full details of the study of teachers in Jewish schools, including information from surveys and interviews. Where possible, results from the study are compared to those of earlier surveys from Boston, Los Angeles, and Miami.

Among the critical findings are these: In Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, about half of the teachers have completed formal training in the field of education, but far fewer have degrees or certification in Jewish content areas. Jewish education during childhood does little to compensate for the lack of later training in Jewish studies; almost one third of the teachers received no Jewish education after age 13. Similarly, in-service professional development fails to make up for limited formal training. Most teachers attend around two workshops per year, or fewer. The quality of workshops is also problematic; in-service education is not aimed at teachers' specific needs, and in most schools it is not part of a coherent plan for professional growth.

Generally, work conditions are not professionalized. Most teachers work part-time in Jewish education. Only 20% of teachers say their earnings from Jewish education are their main source of family income, although this figure is much higher in Orthodox day schools. Benefits are scarce, even for full-time teachers. For example, among full-time teachers in all three settings, only 48% report that they are offered health benefits and only 45% have access to pensions.

Despite these conditions, the teachers are strongly committed to their work in Jewish education. Close to 60% describe their work in Jewish education as a career. Even among part-time teachers, over half describe their work in Jewish education as a career.

In light of teachers' limited training but strong commitment, the authors argue that improving the quality and quantity of professional development should be the primary focus of reform efforts. Improving working conditions, including increasing access to benefits and opportunities for full-time work, should also be part of a comprehensive plan for reform.



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## Introduction

The need for well-trained teachers in Jewish education has been recognized since the beginning of the modern American Jewish community. In a 1907 lecture on the problems of Jewish education, Solomon Schechter explained (1915, p. 110):

The first difficulty under which we labor is the great dearth of trained teachers.... The American teacher, with his knowledge of the English language and his familiarity with the best educational methods, will thus in the end prove to be the only fit person to instruct also in religion, but unfortunately he is not always sufficiently equipped with a knowledge of Hebrew things in general and Hebrew language in particular to enable him to accomplish his duties in a satisfactory manner.

Schechter recognized the need for modern educational methods in the Jewish classroom and, simultaneously, the need for educators to be well-versed in Jewish studies. In a similar vein, Emanuel Gamoran commented in his manual for teacher training for the Reform movement (1924, p. 2):

[T]he crux of the problem of Jewish education centers about the question of the Jewish teacher.... It is therefore of the utmost importance that our teachers be adequately trained, thoroughly imbued with Jewish spirit, possessed of Jewish knowledge and pedagogically qualified.

For Gamoran, the essential components in the background of a Jewish educator were commitment to and knowledge of Judaica and pedagogical training. Yet one or more of these were usually missing. Gamoran explained that teachers lacked training (p. 5):

Training is absolutely essential for the development of adequate Jewish teachers. Very few people today would think of entrusting their legal affairs to anyone but a lawyer who had received special training entitling him to engage in his professional activities. Still less

would people permit anyone who had not received a long and arduous course of training followed by a period of practice in medicine to minister to their physical ailments. Yet those who are entrusted with the responsibility of molding the character of the young—of developing the Jews of tomorrow—are too often people who present no other qualification for their task than that of availability.

The concerns of Schechter and Gamoran are still echoed today. According to *A Time to Act*, the 1990 report of the Commission on Jewish Education in North America, building the profession of Jewish education is one essential condition for improving Jewish education in North America. The Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE) was established to implement the Commission's recommendations.

A first step in the process of building the profession of Jewish education is to ask the question: What is the character of the teaching profession in today's Jewish schools? To address this question, CIJE carried out a study of teachers and leaders in Jewish schools in collaboration with its three Lead Communities—Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee.

The findings of *The CIJE Study of Educators* have contributed to new local initiatives as well as to national programs sponsored by CIJE (CIJE, 1997). Findings about the teachers' background and professional training were published in 1994 (Gamoran, Goldring, Goodman, Robinson, and Tammivaara, 1994). Findings about the leaders are forthcoming (Goldring, Gamoran, and Robinson, in press).

The purpose of this report is to share the findings about Jewish teachers with the wider Jewish community, in hopes of bringing continental attention to the problems and prospects of building the profession of Jewish education.

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## *Questions for Research and Policy*

One of the central questions of the CIJE study was to learn about the professional background of teachers who work in Jewish schools. How adequate is their training in the field of education? How extensive is their background in Jewish studies? Do they engage in activities that continually enhance their preparation for teaching? Answers to these questions are essential for policy decisions.

If professional preparation and growth for teachers are important, professional conditions for work may be closely related. What are the earn-

ings and benefits for teachers in Jewish schools? How many hours do they work? Are teachers commonly employed in more than one school? What are the prospects for full-time work as a Jewish teacher?

A third set of issues concerns Jewish education as a career. How are teachers recruited to Jewish education? How experienced are they? Do they view their work as a career? What are their future plans? Addressing these questions may provide guidance about communal investment in our current teaching force.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

### **About the Study and its Participants**

This study was carried out by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE), in collaboration with the three Lead Communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee. Data sources included surveys of nearly 1000 teachers and interviews with over 100 educators. Further information on the data and methodology of the study may be found in the Appendix.

The survey indicated that teachers in the three communities are predominantly female (84%) and married (80%). A large majority are American-born (86%), while 7% percent were born in Israel. Surveys from other cities have indicated much higher proportions of Israeli-born teachers: 17% in Boston (Frank, Margolis, and Weisner, 1992); 25% in Los Angeles (Aron and Phillips, 1988); and in Miami, 15% of synagogue school teachers and 29% of Judaic studies day school teachers (Sheskin, 1988).

Our respondents represent a variety of religious affiliations. Thirty-two percent are Orthodox, and 8% define themselves as traditional. Thirty-one percent identify with the Reform movement; 25% see themselves as Conservative. (The remaining 4% list other affiliations, including 1% Reconstructionist.) Sixty-three percent of the teachers have visited Israel, and 51% of those have lived in Israel for three months or more. Twenty-one percent of the teachers in our survey described themselves as fluent Hebrew speakers.

## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

To what extent are teachers in Jewish schools trained as educators? Are they prepared in areas of Jewish content? What standards are maintained for their ongoing professional development?

Our first task is to examine the background and training of teachers in Jewish schools.

### EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

Teachers in the Jewish schools of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee are highly educated.

**Table 1** shows that 74% have college degrees, and 29% have graduate or professional degrees. Compared to the national Jewish population, the teachers are more likely to have college degrees, and about equally likely to have post-collegiate degrees. According to the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey, around 50% of both men and women who identify as Jews have college degrees, and 24% of women and 32% of men have graduate degrees (Kosmin, Goldstein, Waksberg, Lerer, Keysar, and Scheckner, 1993).

More important for our interests is the finding that as many as 43% of the teachers in the Jewish schools of the three communities have university degrees in education, and another 11% have education degrees from teachers institutes. Just

over half the teachers have worked in general education. Whereas day, supplementary, and pre-school teachers are about equally likely to have degrees and experience in general education, these comparisons mask important denominational differences within settings: Teachers in day and pre-schools under Orthodox sponsorship have less formal training and experience in general education compared to those in day and pre-schools under other sponsorships.

Thirty-seven percent of the day school teachers reported a college major or seminary degree in Jewish studies, and slightly more are certified in Jewish education (*see Table 2*). (Certification is typically granted by a local Board of Jewish Education; standards for certification may vary across communities.) Again, these figures differed within the day school setting: Teachers in Orthodox day schools are substantially more likely to have training or certification in Jewish education or studies.

Teachers in other settings, whether Orthodox or not, have far less formal preparation in Jewish studies. **Table 2** indicates that only 12% of supplementary school teachers, 16% of teachers in Orthodox pre-schools, and 3% of teachers in

Table 1. General Educational Backgrounds of Teachers in Jewish Schools

SETTING	College Degree	Grad./Prof. Degree	From University	From Teachers Institute	Worked in General Education
<b>Day Schools</b>	76%	40%	43%	17%	48%
<i>Orthodox</i>	69%	42%	32%	26%	36%
<i>Other</i>	86%	38%	58%	5%	64%
<b>Supplementary Schools</b>	80%	33%	41%	5%	55%
<b>Pre-Schools</b>	63%	13%	46%	15%	50%
<i>Orthodox</i>	38%	8%	28%	31%	32%
<i>Other</i>	66%	14%	48%	12%	53%
<b>TOTAL</b>	74%	29%	43%	11%	51%

## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

Table 2. Collegiate and Professional Jewish Educational Background of Teachers in Jewish Schools

SETTING	Certification in Jewish Education	Degree in Jewish Studies
<b>Day Schools</b>	40%	37%
Orthodox	47%	49%
Other	30%	24%
<b>Supplementary Schools</b>	18%	12%
<b>Pre-Schools</b>	10%	4%
Orthodox	24%	16%
Other	8%	3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	22%	17%

other pre-schools majored in Jewish studies; the percentages are moderately higher but follow the same pattern for certification in Jewish education. (These figures are for post-secondary degrees and certifications; yeshiva study is represented only when it resulted in ordination, degrees, or other formal certification.) Similar contrasts in Judaic studies training between day school and other teachers were reported in Miami (Sheskin, 1988).

Teachers in supplementary schools and pre-schools have relatively little formal preparation to be Jewish educators (see Table 2). Even in day schools, where formal preparation is most extensive, only half the teachers are trained in education, and half are prepared in Jewish studies at the collegiate or professional level. (This includes both Jewish studies majors and Jewish education certification.)

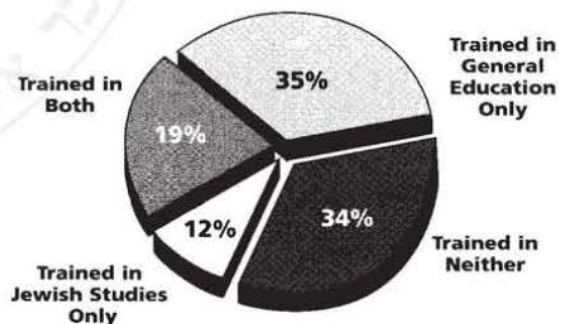
Overall, 19% of the teachers we surveyed have collegiate or professional training in both Jewish studies and education (this includes teachers institutes). Another 47% have formal training in one field or the other but not both, including 35% with backgrounds in education and 12% certified in Jewish subjects (including Jewish education). The remaining 34% of teachers in

Jewish schools in the three communities lack collegiate or professional degrees in both areas.

Figure 1 provides a graphic display of this pattern for all teachers. The pattern differs somewhat across settings and sponsorships: Among day school teachers, only 10% in Orthodox schools and 23% in non-Orthodox schools lack degrees in both areas, whereas the figure is 38% for pre-school teachers and 44% for supplementary school teachers.

This analysis views teachers who are certified in Jewish education but who lack a degree in general education as partially trained, because certification in Jewish education typically does not require the same level of training in education as a secular degree. To count those with certificates in Jewish education as trained in general education would lead to the conclusion that about 25% instead of 19% are formally trained in education and in Jewish studies—still only a quarter of all teachers in Jewish settings.

Figure 1. Extent of Professional Training in General Education and Jewish Studies



An important qualification to these findings is that they emphasize formal schooling. Jewish content, however, is learned not only in school but in informal settings, such as the home, the synagogue, summer camp, and Israel experiences, among others. To focus only on formal education thus underestimates the extent of Jewish knowledge among teachers in Jewish schools. Still, it is



## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

widely recognized in the field of education that full preparation for teaching includes formal training in one's subject matter as well as in pedagogy (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 1994), so that the lack of formal training in Jewish studies among many of the teachers is a matter of concern.

### PRE-COLLEGIATE JEWISH EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

What sort of Jewish education did the teachers receive when they were children?

On the whole, teachers in Jewish schools are much better educated Jewishly than the typical American Jew. For example, according to the

1990 National Jewish Population Survey (Kosmin et al., 1993), 22% of males and 38% of females who identify as Jews received no Jewish education as children; the comparable figure is only 8% for the teachers in our survey when childhood education both before and after age 13 is considered.

Table 3 indicates that among teachers in Orthodox day schools and pre-schools, a majority attended day schools (or schools in Israel), and nearly all teachers in Orthodox day schools and over two thirds of those in Orthodox pre-schools attended a Jewish school at least 2 days a week both before and after age 13. Among teachers in

Table 3. Pre-Collegiate Jewish Educational Background of Teachers in Jewish Schools

SETTING	BEFORE AGE 13			
	None	1 Day Per Week Only	2 Days or More Supplementary	School in Israel or Day School
<b>Day Schools</b>	6%	11%	21%	62%
<i>Orthodox</i>	2%	2%	16%	79%
<i>Other</i>	11%	24%	28%	37%
<b>Supplementary Schools</b>	11%	25%	40%	24%
<b>Pre-Schools</b>	22%	40%	23%	15%
<i>Orthodox</i>	20%	3%	23%	54%
<i>Other</i>	22%	45%	23%	9%
<b>TOTAL</b>	12%	25%	29%	33%

SETTING	AFTER AGE 13			
	None	1 Day Per Week Only	2 Days or More Supplementary	School in Israel Yeshiva, or Day School
<b>Day Schools</b>	14%	8%	11%	67%
<i>Orthodox</i>	7%	1%	7%	86%
<i>Other</i>	25%	20%	17%	38%
<b>Supplementary Schools</b>	29%	25%	17%	29%
<b>Pre-Schools</b>	55%	23%	8%	14%
<i>Orthodox</i>	22%	3%	11%	64%
<i>Other</i>	60%	27%	8%	5%
<b>TOTAL</b>	32%	20%	13%	36%

Note: Figures omit a small number of responses marked "other." Rows may not sum to 100%.

## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

other day schools, about two thirds attended a Jewish school at least twice a week before age 13, and over half attended at least that often after age 13. Supplementary school teachers participated less, but still much more than the average American Jew: Before age 13, 24% of teachers attended day schools, and another 40% attended a supplementary school of 2 days or more a week, while 25% attended only once a week, and 11% did not attend at all. After age 13, 29% attended day school, 17% attended a Jewish school twice a week, and the proportion that reported "none" rose to 29%.

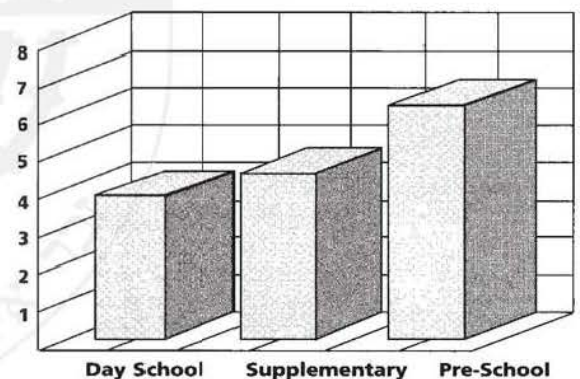
Teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools stand out as having received substantially less Jewish schooling as children. Fewer than one third before age 13 and less than one seventh after age 13 attended a Jewish school twice or more each week. One reason for these low figures is that 11% of teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools are not Jewish. (A survey in Miami also reported that 7% of early childhood teachers in Jewish schools were not Jewish; see Sheskin, 1988). Even excluding the non-Jewish teachers, however, over half of teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools received no Jewish schooling after the age of Bat Mitzvah.

### PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Nearly all pre-school teachers reported that they were required to attend in-service workshops. In our interviews, we learned that most pre-schools were licensed by the states in which they were located, and state accreditation requirements demanded staff development. On the surveys, pre-school teachers reported they were required to attend an average of 6.2 in-service workshops over a two-year period. While these workshops generally satisfied state requirements, they are not sufficient to compensate for the limited Judaic backgrounds of most pre-school teachers.

Day school teachers attend substantially fewer workshops. Almost 80% said workshops were required, but the number required averaged only 3.8 workshops over a two-year period (see Figure 2). This level of staff development is far below normal standards in public education. For example, teachers in Wisconsin are required to complete 180 hours of workshops over a five-year period in order to maintain their teaching license. On the assumption that a typical workshop lasts 3 hours, day school teachers in our study averaged about 29 hours of workshops over a five-year period, less than one sixth of what is required for state-licensed teachers in Wisconsin.

Figure 2. Average Number of Required Workshops Over a Two-Year Period



Wisconsin teachers can also maintain their licenses by earning six college or university credits over a five-year period. About 32% of the day school teachers reported taking a course in Judaica or Hebrew at a university, community center, or synagogue during the previous 12 months. Although we did not ask more specific questions about these courses, it is clear that attendance at workshops does not capture the full extent of continuing education obtained by day school teachers. Furthermore, the survey did not ask about university courses in education. When these courses are counted, day school teachers come

## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

closer to the level of professional development required in public education, but they do not attain it, nor are they required to do so, even though they are less well prepared initially compared to their peers in public education.

Supplementary school teachers reported slightly more in-service training than day school teachers, although not as much as pre-school teachers (see *Figure 2*). Also, 44% of the supplementary school teachers reported taking a Judaica or Hebrew course at a university, community center, or synagogue (although many of these courses meet for only a few hours). As in the case of day school teachers, professional development for supplementary teachers falls well short of common professional standards for public school teachers.

Staff development activities were even less frequent in a Miami survey (Sheskin, 1988), which found that day school teachers averaged 3.7 Judaica workshops over a three-year period; supplementary school teachers averaged 3.2 Judaica workshops; and pre-school teachers averaged 3.4 such workshops. During the same three-year period, day school and pre-school teachers reported having taken 0.8 courses in

teaching methods on average, and supplementary school teachers averaged 1.1 courses.

Consistent with their diverse backgrounds, the teachers varied substantially in the areas in which they would like to improve (see *Table 4*). Among the most popular were skills in motivating children to learn, creating materials, and content knowledge in Hebrew and history. Variation across settings followed predictable patterns. For example, pre-school teachers were more concerned with child development, and teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools were especially interested in learning about Jewish customs and ceremonies. Teachers in Orthodox day schools were most concerned with learning more history, while teachers in non-Orthodox day schools more often perceived a need for improved Bible knowledge. It is noteworthy that interests in motivating students, creating materials, and learning Hebrew were uniformly strong across settings.

In-service training is not only infrequent but, especially in day and supplementary schools, it tends to be sporadic and not geared to teachers' specific needs. On the survey, teachers indicated they typically find the workshops "somewhat

Table 4. **Teacher Workshop Areas: What would teachers like to improve? What workshops have they attended?**

<b>Percent desiring improvement: Teaching skills</b>		<b>Percent desiring improvement: Jewish content</b>	
<i>Motivating children</i>	67%	<i>Hebrew language</i>	57%
<i>Creating materials</i>	58%	<i>Jewish history</i>	54%
<i>Classroom management</i>	46%	<i>Bible</i>	46%
<i>Curriculum development</i>	42%	<i>Customs and ceremonies</i>	45%
<i>Child development</i>	37%	<i>Synagogue skills/prayer</i>	32%
<i>Parental involvement</i>	37%	<i>Rabbinic literature</i>	32%
<i>Communication skills</i>	32%	<i>Israel and Zionism</i>	29%
<b>Percent who attended workshops on the following topics in the last two years:</b>			
<i>Teaching methods</i>	76%	<i>Curriculum development</i>	49%
<i>Judaic subject matter</i>	62%	<i>Art/drama/music</i>	41%
<i>Classroom management</i>	61%	<i>Hebrew language</i>	30%

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## *Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools*

helpful." Aside from Hebrew language, many teachers had in fact attended a workshop in an area in which they desired to improve. Yet our interviews indicated several concerns about the workshops. Particularly in day and supplementary schools, there is rarely any overall coordination among offerings or programs of professional development: Teachers feel that a workshop is an event unto itself, without any apparent connection to previous staff development activities or follow-up afterwards.

Teachers who learn something practical and concrete see the workshop as useful. One pre-school teacher commented about workshops:

[S]ome of them are wonderful and really do address just the issues you need to hear about, very practical things.... I went to a wonderful one that covered several of the major Jewish holidays. She showed us some very useful things we could take back to our classroom.

Conversely, another teacher who found nothing of practical value dismissed the workshop experience as "dreadfully boring and non-helpful to me." Moreover, in-service training tends to be provided uniformly for all teachers, rather than offering different programs designed to meet the varied needs of teachers with diverse backgrounds in pedagogy and Jewish content. Given the wide range of training, experience, subject matter, and grade levels among teachers in Jewish schools, it is unlikely that a given workshop will be appropriate for many teachers, even within the same school. As one day school teacher remarked,

A lot of times, I guess because Jewish education is so small, you end up in a [workshop] class with a range of people teaching all the way from pre-school to tenth grade. You can't teach a [workshop] class like that. The way you approach the material depends entirely on the age that the children are. Developmentally what works for an eighth grader does not work for a kindergartner and vice versa.

## **SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS**

Compared to other settings, day school teachers of Judaica are relatively well prepared, both Jewishly and pedagogically. Still, fewer than half have undergone the level of professional preparation that is standard among public school teachers, although day schools generally require their teachers of secular subjects to meet the standard requirements. In addition, staff development demands for day school Judaica teachers are minimal, and are fewer than the requirements for day school teachers of secular subjects, who typically meet state requirements for ongoing certification to maintain their teaching licenses. Both for pre-service preparation and in-service development, Jewish day schools in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee typically hold teachers of secular subjects to higher standards than teachers of Jewish subjects.

Among supplementary and pre-school teachers, few are fully prepared as professional Jewish educators. That is, only small proportions of teachers in those settings have extensive training in both education and Judaica. In particular, only 46% of supplementary school teachers are trained in education, and most teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools received minimal formal Jewish education as children, let alone at the college level. Professional growth opportunities are needed to advance their levels of knowledge and skills.

Professional development for Jewish educators is not only a matter of remediation, of making up for deficiencies. It is also a means of renewal and growth, which is imperative for all teachers. Even those who are well prepared for their positions must have opportunities to keep abreast of the field, to learn exciting new ideas, and to be invigorated by contact with other educators. (For a concise review of current directions in professional development, see Dilworth and Imig, 1995.)

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## Background and Training of Teachers in Jewish Schools

What must teachers know in order to teach? Beyond pedagogic and content knowledge is the notion of “pedagogic content knowledge”—that is, the knowledge of what it is about the content that is most essential for successfully imparting it to a student (Shulman, 1986). This is the knowledge of how to create bridges between subject matter and student. Teachers need a rich and deep knowledge of the subject matter to place it in a meaningful context for their

students. Although students do not always respond to instruction in predictable ways, a teacher who possesses pedagogic content knowledge has the power to find new ways of enabling students to learn the material at hand. In thinking and planning professional development for Jewish teachers in the future, then, we must consider not only pedagogy and not only Judaica but their integration—the teaching of Jewish subject matter.

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## Conditions of Work

Having identified a need for the professional preparation and development of teachers, we must also consider whether work conditions for teachers in Jewish schools make it reasonable to think about a profession of Jewish education. How many hours do teachers work each week? How many teachers work full-time? What are their earnings and benefits? What incentives might stimulate more teachers to work full-time if positions were available?

### SETTINGS AND HOURS OF WORK

Most of the teachers we surveyed reported that they work in one school. Specifically, 80% teach in one school, 17% teach in two schools, and 3% teach in more than two schools. Thirty-one percent of the respondents teach in day schools as their primary setting (the setting in which they work the most hours), including 18% under Orthodox sponsorship and 13% under other sponsorships. Forty percent work in supplementary schools. The remaining 29% teach in pre-schools, including 4% under Orthodox sponsorship and 25% under other sponsorships. Whereas 20% of teachers work in more than one school,

approximately 35% of *positions* are held by teachers who teach in more than one school.

There is no agreed-upon definition of full-time work in the field of Jewish education. When we define full-time teaching as 25 hours per week or more, we find that 28% work full-time in one school, and 32% work full-time when all their positions in Jewish education are taken into account. When asked on the survey, 31% of the teachers described themselves as a “full-time Jewish educator.” Thus, alternative definitions give similar results, on average.

Teaching in supplementary schools is overwhelmingly a part-time occupation; 96% teach 12 hours or less in their primary setting, and almost two thirds teach fewer than 5 hours per week (*see Table 5*). By contrast, day school teachers are about evenly split between those who work 25 hours per week or more in their primary setting and those who work less. Among pre-school teachers, 43% work full-time, 37% work 13 to 24 hours per week, and 20% work 12 hours per week or less. Similar differences appeared in Miami, where 55% of day school teachers and 50% of pre-school teachers reported working

## Conditions of Work

Table 5. **Weekly Hours of Work among Teachers in Jewish Schools (Primary Setting)**

SETTING	HOURS			
	1-4	5-12	13-24	25+
Day Schools	5%	11%	37%	47%
Supplementary Schools	64%	32%	2%	2%
Pre-Schools	1%	19%	36%	43%
TOTAL	27%	22%	2%	28%

**Note:** Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

25 hours per week or more, compared with 5% of supplementary school teachers (Sheskin, 1988). In Los Angeles, only 16% of teachers reported 25 hours of teaching per week or more (Aron and Phillips, 1988). This figure was not broken down by setting, but two thirds of the respondents were supplementary school teachers, and one third were day school teachers. (Pre-school teachers were not included in the Los Angeles survey.) In Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, about two thirds of the teachers who work in more than one school teach in supplementary schools as their second school.

In our interviews with teachers, we discovered that teachers and principals work together to assemble “employment packages” to provide some teachers with more paid work. Rabbis in Orthodox day school settings are commonly recruited to take responsibility for worship and extracurricular activities to fill out their work week. Teachers in other settings assume responsibility for a variety of additional activities, including working in the library, tutoring students at the school, engaging in family education, leading worship services, directing grant-related projects, and so forth. Even with these additional responsibilities, few are able to put together an employment package that is considered full-time, although many find they devote more than 40 hours per week to their institutions.

One pre-school teacher who presently teaches part-time exemplifies the struggle of putting together a full-time position. Looking ahead at her career plans, she expressed a desire to work full-time as a Judaic pre-school teacher. But her school, like most others in her community, offers Judaic programs only in the morning. She could become full-time only by teaching non-Judaic subjects in the afternoon, by working with older students in a day school in the afternoon, or by the school’s reorganization of the timing of curricular offerings. Typically, the Jewish educational “marketplace” does not provide an opportunity for a teacher like this one to specialize (teaching a particular subject to a specific age group) and to work full-time.

### SALARY

Earnings from Jewish education must be viewed in the context of the part-time nature of the work. **Table 6** shows that 58% of the teachers we surveyed reported earning less than \$10,000 from their work in Jewish education in one school, while 43% reported earning less than \$5,000. (In Los Angeles, 69% of teachers earned less than \$10,000 per year, according to Aron and Phillips, 1988, but their sample was two thirds supplementary teachers.) Fifteen percent of the teachers in our survey said they earned between \$10,000 and \$15,000; 18% reported wages between \$15,000 and \$30,000; while 9% reported earnings of over \$30,000 annually. As

## Conditions of Work

one educational director of a day school lamented: "We certainly lose the best teachers to principalships, assistant principalships, administrative roles, because that is what day schools are willing to pay for. They are not willing to pay the same thing for teachers."

This is a problem with which all education systems (not only Jewish education) must contend: Because there are few opportunities for job promotion within teaching, often a teacher must leave the classroom to advance professionally.

Teaching at more than one school provides modest gains to teachers' incomes; the gains are limited because teachers rarely work more than 10 hours per week at the second school. Seventy-four percent of those who teach in more than one school reported they receive less than \$5,000 for the additional work, while 19% receive between \$5,000 and \$10,000.

Table 6. Teachers' Earnings from One School

EARNINGS	Percent
Less than \$1000	3%
\$1000-\$4999	40%
\$5000-\$9999	15%
\$10000-\$14999	15%
\$15000-\$19999	9%
\$20000-\$24999	5%
\$25000-\$29999	4%
Over \$30000	9%

We asked the teachers: "How important to your household is the income you receive from Jewish education?" Only 20% of teachers surveyed reported that their income from Jewish education is the main source of income for their household. Fifty-one percent indicated that their income from Jewish education is an important source of additional income, while 29% said their wages from teaching were insignificant to their household

income. Responses to a similar question in Los Angeles were more evenly distributed: 32% said their income from Jewish education was the main source of household income; 34% called it an important supplement; and 32% said it was unimportant (Aron and Phillips, 1988). In Miami, 57% of day school teachers reported that more than half their household income came from Jewish teaching, but only 24% of pre-school teachers and 18% of supplementary school teachers reported that level of importance (Sheskin, 1988).

An exception to the general pattern in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, and more consistent with Miami's, is that income from teaching for teachers in Orthodox day schools is typically not only an important source of additional pay but the main source of income. Fifty-nine percent of teachers in Orthodox day schools reported that their wages from Jewish education were the main source of income, compared to 35% who indicated their wages were an important source of additional income; only 6% of teachers in Orthodox schools reported their income from Jewish education was insignificant. Moreover, among those who work full-time in Orthodox day schools (that is, those who work 25 hours per week or more, or about four fifths of teachers in Orthodox day schools), 79% said their wages from Jewish education were their main source of income.

For many teachers the additional income, however small, is very meaningful. As one educator stated: "The salary is extremely important. That's how I pay for my kid's education. I have to be working. I want to be working, but also that salary is essential." Overall, teachers were more satisfied than dissatisfied with their salaries, but the level of satisfaction varied substantially by setting. As Table 7 illustrates, a substantial majority of supplementary school teachers were somewhat or very satisfied with their salaries. However, just under half the day school teachers

## Conditions of Work

Table 7. Teachers' Satisfaction with Salaries

SETTING	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Somewhat Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Day Schools	14%	35%	28%	23%
Supplementary Schools	33%	42%	19%	7%
Pre-Schools	7%	30%	30%	32%
TOTAL	20%	36%	25%	19%

Note: Rows may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

and only 37% of pre-school teachers reported satisfaction with their salaries. A comparison between full-time and part-time teachers revealed somewhat less satisfaction among full-time teachers, but the main differences in satisfaction occurred across the three settings, as exhibited in **Table 7**. Our interviews confirmed a general pattern of greater satisfaction with salaries among supplementary school teachers, and the most dissatisfaction among pre-school teachers.

