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ISSUES OF PROFESSIONALISM IN JEWISH TEACHING
(DRAFT)



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SECTION 1

THE CALL FOR PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

If one unifying theme could be found for the vast and ever-expanding literature on public school teachers, that theme would be professionalization. Study after study has analyzed the professional shortcomings of teachers, and the societal factors which contribute to their low professional status. Proposals abound for upgrading the professional training of teachers, and, more radically, the re-structuring of the profession itself.

In the field of Jewish education as well, discussions of the "Jewish teaching profession" have begun to gather momentum. For example, the proceedings of a national conference on the status of Jewish teachers, held at Brandeis University in 1986, were published under the title To Build a Profession (Reimer, 1987). In 1987 a special issue of Jewish Education featured a symposium on Jewish teachers. Federations throughout North America have begun to deal with the issue of personnel in Jewish education; a dominant theme in their deliberations has been the need to upgrade the professional status of teachers (Rosenbaum, 1983; CJP of greater Boston, 1986; Ratner and Reich, 1988).

The notion of the teacher as a well-trained and well-respected professional has long been one of the cherished ideals of all those concerned with Jewish education (Edelstein, 1956; Janowsky, 1967 Dushkin, 1970). The purpose of this paper is to examine this ideal more closely: What are the hallmarks of a professional? Are teachers professionals? Should they be professionals? What are some of the barriers to upgrading the

teaching profession in secular education? Are the criteria of professionalism different when applied to teachers of Hebrew and Judaica in Jewish schools? Do Jewish schools have any special characteristics that make professionalism in teaching more or less appropriate? easier or more difficult to attain? Finally, what can be done to increase the professionalism of teachers in Jewish schools?

1.1 What is a Profession?

Most American educators would agree that teaching is, or at least ought to be, a profession. Few, however, attempt to define this term; those who do, find that the concept is, to quote Morris Cogan (1953) "shrouded in confusion." The most common way around a definition is to contrast a profession with other, presumably inferior, endeavors. Thus, "professional" is held to be the opposite of "amateur," one who is either untrained or unsalaried. Alternately, "professional" is taken to be the opposite of "crafts-person," a person whose practice is not grounded in theory or science (Broudy, 1956). Finally, the term "professional," used as an adjective, sometimes connotes altruism or a higher calling, in contrast to "commercial."

Cogan suggests that the ambiguity and imprecision surrounding the term is not accidental, and may be quite functional, for the title "professional" often serves an exhortative, laudatory function. As he puts it, "One reason for the undifferentiated use of 'profession' may be found in the

efforts of many persons and groups to secure to themselves the values clustering around it by simply preempting the title" (p.47).

Since Cogan's article was written, the literature on professionalism has grown exponentially, and the "sociology of the professions" has become a sub-field of its own. Surveying this "scholarly tsunami," Bruce Kimball (1988) identifies two criteria which sociologists have taken to be the hallmarks of professionalism -- legitimacy and autonomy [1]. Legitimacy refers to the special knowledge and expertise to which professionals lay claim; authority refers to the control which professionals exert over the ways in which their services are rendered. To be considered a profession, Kimball argues, members of an occupation group must meet both of these criteria: 1) they must possess a specialized body of knowledge that distinguishes them from the "non-professionals" in the field; 2) they must, as a group or a guild, have the power to shape the conditions under which their work is done.

Some examples may help clarify these criteria. At one extreme, medical doctors are clearly professionals, having specialized academic training, on the one hand, and (collectively, through their professional organizations) a good deal of control over how medicine is practiced, on the other. In contrast, workers on an assembly line may have a certain expertise, but this expertise is not based on a theoretical body of knowledge; furthermore, they have little control over the circumstances under which they work.

In between the two extremes lie a vast array of occupation groups which meet one criterion better than the other, and whose professional status is unclear. Those engaged in business, for example, meet the second criterion, that of autonomy, very well, since they contribute to the shaping of the conditions under which they work. In their effort to meet the first criterion, legitimacy, leaders of the business community have developed business schools and MBA programs, which offer courses in the "sciences" of management, marketing, and administration. A converse situation may be seen in the nursing profession. Like doctors, nurses derive their expertise from medical science; and like doctors, their legitimacy is beyond question. Unlike doctors, however, nurses have very little control over the way hospitals are organized; their lower professional status is indicative of their weaker authority.

Much of the recent discussion of teaching, among both advocates and critics of professionalization, centers on either the issue of legitimacy or the issue of autonomy. In the following sections the teaching profession will be examined in light of these criteria.

1.2 The Legitimacy of Teachers

"Those who can't do, teach, and those who can't teach, teach education." At the root of this old saying lies an assumption, shared by many, that anyone can teach. After all, everyone has spent hours and hours in classrooms of all sorts, and been

exposed to a variety of models of teaching. If one knows a certain subject, surely one can teach it. And, if anyone can teach, why should teachers be considered professionals?

The widespread perception that good teaching may require some innate talent and, perhaps, some experience, but not any codifiable knowledge, is seen by many as the most serious challenge to the professional standing of teachers (for a review of this literature, see Feiman-Nemser and Floden 1986, pp.512-515). To counter this perception educational researchers and policy-makers have sought to demonstrate that good teachers operate from a firm knowledge base. Lee Shulman, perhaps the foremost proponent of this view, summarizes this position in the following way:

The claim that teaching deserves professional status ... is based on a ... fundamental premise: that the standards by **which the education and performance of teachers** must be judged can be raised and more clearly articulated. The advocates of professional reform base their arguments on the belief that there exists a "knowledge base for teaching" -- a codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding, and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility -- as well as a means for representing and communicating it. The reports of the Holmes Group and the Carnegie Task Force rest on this belief and, furthermore, claim that the knowledge base is growing. They argue that it should frame teacher education and directly inform teaching practice. [Shulman 1987, pp.3-4]

Under a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, Shulman and his colleagues have been working on the creation of a national teachers exam, akin to the National Board of Medical Examiners. This exam would assess a teachers' knowledge in the following seven categories:

-- content knowledge

- general pedagogic knowledge ... (which) ... appears to transcend knowledge
 - curriculum knowledge
 - pedagogical content knowledge
 - knowledge of learners and their characteristics
 - knowledge of educational contexts
 - knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values
- [Ibid., p. 8]

The view that the teaching profession is firmly grounded in a body of specialized knowledge has a number of profound and far-reaching implications:

1) Teachers ought to receive specialized training, preferably at the graduate level (Sedlak, 1987, pp.321-323). Just as a hospital would never think of employing a doctor who was not a graduate of an accredited medical school, a school ought not hire teachers who do not have "state of the art" training.

2) The training teachers receive ought to be, to some extent, standardized. Though a certain amount of variation might be tolerable, and even beneficial, the knowledge base of teaching would, dictate that certain guidelines be followed. On the basis of this standardization, training programs may be accredited and their graduates credentialed.

3) Teachers ought to be evaluated at periodic intervals, in some standardized way. Not only must a teacher's knowledge be assessed, but also his or her skill in applying that knowledge in specific situations. Procedures for this type of evaluation must be standardized, to reduce, as much as possible, the subjective element which inheres in all evaluation of performance.

4) Different levels of expertise ought to be delineated, and the status and remuneration of teachers ought to be linked to these stages. The relatively flat career pattern of the teaching

profession, wherein novices and veterans, the mediocre and the superb, do essentially the same work, and are rewarded according to the same scale, (Lortie, 1975) has long been a source of concern among the advocates of educational reform (Sykes, 1983b). The availability of reliable evaluative techniques by which school systems could test teachers' proficiency could serve as the basis for career ladders and differentiated staffing.

5) Finally, teachers ought to be required to keep pace with new developments in their field. The knowledge base of teaching has grown and changed in dramatic ways in the past two decades; the rate of new knowledge production can only quicken. Therefore, it would be imperative for veteran teachers to have mastery of this new body of information, skills and techniques as well.

Without denying the importance of research on teacher knowledge, a number of prominent researchers and scholars have cautioned that this type of research, at least in its current state, cannot serve as a basis for legitimizing the teaching profession. They argue that the "scientific basis" of teaching (Gage, 1978) amounts to little more than a number of low-level generalizations which add little to our common-sense notions of what makes for good teaching (Jackson, 1987; Zumwalt, 1982). While Shulman, who employs a different research paradigm, hopes to overcome the narrow technological bias of previous researchers, his work is too preliminary to serve as the sole basis for professional legitimation.

Even were the components of "teacher knowledge" more clearly delineated, developed, and corroborated, would good teaching be

directly related to knowledge acquisition? Noting the special way in which personality enters into teaching, some researchers caution against an undue emphasis on knowledge alone.

It is difficult ... to disentangle teacher character from teacher competence. The teacher is deeply engaged in his work as a whole person because an effect is required on the student as a whole person. [Lightfoot. 1983, p.250]

Education ... possesses neither a codified body of technical knowledge nor a clear technology nor a small set of measurable outcomes. Rather, special and ordinary knowledge are freely mixed, teaching styles and the solution of core problems are heavily dependent on personality and consequently are idiosyncratic, and outcomes are multiple, protean, and intangible. [Sykes, 1983a, p.581]

This is an issue to which we will return in section 3.5.

1.3 The Autonomy of Teachers

The second hallmark of a profession is autonomy, the ability of practitioners to control the circumstances and terms under which their service is rendered. Once again, a comparison with doctors, who have a great deal of autonomy, may be helpful. Individual doctors may establish their own office procedures and fee schedules; collectively, they set policies for hospitals, medical schools, and various public health organizations. Of course, in a complex technological society such as our own, most professions are subject to some regulation; a variety of laws and conventions set the parameters within which medical practitioners must operate. Of late, insurance regulations and legal precedents have set further restraints on medical practice.