### BENEFITS

Few benefits are available to teachers in Jewish schools. Given the part-time nature of teaching, the scarcity of benefits may not be surprising. However, most full-time Jewish educators (those teaching more than 25 hours per week) reported that they are not offered many benefits (*see Table 8*). Full-time teachers are most likely to be offered tuition subsidies (75%) (i.e., reduced tuition for their children at their school) and money to attend conferences (66%). Of those who teach full-time, only 28% are offered disability benefits, 48% are offered health benefits, and 45% have pension plans.

When teachers put together "job packages" that include part-time positions in a number of settings, they are not eligible for health, pension, or disability benefits from any one institution. Even when benefits are offered, the size of the benefits may be negligible. One day school principal indicated:

Today a health plan for a family is about \$5500 a year. A full-time teacher may get \$900 from the school; the rest they have to pay for. They get a small allocation. It's a token, but it's not that much. The same thing with pension plans. The pension plan until now was a fair plan. It was little, but it was fair. That's been suspended because of the financial crisis, so there is none at all. That's all the benefits there are.

Benefits differ somewhat across settings, mainly as a function of the percentage of teachers in that setting who work full-time. Forty-seven percent of teachers in day schools reported that health benefits are available to them. Only 29% of

Table 8. Availability of Benefits for Full-Time and Part-Time Teachers: Percentages of teachers who are offered various benefits

BENEFIT	Full-Time Teachers	Part-Time Teachers	All Teachers
Tuition subsidies	75%	42%	52%
Day care	28%	15%	19%
Membership subsidies	46%	33%	37%
Synagogue privileges	17%	19%	19%
Conferences	66%	55%	58%
Sabbaticals	14%	6%	9%
Disability	28%	9%	15%
Health	48%	15%	26%
Pension	45%	16%	25%



## Conditions of Work

those in pre-schools and a mere 7% of supplementary school teachers are offered health benefits. About 46% of teachers in day schools and 27% of those in pre-schools are offered pensions, as compared with just 7% of supplementary school teachers.

### WORK CONDITIONS AND MOTIVATION FOR TEACHING

Although earnings and benefits are meager compared to most professions, they are still important to many teachers in Jewish schools. When we surveyed part-time teachers about what possible incentives would encourage them to work full-time in Jewish education, salary, benefits, and job security/tenure were the most important incentives (see Table 9). At the same time, it is not extrinsic motivators such as salary and benefits that attract people to this work. Instead, those who have chosen the field of Jewish education typically find their greatest rewards in the intangibles. As one supplementary school teacher commented:

[F]inancially, no, this is not the best job in the world. The reward is watching children grow.

I don't think any of the synagogues really pay that well. We have no benefits. I've worked 26 years without any benefits whatsoever. Nothing. When I retire, it is: 'Good-bye. It was nice knowing you.' You really have to love what you are doing, let's face it.

Similarly, another teacher explained that the opportunity to teach Judaism to children was key for her:

When I go into any position, it's not how much are you going pay me, it's what kind of job am I going to do. Am I really going to reach the children, am I going to have the support of the administration, am I going to impart what I know?

A synagogue educator who formerly taught in a public high school emphasized her commitment to the Jewish people in explaining her reason for working in Jewish education:

[W]hile I was teaching in a public school setting...I decided [that] if I was putting this much energy into working with teens and was doing a good job with it, I really felt strongly that I wanted to make a commitment to doing it with Jewish teenagers.

Table 9. Percentages of Part-Time Teachers Who Indicated that a Particular Incentive Would Encourage Them to Work Full-Time (First, Second, and Third Most Important Incentives)

INCENTIVE	First	Second	Third
Increased salary	33%	18%	7%
Availability of benefits	3%	22%	13%
Job security/tenure	4%	6%	14%
Acquiring a better Judaica background	6%	4%	5%
Acquiring a better education background	3%	3%	2%
Opportunities for career advancement	6%	6%	9%
Availability of additional job opportunities	4%	3%	4%
Availability of affordable training opportunities	1%	1%	2%
Change in family status	9%	3%	5%
Additional resources in work environment	—	1%	2%
Opportunities to work with and learn from colleagues	1%	2%	4%

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## Conditions of Work

Other teachers emphasized the warmth of the Jewish community as a reward from Jewish teaching. A pre-school educator commented:

I think the reason I am in Jewish education is the community....I feel very comfortable. When I first came to the Center, it was almost a sense of family. I just always enjoyed coming to work, enjoyed the people that I was working with.

Our research suggests that the current teaching force is largely composed of people who find their greatest rewards from teaching in the intangible rather than tangible benefits. Of course, persons for whom the tangible benefits would be more salient may simply not have chosen to enter this field. It is interesting to note that our findings about the importance of intangible rewards mirror the findings of research on general education, where intangible benefits are also highly salient for teachers (Lortie, 1975).

### SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Most educators work part-time, have few tangible benefits, and receive salaries that they consider to be an important, supplementary part of their household income. For some educators, this situation is compatible with their goals and family situations. For others, the current situation does not meet their needs, and they are not pleased with their salaries and benefits. Since we did not ques-

tion people who chose not to enter Jewish education, we cannot say whether these work conditions discourage people from entering the field at all, but our results are consistent with that speculation.

What do these findings imply for the notion of building a profession of Jewish education? The working conditions of teachers in Jewish schools, particularly the part-time nature of work, the modest significance of earnings, and the absence of benefits for many teachers, are not typical of other professional occupations. Moreover, we found that many teachers chose their positions *because* of the availability of part-time work. On the one hand, these conditions may make it difficult to build a profession. The scarcity of full-time positions with substantial salary and benefits packages may make it difficult to recruit teachers who are willing to conform to high standards of professional preparation and development. On the other hand, just because someone chooses to work part-time does not mean he or she would necessarily resist efforts to raise standards. A part-time teacher may be experienced and committed to Jewish teaching, and therefore welcome opportunities for professional development. To resolve these issues, we need to examine the career orientation and experiences of full-time and part-time teachers.

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## Career Patterns

To build the profession of Jewish education, it is essential to learn about the career patterns of today's teachers. How were they recruited into Jewish education? How experienced are they? Do they view Jewish education as a career? What are their plans for the future? Answering these questions will tell us whether investing in our current teachers is a sound strategy.

### ENTERING JEWISH EDUCATION

The field of Jewish education offers relatively easy access to prospective members, although pre-schools are more highly regulated by the state than other settings. In interviews, we learned that teachers in Jewish schools enter the field as early as high school and as late as retirement. This wide range, combined with the part-time nature of

## Career Patterns

teaching in Jewish settings, allows educators to teach while they are pursuing other endeavors, such as post-secondary schooling. Since educators typically enter the field in an unregulated manner, without complete formal preparation or certification, there is a common perception that “anybody can do it.” Some educators make casual decisions to enter the field and expect on-the-job training to prepare them as they teach. Interviews with supplementary school teachers suggest that an overwhelming number entered the field without much planning. They became Jewish educators because someone, usually a friend, told them about an opening at the synagogue. As one supplementary teacher recounted:

Well, basically, I got recruited through a friend. I have a friend who was teaching here and she said it was fun and great and a good thing to do. She thought I might like doing that. My first reaction, of course, was: “Who am I to be teaching?” I have no formal education as a teacher and certainly not of Judaica or Hebrew. And she just said from what she knew that I knew, I had all the qualifications. I had no experience in Jewish education, but my friend persuaded me. And so just indirectly, and luckily, I became involved in Jewish education.

Teachers most commonly obtained their current positions by approaching the school directly (29%), through a friend or mentor (30%), or by being recruited by the school (24%). Our interviews indicated that it is rare for teachers to be recruited for their positions from outside their current community.

Factors influencing the decision to work at a particular school coincide with the part-time nature of teaching. On the survey, 87% of teachers said the hours and days available for work were an important reason for choosing to work at a particular school. This was the most prevalent reason mentioned. As one teacher explained,

I had my third child, and I was feeling like I needed to get out and do something, but I couldn't do something on a full-time basis. [Working as a Jewish educator] seemed to coincide with what I needed at the time.

Location was also an important factor, cited by 75% of the teachers, and the reputation of the school was listed as important by 66% of the teachers. Religious affiliation was indicated as important by 68% of the teachers—55% percent of supplementary school teachers teach in synagogues where they are also members—and 51% of the teachers mentioned salary as an important factor in choosing to work at a particular school. The most important reason for choosing a specific second school was the same as that for choosing the first: scheduling. In addition, 64% percent of those teaching in a second school reported that location was a significant factor in their decision to teach in a particular school, and 55% listed salary as an important factor.

## EXPERIENCE

There is considerable stability in the field of Jewish teaching. The top panel of **Table 10** indicates that 14% of teachers have been in the field for more than 20 years; 24% for between 10 and 20; and 29% for 6 to 10 years. Another 27% have worked in Jewish education for 2 to 5 years, and only 6% were in their first year at the time of our survey.

At the same time, teachers' tenure at their current schools is less extensive than their experience in the field. The majority of teachers, 59%, have been teaching in their current institutions for 5 years or less; 18% have been teaching in their current settings for the first time. Others, totaling just 18%, have been teaching in their current institutions for more than 10 years. Twenty-three percent have been teaching 6 to 10 years in their current schools.

## Career Patterns

Table 10. **Stability and Continuity of Teachers**

Total Years of Experience in Jewish Education	
1 or less	6%
2 to 5	27%
6 to 10	29%
11 to 20	24%
20 or more	14%
Total Years of Teaching Experience in the Current Community	
1 or less	11%
2 to 5	34%
6 to 10	27%
11 to 20	19%
20 or more	10%
Total Years of Teaching Experience in the Present School	
1 or less	18%
2 to 5	41%
6 to 10	23%
11 to 20	13%
20 or more	5%

**Note:** Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Supplementary schools have the highest proportion of novice teachers. Whereas only 9% of supplementary school teachers were new to Jewish education, 27% were new to their current schools. Twelve percent of day school teachers and 13% of pre-school teachers were new to their current schools. Figures for new teachers reflect new faculty positions as well as movement across schools.

### CAREER OPPORTUNITIES

There are limited career advancement opportunities in the three communities. Teachers can make horizontal moves from one setting to another, although their denominational or philosophical orientation constrains this movement to a certain degree.

There are two ways teachers move out of their regular positions. Some apply for non-teaching

positions when they become vacant, while others are tapped by administrators who see promising qualities in them. The fact that teachers are recruited without benefit of a position's being advertised narrows the perceived range of opportunities. Our interviews indicated that many positions are filled before it is generally known that they are vacant. Vertical movement is constrained by the small number of positions, and top-level administrative positions are sometimes filled by recruits from outside the community.

### CAREER PERCEPTIONS

Interestingly, although only a minority of teachers work full-time in Jewish education (32%), a majority, 59% of teachers, describe themselves as having a career in Jewish education (*see Table II*). In fact, 54% of those who work part-time in Jewish education (those who teach fewer than 25 hours per week) indicate that they have careers in Jewish education. At the same time, 31% of the full-time Jewish educators do not view Jewish education as their career.

Teachers in day schools and pre-schools under Orthodox sponsorship are the most likely to indicate they have a career in Jewish education.

Table 11. **Teachers' Career Perceptions**

SETTING	View Their Work in Jewish Education as a Career
Day Schools	79%
Orthodox	88%
Other	56%
Supplementary Schools	44%
Pre-Schools	60%
Orthodox	89%
Other	56%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>59%</b>

## Career Patterns

In these settings, close to 90% describe themselves as having a career in Jewish education. Almost two thirds of teachers in other day schools also describe Jewish education as their career, as do 56% of teachers in other pre-schools and 44% of supplementary school teachers.

### FUTURE PLANS

The majority of teachers we surveyed plan to continue working in their present positions (*see Table 12*). Across all settings, 64% of the teachers reported that they plan to stay in their present positions over the next 3 years, and only 6% planned to seek a position outside Jewish education. In day schools, as many as 76% reported that they expected to stay in their current jobs. (Teachers in Orthodox and other day schools responded similarly to this question.)

### TEACHER EMPOWERMENT

Our interviews with teachers indicated that they play little role in developing school policies for curriculum and instruction. In general, the teacher's role is not to participate in developing the curriculum but to implement it. Teachers generally feel autonomous in their classrooms,

but this freedom is constrained by set curricula and resources. Teachers seldom participate in networks beyond their own schools. Moreover, teachers have few opportunities to collaborate with other teachers even within their own schools. While the phenomenon of teacher isolation is not unknown in general education, it is exacerbated in Jewish education because of the part-time nature of most teachers' work.

By and large, teachers are at their institutions to meet their classes and to attend infrequent faculty meetings. This is true across all settings. Since their agreements with their institutions call for a certain amount of pay for a certain number of contact hours with students, principals are often reluctant to ask them to be present for professional discussions and teachers have accepted the "drop-in" structure laid out for them. The framing of their work agreements and the structure of their work settings conspire to discourage teachers from collaborating together either in curricular areas or on professional matters that extend beyond the classroom walls. There are some exceptions, but, in general, teachers lead isolated professional lives and do not participate in the conversations that affect their professional futures.

Table 12. **Future Plans of Teachers in Jewish Schools**

FUTURE PLANS	SETTINGS			TOTAL
	Day	Supp.	Pre-	
Continue same position	76%	56%	63%	64%
Change schools	6%	4%	3%	4%
Change positions	3%	2%	2%	2%
Seek a position outside of Jewish education	3%	9%	6%	6%
Other (e.g., going back to school)	2%	7%	5%	5%
Undecided	10%	22%	21%	18%

Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

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*Career  
Patterns*

**SUMMARY AND  
IMPLICATIONS**

Most teachers in Jewish schools have substantial experience in Jewish education. Most plan to continue teaching in their current positions, and a majority indicate that they have made Jewish education their career. Even among part-time teachers, more than half describe themselves as having a career in Jewish education. Most strikingly, 44% of supplementary school teachers view their work in this way.

The commitment and stability reflected in these findings suggest that the notion of a profession of Jewish education is not as far-fetched as its part-time nature might indicate. If teachers plan to stay in Jewish education and view it as a career, they may respond positively to increased opportunities for professional growth. Through

professional growth, the weaknesses in pre-service training may be addressed. Moreover, the commitment and stability of teachers in Jewish education suggest that investment in their professional growth would have a long-term payoff.

Only 6% of teachers who responded to our survey were in their first year of working in Jewish education, but 18% were new to their current schools. The finding that 3 times as many teachers were new to their schools as were new to the field reflects movement by teachers among Jewish schools. Individual schools may therefore question whether they will reap the full benefits of providing extensive professional development to their teachers. Consequently it seems important to view professional growth for teachers as a responsibility of the local and continental Jewish community in addition to being an obligation for schools.