One might, at first glance, assume that teachers too have a good deal of autonomy. Teachers teach behind closed doors; within

certain limits, they can establish their own set of classroom procedures and rules. Though they may be given a curriculum and/or a textbook, they can decide themselves just how the subject at hand ought to be taught.

A closer look, however, reveals that the situation is more complicated, and that most teachers operate under constraints more onerous than those of other professions: Unlike the clients of the doctor or lawyer, students do not come to school voluntarily; conversely, teachers have relatively little choice as to who their students will be. In other fields professionals themselves define and promote the services they offer, but in teaching it is the society at large which dictates its expectations to teachers (Darling-Hammond, 1989, p. 73). Major policy issues in education are usually decided through a political process involving school boards and commissioners (or, in the case of Jewish education, lay people and rabbis), very few of whom have extensive professional training. At the school level, policies are usually set by the principal or administrators, few of whom act in consultation with teachers (Goodlad, 1984, pp.188-191).

Over the past two decades the authority of teachers' in public schools has eroded further. Federal and state funding of schools has increased, and has brought with it increased demands for regulating teachers and holding them accountable for student achievement.

Policy makers do not trust teachers to make responsible, educationally appropriate judgments. They do not view teachers as uniformly capable, and they are suspicious about the adequacy of preparation and supervision. These doubts

are a measure of the weakness of the professional structure in education and its ability to offer alternative means for guaranteeing quality. [Darling-Hammond, 1988, pp. 63-64]

Many have argued against this type of bureaucratic control of teachers, claiming that such control can only weed out incompetence; it cannot promote excellence (Green, 1983, pp. 322-323). The complexity of American society, the problems of our student population, and the rising expectations of what schools ought to accomplish, they claim, demand excellence, not merely competence, autonomous professional teachers, not merely programmed technicians (Devaney and Sykes, 1988).

Teacher excellence and teacher autonomy, in this view, go hand in hand. To attract and retain a cadre of truly professional teachers, one must assure that they will have a hand in shaping the environments in which they work.

A second argument for increasing the autonomy of teachers derives from research on teacher satisfaction and dissatisfaction, the factors which lead to teacher retention, on the one hand, and burnout, on the other. There is mounting evidence that teachers find intrinsic rewards, such as their ability to reach students, more important than the extrinsic ones of salary and status (Lortie, 1975; McLaughlin and Yee, 1988; Mitchell, Ortiz and Mitchell, 1987). Among the intrinsic rewards mentioned by teachers as key to their level of satisfaction is what some researchers call capacity: "the teachers' access to resources and the ability to mobilize them, the availability of tools to do their job, and the capability to influence the goals and direction of their institution" (McLaughlin and Yee, 1988,

Teachers with a sense of capacity tend to pursue effectiveness in the classroom, express commitment to organization and career, and report a high level of professional satisfaction. Lacking a sense of power, teachers who care often end up acting in ways that are educationally counterproductive by "coping" -- lowering their aspirations, disengaging from the setting, and framing their goals only in terms of getting through the day. Teaching is apt to become just a job, not a career. [Ibid., p.29]

What can be done to promote teachers' autonomy? How, despite the inherent constraints in the work situation of teachers, can this aspect of professionalism be enhanced? McLaughlin and Yee (Ibid.) found that some schools promote teacher autonomy more than others, and that these schools tend to share five common attributes:

- 1) They have an adequate resources, i.e., sufficient number of textbooks and materials, as well as reasonably hospitable facilities.
- 2) They exhibit "a unity of purpose, clear organizational guidelines and goals, and a collective sense of responsibility" (p.31). The principal is key to establishing this productive and cohesive atmosphere.
- 3) They promote a sense of collegiality among teachers, who are given both opportunity and encouragement to work collaboratively.
- 4) The orientation of the school is problem-solving, rather than problem-hiding.

A problem-solving environment ... encourages teachers to reflect on their practice, and explore ways to improve it in an ongoing, rather than episodic, basis. It is an environment in which it is safe to be candid and to take the risks inherent in trying out new ideas or unfamiliar practices. ... Conversely, in problem-hiding environments, teachers hide their problems and then hide the fact that they are hiding their problems. "Everything's fine" becomes the standard response to administrative or collegial inquiry about classroom activity. [p.36]

- 5) The school "rewards teachers for growth, risk taking and

change rather than only for successful past practice " (p.37).

These five factors tend to reinforce one another. Thus, a school which is problem-solving is likely to reward teachers for risk taking; likewise, a school with a well-defined sense of purpose tends to promote collegiality. Together, they contribute to the creation of an environment which promotes professionalization.

As studies such as the one by McLaughlin and Yee accumulate, educational reformers have focused more and more on that intangible but altogether critical factor, the "culture" of a school (Sarason, 1971). Why do some schools seem to exude a sense of harmony and collegiality, while others appear to be bogged down in apathy or conflict? Why do some schools foster teacher autonomy while others, with equally competent teachers, render teachers powerless? Why do some schools easily accommodate themselves to innovation and experimentation, while others appear impervious change of any sort? After years of trying to account for the differences by enumerating discrete factors which would serve as "independent variables," researchers have begun to take a more holistic, anthropological look at schools (Erickson, 1986). They argue that many elements combine to create that unique configuration of shared beliefs and practices which is a school's culture. This culture serves as a filter for all attempts at innovation (Cooper, 1988).

The challenge facing the advocates of professionalization through greater autonomy is that this cultural "screen" makes it difficult to isolate the set of ingredients which are key to

transforming a hierarchical and bureaucratic staff structure into what Roland Barth calls "a community of leaders" (1988).

Throughout the United States, a number of experiments have been undertaken whose purpose is to grant teachers more autonomy, either as individuals, or on a school-wide basis. Concurrently, the experiments are being studied, in an effort to glean some insights into the common characteristics of those programs which are most successful (Lieberman, 1988, chpts. 8 - 10). As these experiments progress, we will obtain a better picture of both the conditions and benefits of expanded authority for teachers.

1.4 The Prospects for Professionalizing Teachers

If the term "professional" is to function as more than a fancy synonym for "respected," its use must be predicated on two assumptions: First, that the teacher's skill derives from a special branch of knowledge, knowledge which can be codified, transmitted, and used as a yardstick for evaluation. Second, teachers must be granted a certain degree of control over their working environments.

Though the two hallmarks of professionalism -- legitimacy and autonomy -- have been discussed independently, it is clear that they are closely related in actuality. Legitimacy serves as the justification for autonomy: the members of a profession are granted control over their practice on the assumption that they, having sole possession of the special knowledge in their field, would know best how their practice should be conducted. Autonomy,

in turn, allows professionals to establish the standards of legitimacy. Most bona fide professions are self-regulating; criteria for membership and methods of evaluation are set by the members themselves.

This is, in essence, the bargain that all professionals make with society: for occupations that require discretion and judgment in meeting the unique needs of clients, the profession guarantees the competence of members in exchange for the privilege of professional control and standards of practice. [Darling-Hammond, 1988, p.59]

Does teaching meet the two criteria of professionalism? In light of the literature reviewed above, it would be hard to offer an unequivocal answer to this question. Clearly good teachers know something about teaching (over and above their knowledge of the subject matter) that ordinary people usually don't know. But just what it is that teachers know is difficult, at the present time, to articulate. Sykes' assessment of the situation in 1983 still holds true today:

Despite the assertions of some teacher educators, we do not yet possess the knowledge on which to stake a claim to professional status in teaching. ... The leads research is providing can help strengthen the curriculum for teacher preparation, but cannot fully define it nor significantly reduce the endemic uncertainties of practice nor the reliance on ordinary knowledge and the use of personality as a primary resource in teaching. [Sykes, 1983a, p.582]

In terms of the second criterion, teachers could probably never be fully autonomous, because their students come involuntarily, and because many of the structural features of the school are mandated from above. On the other hand, teachers might certainly be granted much greater autonomy, either collectively, through the governance of the school, or individually, by the creation of special leadership positions.

Any attempt to grant greater autonomy to teachers will face a number of obstacles. Many principals would certainly prefer to maintain a tight control over the school, rather than sharing their power with others; school boards as well may be resistant to the notion that teachers be allowed to make policy decisions.

A second barrier to granting any profession autonomy is related to the quality of people the profession attracts. Public school teaching does attract a portion (approximately 7%) of the most able college graduates in the United States. However, the sheer size of the teaching force and the relative ease of entry into the field, make teaching attractive to a very high proportion (38%) of the least able as well (Lanier and Little, 1986, pp. 539-540). In previous decades women often chose teaching because they were barred, or at least discouraged, from entering more lucrative and more highly regarded professions. Today, the situation is quite different.

The women's movement and the drive for equal rights coupled with economic pressures on women to work are changing all this. ... In the future the best and the brightest women are likely to join their male counterparts in such fields as business, law, medicine, research and government, with teaching a significant loser in the competition for talent. [Sykes, 1983b, p.113]

In theory the legitimacy of a profession should have nothing to do with the characteristics of the people it attracts; in fact, however, perceptions of the teaching profession, and the extent to which the public is willing to grant teachers greater autonomy are greatly influenced by the qualities of its members (Kerr, 1983; Metzger and Fox, 1986).

Those who are concerned with upgrading the teaching

profession are caught in a vicious cycle. Low status, low salaries, and a lack of autonomy make the field unattractive to potential candidates; at the same time, the mediocrity of its practitioners make it harder to argue for greater autonomy, higher status, and, perhaps most importantly, considerably higher pay. Some educational commentators, perceiving these obstacles to be insurmountable, refer to teaching a quasi-profession (Spencer, 1986, pp. 3-5). Many others have called for the restructuring of the entire field, as a way of achieving the ideal of professionalization, within the confines of economic and social realities.

Three influential groups of stakeholders, the Carnegie Commission on Education, the Holmes Group (a consortium of deans of education from the major research universities), and the American Federation of Teachers, have argued that that the notoriously flat career pattern of public school teachers should be replaced by a pyramidal structure which they term "differentiated staffing." At the base of the pyramid would be a large number of entry level teachers, who would make only a short-term (three to five year) commitment to teaching. These individuals would have relatively little training and be granted relatively little autonomy. Many from this group might decide to leave teaching, as their initial period of commitment ended. Some, however, might decide to pursue teaching as a profession, and would begin a program of more intensive training. As these individuals became more knowledgeable and more skilled, their authority would increase, along with their salaries. At the top

of the pyramid would be a small cadre of those teachers able to pass the rigorous requirements for becoming mentor teachers, curriculum specialists, and other positions carrying increased responsibility (Sedlak, 1987). Though the concept of differentiated staffing has been criticized by some as either misguided or unrealistic (see essays in Soltis, 1987), some school districts have embraced this notion of reconfiguration as one of the only ways out of the current conundrum (Urbanski, 1988). I believe that the concept of differentiated staffing holds great promise for Jewish schools as well, as we shall see in sections 3 and 4. First, however, I will explore the question of whether or not the term "professional" is the most apt characterization of excellence in teaching.



SECTION 2

BEYOND PROFESSIONALISM: TEACHING AS A VOCATION

Is the term "professional" rich enough to embody all that we mean when we think of excellence in teaching? If all teachers were to be fully professional, according to the criteria of legitimacy and autonomy, would we be satisfied with the result? The current debate on teachers has focused so narrowly on their professional standing, that these questions have rarely been asked. If, however, one were to think of one's most memorable teachers, "professional" would probably not be the only (or even the first) adjective one would use to describe them.

Good teachers "are shapers not only of their students' knowledge, but also of their students' lives" (Martin, 1987, p.408). While knowledge is certainly a necessary ingredient of good teaching, it is not the only one. Following Dwayne Huebner (1988), I have used "vocation" as an overarching metaphor for this aspect of teaching.

The Latin root of vocation refers to a call or summons. ... To have the vocation of teacher is to permit oneself to be called by children and young people. ... [It] is to participate intentionally in the unfolding, or perhaps collapse, of this social world. [pp. 17 - 21]

To view teaching as a vocation is to focus on that aspect of teaching that goes beyond training and expertise to the core of the teacher's being. For vocational, as opposed to professional, teachers, legitimacy and autonomy may be important, but only in the context of their ultimate purpose, their reasons for teaching.

Different teachers are "called" to teaching for different reasons. For some, it is a desire to work with children, to nurture and care for developing minds and hearts. For others, the continuation of a community or a tradition is the ultimate goal; they teach in order to bring a new generation "into the fold." In religious education, one finds a third group of teachers, "called" to teach in the sense implied by the original meaning of the term vocation -- by strong religious feelings.

Each of these motivations suggests a different characteristic of the ideal teacher: First, the teacher should be a caring person. Second, the teacher should be an integral member of the community into which the student is being brought. Third, the teacher should be a spiritual role model.

2.1 The Teacher as a Caring Person

Given that the extrinsic rewards of teaching are rather limited, it is not surprising to find that most teachers focus on its intrinsic rewards instead (Feiman-Nemser and Floden, 1986, p. 510). High on the list of intrinsic rewards is the teacher's perception of having "reached" students, of having made a difference in their lives. The following excerpt from the letter of an experienced teacher to her former student exemplifies this feeling:

Ultimately, teaching is nurturing. The teacher enters a giving relationship with strangers, and then the teacher's needs must give way to the students' needs. ... My days are spent encouraging young people's growth. [Metzger and Fox, 1986, p.352]

Some teachers are outstanding in their ability to care about students in a special way; they relate to their students as people, not just as learners. In her book, Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education, Nel Noddings describes this quality:

When a teacher asks a question in class and a student responds, she receives not just the "response" but the student. What he says matters, whether it is right or wrong, and she probes gently for clarification, interpretation, contribution. She is not seeking the answer but the involvement of the cared-for. For the brief interval of dialogue that grows around the question, the cared-for indeed "fills the firmament." The student is infinitely more important than the subject matter. [Noddings, 1984, p.176]

The phrase "fills the firmament" is borrowed from Martin Buber, and echoes Buber's concern with relationships in which there is genuine encounter and dialogue, relationships in which people meet one another as "Thou"s, rather than "It"s.

Noddings argues that the over-riding and over-arching purpose of all schools ought to be the development in young people of the ability to care for each other, and for the world around them. "Teaching is a constitutively ethical activity. It is a 'moral type of friendship' in which teachers and students work together to achieve common ends (Noddings, 1986, p.505)." This is not to say that the learning of subject matter is not important, but that subject matter must be taught in such a way that enhances, rather than diminishes, care.

Is it possible for a teacher to care for an entire class of students? How can a teacher meet all these students as "Thou"s, rather than "It"s? Noddings' reply is that it is, of course, impossible to care for every student every minute, but that this

type on caring is neither necessary nor appropriate. A large part of the student's day is rightfully taken up by his or her interaction with materials or with other students. When the student does interact with the teacher, however, that encounter must be characterized by caring:

[The teacher must] be totally and nonselectively present to the student -- to each student -- as he addresses me. The time interval may be brief but the encounter is total.
[Noddings, 1984, p.180]

If we value caring as a quality, and if it is important to us that teachers be caring individuals, at least three things must happen. First, we must begin talking about caring a great deal more than we have. We must state quite explicitly that caring for children is one of the most important qualifications for a teacher to have. We must validate the superior social commitment of teachers in general, as well as individual instances of caring in teaching. Second, we must take a close look at how schools are structured, and the ways in which these structures promote or inhibit caring (Aron, 1982). Is there time in the schedule for teachers to interact with students more informally? Is it feasible for a teacher to stay with a group of students for more than one year? Third, and most important, we must care for and about teachers. School boards, principals, parents and members of the community at large must extend themselves to teachers, to encounter them in the way we would like them to encounter students.

2.2 The Teacher as an Integral Member of a Community

The ideal environment for the education of children would be a homogeneous and well-integrated society, a society in which family, school, and a web of civic and religious organizations were interwoven, each reinforcing the values and norms of the other. Historians and anthropologists have spent a great deal of time debating whether or not such harmonious societies have ever existed, in another time or place. Clearly, however, few communities of this sort have survived industrialization, modernization, and the other forces that have shaped contemporary American life.

In our own time, the institutions most naturally suited to education are embattled. Social mobility has all-but eliminated the extended family. The rising rate of divorce, along with the entry of an unprecedented number of women into the workforce, have sapped the strength of the nuclear family. Social and religious organizations of all kinds face stiff competition from both work and leisure-time activities. With the advent of mass-media and mass-marketing, America as a whole has become more homogeneous than ever before; but this surface homogeneity has come at the expense of the integrity and vitality of local communities.

Against this background, many of the innovations in public schools over the past three or four decades can be seen as attempts to have the school assume functions which were traditionally fulfilled by the family, church, or other local

organizations. Head Start, drivers' education, moral education and sex education are but some of the programs introduced into schools in an effort to compensate for the waning influence of other institutions.

Thus, the school, whose original mandate was limited to formal instruction, has increasingly been asked to take on a larger, less formal, and more elusive educational function, which might be called enculturation (Westerhoff, 1976). However, the typical school, which is organized according to age-graded and self-contained classrooms and adheres to a subject-oriented curriculum, may not be the appropriate vehicle for teaching students values and attitudes in more than a superficial way (Aron, 1987, 1988). With the exception of a small number of exemplary programs, schools have not been particularly successful at enculturating students (Debenham and Parsons, 1978).

The expectation that the school will somehow cure societal ills has filtered into the Jewish community as well, where education is seen as "the key to Jewish survival." Indeed, the need to have Jewish schools perform functions which relate more closely to enculturation than to instruction is even more urgent in the Jewish community. From the outset, Jews in America were deeply ambivalent about the extent to which they wished to identify as Jews, and practice the rituals and traditions of "the old country" (Liebman, 1973). The immigrant generation had the luxury of choosing if and when to activate rituals and customs which lay dormant within them. Succeeding generations, not having been steeped in these traditions from childhood, have had fewer

resources to draw upon. To make matters worse, social mobility has largely eliminated the ancillary agents of Jewish enculturation, the extended family and the Jewish neighborhood.

The children currently enrolled in Jewish schools, who are predominantly fourth and fifth generation Americans, receive little Jewish enculturation at home. In a recent study of supplementary school students conducted by the Board of Jewish Education of Greater New York (1988) only 18% of the respondents indicated that either they or their parents attend synagogue services regularly on Shabbat and holidays. Sixteen percent of the students light Shabbat candles "every Friday evening;" an additional 45% doing so "occasionally" (p.93). While one might expect students enrolled in day schools to come from homes with a richer Jewish environment, the impressionistic data collected by many educators suggests that this is not always the case, especially in non-Orthodox day schools (Cohen, 1982, p.24).

If Jewish education has any chance for success, we must consider very seriously the differences between instruction and enculturation. We must acknowledge that instruction in a subject matter (be it mathematics and literature or Hebrew and Bible) is predicated on some prior enculturation, which provides both the motivation for learning, and opportunities for its consolidation. Students in public schools, for example, have daily opportunities to see adults reading, adding and subtracting; in addition, even the youngest have some conception that success in school is connected to success in adult life. In contrast, Jewish students rarely see adults praying, speaking Hebrew, or reading the Bible;

nor is competence in these areas linked to future success in the secular world.

If Jewish education is to be taken seriously, if the survival for which it is the supposed key is to be cultural and spiritual, rather than merely demographic, Jewish schools must be re-structured and reconfigured to become agents of enculturation. They must become places which model for young people what it means to be Jewish. In short, they must become communities.