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## Conclusions

The findings in this report shed light on the characteristics of teachers in Jewish schools in North America. The study was restricted to three cities, but the findings are similar to data available from other cities and most likely reflect patterns that are common to many communities.

Although the results show substantial diversity among teachers, both within and across settings, and although the field of Jewish teaching is not highly professionalized, the potential exists for enhancing the professional standards and conditions of teaching in Jewish schools.

### **A number of key findings contribute to this conclusion:**

1. Roughly half the teachers have completed formal training in the field of education. Far fewer have degrees or certification in Jewish content areas; outside of Orthodox day schools, such training is especially rare.
2. Overall, 19% of teachers are formally trained in both education and Jewish content; 47% are trained in one area or the other; and 34% are not formally trained in either field.
3. Pre-collegiate Jewish education does not make up for teachers' limited backgrounds in Jewish content. Almost one third of the teachers received no pre-collegiate Jewish education after age 13, including 29% of supplementary school teachers and 55% of pre-school teachers. Eleven percent of teachers in non-Orthodox pre-schools are not Jewish.
4. In-service education also fails to compensate for limited formal training. Required workshops averaged 3.8 over 2 years for day school teachers, 4.4 for supplementary school teachers, and 6.2 among pre-school teachers. Particularly in day and supplementary schools, the amount of required in-service training was far below common standards for public school teachers.

5. Interviews raised questions about the quality of in-service education, highlighting the isolated and fragmented character of workshops. In-service education is not targeted to meet teachers' diverse needs, and it is not part of a coherent plan for their professional growth, particularly in day and supplementary schools.

6. Coupled with limited formal training is the finding that work conditions are not professionalized. The teaching force is largely part-time; even in day and pre-schools, around half the teachers work part-time. Only 20% of teachers say their earnings from Jewish education are the main source of family income.

7. Benefits are scarce, even for full-time teachers. Among full-time teachers in all settings, only 48% reported that they are offered health benefits, 45% have access to pensions, and 28% are offered disability coverage.

8. Despite these conditions, most teachers in Jewish schools describe their work in Jewish education as a career. Even among supplementary school teachers, almost all of whom work part-time, 44% say they have a career in Jewish education. Most teachers have 6 or more years of experience, and most plan to stay in the field.

What should we make of these findings? Taken as a whole, they suggest that improving the quantity and quality of professional development for teachers, along with enhancing the conditions of employment, is the strategy most likely to improve the quality of the teaching force in Jewish schools.

### **IMPROVING OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

Why should professional development be the focus of efforts to respond to these findings? First, many teachers are limited in their formal training, and improved and extended in-service education

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## Conclusions

may compensate for the lack of pre-service training. Second, the field of Jewish education is largely part-time, and many teachers choose it precisely because of that characteristic. Hence, while we do not mean to dismiss intensified recruitment efforts, the part-time nature of the work means it is unlikely that the field will be transformed through recruitment of a large cadre of teachers who are formally trained as Jewish educators.

Third, and most strikingly, enhancement of professional growth is a powerful strategy for reform because teachers are committed, stable, and career-oriented. Even among part-time teachers who lack formal training as Jewish educators, many view their work in Jewish education as a career and plan to stay in their positions for some time to come. These teachers are a ripe target for higher standards for professional growth. While it is not realistic to expect Jewish schools to hire only trained teachers—because the candidates are simply not available—our data suggest that it is realistic to ask teachers to participate in some degree of high-quality ongoing professional training.

Our findings about in-service education point to two necessary aspects of change. First, the quantity must be increased. At present, the extent of in-service training is far too meager, especially in day and supplementary schools, to compensate for background deficiencies in Judaica and pedagogy. Second, the quality must be improved. Our interviews indicated that in-service experiences are isolated, fragmented, not targeted to meet diverse needs, and generally not part of a coherent program. These problems should be remedied.

Other analyses of our data suggest ways of addressing these problems. Gamoran, Goldring, Robinson, Goodman, and Tamivaara (1997) noted that supplementary teachers in a community that provided financial incentives to teachers

and schools for attending workshops reported significantly higher levels of required in-service training. Also, teachers in pre-schools that are certified by the state reported more required workshops on average. These findings indicate that raising standards is possible, that the community as a whole can be a source of standards, and that financial inducements may help maintain adherence to standards.

Raising standards for quantity will be of little avail, however, if the quality of professional growth is not improved simultaneously. Staff development should emphasize the diverse needs of teachers, corresponding to their varied training, experience, subject-matter knowledge, and grade levels. New professional development should also emphasize the need for a coherent, ongoing, tailored program for teachers, instead of one-shot, isolated generic workshops. In light of teachers' commitment to their work, we anticipate that they would be eager to participate in high-quality, targeted programs.

### IMPROVING CONDITIONS OF WORK

Conditions of work must also be shifted towards higher standards. This is important for three reasons. First, it may encourage more people to train professionally as Jewish educators. Our data do not address this possibility, but it is plausible. Second, improving the conditions of work may encourage more teachers to work full-time. Our data do address this notion: Part-time teachers indicated that salary, benefits, and job security could make them consider full-time work. Standards for professional growth can be higher for full-time teachers, so the two reforms (more professional growth and more professional working conditions) could build upon one another. Third, improving work conditions for teachers is a moral imperative. In this day, it is not appropriate that many teachers in



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## Conclusions

Jewish schools work full-time in Jewish education but are not offered health benefits.

Indeed, perhaps the most important reform of working conditions would be to extend benefit packages to teachers who work full-time in Jewish education. Community agencies could create programs to provide benefits to teachers who work full-time by teaching at more than one institution. Such programs could serve as incentives to increase the proportion of full-time teachers and could require of participants intensive professional development.

Salaries for pre-school teachers pose a more difficult problem. Earnings are low and teachers are dissatisfied, but this is a characteristic of the field of early childhood education and is not specific to Jewish schools. However, if Jewish schools could be on the forefront of increasing pay standards for early childhood education, they could also demand professional growth in the area of Jewish content as well as in child development; this would address the most serious shortcoming among teachers in Jewish pre-schools.

### **TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN**

To some extent, these problems can be addressed on a community-by-community basis, as each community studies its educators and devises a comprehensive plan in response. The need for community-wide planning in education is clear. Opportunities for full-time work and career advancement ultimately rest with the community as a whole. For example, the position of

“community educator” can provide an opportunity to create full-time work, with appropriate salary and benefits, for teachers employed at more than one school. In addition, these educators may take on leadership responsibilities within the community, such as mentoring new teachers or peer coaching.

Questions about standards and accountability for educational personnel might also be addressed at the community level. Communities may design systems for professional development, which include standards for in-service training coupled with increased salaries and benefits for qualifying teachers. Although communities cannot set binding rules for individual schools, community guidelines might provide a moral force that would upgrade the quality of personnel. Further, because teachers may change schools but remain in Jewish education, professional growth for teachers must be seen as a communal responsibility in addition to a mandate for schools.

To succeed, a comprehensive plan would have to incorporate the full educational spectrum of the community, address the critical needs identified in this report, and be adequately funded to do so. At the same time, national Jewish organizations can play an important role in supporting these efforts by setting standards, developing programs of in-service education, and providing intellectual resources and normative support for change. The task may be daunting, but the stakes are high, and now is the time to act.

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## Appendix: Data and Methods

This study draws on two sources of data: a survey of teachers in Jewish schools, and a series of interviews with Jewish teachers, principals, and other educational leaders in the CIJE Lead Communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee. (Educational leaders were also surveyed; those results will be reported by Goldring, Gamoran, and Robinson, forthcoming.) The surveys were administered in the spring and fall of 1993 to all Judaica teachers at all Jewish day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-school programs in the three communities. General studies teachers in day schools were not included. Non-Jewish pre-school teachers who teach Judaica were included. Lead Community project directors in each community coordinated the survey administration. Teachers completed the questionnaires and returned them at their schools. (Some teachers who did not receive a survey form at school were mailed a form and a self-addressed envelope and returned their forms by mail.) An updated version of the survey and the interview protocols is available from CIJE (Gamoran et al., 1996).

Over 80% of the teachers in each community filled out and returned the questionnaire, for a total of 983 teachers out of 1192 who were surveyed. In analyzing the results, we avoided sampling inferences (e.g., t-tests) because we are analyzing population figures, not samples. Respondents include 302 day school teachers, 392 supplementary school teachers, and 289 pre-school teachers. Teachers who work at more than one type of setting were categorized according to the setting (day school, supplementary school, or pre-school) at which they teach the most hours (or at the setting they listed first, if hours were the same for two types of settings). Each teacher was counted only once. If teachers were counted in all the settings in which they teach, the results would look about the same,

except that supplementary school teachers would look more like day school teachers, because 61 day school teachers also work in supplementary schools. In most cases, we report results separately by setting (day, supplementary, and pre-school); in some cases where differences were salient, we further separate day schools and pre-schools under Orthodox sponsorship from other day and pre-schools.

Despite differences in the Jewish populations of the three communities, results were generally comparable across communities for schools of a given type; we do not provide separate results by community in this report. The broad comparability of results from the three communities in this study suggests that the profile of teachers presented here is likely to resemble that of many other communities. Where possible, we provide results from other surveys carried out in Boston, Miami, and Los Angeles, which shed light on the generalizability of our results. We also compare findings to the 1990 National Jewish Population Survey to see how teachers differ from other Jewish adults on some indicators.

Missing responses were excluded from calculations of percentages. Generally, fewer than 5% of responses were missing for any one item. An exception was the question about certification in Jewish education. In two communities, many teachers left this blank, apparently because they were not sure what it meant. On the assumption that teachers who did not know what certification meant were not themselves certified, for this item only we calculated percentages based on the total who returned the survey forms, instead of the total who responded to the question. Another question with substantial missing data asked teachers to report their ages. Because 50% of teachers did not respond to this question, we have not reported this result.

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***Appendix:***  
***Data***  
***and Methods***

The interviews for our study were designed and carried out by Julie Tammivaara, Roberta Goodman, and Claire Rottenberg, CIJE field researchers. Interviews were conducted with teachers in pre-schools, supplementary schools, and day schools, as well as with educational

directors and educators at central agencies and institutions of Jewish higher learning. In total, 125 educators were interviewed, generally for one to two hours. All quotations in this report are from those interviews.



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## GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS: Findings from Three Communities

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### BACKGROUND

In 1990, researchers at the University of Michigan found that women high school teachers nationwide earned an average of \$2,300 to \$3,300 less than men who teach in high schools (Lee and Smith, 1990). The study used data from a sample of 8,894 teachers in 377 high schools compiled during the 1983-84 school year as part of the U.S. Education Department's ongoing *High School and Beyond* study. Even when controlling for educational backgrounds, experience, and differing wage levels across cities, the authors of this study found that women teachers in public, private, and Catholic high schools still earn less than men. These findings conform to a general pattern of gender-based salary differences in the workplace, which has been documented for decades.

While much attention has been given to issues of gender equity among students, less attention has been paid to teachers. A few studies (Lee, Smith, and Cioci, 1993; Huberman, 1993; Kalaian and Freeman, 1994), have pointed toward specific gender differences in teachers' reasons for choosing an educational career, their orientation to pre-

service training, their commitment to a career in education, and their perceptions of leadership.

Recent community-wide studies of teachers in Jewish schools in Boston, Los Angeles, and Miami, in addition to studies conducted by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, have provided valuable information about the backgrounds, careers, and work conditions of Jewish educators (Aron and Phillips, 1988; Gamoran et al., 1997; Frank, Margolis, and Weisner, 1992; Sheskin, 1988). However, none of these studies has focused on gender differences. Considering the amount of gender inequality among teachers that has appeared in other contexts, it is important to find out whether the same condition holds in Jewish schools. The existence and degree of gender differences may have important implications for the recruitment, training, and retention of teachers in Jewish schools.

This article explores gender differences in three related areas: career paths, Judaic and educational backgrounds, and current work conditions. It seeks to answer the following questions:

- Do teachers differ by gender in their reasons for entering Jewish education?
- Do teachers differ by gender in the length of their experience and their commitment to the profession of Jewish education?
- Do teachers differ by gender in their early childhood Jewish education?
- Do teachers differ by gender in their formal training as Jewish educators?

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## 2 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 1. Reasons for Entering Jewish Education

Reasons	% of Educators Who Indicated Reason as "Very Important"	
	Women	Men
Working with children	82	63
Teaching about Judaism	63	85
Love of Judaism	61	80
Learning about Judaism	51	61
Part-time Nature of the Profession	46	14
Supplement to income	45	20
Recognition as a teacher	29	12

- Do teachers differ by gender in regard to the conditions of their work (i.e., hours, salary, benefits)?

## METHOD OF STUDY

In 1992-93, the Council for Initiative in Jewish Education (CIJE) in collaboration with the Jewish communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee conducted a study of all Judaica teachers in the day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools in those communities. A survey was administered to the entire population of Judaica teachers (1192), and a response rate of 82% (983 teachers) was obtained. Formal in-depth interviews were conducted with 125 Jewish educators, including teachers and educational directors of day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools, as well as central agency staff and Jewish educators in higher education. The findings on teachers are highlighted in CIJE's Policy Brief (Gamoran et al., 1994) and reported more completely by Gamoran et al. (1997). Interview responses were first presented in reports to each community, and quotes in this paper are taken from those reports.

The data for this article are taken primarily from this survey. Data from the in-depth interviews highlight the quantitative findings. In analyzing and reporting the results, we have avoided sampling inferences (e.g., t-tests) because we are analyzing population

figures, not samples. Data from all three communities are combined for all analyses. Despite some differences, the teachers in each community are largely similar. The broad comparability of results from the three communities—delineated in the study mentioned above—suggests that the gender differences and similarities presented here are likely to resemble that of many other Jewish communities.

## FINDINGS

## Demographics

Eighty-four percent of the teachers (804 teachers) in the three communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee are women. Overall, teachers are divided fairly evenly among day schools (31% of 302 teachers), supplementary schools (40% or 392 teachers) and pre-schools (29% or 289 teachers). However, almost all pre-school teachers (99%) are women, while 29% of day school teachers and 18% of supplementary school teachers are men. Among Orthodox day schools, the percentage of men rises to 45%, while in non-Orthodox day schools men only account for 8% of the teachers. In total, almost half (48%) of the male teachers work in Orthodox day schools, while 43% work in supplementary schools.

Almost all (97%) of the teachers are Jewish, the 3% who are not Jewish are all women.

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*GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS* 3

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Sixty-two percent of <sup>men</sup> male teachers are Orthodox, while women are spread fairly evenly among the denominations: 33% Reform; 27% Conservative; 26% Orthodox; 8% Traditional; and 6% Other. Men and women are similarly represented in all age categories: The mean age of both groups is 38. Eighty percent of women and 84% of men are married; thirteen percent of women and 14% of men are single. Three percent of men are separated, divorced, or widowed, whereas 7% of women have this marital status. Lastly, while the majority of men (89%) and women (86%) teachers were born in the United States, 8% of women were born in Israel compared to 3% of men. Ninety-four percent of the Israeli-born teachers in the three communities are women.