What would it take to turn the Jewish school into a community, to change its orientation from instruction to enculturation? Elsewhere I have outlined five steps which such a transformation would require (Aron, 1987), including the involvement of parents at all levels of the school's operation and the inclusion of many more opportunities for informal learning. Of these five, the most important to us in this context is that a school which wants to be the core of a community must have teachers who are deeply involved in that community.

2.3 The Teacher as a Religious Role Model

It would be difficult to find anyone who would argue that teachers in Jewish schools ought not to be religious role models. But what do we mean by religious? And what is a role model? These are questions which must be answered before we can discuss how important it is that our teachers have this quality, and how this quality can best be supported in the school.

Contemporary writers on religion such as William Alston and

Clive Beck have pointed out that the phenomena which most people call "religious" are so varied as to elude straightforward, stipulative definition (see Rosenak, 1987, chapter 5). They offer, in place of a definition, a view of religion as the confluence of a number of "religion-making" characteristics;" any particular religion would have some, but not necessarily all, of these characteristics. Clive Beck offers this type of definition, but focuses on the religious person, rather than the religious tradition. A religious person, according to Beck is one who "typically":

- a) has a system of supernatural beliefs
- b) engages in rituals and other practices related to those beliefs
- c) is associated with a tradition of such belief and practice
- d) participates in a community committed to this tradition
- e) derives from the tradition a worldview, and
- f) a relatively complete way of life [Beck, 1986]

The virtue of this definition is that it accommodates the variety of ways in which people can be said to be religious. One person, for example, may not believe in God, but may still practice the rituals associated with a certain religious tradition. A second person might believe in God, but might practice the rituals of several religious traditions, and might not participate in any community committed to any of these traditions; by Beck's definition both of these individuals would be considered religious. Of course, not all of these ways of being religious will be acceptable to all Jews, a point to which I will return, after a discussion of religious role models.

"Role model" is a sociological term, which has rapidly

become part of everyday vocabulary, because it points to a factor in contemporary life which had no parallel in more traditional societies. In the hypothetical homogeneous society discussed in the previous section, children would form their notions of what makes a successful adult from observing their relatives and neighbors. In such a society the number of potential "roles" to which one could aspire would be quite limited; the roles assumed by one generation would probably be attractive to the next. Change in contemporary society, however, have eroded the viability of certain traditional roles, such as housewife and shopkeeper, and contributed to the creation of new roles, such as working mother and technician. A young person growing up today faces a confusing array of possible futures -- some traditional, some current, some which are as yet unknown. In this context, the child's potential role models go far beyond family and neighbors, to include public figures of all sorts, and even virtual strangers.

In contemporary Jewish life, the role of the teacher is critical, because teachers, along with rabbis, youth group leaders and camp counselors, are often the only Jewish role models available. As the evidence of the demographic studies and ethnographies discussed above indicates, the number of Jewish things that marginally affiliated families actually do is quite small. While roughly 75% of American Jews celebrate Hanukkah, Passover, and the High Holidays in some fashion (Cohen, 1985), and while as many as 85% affiliate with some Jewish organization at some point in their lives (Feldstein and Shrager, 1987, p.98),

a much smaller percentage live a life that might be considered religious, by any of Beck's criteria (Cohen, 1988).

If Jewish education for the children of the marginally affiliated is to be anything other than an exercise in futility and hypocrisy, Jewish teachers must serve as models for how one can lead an involved and attractive Jewish life.

In the words of Jonathan Omer-Man,

A religious person today is a person who has made certain choices; and a teacher of religion is a person who has made certain choices and whose task is to educate young people who face an even wider range of choices. ... [T]he student has to be taught to make certain profound existential choices as an individual, and to live with these decisions in circumstances that are not always easy. In order to do this, the teacher has to present himself as a role model, as a person who has made such choices, and with whom the student can identify. [Omer-Man, 1982, p.22]

It is important to note that not all of the role models for living a full and committed Jewish life need be religious. Some may be more oriented towards the cultural, ethnic, or secular Zionist aspects of Jewish life. However, to the extent that a predominance of Jewish schools are synagogue-based, and that many of those that are independent still include religious subjects in their curriculum, one would expect that a large number of teachers should serve as religious role models.

What kind of religious role models do we expect Jewish teachers to be? Do we expect them to believe in God? To observe a minimum set of rituals? To have a particular worldview? These questions cannot be answered without reference to the particular school. Some schools, especially those affiliated with the Orthodox movement, may expect their teachers to adhere closely to a set of beliefs and a code of practices. Others of a more

liberal persuasion may allow, and even value, a plurality of belief and practice, hoping to model for their students a variety of ways of being a committed religious Jew. All schools ought to at least consider these questions seriously, and attempt to articulate the types of religious commitment they will expect from their teachers. And all ought to think seriously about the way in which the structure and policies of the school promote or inhibit the teacher's religiosity.



SECTION 3

THE SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF JEWISH EDUCATION

Despite the urgings of Noddings, Huebner, Philip Jackson (1986, chapter 6), and Gary Sykes (1989), the overwhelming majority of educational researchers and policymakers have tended to view the problems of public school teachers as problems of professionalism. In attempting to address these problems, they have focused on a variety of the mechanisms alluded to in section 1, such as: the reconfiguration of training; the codification of teacher-knowledge, in an effort to create a National Teacher Exam; the creation of career ladders for teachers; and the institution of shared decision-making in schools, in an effort to promote teacher autonomy.

Some of these mechanisms have been suggested as solutions to the problems of teachers of Judaica in Jewish schools as well (Schiff, 1988 and 1989; find references in Reimer book, Ratner and Reich, 1988). Several central agencies of Jewish education have instituted some of these mechanisms, such as career ladders and new training opportunities, and have been encouraged by the outcome (JESNA, 1984).

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that all the innovations of public education can or should be transferred, in wholesale fashion, to Jewish education. Although Jewish schools resemble their public counterparts in some respects, there are a number of important differences between the two sectors. In this section I will discuss the differences that are most relevant to

the issue of professionalism in teaching.

Many structural similarities exist between Jewish and public schools. Their physical plants tend to resemble each other rather closely, as do their organizational patterns. (Most) Jewish schools have followed (most) public schools in having age-graded classes, taught by individual teachers. Teachers are supervised by a principal, and may be assisted by a number of specialists, such as a librarian, music teacher, school psychologist, etc. If one were to look inside both types of classrooms at the materials, modalities and techniques teachers employ, one would find many additional resemblances. Nonetheless, Jewish and secular education are different in significant ways:

3.1 Voluntarism

Jewish schooling in the United States is an entirely voluntary, privately funded enterprise. With the exception of secular subjects in day schools, Jewish schools are not subject to governmental regulation with respect to their educational program. Despite the existence of various associations (e.g., Solomon Shechter and Torah U'Mesurah), individual Jewish schools operate independently of one another.

Jewish schools are typically governed by a group of individuals who serve as the school or synagogue board. The degree to which these individuals represent the school's multiple constituencies varies. While members of these governing bodies may be elected to their position, these elections are mostly pro

forma; inclusion in school governance tends to be based on the members' interest, expertise, personal connections, and status in the community.

Within the rather loose governance structure of most Jewish schools principals have a good deal of autonomy, and work under far fewer restrictions and regulations than their counterparts in public education. They could, theoretically, grant comparable autonomy to their teachers, and to some extent they do. Studies of teachers in both Los Angeles and Miami show that they have a good deal of latitude in setting the curriculum, though little or no role in establishing school policy.

(INSERT TABLES FROM L.A. AND MIAMI?)

3.2 Unclear Lines of Communal Authority and Responsibility

Given the voluntaristic nature of Jewish education, it is not surprising that Jewish education in the United States is a "system" in only a loose and ephemeral sense. Change in public education can be mandated by the local school board or a state legislature, which is legally responsible for the school system. In contrast, Jewish schools are not subject to any authority higher than that of their sponsoring synagogue or governing body. Those who seek change in Jewish education have no recourse to coercive measures; they must rely on either persuasion or financial incentives. Given that the American Jewish community is smaller, more homogeneous, and (at least among active members)

more interdependent than the nation as a whole, persuasion and financial incentives have a much better chance of success than they might have in the public arena. Nonetheless, even if the aims of reform were similar, the process by which these aims could be achieved would be very different in Jewish, rather than public, education.

If, for example, a central agency for Jewish education were to attempt to establish a career ladder for teachers, it would not only have to provide the money for rising salaries; it would have to persuade individual schools that increased responsibility for one or more of their teachers would be a good idea; it would have to develop guidelines for the selection and evaluation of those on the higher rungs; and it would have to continually urge schools to adhere to these guidelines.

The absence of systemic responsibility and accountability has important implications for teacher standards and salaries. Both the National Board of License and a number of local Bureaus offer credentials to teachers; some central agencies publish salary scales as well. While little systematic data in this area has been collected to date, interviews with knowledgeable BJE personnel directors reveal a number of problems: First, only a small percentage of teachers in Jewish schools meet the standards of the National Board of License [ftnt: # of individuals receiving licenses over the past 5 years]. The standards of local BJE's are considerably lower; the lowest rungs of these credentialing systems require little training, in either Judaica or education. Second, it is not at all clear to what extent

salary scales are adhered to. Los Angeles, which links adherence to the salary scale to the receipt of funds from the BJE, is probably in the best position to enforce the scale. Even in Los Angeles, however, one hears a good deal of talk among principals about ways they have found to pay their teachers either more or less than the scale would require.

3.3 The Part-time Nature of Jewish Teaching

The teaching of Judaica is, even in a day school, often a part-time occupation. In Los Angeles, the average number of hours available in each day school teaching slot is 20.5 hours/week (Aron and Phillips, 1989); in Miami it is 22.3 hours (Sheskin, 1988). Only 58% of the day school teachers in Los Angeles teach over 16 hours/week; in Miami, only 43% teach more than 20 hours.

Teachers in supplementary schools teach far fewer hours per school, an average of 5.2 hours in Los Angeles, and 4.8 hours in Miami.

Tables ... give the breakdown, by setting, of the hours teachers teach in both Los Angeles and Miami.

If the teaching of Judaica in a Jewish school is, for so many, a part-time occupation, can it still be considered a profession? In theory the number of hours a professional works should make no difference, if s/he has legitimacy and is granted autonomy. In practice, however, the part-time nature of Jewish teaching sets off a kind of chain reaction, influencing recruitment, training and retention, and undercutting

professionalism at every turn: A part-time teacher can only earn a part-time salary; low salaries in a field translate, in most people's minds, to low status. How many talented young people can afford (either financially or in terms of their self-image) to view part-time work as an ultimate career choice? How many, given a prognosis of their future earning potential, would be willing to undergo rigorous training? Once in the job, how many can afford to stay for the long term? Several decades ago, part-time teaching in a Jewish school was seen by some women as a promising avenue for professional development, which fit well with their desire to be primary care-givers to their children. Today, the opening of a much broader spectrum of career opportunities for women, and the economic pressures on middle class families, make part-time teaching much less desirable.

Viewed in this light, the chronic shortage of teachers of Judaica in the United States, a shortage which has persisted for over half-a-century (Shevitz, 1988; Aron and Bank, 1987), is perfectly understandable. Unfortunately, the persistence of a teacher shortage serves as another barrier to professionalism: if people who are only minimally qualified can find jobs so easily, why bother to acquire additional expertise?

Any effort to improve the professional standing of Jewish teachers must begin with the problem of the overwhelmingly part-time nature of the task as it is currently configured. One promising solution is the creation, by an external agency such as a bureau or federation, of a number of full-time slots for "community teachers." This model has been used successfully in

Omaha for nearly a decade (Rosenbaum, 1983), and is currently being attempted in Cleveland and Boston. To create the position of community teacher, the central agency acts as a broker between a number of schools, typically a day school and one or two supplementary schools. The result is a full-time position which includes some combination of teaching, lesson planning, mentoring and curriculum development. The income which the teacher would earn from each of the individual schools is supplemented by the agency, so that an attractive salary and benefits package can be offered. In Omaha the position of community teacher carries with it a number of other "perks," such as free membership in the Jewish Community Center. The creation of these full-time positions has enabled the Jewish community of Omaha to attract outstanding teachers from around the country; the arrival of each new teacher is greeted by the community with considerable fanfare, comparable to the arrival of other new Jewish professionals.

The community teacher concept is so simple and appealing, that one wonders why it hasn't been implemented in many more Jewish communities. Interviews with a number of people who have been involved in the implementation of this model (including several key figures in one community which failed to come to agreement on the terms for a community teacher) provide an answer to this question. Because individual Jewish schools have so much autonomy, and because larger communal structure have little authority over them, some schools are resistant to "sharing" a teacher with other schools, and unwilling to compromise when

scheduling conflicts arise. The success or failure of the model seems to depend upon the negotiating skills of the person responsible for its implementation and the personalities of the participating education directors. Nonetheless, the prospects for the creation of a growing number of community teacher positions throughout the country seems promising.

Another idea which is closely related to that of the community teacher is that of the hybrid teaching position, in which part-time work as a Jewish teacher is combined with part-time work as a social worker, librarian, communal worker, etc. This idea has been tried, with great success in public schools in Arizona, where science teachers are given summer jobs in various industries as a way of supplementing their income (Babbitt, 1986). Though this solution would require the Jewish teacher to have additional professional competence in another area, it is certainly an avenue worthy of exploration.

Would it be possible to radically re-configure Jewish education in the United States, so that all teaching positions would carry with them full-time salaries and benefits? At the present moment we do not have sufficient information to answer this critically important question. Research on the economics of Jewish education, and some modeling of coordinated staffing arrangements for communities of various sizes would be required before an informed deliberation on this issue could take place.

3.4 Establishing the Professional Legitimacy of Jewish Teaching

As mentioned at the end of Section 1, one of the unresolved questions in secular education is the extent to which skill in teaching is derived from a special theoretical domain, and the extent to which mastery of this domain is what distinguishes good teachers from bad ones. As complicated as this issue is in secular education, it is more so in Jewish education. With the exception of two doctoral dissertations currently in process (Chervin, n.d.; Schoenberg, 1987), no research has been conducted in the area of Jewish pedagogic content knowledge. Moreover, there is every reason to expect that the assessment of a teacher's Jewish pedagogic content knowledge would be considerably more difficult than the assessment of secular pedagogic content knowledge, since Judaic subject matters are replete with questions of values, ideology and faith. It would be inconceivable, for example, that a good Bible teacher would not have grappled with a myriad of issues concerning the origins and veracity of the text, and how bound by its commandments s/he should feel. Whereas a good mathematics teacher would probably have to have faith that mathematics is a necessary intellectual tool, this type of faith pales in comparison to that required of a teacher of Bible or liturgy. Steven Chervin, one of the first to undertake research in this area, notes:

When multiple levels of understanding are intrinsic to the subject matter, as in the case of Torah, the teacher's active process of comprehension becomes an even more salient feature of teaching. [Chervin, n.d., p.8]

However, Chervin continues, "teacher knowledge research has only

begun to explore teacher beliefs."

As noted in Section 1, reformers who hope to establish the professional legitimacy of teachers in secular education look to research on teacher knowledge as a means of assessing this legitimacy. Shulman and his colleagues, whose research has been generously funded by the Carnegie Corporation and others, see the development of a National Teacher Exam in the not-too-distant future. In light of both the complexity of the issues and the paucity of research in this area, the prospects for a Jewish Teacher Exam seem considerably more dim. Certainly some items on the secular examination, i.e., those dealing with pedagogical issues in the abstract, might be incorporated into a comparable Jewish exam. But, to the extent that the most sophisticated assessments of a teacher's skills concern pedagogy applied to subject matter, the terrain remains largely unexplored.

Without a method for assessing teacher knowledge, the legitimacy of teachers will have to rest on purely formalistic criteria, such as the number of college or graduate courses taken in both pedagogy and Judaica. Results of teachers surveys in both Los Angeles and Miami indicate that teachers vary widely in this regard.

(INSERT TABLES FROM LOS ANGELES, MIAMI AND PHILADELPHIA ON
TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS)

Most schools and central agencies sponsor various forms of in-service training. Too often, however, these training opportunities are in the form of one-shot, non-accumulating workshops, often dealing with rather exotic or marginal aspects

of either Judaica or pedagogy (cite articles in recent Pedagogic Reporter).

One recent innovation in secular education may be particular relevant in this regard -- the growth, in a number of states of programs providing alternative paths to certification, through summer programs or a carefully monitored in-service sequence of courses (cite references). This would be an important model to explore.

4.5 The Role of Vocation in Jewish Teaching

Truly exemplary teachers, the teachers imprinted in our memories or featured in movies, see their work as both a profession and a vocation. Like Jaime Escalante, the hero of the movie Stand and Deliver, they cook for their students in their homes, and are continually looking for new metaphors and methods. Like Eliot Wigginton, the originator of the Foxfire project, they have strong roots in the community, but are ready to travel far and wide to promote and refine a new model of teaching (Wigginton, 1985). Like my children's Hebrew teacher, Amy Walk, they are relentless in their search for the best textbook, and the most involving game, as well as the perfect class outing and the cutest Hanukkah presents.

To what extent, however, can we expect all teachers to treat their work as both a profession and a calling? Those who saw Stand and Deliver may recall that Jaime Escalante suffers a heart attack which, the movie implies, is caused by over-working. Eliot

Wigginton, one gathers from reading his autobiographical account of teaching, is so involved in the lives of his students that he has no family of his own. As for Amy Walk, she is studying to be a rabbi, for she has seen abundant examples of burnout among Jewish teachers.

If a Jewish school had to choose one quality over another, which would it be, professionalism or a sense of vocation? If certification requirements and public pronouncements may be taken as evidence, public schools appear to have opted for profession over vocation. For Jewish schools, however, the choice is not as clear, and would probably be made differently by educators in different settings. In section 2 I suggested that the vocational aspects of teaching, such as caring, membership in the community and religiosity are particularly important for Jewish schools. If that is the case, each Jewish school may have to devise a differentiated staffing structure of its own, in an effort to have teachers with strengths in both the professional and the vocational aspects of teaching.

SECTION 4

THE NEED FOR DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING

As I read the evidence presented in the foregoing sections, both conceptions of teaching, the professional and the vocational, point to the same mechanism for securing a high quality teaching staff in an era of limited resources: differentiated staffing. In the absence of well-grounded economic models, we must assume that it will not be economically feasible to create well-paying, professionally competitive jobs for all Jewish teachers. National commissions on public education, such as the Holmes Group (1986) and Carnegie Forum (1986), have come to similar conclusions regarding public education; it is difficult to see how Jewish schools, particularly those that offer only part-time instruction, can have substantially larger budgets than their public school counterparts. The upper echelons of the staffing pyramid open up avenues for the most professional of teachers, those with the greatest knowledge and expertise, to be rewarded financially and receive greater autonomy. If conceptualized and publicized appropriately, the broad base of the staffing pyramid might attract idealistic and altruistic people from all walks of life, many of whom might see teaching as more of a temporary public service than a career.

With differentiated staffing as a goal, recruitment, training, and retention would be conceptualized very differently. Recruitment efforts would be broadened considerably. Short-term teaching as a form of public service (like the Peace Corps) would

be presented as an attractive option for a wide variety of groups: high school graduates, college students, and college graduates wishing to take a leave for one or two years; housewives with young children who don't want to work full-time; parents of older children who are settled in their work and looking for a new challenge; and recent retirees.