### Jewish Education as a Career

#### Entering Jewish Education

Most teachers enter Jewish education for its intrinsic, as opposed to extrinsic, rewards (Gamoran et al. 1997). The opportunity to transmit the joy of Judaism to children was often cited as an important reason for entering the field, while financial compensation was deemed important by few teachers. *Do teachers differ by gender in their reasons for entering Jewish education?*

As Table 1 indicates, men tend to value those intrinsic rewards associated with the teaching and learning of Judaism more than women do, though most women did value

those highly. Eighty-five percent of men as compared to 63% of women reported that "teaching about Judaism" was a very important reason for entering Jewish education. Similarly, a greater percentage of men indicated that "love of Judaism" and "learning about Judaism" were very important to them.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, greater percentages of women favored rewards associated with teaching children as important factors in choosing to enter Jewish education.<sup>3</sup> Eighty-two percent of women, as compared to 63% of men, reported "working with children" as very important. Similarly, though percentages were low for both groups, more than twice the percentage of women than men saw "recognition as a teacher" as a very important reward.

In regard to the extrinsic rewards of teaching, more women (46%) than men (14%) tended to consider the "part-time nature of the profession" as a very important inducement to entering the field. Also, more women (46%) than men (20%) entered Jewish education because it could provide a "supplement to their income." Seemingly, when men enter Jewish education it is more likely that they desire a full-time position in which the salary from Jewish education would be their main source of income. Findings on this issue — 56% of men as compared to 12% of women consider their salary from Jewish education to be their main source of income — indirectly confirm this proposition.

When asked about the factors that influenced their decisions to work in the school at

Table 2. Factors in Considering Where to Work

Factors	% of Educators Who Indicated Factor as Affecting Their Decision	
	Women	Men
Hours & Days Available	89	78
Location	76	70
Reputation of Schools & Students	67	62
Religious Orientation	67	76
Salary	49	58
Friends Who Work There	47	44

## 4 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 3. Length of Employment

Years	Years Employed in Jewish Education	
	Women	Men
5 Years or Less	33%	31%
6 to 10 Years	30%	24%
11 to 20 Years	25%	22%
21 or More Years	12%	23%

Years	Years Employed in Current School	
	Women	Men
5 Years or Less	60%	58%
6 to 10 Years	24%	19%
11 to 20 Years	13%	15%
21 or More Years	4%	8%

which they are currently employed their answers corroborate the previous findings. As Table 2 indicates, the highest percentages of both men and women reported that scheduling was an important consideration, though 89% of women compared to 78% of men listed this as a consideration. While the religious character of the school was ranked second by men (in regard to the percentage of respondents who indicated it to be a factor), it was the fourth most important consideration for women (as a group).

Both sets of findings illustrate differences between men and women in the factors used in considering whether or not to enter the field of Jewish education and in selecting a particular school at which to work. For men, religious (Jewish) considerations seem to dominate. For women teaching children in a flexible work environment seems most important. Interviews conducted with Jewish educators highlight these differences.

A woman teacher told about beginning to teach Sunday school in order to pay for her tuition in a graduate social work program.

In thinking about what I really loved to do during those two years that I was in graduate school, I realize it was the teaching. I liked my

Sunday morning better than anything else, better than social work school.

Moreover, many women related how the part-time nature of the profession facilitated their entrance into the field.

I had my third child, and I was feeling like I needed to get out and do something, but I couldn't do something on a full-time basis. [Working as a Jewish educator] seemed to coincide with what I needed at the time.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

I worked first in the public schools. When my children were little, I could only accept the half-day kind of job, so that is how I originally started working [in Jewish education].

#### Experience and Commitment

As a group, Jewish teachers show considerable stability. Only 6% of all teachers were in the first year of Jewish education when they responded to the survey, while thirty-eight percent had taught for more than 10 years (Gamoran et al., 1994). In addition, only 6% plan to leave Jewish education during the next

several years (Gamoran et al., 1997). As another measure of commitment, when asked if they considered Jewish education to be a "career," 69% of full-time teachers and 54% of part-time teachers said "Yes." *Do teachers differ by gender in the length of their experience and their commitment to the profession of Jewish education?*

As Table 3 illustrates, both men and women show considerable stability. Slightly more than two-thirds of both men and women have worked in Jewish education for six years or more. The slightly higher percentage of men compared to women who have worked in Jewish education for 21 or more years may be accounted for by the growth in non-Orthodox day schools and pre-schools over the last two decades.

In regard to their length of employment in their current position (see Table 3), there are no substantial gender differences. For both men and women, approximately 60% have worked in their current position for only 5 years or less.

The future plans of men and women similarly show little differences (see Table 4). Only 6% of men and 7% of women plan to leave Jewish education. Also, 67% of men and 64% of women plan to remain in their same position.

These findings indicate that both men and women, regardless of their diverse reasons for entering Jewish education, tend to stay for a considerable period of time. Yet, do they see their participation in Jewish education in the same way? As Table 5 shows, while almost three-quarters of the men consider Jewish

education as their career, women report a somewhat lower percentage (60%). This may be due to the larger percentage of women as compared to men who work part-time in Jewish education (see Table 8). However, if we only examine the findings for full-time educators (those working 25 hours or more), the gender difference is even greater (see Table 5). While almost all men who teach full-time consider Jewish education to be a career, only 62% of women who teach full-time feel the same way.

#### Summary

Men and women indicated substantial differences in their reasons for entering Jewish education. Men tended to view their decision as one that would provide them with the opportunity to learn continually and teach about Judaism. Similarly, their religious character of the school was a strong factor in their determination of where to work. In contrast, women viewed their choice of entering into Jewish education as an opportunity to teach children. The flexible and part-time nature of Jewish schooling facilitated their entrance and was the primary consideration in deciding at which Jewish school to work.

However, once they entered the field of Jewish education and selected a school at which to work, their career paths become similar. Both men and women have stayed in Jewish education for a considerable length of time, and both are comparably new to their current positions though they overwhelmingly plan to stay in them. Nevertheless, their

Table 4. Future Plans

Plans	Women	Men
Continue in Same Position	64%	69%
Change Schools or Position	6%	8%
Leave Jewish Education	6%	7%
Don't Know	19%	11%
Other	5%	5%

## 6 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 5. Jewish Education Is a Career?

<u>% of Teachers who Considered Jewish Education to Be Their Career</u>	
Women	57
(Only women who work full-time in Jewish education)	62
Men	72
(Only men who work full-time in Jewish education)	94

conceptualization of their work seems to be substantially different. Even when only examining the findings for full-time teachers, a substantially smaller proportion of women as compared to men view Jewish education as a career. This finding suggests that the depiction of Jewish education as avocational may characterize women more than men teachers.

#### Judaic and Educational Backgrounds

##### *Early Jewish Education*

Gamoran et al. (1994) reported that a greater percentage of teachers had a formal Jewish education as children, compared to the general population. Differences by gender were not reported. *Do teachers differ by gender in their early childhood Jewish education? Do they differ by gender in their formal training as Jewish educators?*

As indicated in Table 6, fifty-four percent of men reported attending a day school, yeshiva, or school in Israel, and only 2% indicated not attending any Jewish school before the age of 13. In comparison, only 30% of women attended a day school or school in Israel, while 15% did not attend any school before 13. Similarly, while 61% of men attended a day school, yeshiva, or school in Israel after the age of 13, only 30% of women did. In addition, while only 15% of men did not have any formal Jewish education after the age of 13, 16% of women did not. These gender differences seem to follow the pattern in the general population. Kosmin et al. (1991)

reported that 22% of men and 38% of women in the general population had no Jewish education as children.

##### *Formal Training*

Gamoran et al. (1997) argued that preparation for a career in Jewish education should consist of formal training in both education and Jewish studies. Formal training is defined by having a degree or certification in that area. Overall, 19% of Jewish teachers have training in both education and Jewish studies, while 34% are trained in neither. As Table 7 indicates, men and women illustrate similar proportions. Twenty-one percent of men and 18% of women have formal training in both education and Jewish studies, while 37% of men and 33% of women lack formal training in both areas.

The largest percentage of teachers (48%) have formal training in *either* education or Jewish studies. Differences between men and women are substantial here. While only 26% of women can be considered to have formal training in Jewish studies, 56% of men have training in Jewish studies (see Table 7). (Forty-one percent of men with training in Jewish studies have rabbinic ordination or smicha.) In contrast, while only 28% of men can be considered to have formal training in education, 59% of women have training in education. The figures present almost a mirror image of each other. In accordance with the emphasis on educational training found among women, 56% of women as compared to 29%

7

**GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS**

of men have previous experience working in general education.

*Summary*

Men come to the profession of Jewish education with a stronger Judaic background than women due to their early childhood education and additional formal training (often rabbinic). At the same time, women approach their work in Jewish education with a stronger foundation in educational pedagogy, gained either through study or experience in general education. Perhaps not surprisingly, these findings are consistent with their stated reasons for entering the profession. As mentioned earlier, men most often entered Jewish education to continue their life-long engagement with Judaism, while women most often entered Jewish education to teach children.

**Current Work Conditions**

*Full-time Employment?*

The field of Jewish education offers primarily part-time employment opportunities for

teachers. Sixty-eight percent of teachers in Jewish schools are part-time (Gamoran et al., 1994). Consequently, salary levels tend to remain low and benefits, such as health and pension plans, are unavailable to most teachers (Gamoran et al., 1997). *Yet, do teachers differ by gender in regard to the conditions of their work?*

As Table 8 illustrates, a greater percentage of men (46%) as compared to women (29%) work full-time in Jewish education.<sup>5</sup> Among those who work full-time in Jewish education, 95% of men and 91% of women do so at one school. The remaining teachers put together the equivalent of full-time employment (25 hours or more) through working at two or more schools.

*Salaries*

While salary levels, overall, are low in Jewish education, they are even lower for women than they are for men. As indicated in Table 9, while 41% of men earn over \$30,000, only 3% of women take home such high earnings. Instead, 44% of women earn less than \$5,000, and another 44% earn between

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*Table 6. Early Childhood Jewish Education*

**BEFORE AGE 11**

% of Teachers Who Attended This Type of Jewish School

<u>Type</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
None	15	2
1 Day/Week Supplementary School	28	15
2 or More Days/Week Supplementary School	27	29
Day School, Yeshiva or School in Israel	30	54

**AFTER AGE 13**

% of Teachers Who Attended This Type of Jewish School

<u>Type</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
None	36	15
1 Day/Week Supplementary School	22	11
2 or More Days/Week Supplementary School	13	13
Day School, Yeshiva or School in Israel	30	61

## 8 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 7. *Formal Training*

Areas	% of Teachers With a Degree or Certification in These Areas	
	Women	Men
Both Jewish Studies and Education	18	21
Only Jewish Studies	8	34
Only Education	41	7
Neither Jewish Studies or Education	33	37

\$5,000 and \$10,999. The distribution of men's salaries is bimodal with over three-quarters of men located either between \$1,000 and \$5,000 or over \$30,000. By contrast, the distribution among women has a single mode between \$1,000 and \$5,000 followed by a quick drop and then a gradual tapering off in subsequent categories.

Some of this wage gap may be due to the larger percentage of men as compared to women who teach full-time. However, including only those who teach full-time, the differences are even greater (see Table 9). While 76% of men who teach full-time earn over \$30,000, only 6% of women who teach full-time take home similar earnings. Instead, almost half of the women working full-time earn less than \$15,000.<sup>6</sup>

#### Benefits

While employer contributions to a health plan, overall, are unavailable to most teachers, they are less available to women than men. As Table 10 illustrates, a greater percentage of men (36%) as compared to women (24%) reported that they were offered health benefits from their schools. When only full-time teachers are considered, the difference is even greater: 41% of men and 35% of women who work full-time reported the availability of health benefits.

There is not a substantial difference between men and women in regard to pension benefits, as only one-quarter of both groups has that option (see Table 10).

#### Summary

The findings illustrate that, even when controlling for hours of employment (full-time vs. part-time), substantial differences exist in salary level and health benefits offered to women as compared to men. These differences exist despite the fact that men and women have similar stability in the field of Jewish education. Also, similar percentages of men and women are trained in both education and Jewish studies, and similar percentages have no training in either. As the earlier findings indicated, they do differ in regard to the emphasis on a Judaic or general education background.

#### Explaining Differences in Salary Levels

To explore factors that may account for the differences in salary levels between men and women teachers, a linear regression was used with reported salary levels as the dependent variable. This variable is coded as a scale of 1 to 8 with each point corresponding to the salary categories listed in Table 9, which range from less than \$1,000 to \$30,000 or more. *The primary hypothesis is that while gender differences exist in salary levels among educators, this may be due to other factors, such as hours employed and professional training.* The gender of the respondent is initially the only variable entered into the equation, as shown in Table 11. This shows that gender, by itself is a significant predictor of salary level, though the findings also indicate that gender only accounts for 10% of the

*GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS* 9

variation in salary levels.<sup>7</sup>

Next, three setting-related variables are entered into the equation in order to account for more of the variation in salary level and to determine if gender is still significantly related when other variables are considered. The findings indicate that hours of employment (full-time or part-time) and the setting (pre-school, day school, or supplementary school) are related to differences in salary level. Not surprisingly, full-time educators and day school educators earn more than part-time educators and those who work in pre-schools or supplementary schools ~~or pre-schools~~. The drop in the coefficient for gender between the first column (1.72) and the second column (.83) indicates that almost half of the raw gender difference is attributable to setting and hours of employment. Still, gender remains a significant predictor of salary level even after controlling for setting and hours. These variables together account for 66% of the variation in salary levels.

Next, six variables related to the background and career of the respondent are entered into the equation. The findings indicate that experience in Jewish education, formal training in education, and formal training in Jewish studies contribute significantly to salary levels. That is, experience and training tend to boost salary levels for teachers. Only the respondents' willingness to leave Jewish education is not significantly or substantially related to salary level. Together, these variables account for 69% of the variation in salary level.<sup>8</sup> Notably, even when controlling for all of these personal characteristics, gender is still a significant predictor of salary level.

Lastly, considering the possibility that ideolo-

gical differences between the denominations may influence salary levels of teachers, a variable indicating if the setting in which the respondent worked was Orthodox was entered into the equation. This also was significantly related to salary levels, with teachers in Orthodox schools earning more. Even after accounting for all of these factors, gender was still found to be a significant predictor of salary level.

Is the gender difference meaningful? The coefficient of 1.72 in the first column (see Table 11) means that on average, males tend to be ahead of females by almost two categories on the salary scale (see Table 9). After controlling for other relevant conditions, that difference drops to .83 or slightly less than one salary category. This difference is still larger than the gap between experienced and inexperienced teachers (a maximum of .63). It is also larger than the gap between trained and untrained teachers; a teacher trained in both education and Jewish studies would be about .62 categories ahead of an untrained teacher (.28 + .34 = .62). Viewed in this way, the gender difference in salaries must be regarded as substantial.