In response to concerns regarding the vocational qualities of teachers, staffing patterns in Jewish schools might be differentiated along a second dimension -- the degree to which teachers are active members of the community and can serve as religious role models. A given school would look for an appropriate balance of long-time members of the congregation or community and Jews from different communities around the city, or around the world. Teachers from within the community might require considerable on-the-job training, supervision, and, above all, nurturing; this would create additional work, and offer additional responsibility to the more professional teachers, who could serve as mentors, counselors and supervisors.

SHOULD I NOW OFFER A NUMBER OF HYPOTHETICAL MODELS OF DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING ARRANGEMENTS? IF SO, HOW DETAILED SHOULD THESE MODELS BE?

P UNIDENTIFIED CONTINUED: And one has to -- one really has to think about the terms of reference in terms of what are the things that are taken for granted in the paper, and may be even sensible to think about saying this is what I've taken as a set of assumptions.

I'm going to come back to that --

ARON: No are you going to tell me about that thing -- or I have to think about it.

UNIDENTIFIED: Well I think we should talk about it. I don't think we should let you leave without saying this are the terms, these are the terms of reference --

ARON: I've got it written down. Good.

UNIDENTIFIED: -- within which the paper can --

ARON: So what can be taken for granted and what can't be.

UNIDENTIFIED: Right.

I had a sense really and I kept flipping back in the section on vocation -- and I thought I heard Seymour ask that the same question, not in his comments, but when he interrupted you in the middle of your presentation -- was that the issue of is vocation -- it's certainly not clear to me and I think maybe needs looking at in the paper -- do you mean when you talk about vocation that this is a supplementary category to professional; or is it a category that comes instead of professional. And how exactly is this going to be played out?

And if when you talk about differential staffing you are in fact going to show how this gets played out -- that would be very, very useful. When you talked about VISTA and the bottom of the pyramid in your remarks, it sounded to me that VISTA is

vocational, without profession. But that if you're going to guarantee anybody who is going to remain in this pyramid forever -- that person has to be professional and vocational at best.

Now is that really so? And what does that really mean? Because part of the other sense of the thesis as Prof. Inbar says of this paper is that truly vocational people may not necessarily need to be professional. And do those people have a full-time, long-term future in Jewish education without --?

ARON: And there's one other thing, because I think you have to take seriously what I said about L.A. ... and Jaime Escalante. I mean I think there's a sense in which a person who may start out vocational at a certain points get to a part of their life where their energies are -- I mean, it's hard to talk about this, because we don't want to say --

UNIDENTIFIED: Wait a second -- in that sentence that you just said, when you said vocational -- what did it mean?

ARON: Well --

UNIDENTIFIED: Called, you mean called.

ARON: No, no, you could feel called to teaching, but I've talked to a lot of teachers like this and I think that -- I've talked to some teachers who I think are excellent, excellent teachers. At a certain point their kids reached a certain age -- they decided that their energy couldn't go -- their emotional energy could not go into teaching to the extent that it had when they were younger and their families -- they didn't have families, or their kids were little or something. That -- and these teachers are excellent professional teachers. And they've reoriented their

teaching to be more professional. And I think that we've got to grant legitimacy to that, because I mean -- you know how vocational --

UNIDENTIFIED: What do you mean when you say -- what do you mean when you say -- you mean they treat it more like a job?

ARON: Well they treat it more like a job; they put more into planning lessons and doing things like that. They don't spend Sunday taking the kids to wherever any more; Sunday is special for the -- I mean the teacher that once upon a time might have spent every Sunday taking kids on some outing -- won't do that at a certain point.

FOX: In the light of ... earlier question: why do you feel pressed to answer that?

I'll give you an example. I remember teachers -- and I hate to sound like one of those parents who come to the principal of a school -- but I remember teachers who by virtue of opening me up to a subject matter, the subject matter did the job for me. In other words, the mix need not necessarily be people only with calling. A person who is able to -- and make it possible for you to open a book and understand it -- the book has some power too.

Now, the question I'm asking -- in other words, if a teacher came to me and told me the story that you're saying: listen, I just can't do that --

ARON: I can't invite the kids over for Shabbat dinner anymore.

FOX: Very good. O.K. So, I would say "so?" I mean I might make him a shortstop instead of a pitcher. And I'll tell you what I mean by that.

The yeshiva world had different types that played very

different roles. The mashgiach in the yeshiva -- the idealized mashgiach was the person with calling. You can get a rosh yeshiva who could be impossible -- not give time to students, etc. But he was profound in terms of the brilliant analysis that he gave. And in that total social setting, he offered something that was terribly important to it.

I don't think we want to -- we don't have the data yet to resolve that. And I'm worried about the latest bandwagon in education -- and by the way, I don't mean to deride the notion of calling or vocation or any --

ARON: ... to be a bandwagon -- I don't think it's a bandwagon.

FOX: Well, let's put it this way. A little red wagon -- the latest red wagon in education. You know, if -- I wouldn't want to have too many of those guys with calling in the school that I was principal of. I think that would emotionally drain the kids. How many of those people can you have around?

Versus, versus people that -- I remember a dicduk teacher who was tremendous. He was impossible as a person, etc. But, in retrospect, and in that context, he was terrific.

So the question is: the mix that you want to consider is one that none of us have worked out, and again, you might find out that in your school you need one mashgiach, you know one guy with vocational quality; 6 VISTA people; 3 professional guys who are terribly competent and don't want anybody over on Saturday; and some ... combinations.

ARON: I think your question is the right question. Because I'm not clear about that.

ALAN: That's the question at its best.

ARON: That's what I'm talking about.

FOX: I'm saying but your differentiated staffing --

ARON: I can't make models.

ALAN: ... much too mechanical.

FOX: No, no, no. The differentiated staffing I'm talking about is -- has a different purpose than I think what I --

ALAN: That is what I meant by differentiated staffing.

FOX: Well O.K. But it doesn't put you into the notion of having to decide or offer an opinion at the beginning of how many of them they have to have and for what.

ALAN: Right. And that's why -- right. I think you're -- can you say your question again, because your question is right -- how do I feel about all this, which is --

ALAN: In one sense it's I think that you need to explain to me at least, much more clearly what you mean by beyond, in the "beyond professionalism." What exactly do you mean by that? Is this a new group of people? Is this a supplementary group of people? Sometimes you seem to indicate that the best and the brightest that are not really going to stay in the profession are going to be the VISTA vocational, and to really stick it out in this profession -- even if you're vocational -- is you have to be professional. But in a way that goes contrary to the logic of other parts of the argument.

So, --

ALAN: So, I think it's really -- I'm not clear on it; I'm not sure if I can get clarity on it, because it seems awfully confusing to me.

UNIDENTIFIED: I think that one of the things that's happening --

FOX: If Schiff doesn't speak soon, ...

UNIDENTIFIED: Well, I'm sorry, I'm sorry.

FOX: He's going to leave.

ALAN: I just have two, two more points to make.

FOX: ... He never did it and I never did it, now he's starting to do it - I'm finished.

... misbehaved -- I'm going to stop misbehaving -- I'm finished.

ALAN: I also wondered what would Lee Schulman ask --

UNIDENTIFIED: That's exactly what I wanted to say --

ALAN: What would Schulman and Cruse say if they were sitting here? Schulman and Cruse -- this whole group of people -- I hope

ARON: I mean I'm disappointed that Sharon's not here because it would be interesting to see what she would say.

ALAN: Although she has her own reservations about Lee and the work that's being done.

But the way that -- I think they would say: you've set this up as a strawman situation. I think Lee Schulman, the way I understand this whole thing -- and I agree with you that it's not -- the categories are not very clear -- but I think that he would say that a professional, who has a developed pedagogical content knowledge, in ... of sense of that era -- has in fact moved a long way toward vocation. And that it's exactly the same kind of thing probably happens with the doctor, or with the lawyer -- that the degree to which the doctor begins to understand the reflectively, the things that lie at the base of the subject

matter of his own particular discipline -- he becomes more committed and that commitment is in fact part of the process of vocation. So why do you set those things as so separate?

So that I think that Schulman may say that vocation does not necessarily have to be beyond professionalism. Why can't vocational be within that area of legitimacy.

UNIDENTIFIED: In fact I heard Lee gave a wonderful -- give a wonderful talk using Jaime Escalante as a model --

ARON: I've heard of that --

UNIDENTIFIED: You've heard --

ARON: Well, it was in an article, he wrote it in an article.

But can I just say something. The problem, the reason is this started as a very academic paper, O.K.? I mean that we're now looking at what's wrong with academic papers, right? I took all the literature on profession and I said, hey something's missing from here. Here's what's missing. But I never really grappled with what's really the relationship. And now, if I wasn't going to write it from an academic perspective, which -- do you know what I mean? My mandate was -- look at professionalism; now, here's a possible critique of it.

But now we're asking sort of a before question -- is what's really -- which comes prior, not in terms of number of articles published on the subject -- but in terms of what's really important. And I'm not sure I know, but I'm interested in talking about that.

UNIDENTIFIED: You could take an interesting lead from Lee Schulman and the way he constructed his ... paradigm, by conceiving of this as a missing paradigm, or a missing piece of

the professional as a paradigm. Rather than talking about it ... contrary to --

ALAN: I have one final point. ... what I think you call a curve ball -- what Jaime Escalante would present -- was he a baseball person?

ARON: No, he's the teacher in ... you should rent that movie, Alan, it would be part of your American ...

ALAN: The -- you know you called your paper: Issues of Professionalism in Jewish Teaching. And I think you did a wonderful job in reviewing the general literature on teacher education and then contrasting the Jewish.