Do gender differences in salary exist in each setting? This question is relevant for day and supplementary schools, where both male and female teachers work. (Almost all pre-school teachers are female.) Table 12 provides separate regression results for day and supplementary schools. The first column shows substantial gender differences in day schools; the coefficient of 1.19 is even larger than in the sample as a whole. The second column of Table 12 indicates no gender difference in supplementary schools; the coefficient of .14

Table 8: Full-Time

Full-Time	% of Teachers Who Work Full-Time (25 hours or more)	
	Women	Men
In Jewish Education	29	46
In One School	25	40

*per week*

## 10 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 9. Salary

Salary	Women	(Full-Time Only)	Men	(Full-Time Only)
Less than \$1,000	3%	—	3%	—
\$1,000 — \$4,999	41%	(3%)	36%	—
\$5,000 — \$9,999	17%	(17%)	4%	—
\$10,000 — \$14,999	17%	(28%)	3%	—
\$15,000 — \$19,999	10%	(17%)	3%	(3%)
\$20,000 — \$24,999	6%	(14%)	3%	(5%)
\$25,000 — \$29,999	4%	(12%)	6%	(15%)
\$30,000 or more	3%	(9%)	41%	(76%)

is practically zero. However, a more subtle gender difference occurs in supplementary schools. For the sample as a whole, formal training in education is a source of higher salary. In supplementary schools, however, training in education does not lead to greater compensation. Yet, the female teachers in supplementary schools are more likely than male teachers to be formally trained in the field of education. By contrast, the salary boost from training in Jewish studies is pronounced in supplementary schools, and it is the male teachers who are more likely to be trained in that area compared to female supplementary school teachers. Thus, the pattern of salary rewards favors male over female teachers in supplementary schools, despite the absence of an overall gender difference.

#### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings from the CIJE study in the three communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee suggest that important gender differences exist among teachers of Judaica. These findings have important implications for the recruitment, training, and retention of teachers in Jewish schools.

#### Judaism or Working with Children

Women tend to enter Jewish education primarily because they enjoy teaching children, and the structure of Jewish schooling

allows them flexibility in how much and when they work. Their emphasis on being formally trained in education, while lacking training in Jewish studies, is consistent with these reasons. In contrast, men tend to enter Jewish education primarily because of their continued interest in Judaism. Similarly, their emphasis on being formally trained in Judaic studies (as well as their more intensive early childhood Jewish education), while lacking training in education, also seems consistent with their reasons for entering Jewish education. It is important to note that men and women both valued working with children and teaching/learning about Judaism and that some women have training in Judaic studies while some men have training in education. However, the differences between men and women in both areas are substantial and potentially meaningful.

As mentioned earlier, Jewish educators should be formally prepared in both education and Jewish studies. Shulman and his colleague (Shulman, 1986; Wilson, 1988; Wilson, Shulman, and Richert, 1987) have suggested that successful teaching requires teachers to have knowledge of pedagogy (education), knowledge of content (Jewish studies), and pedagogical-content knowledge (knowing how to bridge the gap between the learner and the subject matter). If men tend to enter Jewish education only with knowledge of Jewish studies and women are acquiring only



GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS 11

educational knowledge, this poses complex problems for developing in-service programs that attempt to address these deficiencies. Not only must teacher-educators consider how to develop the pedagogical-content knowledge of all teachers, their approaches must take into account the seemingly gender-linked nature of teachers' knowledge—men's knowledge of content and women's knowledge of pedagogy. Perhaps, in-service programs need to go "against the grain." Programs designed to contribute to the pedagogical proficiency of those (mostly male) teachers who are deficient in this area should be designed ~~for~~ with their particular learning styles of men in mind. Similarly, in-service programs designed to enhance content knowledge should be designed to fit with the ways women tend to learn (Belonke et al., 1986).

tunities for advancement. Within individual schools, teachers are grouped together with little stratification in positions, responsibilities, or salaries. Above them exist a handful of educational leadership positions, such as educational director of a supplementary school, department head of a day school, or central agency staff. For the majority of teachers, upward mobility is not a possibility. Coupled with this is the finding from a survey of educational leaders (Goldring et al., 1996)—completed at the same time and in the same cities as the survey of Jewish teachers—that approximately one-third of the education leaders are men. This is compared with only 16% of teachers who are men. Seemingly, while vertical career advancement is limited for Jewish teachers as a whole, women may face additional difficulties. Perhaps, they do not consider Jewish education as a "career" because there is no opportunity for career advancement. Perhaps, in addition, many of those women who were interested in pursuing a "career" left or never entered the field of Jewish education. If so, the smaller percentage of women as compared to men who view Jewish education as a "career" is symptomatic of the difficulties involved in recruiting and retaining career-oriented women in a field with limited opportunities for advancement (especially for women), low salaries (especially for women), and a lack of prestige due to having been considered "women's work." ~~This topic will be examined in a future paper, which will explore differences between educational leaders and teachers in the three communities.~~

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Having a Career in Jewish Education

Despite these initial differences, men and women have, perhaps surprisingly, similar lengths of experience in Jewish education. They also show a similar degree of tenure in their current school, and both groups overwhelmingly intend to stay in Jewish education. However, they differ in their perception of whether or not their work in Jewish education is a "career." While a slight majority of women (57%) see Jewish education as a career, almost three-quarters of men (76%) do so. The differences are even greater when considering only full-time teachers.

We can only venture an explanation at this time as to why this difference exists. Jewish education presents applicants with few oppor-

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Table 10. Benefits

Type of Benefit	% of Teachers Who Reported Being Offered the Type of Benefit			
	Women	(Full-Time Only)	Men	(Full-Time Only)
Employer Contribution to a Health Plan	24	(45)	36	(61)
Pension Plan	25	(46)	25	(48)

## 12 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 11. Explaining Differences in Salary

## Differences Among Groups of Individuals and Settings in Salaries from Jewish Education

## Independent Variables

Gender (Male = 1)	1.72** (.17)	.88** (.11)	.90** (.11)	.83** (.11)
Supplementary School		-2.26** (.10)	-1.93** (.10)	-1.74** (.12)
Pre-School		-1.69** (.10)	-1.37** (.11)	-1.26** (.11)
Works Full-Time (25+ Hours)		1.95** (.10)	1.96** (.10)	1.98** (.10)
Experience 6-10 Years			.32** (.10)	.38** (.10)
Experience 11-20 Years			.60** (.11)	.61** (.11)
Experience 21+ Years			.64** (.13)	.63** (.13)
Plans to Leave Jewish Education			-.02 (.14)	-.01 (.14)
Trained in Education			.27** (.08)	.28** (.08)
Trained in Jewish Studies			.41** (.09)	.34** (.10)
Orthodox Setting				.36** (.12)
Constant	3.36** (.07)	4.28** (.09)	3.42** (.13)	3.25** (.14)
R <sup>2</sup>	.10	.66	.69	.69

\*p &lt; .05 \*\*p &lt; .01

Note: Multivariate regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. N = 914 teachers. Equation also includes controls for missing data on sex, works full-time, experience, trained in education, trained in Jewish studies, and plans to leave Jewish education.

## Salaries

The most dramatic gender differences among Jewish educators, though perhaps the least surprising, are found in their work conditions. The data show that while almost half (46%) of the men teachers work full-time, most women (71%) work part-time. Yet, this

does not account for differences in salary and the availability of health benefits found among men and women teachers. Counting only full-time teachers, 76% of men earn over \$30,000. In contrast, only 9% of women earn a similar salary. Almost half of the women working full-time earn less than \$15,000. In addition,

*GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS* 13

while 61% of full-time men teachers are offered employer contributions to a health plan, only 45% of full-time women teachers are so offered.

A linear regression analysis was conducted to determine the factors that may account for the salary discrepancy. Many factors were shown to predict salary differences—hours of employment (full-time vs. part-time); setting (day school, supplementary school, preschool); length of experience in Jewish education; training in Jewish studies; training in education; and the religious character of the school. Nevertheless, even when controlling

for all of these factors, gender was still significantly related to differences in salary.

Does this pattern indicate gender discrimination in Jewish education? Although we have no direct evidence on discrimination, inequities among teachers who are otherwise comparable (e.g., in experience, in formal training) must raise discrimination as a possibility. This finding is similar to the findings of the study conducted by Lee and Smith (1990) on salary differences of high school teachers in public, private, and Catholic schools, as described earlier. Jewish education is not immune to the conditions permitting gender

*Table 12. Explaining Differences in Salary: Day and Supplementary School Teachers*

Differences Among Groups of Individuals in Salaries from Jewish Education		
<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Day School Teachers</u>	<u>Supplementary School Teachers</u>
Gender (Male = 1)	1.19** (.20)	.14 (.12)
Works Full-time (24+ Hours)	2.38** (.17)	3.16** (.27)
Experience 0-10 years	.76** (.23)	-.03 (.12)
Experience 11-20 years	.71** (.24)	.03 (.13)
Experience 21+ years	.77** (.28)	.21 (.16)
Plans to Leave Jewish Education	-.18 (.39)	-.17 (.16)
Trained in Education	.50** (.17)	.04 (.10)
Trained in Jewish Studies	.58** (.18)	.49** (.12)
Constant	2.64** (.24)	2.00** (.09)
R <sup>2</sup>	.60	.37

\*p < .05    \*\*p < .01

*Note:* Multiple regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. N = 914 teachers. Equation also includes controls for missing data on sex, works full-time, experience, trained in education, trained in Jewish studies, and plans to leave Jewish education.

## 14 JOURNAL OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Table 13. Variables Used in Explaining Differences in Salary

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Salary	3.64	2.00
Sex (Male = 1)	.16	.37
Day School	.31	.46
Supplementary School	.40	.49
Pre-School	.29	.46
Works Full-Time (21+ Hours)	.27	.44
Experience Less Than 5 Years	.26	.44
Experience 6-10 Years	.28	.45
Experience 11-20 Years	.23	.42
Experience 21+ Years	.14	.35
Plans to Leave Jewish Education	.07	.26
Trained in Education	.52	.50
Trained in Jewish Studies	.30	.46
Orthodox Setting	.21	.41
Non-Orthodox Setting	.79	.41
Missing Sex	.02	.15
Missing Full-Time	.07	.25
Missing Experience	.03	.17
Missing Plans to Leave	.07	.25
Missing Trained in Education	.05	.22
Missing Trained in Jewish Studies	.06	.23

Note: N = 91 teachers.

discrimination in the secular and non-Jewish religious worlds.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>There were 12 cases with missing data on gender.

<sup>2</sup>Gender differences, overall, hold across setting (day school and supplementary school) and denomination of the school (Orthodox and non-Orthodox). The only exception is that similar percentages of men and women in supplementary schools and non-Orthodox schools reported "learning more about Judaism" as a very important reason for entering into Jewish education.

<sup>3</sup>This result is similar to findings in general education (Form, 1975).

<sup>4</sup>Gender differences exist among supplementary school teachers, but these do not follow the same pattern as described for the total population of teachers. Among teachers in supplementary schools, a greater percentage of men (60%) as compared to women (41%) are not trained in either Jewish studies or education. In addition, while a greater percentage of women (50%) as compared to men (24%) are trained in education, almost the same percentage of men (28%) as women (22%) are trained in Jewish studies.

<sup>5</sup>In Table 8, the percentage of male and female teachers who work full-time in one school are also reported. Salary levels, as reported in Table 9, are for teachers' employment in their primary setting — that is, the school in which they work the most hours. The regression analyses (discussed

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## GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS IN JEWISH SCHOOLS 15

below) use the salary levels reported in Table 9, and teachers' full-time status is based on employment in only their primary setting. When total hours of employment and salary in Jewish education are used in the regression analyses, the findings are the same.

<sup>6</sup>For supplementary school teachers, there are no substantial differences between men and women in salary. Slightly more than three-quarters of both groups received between \$1,000 and \$4,999. The lack of difference in salary levels exist among supplementary school teachers despite the larger percentage of women as compared to men who are trained in education and the similar percentage of men and women who are trained in Jewish studies (see Footnote 2).

<sup>7</sup>Significance levels are reported here purely as a convention. As the data are based on a population, sampling inferences such as significance tests are not really appropriate.

<sup>8</sup>The linear regression was run with an additional independent variable that indicated whether or not the respondents considered their work in Jewish education as a "career." The results did not differ much from those described in Table 11; the significance and strength of the relationships remained relatively the same.

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"Teachers"

EER 13 251-264 (1994)

Gender Ineq. in fem-male occup.:

The earnings of M-F teachers

Richard R. Verdugo & Jeffrey M. Schneider

GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG TEACHERS  
IN JEWISH SCHOOLS:  
Findings from Three Communities

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**BACKGROUND**

In 1990, researchers at the University of Michigan found that women high school teachers nationwide earned an average of \$2,300 to \$3,300 less than men who teach in high schools (Lee and Smith, 1990). The study used data from a sample of 8,894 teachers in 377 high schools compiled during the 1983-84 school year as part of the U.S. Education Department's ongoing *High School and Beyond* study. Even when controlling for educational backgrounds, experience, and differing wage levels across cities, the authors of this study found that women teachers in public, private, and Catholic high schools still earn less than men. These findings conform to a general pattern of gender-based salary differences in the workplace, which has been documented for decades.

While much attention has been given to issues of gender equity among students, less attention has been paid to teachers. A few studies (Lee, Smith, and Cioci, 1993; Huberman, 1993; Kalaian and Freeman, 1994), have pointed toward specific gender differences in teachers' reasons for choosing

an educational career, their orientation to pre-service training, their commitment to a career in education, and their perceptions of leadership.

Recent community-wide studies of teachers in Jewish schools in Boston, Los Angeles, and Miami, in addition to studies conducted by the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education in Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee, have provided valuable information about the backgrounds, careers, and work conditions of Jewish educators (Aron and Phillips, 1988; Gamoran et al., 1998; Frank, Margolis, and Weisner, 1992; Sheskin, 1988). However, none of these studies has focused on gender differences. Considering the amount of gender inequality among teachers that has appeared in other contexts, it is important to find out whether the same condition holds in Jewish schools. The existence and degree of gender differences may have important implications for the recruitment, training, and retention of teachers in Jewish schools.

This article explores gender differences in three related areas: career paths, Judaic and educational backgrounds, and current work conditions. It seeks to answer the following questions:

- Do teachers differ by gender in their reasons for entering Jewish education?
- Do teachers differ by gender in the length of their experience and their commitment to the profession of Jewish education?
- Do teachers differ by gender in their early childhood Jewish education?

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- Do teachers differ by gender in their formal training as Jewish educators?
- Do teachers differ by gender in regard to the conditions of their work (i.e., hours, salary, benefits)?

### METHOD OF STUDY

In 1992-93, the Council for Initiatives in Jewish Education (CIJE) in collaboration with the Jewish communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee conducted a study of all Judaica teachers in the day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools in those communities. A survey was administered to the entire population of Judaica teachers (1192), and a response rate of 82% (983 teachers) was obtained. Formal in-depth interviews were conducted with 125 Jewish educators, including teachers and educational directors of day schools, supplementary schools, and pre-schools, as well as central agency staff and Jewish educators in higher education. The findings on teachers are highlighted in CIJE's Policy Brief (Gamoran et al., 1994) and reported more completely by Gamoran et al. (1998). Interview responses were first presented in reports to each community, and quotes in this paper are taken from those reports.

The data for this article are taken primarily from this survey. Data from the in-depth interviews highlight the quantitative findings. In analyzing and reporting the results, we have avoided sampling inferences (e.g., t-tests) because we are analyzing population figures, not samples. Data from all three communities are combined for all analyses. Despite some differences, the teachers in each community are largely similar. The broad comparability of results from the three communities—delineated in the study mentioned above—suggests that the gender differences and similarities presented here are likely to resemble that of many other Jewish communities.

### FINDINGS

#### Demographics

Eighty-four percent of the teachers (804 teachers)<sup>1</sup> in the three communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee are women. Overall, teachers are divided fairly evenly among day schools (31% or 302 teachers), supplementary schools (40% or 392 teachers) and pre-schools (29% or 289 teachers). However, almost all pre-school teachers (99%) are women, while 29% of day school teachers and 18% of supplementary school teachers are men. Among Orthodox day schools, the percentage of men rises to 45%, while in non-Orthodox day schools men only account for 8% of the teachers. In total, almost half (48%) of the men teachers work in Orthodox day schools, while 43% work in supplementary schools.

Almost all (97%) of the teachers are Jewish, the 3% who are not Jewish are all women. Sixty-two percent of men teachers are Orthodox, while women are spread fairly evenly among the denominations: 33% Reform; 27% Conservative; 26% Orthodox; 8% Traditional; and 6% Other. Men and women are similarly represented in all age categories: The mean age of both groups is 38. Eighty percent of women and 84% of men are married; thirteen percent of women and 14% of men are single. Three percent of men are separated, divorced, or widowed, whereas 7% of women have this marital status. Lastly, while the majority of men (89%) and women (86%) teachers were born in the United States, 8% of women were born in Israel compared to 3% of men. Ninety-four percent of the Israeli-born teachers in the three communities are women.

#### Jewish Education as a Career

##### *Entering Jewish Education*

Most teachers enter Jewish education for its intrinsic, as opposed to extrinsic, rewards



Table 1. Reasons for Entering Jewish Education

Reasons	% of Educators Who Indicated Reason as "Very Important"	
	Women	Men
Working with Children	82	63
Teaching about Judaism	63	85
Love of Judaism	61	80
Learning about Judaism	51	61
Part-time Nature of the Profession	46	14
Supplement to Income	45	20
Recognition as a Teacher	29	12

(Gamoran et al., 1998). The opportunity to transmit the joy of Judaism to children was often cited as an important reason for entering the field, while financial compensation was deemed important by few teachers. *Do teachers differ by gender in their reasons for entering Jewish education?*

As Table 1 indicates, men tend to value those intrinsic rewards associated with the teaching and learning of Judaism more than women do, though most women did value those highly. Eighty-five percent of men as compared to 63% of women reported that "teaching about Judaism" was a very important reason for entering Jewish education. Similarly, a greater percentage of men indicated that "love of Judaism" and "learning about Judaism" were very important to them.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, greater percentages of women

avored rewards associated with teaching children as important factors in choosing to enter Jewish education.<sup>3</sup> Eighty-two percent of women, as compared to 63% of men, reported "working with children" as very important. Similarly, though percentages were low for both groups, more than twice the percentage of women than men saw "recognition as a teacher" as a very important reward.

In regard to the extrinsic rewards of teaching, more women (46%) than men (14%) tended to consider the "part-time nature of the profession" as a very important inducement to entering the field. Also, more women (46%) than men (20%) entered Jewish education because it could provide a "supplement to their income." Seemingly, when men enter Jewish education it is more likely that they desire a full-time position in which the salary

Table 2. Factors in Considering Where to Work

Factors	% of Educators Who Indicated Factor as Affecting Their Decision	
	Women	Men
Hours & Days Available	89	78
Location	76	70
Reputation of School & Students	67	62
Religious Orientation	67	76
Salary	49	58
Friends Who Work There	47	44

Table 3. Length of Employment

<u>Years</u>	<u>Years Employed in Jewish Education</u>	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
5 Years or Less	33%	31%
6 to 10 Years	30%	24%
11 to 20 Years	25%	22%
21 or More Years	12%	23%

<u>Years</u>	<u>Years Employed in Current School</u>	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
5 Years or Less	60%	58%
6 to 10 Years	24%	19%
11 to 20 Years	13%	15%
21 or More Years	4%	8%

from Jewish education would be their main source of income. Findings on this issue — 56% of men as compared to 12% of women consider their salary from Jewish education to be their main source of income — indirectly confirm this proposition.

When asked about the factors that influenced their decisions to work in the school at which they are currently employed their answers corroborate the previous findings. As Table 2 indicates, the highest percentages of both men and women reported that scheduling was an important consideration, though 89% of women compared to 78% of men listed this as a consideration. While the religious character of the school was ranked second by men (in regard to the percentage of respondents who indicated it to be a factor), it was the fourth most important consideration for women (as a group).

Both sets of findings illustrate differences between men and women in the factors used in considering whether or not to enter the field of Jewish education and in selecting a particular school at which to work. For men, religious (Jewish) considerations seem to dominate. For women, teaching children in a flexible work environment seems most important. In-

terviews conducted with Jewish educators highlight these differences.

A woman teacher told about beginning to teach Sunday school in order to pay for her tuition in a graduate social work program.

In thinking about what I really loved to do during those two years that I was in graduate school, I realized it was the teaching. I liked my Sunday morning better than anything else, better than social work school.

Moreover, many women related how the part-time nature of the profession facilitated their entrance into the field.

I had my third child, and I was feeling like I needed to get out and do something, but I couldn't do something on a full-time basis. [Working as a Jewish educator] seemed to coincide with what I needed at the time.

◇ ◇ ◇ ◇ ◇

I worked first in the public schools. When my children were little, I could only accept the half-day kind of job, so that is how I originally started working [in Jewish education].

Table 4. Future Plans

Plans	Women	Men
Continue in Same Position	64%	69%
Change Schools or Position	6%	8%
Leave Jewish Education	6%	7%
Don't Know	19%	11%
Other	5%	5%

#### *Experience and Commitment*

As a group, Jewish teachers show considerable stability. Only 6% of all teachers were in the first year of Jewish education when they responded to the survey, while thirty-eight percent had taught for more than 10 years (Gamoran et al., 1994). In addition, only 6% plan to leave Jewish education during the next several years (Gamoran et al., 1998). As another measure of commitment, when asked if they considered Jewish education to be a "career," 69% of full-time teachers and 54% of part-time teachers said "Yes." *Do teachers differ by gender in the length of their experience and their commitment to the profession of Jewish education?*

As Table 3 illustrates, both men and women show considerable stability. Slightly more than two-thirds of both men and women have worked in Jewish education for six years or more. The slightly higher percentage of men compared to women who have worked in Jewish education for 21 or more years may be

accounted for by the growth in non-Orthodox day schools and pre-schools over the last two decades.

In regard to their length of employment in their current position (see Table 3), there are no substantial gender differences. For both men and women, approximately 60% have worked in their current position for only 5 years or less.

The future plans of men and women similarly show little differences (see Table 4). Only 6% of men and 7% of women plan to leave Jewish education. Also, 67% of men and 64% of women plan to remain in their same position.

These findings indicate that both men and women, regardless of their diverse reasons for entering Jewish education, tend to stay for a considerable period of time. Yet, do they see their participation in Jewish education in the same way? As Table 5 shows, while almost three-quarters of the men consider Jewish education as their career, women report a somewhat lower percentage (60%). This may

Table 5. Jewish Education is a Career?

<u>% of Teachers who Considered Jewish Education to Be Their Career</u>	
Women	57
(Only women who work full-time in Jewish education)	62
Men	72
(Only men who work full-time in Jewish education)	94

Table 6. Early Childhood Jewish Education

<u>BEFORE AGE 13:</u>		
	% of Teachers Who Attended This Type of Jewish School	
<u>Type</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
None	15	2
1 Day/Week Supplementary School	28	15
2 or More Days/Week Supplementary School	27	29
Day School, Yeshiva, or School in Israel	30	54

<u>AFTER AGE 13:</u>		
	% of Teachers Who Attended This Type of Jewish School	
<u>Type</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
None	36	15
1 Day/Week Supplementary School	22	11
2 or More Days/Week Supplementary School	13	13
Day School, Yeshiva, or School in Israel	30	61

be due to the larger percentage of women as compared to men who work part-time in Jewish education (see Table 8). However, if we only examine the findings for full-time educators (those working 25 hours or more), the gender difference is even greater (see Table 5). While almost all men who teach full-time consider Jewish education to be a career, only 62% of women who teach full-time feel the same way.

#### Summary

Men and women indicated substantial differences in their reasons for entering Jewish

education. Men tended to view their decision as one that would provide them with the opportunity to learn continually and teach about Judaism. Similarly, their religious character of the school was a strong factor in their determination of where to work. In contrast, women viewed their choice of entering into Jewish education as an opportunity to teach children. The flexible and part-time nature of Jewish schooling facilitated their entrance and was the primary consideration in deciding at which Jewish school to work.

However, once they entered the field of Jewish education and selected a school at which to work, their career paths become

Table 7. Formal Training

	% of Teachers With a Degree or Certification in These Areas	
<u>Areas</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Both Jewish Studies and Education	18	21
Only Jewish Studies	8	34
Only Education	41	7
Neither Jewish Studies nor Education	33	37

Table 8. Full-Time?

Full-Time	% of Teachers Who Work Full-Time (25 hours or more per week)	
	Women	Men
In Jewish Education	29	46
In One School	25	40

similar. Both men and women have stayed in Jewish education for a considerable length of time, and both are comparably new to their current positions though they overwhelmingly plan to stay in them. Nevertheless, their conceptualization of their work seems to be substantially different. Even when only examining the findings for full-time teachers, a substantially smaller proportion of women as compared to men view Jewish education as a career. This finding suggests that the depiction of Jewish education as avocational may characterize women more than men teachers.

### Judaic and Educational Backgrounds

#### *Early Jewish Education*

Gamoran et al. (1994) reported that a greater percentage of teachers had a formal Jewish education as children, compared to the general population. Differences by gender were not reported. *Do teachers differ by gender in their childhood Jewish education? Do they differ by gender in their formal training as Jewish educators?*

As indicated in Table 6, fifty-four percent of men reported attending a day school, yeshiva, or school in Israel, and only 2% indicated not attending any Jewish school *before* the age of 13. In comparison, only 30% of women attended a day school or school in Israel, while 15% did not attend any school *before* 13. Similarly, while 61% of men attended a day school, yeshiva, or school in Israel *after* the age of 13, only 30% of women did. In addition, while only 15% of men did not have any formal Jewish education *after* the age of 13, 36% of women did not. These gender differences seem to follow the pattern

in the general population. Kosmin et al. (1991) reported that 22% of men and 38% of women in the general population had no Jewish education as children.

#### *Formal Training*

Gamoran et al. (1998) argued that preparation for a career in Jewish education should consist of formal training in both education and Jewish studies. Formal training is defined by having a degree or certification in that area. Overall, 19% of Jewish teachers have training in both education and Jewish studies, while 34% are trained in neither. As Table 7 indicates, men and women illustrate similar proportions. Twenty-one percent of men and 18% of women have formal training in both education and Jewish studies, while 37% of men and 33% of women lack formal training in both areas.

The largest percentage of teachers (48%) have formal training in *either* education or Jewish studies. Differences between men and women are substantial here. While only 26% of women can be considered to have formal training in Jewish studies, 56% of men have training in Jewish studies (see Table 7). (Forty-one percent of men with training in Jewish studies have rabbinic ordination or *smicha*.) In contrast, while only 28% of men can be considered to have formal training in education, 59% of women have training in education. The figures present almost a mirror image of each other. In accordance with the emphasis on educational training found among women, 56% of women as compared to 29% of men have previous experience working in general education.<sup>4</sup>

### Summary

Men come to the profession of Jewish education with a stronger Judaic background than women due to their early childhood education and additional formal training (often rabbinic). At the same time, women approach their work in Jewish education with a stronger foundation in educational pedagogy, gained either through study or experience in general education. Perhaps not surprisingly, these findings are consistent with their stated reasons for entering the profession. As mentioned earlier, men most often entered Jewish education to continue their life-long engagement with Judaism, while women most often entered Jewish education to teach children.

### Current Work Conditions

#### *Full-time Employment?*

The field of Jewish education offers primarily part-time employment opportunities for teachers. Sixty-eight percent of teachers in Jewish schools are part-time (Gamoran et al., 1994). Consequently, salary levels tend to remain low and benefits, such as health and pension plans, are unavailable to most teachers (Gamoran et al., 1998). *Yet, do teachers differ by gender in regard to the conditions of their work?*

As Table 8 illustrates, a greater percentage of men (46%) as compared to women (29%) work full-time in Jewish education.<sup>5</sup> Among those who work full-time in Jewish education, 95% of men and 91% of women do so at one school. The remaining teachers put together the equivalent of full-time employment (25 hours or more) through working at two or more schools.

#### *Salaries*

While salary levels, overall, are low in Jewish education, they are even lower for women than they are for men. As indicated in Table 9, while 41% of men earn over \$30,000, only 3% of women take home such high

earnings. Instead, 44% of women earn less than \$5,000, and another 44% earn between \$5,000 and \$19,999. The distribution of men's salaries is bimodal with over three-quarters of men located either between \$1,000 and \$5,000 or over \$30,000. By contrast, the distribution among women has a single mode between \$1,000 and \$5,000 followed by a quick drop and then a gradual tapering off in subsequent categories.

Some of this wage gap may be due to the larger percentage of men as compared to women who teach full-time. However, including only those who teach full-time, the differences are even greater (see Table 9). While 76% of men who teach full-time earn over \$30,000, only 9% of women who teach full-time take home similar earnings. Instead, almost half of the women working full-time earn less than \$15,000.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Benefits*

While employer contributions to a health plan, overall, are unavailable to most teachers, they are less available to women than men. As Table 10 illustrates, a greater percentage of men (36%) as compared to women (24%) reported that they were offered health benefits from their schools. When only full-time teachers are considered, the difference is even greater: 61% of men and 35% of women who work full-time reported the availability of health benefits.

There is not a substantial difference between men and women in regard to pension benefits, as only one-quarter of both groups has that option (see Table 10).