What worries me, if I look at this paper for the audience for whom it's designed as a kind of basic background paper for policy making -- and public policy for the future -- is that there -- the general education is on the move precisely in this area. And what you are doing here for the policy, for people who are going to make policy decisions is in a way presenting general education at a very frozen point in its life. Now, I think that we can't imagine that anything can be -- this is a particular viewpoint -- but I don't think that there's much that can be done in Jewish education that is not consonant with what is happening in the world of general education. I think the power of what is happening in general, particularly in this society, is very very great. And I think that we have to take cognizance of it. I suspect that 10 years down the road, this drive that is coming out of Carnegie and this drive that is coming out of the sense of constantly falling back in -- America falling back economically -

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- there is going to be an enormous push towards this profession.
It's not just going to be a hypothetical set of ideals, and it
may not be the pedagogical content knowledge will give
legitimacy; it may be --

END OF SIDE OF TAPE

END OF TAPE 1



TAPE 2

ALAN CONTINUED: ... cannot allow itself to begin to set up models that are not consistent with a simulation of the way general education is going. And I think one has to be, one has to argue, if one is offering this as a paper for policy makers who are going to put a lot of money into something that is going to come about within a decade or so -- I think you have to say to yourself: Jewish education is a subcategory of what is happening in general education in this society. So one would have to say: what is the basso continuo of what is happening in general education in the society, with which our Jewish personnel strategy is going to have to jive at a certain stage. I don't think it can exist --

ARON: I can't let this go by because I really disagree. I mean it seems to me, one thing we could say -- I would want to say is -- hey, that's been our problem all along, we're trying to put it in sync -- when are we going to face up to the fact that we can't play their game from 4-6 in the afternoon, or half a day or whatever it is. Who wants to play their game anyway? Maybe we want to play a different game?

ALAN: Well I think that's a big topic for a debate. Because I think it's a very -- will be a very interesting question to say: is there really -- what would have to be the preconditions for Jewish education to bring a model of professionalism in education that would be so radically different from what is happening in the world of general education and would still be able to succeed. But I think that's a question that would have to be ...

SCHIFF: I'll get to that part later. I have to admit that when I

sleepily entered the plane I opened up the paper. I woke up at 4:30 this morning. ... two and half hours away from my house. And I looked out -- then I got a second breath of life and when I came into the hotel room between 5:30 and 6:00 I read that. And you were really struggling and struggled well I must say. And then I became frustrated on the one hand, and exhilarated on another. And let me give you my own pragmatic point of view.

First, I too was pre-med -- and after getting into medical school -- two people put their hands on my shoulders -- Dr. Belco and ... who was my rabbi, whose grandson is now my son-in-law. Very interesting. Put his hand and invited me to his house. I was not destined to go into Jewish education. Neither in my yearbook in high school, I went to public high school -- scheduled me to go into medicine or theatre. And I wanted to be a psychiatrist in Israel. And Rabbi Dr. Belkin called me into -- he was the President of Yeshiva University and he lived like a pauper actually -- I have visited in his home on shabbes -- and the way he lives so -- in such poverty -- it's interesting. And he's so modest in his own lifestyle. And I was his guest for 2 consecutive shabbats.

And I was his talmid -- I was his student -- and he wanted me to go into the rabbinate. And I made a compromise. I was interested in ... and I said I also got into Columbia and I'm interested in social psychology of education -- but I'm not going to go into -- I'm not going to rabbinate.

And interestingly that Healthgott, I had applied for a scholarship. And in order to work off my fellowship in medical

school I had to work in a laboratory on shabbat. And that ... goes a sign from my Kodesh Baruch Ho that I should not go into medicine. But my brother and everybody else in family did that for me.

In one of my chemistry classes, I had a little professor, literally 4 ft. 10 inches. His name was Dr. Levine. Do you remember him? Was he still there when you were there? And he opened his first class and said I'm going to teach your first lesson in observation. And he took a beaker and he used to stand on this little cart so we could see him. And he took this beaker and put his finger in the beaker and he said: I want you to do what I'm doing now. I want everybody to do this, but ... I mean he scared us, I mean the way he spoke -- he was little but like Napoleon. And he put his finger in this liquid and he put it in his mouth and he handed the beaker around to everybody. And we all grimaced. It was the foulest tasting thing you can imagine. Now you learned your first -- when he got it back he said -- now you learned your first lesson in observation. In scientific research, he said, I put this finger in my beaker and this finger in my mouth.

The reason -- the reason I think of this is: I'm looking at the baal habatim out there, and which finger are they looking at?

Now, we're here for a purpose. I just want to step back for a moment. And while I followed your introduction you know ... even listening to the long-range and long-term research project -- the question is: In this one, what do we want to accomplish? And in the long-run there are two goals: one is to attract new talented personnel and keep them; and the second is, to improve

whwat we call schooling, or instruction. There are two things we want to do.

And I just am raising that question: how does the paper, when you finish the paper, how do we relate to those two potential answers, responses? There are several other things --

ARON: ...

SCHIFF: What?

ARON: You don't want me to ask you that?

SCHIFF: No, no, no. I don't want to. One other thing, I think that something that we should be considering in reading the paper -- can be context. What about community, what about layity, what about boards, individual boards? What about supervisors? What about teachers? What about informal educators? There are a whole host of relationships that impact upon the teach ...

I'm just raising the question: how much of that could be introduced into such a paper? And then what's the teacher's job? Now eventually if this is going to go to lay people, there has to be an understanding -- maybe another piece -- but somewhere there should be either in an outline form, or with some detail -- the whole question of a teacher's job. That will relate to the question of professionalism ... I'm uncomfortable with it. The division between professional and vocational.

My feeling is -- eventually there has to be a mix, obviously. First of all there has to be a differentiation between day school and supplementary school -- or between that kind of a school that can provide a full-time occupation. And it has to be clearly stated. Because there is professionalism that relates to

a group of people who can have a full-time job is one thing; and professional as it relates to a group of people, some of whom might be full-time. And right now, there are no full-time teachers at all. In fact, on the average between 4 hours per school and 6 hours or 8 hours a week per school. And some I think the average in New York for example is 5 1/2 hours total commitment to Jewish education.

My question is: if that's all you teach, what kind of vocation, to use your word, how much commitment can they have altogether? So that I -- my own feeling is that we have to go to real professionalization for several reasons. One, that's the language of the street. Not only the question of what's happening in public education. And I think that there has to be an attempt to -- where we can -- in the day school, for example -- there has to be, whether we use Linda Darling-Hammond's criteria and the Rand Foundation -- a whole group which I happen to feel is helpful, even though it comes from, it's based on the original attempts to do in medicine, beginning with Flexner. But I believe that we need that otherwise we're not going to attract the talent. Take the baseball metaphor: You have big leagues -- professional. You have farm teams, from A to AAA, professional. You have 4 different opportunities to be professional. Then you have the semi-pros; then you have sandlot; and then you have stickball. We're playing stickball. Many of our people are in stickball. And I --

I think professionals can have a calling. And if I may for a moment, the whole question in Hebraic literature, in the Jewish tradition, of whether you're allowed to pay a teacher or not the

schar shimor -- a schar bathatla -- it's very interesting. The Hakodesh Baruch Ho is the model. He's got the ultimate commitment. And we're doing it as a calling. Well, there's nothing wrong in this day and age -- or just turn it the other way -- professionals should have that calling, they should have as much commitment as possible. AND it isn't a question of some people doing it with a lot of energy and a lot of calling and others doing it professionally. No. I would say that if a professional doesn't have some calling, I would like to maximize it rather the amount of vocational feeling or calling that he has.

So that I must say that I'm bothered by that. I believe a career-ladder, but it doesn't have to be vertical. It should be something like the ... professional growth. And I remember Lee Schulman giving this example when you make it in medicine -- I think it's good for teaching as well -- when you make it in medicine and you become the director of the most sophisticated department of surgery in a medical school, or in a hospital -- does that director of surgery give up surgery? No. He just didn't ask me. So, that teachers can be outstanding teachers and do a little, some other things. There can be a lateral kind of growth, and some vertical growth. But there is no -- in Jewish education, there is no possibility for professional growth at all. And that I think should be -- I think that's something we ought to emphasize.

And maybe we ought to be very realistic. There are certain -
- you didn't talk about the radical ... And I feel that the day

school more or less is making it; it can be changed, it can be improved. But it's an example of full-time commitment of teachers -- mostly of parents, particularly in the Orthodox. It's the parents who make the schools ... because they want the kids to learn. And they're the ones who motivate the teachers and the principals to the higher standards. We don't have that in the supplementary school where 70% of our kids who are in school are. What do we do about that?

So no matter -- you cannot treat the teacher without that body of people who are going to help make him successful. There has to be a strong relation to that -- you know, that's my hobbyhorse.

And so again I say whether you use the suggestion that we make in our study about making at least one full-time teacher in every school that we give -- I think that would give you the mix. In other words -- and it's not doing two different things. In other words, you cannot relate to children without relating to their parents. One teacher can do it; two teachers; not everyone is going to be able to relate to informal or make the confluence of formal and informal a reality. Not everyone is going to be available to relate. But there has to be somebody there. And that restructuring makes teaching - has to make teaching a broader concept.

I have more to say about that, but I'll stop about this piece here -- it has to do with enculturation. And ...

About women -- just the fact, the fact that in the past the best females went into education. Now the poorest do, just the like men -- it's not -- this is an overgeneralization -- but I

want to give you an example. TIW, Teachers Institute for Women, Yeshiva University once had 550 students and 125 to 135 every year graduated and went into teaching. For a period of 15 years that was the case. Stern College almost had a similar story. Well TIW went out of business, because computer ... other -- even Beit Yaakov girls who were -- who became enculturated into the American society through TIW. So I think that's a significant point.