### Summary

The findings illustrate that, even when controlling for hours of employment (full-time vs. part-time), substantial differences exist in salary level and health benefits offered to women as compared to men. These differences exist despite the fact that men and women have similar stability in the field of

Table 9. Salary

Salary	Women	(Full-Time Only)	Men	(Full-Time Only)
Less than \$1,000	3%	—	3%	—
\$1,000 – \$4,999	41%	(3%)	36%	—
\$5,000 – \$9,999	17%	(17%)	4%	—
\$10,000 – \$14,999	17%	(28%)	3%	—
\$15,000 – \$19,999	10%	(17%)	3%	(3%)
\$20,000 – \$24,999	6%	(14%)	3%	(5%)
\$25,000 – \$29,999	4%	(12%)	6%	(15%)
\$30,000 or More	3%	(9%)	41%	(76%)

Jewish education. Also, similar percentages of men and women are trained in both education and Jewish studies, and similar percentages have no training in either. As the earlier findings indicated, they do differ in regard to the emphasis on a Judaic or general education background.

#### Explaining Differences in Salary Levels

To explore factors that may account for the differences in salary levels between men and women teachers, a linear regression was used with reported salary levels as the dependent variable. This variable is coded as a scale of 1 to 8 with each point corresponding to the salary categories listed in Table 9, which range from less than \$1,000 to \$30,000 or more. *The primary hypothesis is that while gender differences exist in salary levels among educators, this may be due to other factors,*

*such as hours employed and professional training.* The gender of the respondent is initially the only variable entered into the equation, as shown in Table 11. This shows that gender, by itself is a significant predictor of salary level, though the findings also indicate that gender only accounts for 10% of the variation in salary levels.<sup>7</sup>

Next, three setting-related variables are entered into the equation in order to account for more of the variation in salary level and to determine if gender is still significantly related when other variables are considered. The findings indicate that hours of employment (full-time or part-time) and the setting (pre-school, day school, or supplementary school) are related to differences in salary level. Not surprisingly, full-time educators and day school educators earn more than part-time educators and those who work in pre-schools or supplementary schools. The drop

Table 10. Benefits

Type of Benefit	% of Teachers Who Reported Being Offered the Type of Benefit			
	Women	(Full-Time Only)	Men	(Full-Time Only)
Employer Contribution to a Health Plan	24	(45)	36	(61)
Pension Plan	25	(46)	25	(48)

Table 11. Explaining Differences in Salary

## Differences Among Groups of Individuals and Settings in Salaries from Jewish Education

Independent Variables

Gender (Male = 1)	1.72** (.17)	.88** (.11)	.90** (.11)	.83** (.11)
Supplementary School		-2.26** (.10)	-1.93** (.10)	-1.74** (.12)
Pre-School		-1.69** (.10)	-1.37** (.11)	-1.26** (.11)
Works Full-Time (25+ Hours)		1.95** (.10)	1.96** (.10)	1.98** (.10)
Experience 6-10 Years			.38** (.10)	.38** (.10)
Experience 11-20 Years			.60** (.11)	.61** (.11)
Experience 21+ Years			.64** (.13)	.63** (.13)
Plans to Leave Jewish Education			-.02 (.14)	-.01 (.14)
Trained in Education			.27** (.08)	.28** (.08)
Trained in Jewish Studies			.41** (.09)	.34** (.10)
Orthodox Setting				.36** (.12)
Constant	3.36** (.07)	4.28** (.09)	3.42** (.13)	3.25** (.14)
R <sup>2</sup>	.10	.66	.69	.69

\*p &lt; .05    \*\*p &lt; .01

Note: Metric regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. N = 914 teachers. Equation also includes controls for missing data on sex, works full-time, experience, trained in education, trained in Jewish studies, and plans to leave Jewish education.

in the coefficient for gender between the first column (1.72) and the second column (.88) indicates that almost half of the raw gender difference is attributable to setting and hours of employment. Still, gender remains a significant predictor of salary level even after

controlling for setting and hours. These variables together account for 66% of the variation in salary levels.

Next, six variables related to the background and career of the respondent are entered into the equation. The findings indicate



that experience in Jewish education, formal training in education, and formal training in Jewish studies contribute significantly to salary levels. That is, experience and training tend to boost salary levels for teachers. Only the respondents' willingness to leave Jewish education is not significantly or substantially related to salary level. Together, these variables account for 69% of the variation in salary level.<sup>8</sup> Notably, even when controlling for all of these personal characteristics, gender is still a significant predictor of salary level.

Lastly, considering the possibility that ideolo-

logical differences between the denominations may influence salary levels of teachers, a variable indicating if the setting in which the respondent worked was Orthodox was entered into the equation. This also was significantly related to salary levels, with teachers in Orthodox schools earning more. Even after accounting for all of these factors, gender was still found to be a significant predictor of salary level.

Is the gender difference meaningful? The coefficient of 1.72 in the first column (see Table 11) means that on average, males tend

Table 12. Explaining Differences in Salary: Day and Supplementary School Teachers

Differences Among Groups of Individuals in Salaries from Jewish Education

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Day School Teachers</u>	<u>Supplementary School Teachers</u>
Gender (Male = 1)	1.19** (.20)	.14 (.12)
Works Full-Time (25+ Hours)	2.38** (.17)	3.16** (.27)
Experience 6-10 Years	.76** (.23)	-.03 (.12)
Experience 11-20 Years	.71** (.24)	.03 (.13)
Experience 21+ Years	.77** (.28)	.21 (.16)
Plans to Leave Jewish Education	-.18 (.39)	-.17 (.16)
Trained in Education	.50** (.17)	.04 (.10)
Trained in Jewish Studies	.58** (.18)	.49** (.12)
Constant	2.64** (.24)	2.00** (.09)
R <sup>2</sup>	.60	.37

\*p < .05    \*\*p < .01

Note: Metric regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. N = 914 teachers. Equation also includes controls for missing data on sex, works full-time, experience, trained in education, trained in Jewish studies, and plans to leave Jewish education.

Table 13. Variables Used in Explaining Differences in Salary

<u>Independent Variables</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Salary	3.64	2.00
Sex (Male = 1)	.16	.37
Day School	.31	.46
Supplementary School	.40	.49
Pre-School	.29	.46
Works Full-Time (25+ Hours)	.27	.44
Experience Less Than 5 Years	.26	.44
Experience 6-10 Years	.28	.45
Experience 11-20 Years	.23	.42
Experience 21+ Years	.14	.35
Plans to Leave Jewish Education	.07	.26
Trained in Education	.52	.50
Trained in Jewish Studies	.30	.46
Orthodox Setting	.21	.41
Non-Orthodox Setting	.79	.41
Missing Sex	.02	.15
Missing Full-Time	.07	.25
Missing Experience	.03	.17
Missing Plans to Leave	.07	.25
Missing Trained in Education	.05	.22
Missing Trained in Jewish Studies	.06	.23

Note: N = 914 teachers.

to be ahead of females by almost two categories on the salary scale (see Table 9). After controlling for other relevant conditions, that difference drops to .83 or slightly less than one salary category. This difference is still larger than the gap between experienced and inexperienced teachers (a maximum of .63). It is also larger than the gap between trained and untrained teachers; a teacher trained in both education and Jewish studies would be about .62 categories ahead of an untrained teacher (.28 + .34 = .62). Viewed in this way, the gender difference in salaries must be regarded as substantial.

Do gender differences in salary exist in

each setting? This question is relevant for day and supplementary schools, where both male and female teachers work. (Almost all pre-school teachers are female.) Table 12 provides separate regression results for day and supplementary schools. The first column shows substantial gender differences in day schools; the coefficient of 1.19 is even larger than in the sample as a whole. The second column of Table 12 indicates no gender difference in supplementary schools; the coefficient of .14 is practically zero. However, a more subtle gender difference occurs in supplementary schools. For the sample as a whole, formal training in education is a source of higher

salary. In supplementary schools, however, training in education does not lead to greater compensation. Yet, the female teachers in supplementary schools are more likely than male teachers to be formally trained in the field of education. By contrast, the salary boost from training in Jewish studies is pronounced in supplementary schools, and it is the male teachers who are more likely to be trained in that area compared to female supplementary school teachers. Thus, the pattern of salary rewards favors male over female teachers in supplementary schools, despite the absence of an overall gender difference.

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings from the CIJE study in the three communities of Atlanta, Baltimore, and Milwaukee suggest that important gender differences exist among teachers of *Judaica*. These findings have important implications for the recruitment, training, and retention of teachers in Jewish schools.

#### Judaism or Working with Children

Women tend to enter Jewish education primarily because they enjoy teaching children, and the structure of Jewish schooling allows them flexibility in how much and when they work. Their emphasis on being formally trained in education, while lacking training in Jewish studies, is consistent with these reasons. In contrast, men tend to enter Jewish education primarily because of their continued interest in Judaism. Similarly, their emphasis on being formally trained in Judaic studies (as well as their more intensive early childhood Jewish education), while lacking training in education, also seems consistent with their reasons for entering Jewish education. It is important to note that men and women both valued working with children and teaching/learning about Judaism and that some women have training in Judaic studies while some men have training in education. However, the differences between men and

women in both areas are substantial and potentially meaningful.

As mentioned earlier, Jewish educators should be formally prepared in both education and Jewish studies. Shulman and his colleague (Shulman, 1986; Wilson, 1988; Wilson, Shulman, and Richert, 1987) have suggested that successful teaching requires teachers to have knowledge of pedagogy (education), knowledge of content (Jewish studies), and pedagogical-content knowledge (knowing how to bridge the gap between the learner and the subject matter). If men tend to enter Jewish education only with knowledge of Jewish studies and women are acquiring only educational knowledge, this poses complex problems for developing in-service programs that attempt to address these deficiencies. Not only must teacher-educators consider how to develop the pedagogical-content knowledge of all teachers, their approaches must take into account the seemingly gender-linked nature of teachers' knowledge — men's knowledge of content and women's knowledge of pedagogy. Perhaps, in-service programs need to go "against the grain." Programs designed to contribute to the pedagogical proficiency of those (mostly male) teachers who are deficient in this area should be designed with the particular learning styles of men in mind. Similarly, in-service programs designed to enhance content knowledge should be designed to fit with the ways women tend to learn (Belenky et al., 1986).

#### Having a Career in Jewish Education

Despite these initial differences, men and women have, perhaps surprisingly, similar lengths of experience in Jewish education. They also show a similar degree of tenure in their current school, and both groups overwhelmingly intend to stay in Jewish education. However, they differ in their perception of whether or not their work in Jewish education is a "career." While a slight majority of women (57%) see Jewish education as a career, almost three-quarters of men (76%) do

so. The differences are even greater when considering only full-time teachers.

We can only venture an explanation at this time as to why this difference exists. Jewish education presents applicants with few opportunities for advancement. Within individual schools, teachers are grouped together with little stratification in positions, responsibilities, or salaries. Above them exist a handful of educational leadership positions, such as educational director of a supplementary school, department head of a day school, or central agency staff. For the majority of teachers, upward mobility is not a possibility. Coupled with this is the finding from a survey of educational leaders (Goldring et al., 1996)—completed at the same time and in the same cities as the survey of Jewish teachers—that approximately one-third of the education leaders are men. This is compared with only 16% of teachers who are men. Seemingly, while vertical career advancement is limited for Jewish teachers as a whole, women may face additional difficulties. Perhaps, they do not consider Jewish education as a “career” because there is no opportunity for career advancement. Perhaps, in addition, many of those women who were interested in pursuing a “career” left or never entered the field of Jewish education. If so, the smaller percentage of women as compared to men who view Jewish education as a “career” is symptomatic of the difficulties involved in recruiting and retaining career-oriented women in a field with limited opportunities for advancement (especially for women), low salaries (especially for women), and a lack of prestige due to having been considered “women’s work.”

#### Salaries

The most dramatic gender differences among Jewish educators, though perhaps the least surprising, are found in their work conditions. The data show that while almost half (46%) of the men teachers work full-time, most women (71%) work part-time. Yet, this does not account for differences in salary and

the availability of health benefits found among men and women teachers. Counting only full-time teachers, 76% of men earn over \$30,000. In contrast, only 9% of women earn a similar salary. Almost half of the women working full-time earn less than \$15,000. In addition, while 61% of full-time men teachers are offered employer contributions to a health plan, only 45% of full-time women teachers are so offered.

A linear regression analysis was conducted to determine the factors that may account for the salary discrepancy. Many factors were shown to predict salary differences—hours of employment (full-time vs. part-time); setting (day school, supplementary school, preschool); length of experience in Jewish education; training in Jewish studies; training in education; and the religious character of the school. Nevertheless, even when controlling for all of these factors, gender was still significantly related to differences in salary.

Does this pattern indicate gender discrimination in Jewish education? Although we have no direct evidence on discrimination, inequities among teachers who are otherwise comparable (e.g., in experience, in formal training) must raise discrimination as a possibility. This finding is similar to the findings of the study conducted by Lee and Smith (1990) on salary differences of high school teachers in public, private, and Catholic schools, as described earlier. Jewish education is not immune to the conditions permitting gender discrimination in the secular and non-Jewish religious worlds.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>There were 22 cases with missing data on gender.

<sup>2</sup>Gender differences, overall, hold across setting (day school and supplementary school) and denomination of the school (Orthodox and non-Orthodox). The only exception is that similar percentages of men and women in supplementary schools and non-Orthodox schools reported “learning more about Judaism” as a very important reason for entering into Jewish education.

<sup>3</sup>This result is similar to findings in general education (Lortie, 1975).

<sup>4</sup>Gender differences exist among supplementary school teachers, but these do not follow the same pattern as described for the total population of teachers. Among teachers in supplementary schools, a greater percentage of men (60%) as compared to women (41%) are not trained in either Jewish studies or education. In addition, while a greater percentage of women (50%) as compared to men (24%) are trained in education, almost the same percentage of men (28%) as women (22%) are trained in Jewish studies.

<sup>5</sup>In Table 8, the percentage of male and female teachers who work full-time in one school are also reported. Salary levels, as reported in Table 9, are for teachers' employment in their primary setting — that is, the school in which they work the most hours. The regression analyses (discussed below) use the salary levels reported in Table 9, and teachers' full-time status is based on employment in only their primary setting. When total hours of employment and salary in Jewish education are used in the regression analyses, the findings are the same.

<sup>6</sup>For supplementary school teachers, there are no substantial differences between men and women in salary. Slightly more than three-quarters of both groups received between \$1,000 and \$4,999. The lack of difference in salary levels exist among supplementary school teachers despite the larger percentage of women as compared to men who are trained in education and the similar percentage of men and women who are trained in Jewish studies (see Footnote 2).

<sup>7</sup>Significance levels are reported here purely as a convention. As the data are based on a population, sampling inferences such as significance tests are not really appropriate.

<sup>8</sup>The linear regression was run with an additional independent variable that indicated whether or not the respondents considered their work in Jewish education as a "career." The results did not differ much from those described in Table 11; the significance and strength of the relationships remained relatively the same.

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