And the question is: how do you return women, the best of women to the profession and the best of men? And my final comment I think we ought to consider is how much of our recommendations that we'll make that are going to be based on research -- how much should, of those recommendations should be based on current communal ability to enhance Jewish teaching? And Seymour mentioned it, ... mentioned it. I don't think we -- this Commission for example is atypical too. I think that we cannot settle for what we think the community will do. That is the Rochester model or any other model. So that if we're going to be recommending something, it has to have with that the potential of attracting the kind of the people who will be those teachers, those professional teachers or the vocational -- but I prefer to see a maximum number of professional teachers, with several levels ... importance in the next --

UNIDENTIFIED: .. conditional points. One is Isa and I are members of a very wonderful group called the California Association for a Philosophy Education, which periodically sits around a room much like this, taking our papers apart, and what we've done for this

wonderful piece by Isa -- and one of the women in that group -- it's a sort of refrain after you've sort of been taken apart -- she will then say to you: gee, that was such a wonderfully clear and articulate paper -- that we should be able to take it apart so well. And that's sort of how I feel about this particular paper.

And in particular I think that despite our struggling with the distinction between vocationalism and professionalism, that the distinction in fact however muddy it may be has challenged us to try and clarify in our own thinking the argument for professionalism that those that are pushing us to make it, have to make. And to that extent I think we should be really very grateful to Isa. Because I think she's pushed us very hard on this point in a way that we wouldn't have otherwise been pushed. And that I think is really the value of -- that's the real value of academic research in a policy setting.

In that connection, one additional point: And this relates to the question of valuating the product that Barry raised earlier. There is a tension here between sort of the conceptual roots of vocationalism, the conceptual roots of professionalism. The conceptual roots of vocationalism lie in the idea of community and commitment. And others have pointed out already that the conceptual roots of profession rely on the idea of individualism and remuneration. And those can be contrasting. And there can be a tension that pulls away from it. So that if a person is too vocational, then you're going to not want to pay him as much or you're going to use that as an argument against paying as much. But that argument can be twisted around the other

way as well. And we can ask: who are the real consumers here? See, Barry when you asked the question I understood that the value of the consumer to be on the parent of the supplemental school child. To which we would normally say: well, they don't really value it very much which is why they use the assessment. But the brilliance of what I think Seymour has been trying to do with the Commission is to raise the ante as to who the consumers really are. And suggest that the consumers for Jewish education are not just the individual parents, but the community as a whole. And saying to the community as a whole -- you've got to ante up. And in that sense, raising all of our sights. And that pushes the vocation argument sort of on the other side. In other words, by pushing on the community as opposed if I push -- if we try to push on the sort of individual side, we might not get very far. Because the bottom line is individual people might not pay teachers as they would for example pay physicians. But on the other hand, the community will pay, or has the capacity to pay -- at least a lot better than it does. And that I think -- that is the sense I think in which we're trying to broaden the vision. And in that sense I think Isa you could take this vocationalism argument and even use it contrary to your own sort of inherent sense of limitations, to say that in fact we can push beyond to a broader kind of vision.

UNIDENTIFIED: Yes, I think that that's very well put. I think the problem is that -- I mean you've stated it to the inspirational side of it. But, I think the problem with it is that we know that in the sort of real world, the sort of parental community -- and

this is something we actually do know from the anthropological research, the limited amount that's been done -- but you know Schulman, Heilman and that -- that there's a big problem. That the individual consumer may not be buying into the argument of the importance of the product. We are in fact I think the Commission may be -- may have the potential let's say to sell the leadership of the community a much bigger idea, which is what Scheffler is writing I guess here, according to this -- which is you know Jewish continuity is related directly in some way to Jewish education. That's a very big idea. But that's different isn't it from all those parents of -- that just basically want the kids to have the bar mizvah, and we all know that that's so much the reality of the field --

FOX: Well is it really, you see? And I don't want us to get pulled off into that. But, first I'll make -- I'll ask the question and then I want to argue from an analogy and I think it's not one to be dismissed.

If you're going to describe -- and it was interesting, I had an interesting session with CAJE today -- something happened in there. The people that care about supplementary education got terribly insulted that somebody thought the supplementary education is not successful. I couldn't believe what I heard. I mean they were given the opportunity to present exciting ideas for supplementary -- but they got insulted at the fact that somebody thought that maybe it wasn't any good; which all of us knows is what everybody thinks and we're saying it here too.

Now supposing those parents were -- had the experience of a supplementary school that was dramatically different than what

they now knew? What do we think might happen?

UNIDENTIFIED: That assumes that they're not happy with what they have -- and --

FOX: No, no, no. I'm ready to assume that they're happy with what they have -- I'm ready to assume that they're happy -- I don't want to get into that argument -- do they get what they deserve -- I don't -- I happen to have a position there; but that's not --

UNIDENTIFIED: Do they get what they want -- it's not what they deserve.

FOX: That's right. O.K. No, no. Listen, just a moment. Nobody knows what they want. Nobody has investigated what they want. That may be what they settle for. We just don't know.

Now -- let us assume -- I want to know and I want to tie it up with what I've heard implied in Mike's statement. Supposing there were a supplementary school, not supplementary schools -- a school -- in which the parents had the feeling as consumers that their children were getting something unusual? Whether it be by vocational teachers, or any other teachers. Would they still feel the same way? Don't know. I think not -- that's my opinion, but I have no basis for argument.

UNIDENTIFIED: I agree with that; I agree with that; I agree.

FOX: O.K. Now if that were the case. Now, then I say to myself: what would happen to your definition of professional? Whether it be part-time or not. If you really felt you know if you go to that school that's what happens to a kid when he goes to that school -- what would happen to those teachers? They might turn -- they might become viewed as professional in the sense that he was

talking about giving your children to the Church -- and the analogy is not religious here.

So, that's, that's the question I'm asking. And I've given away my card -- I happen to believe, with no data to back me, that that is something that ought to be -- it's worth a spin.

Now I want to tell you -- Camp Ramah was the most stupid idea ever thought of. And I want to tell you why. Because, you have to realize how it was worse than this conversation we're having about supplementary schools. Camp Ramah was established at the point where camping was Indian camping. There were no -- there were no science camps yet. The only camps there were was Interlocken.

ALAN: Wasn't there Massada?

FOX: Ramah -- Massada -- all the same -- I'm not talking about the Ramah phenomena -- I'm talking about using the summer for learning. AND in that sense, Ramah was different than Massada -- or formal learning, let's say. But I didn't mean Ramah -- I meant Ramah, Massada,

UNIDENTIFIED: Yavne --

FOX: Yavne -- the whole -- the most stupid idea conceivable. And I can imagine a policy -- a group of people talking about it. The kids hate what's going on in the winter. Now you're going to ask them to pay on their volunteer time to come during the summer. That was the idea of Camp Ramah. And anybody who knows anything about the history of Camp Ramah, knows that we paid the kids to come -- literally paid them. The first Ramah camps were open with us paying the kids to come. So the parents sent the kids away to go to camp for nothing -- so they got free -- your mother in Camp

Ramah --

ARON: I didn't know that.

FOX: -- What's that.

ARON: I didn't know that.

FOX: Yes, the kids -- ask her -- they did -- talk to her -- they -- they --

UNIDENTIFIED: How come you didn't get allowance ... your allowance went to the kids.

FOX: They -- for many years, for many years they got -- for many years they paid the kids to come because nobody wanted to go.

We were competing with the camps down the block in Wisconsin, which were -- I saw Ben Aharon looking for Indians in the woods with the kids. So, that one.

Now you move from that to a notion where you had to wait, you had to have protectzia to get in. Now, that happened because the camps did something; it didn't happen for any other reason. The people who went to the camps came out with the feeling -- this is a place that I want to come to because it does something for me. And I don't know whether the parents started it, or the kids started it -- but both groups converged at a certain point. In other words there was a certain point where Dr. Finkelstein called me up and said: I want Judge Rifkin's grandchild in the camp. And I said to him: I'm very happy to get him into camp on one condition -- that you know you're going to get caught. He said: no, no, I don't want the kid in the camp. Because there's going to be a scandal that we were going to jump the kid 250 kids up front to get him in.

Then he came up with the notion of a full-time camp director -- now what a stupid idea that was. Why should a guy be a full-time camp director? He worked two months a year -- so you weren't paying a full time person for working 12 months a year -- why should a guy get a full-time job? What was the argument presented to the lay people? If you want this thing on that level to be done, this guy's got to spend 10 months preparing. What does preparation mean? He's got to train the staff and so on and so on and so forth. He had a whole bunch of what you call avocational or para-professionals or vocational non-professionals, or VISTA people or whatever you want to call them working in this.

Now that is not be to laughed at.

UNIDENTIFIED: Can I ask -- was it replicated in the full sense that you describe it? Did other organizations do it on that scale?

FOX: Look, I don't know whether it was or not. I want to tell you something --

UNIDENTIFIED: Well isn't that also criteria for the conceptual?

FOX: Look I am not arguing for Camp Ramah to sell us here. I'm arguing against the other argument -- I'm saying to you that with the present players and with the present investment, you don't have to have her study or any other study. In other words, you're going to let the guys -- I would deny this outside this room and this is not Seymour Fox saying this on tape -- if you want to have the present leadership, lay leadership of Jewish education -- if they're going to run -- not the present, a lot of the present -- ... different -- 10 years ago the lay leadership running Jewish education -- those are going to be the guys that

are going to run it, then there's no chance to have the conversation.

I think - who said it here -- oh, you said it a moment ago -
- if the top leadership takes the position that this is likely to make a difference, it's a very different kind of ballgame. Now you may be given the opportunity because the top leadership, light years ahead of the parents, say: hey, let's see what can happen. Now if they do it -- then the parents are going to say -- if you win, if you're successful -- my God, if that's what it is -- then.

So, I don't know what the mix is; but I think that we cannot learn from the analogy of that this is what the supplementary schools are, therefore that's the way they're going to continue to be.

And so I'm not bringing up Camp Ramah as a proof for what could be, but really to try and show that the line of reasoning of the people that built Camp Ramah, refused to accept the situation as it was and say -- just because camping is Indian camping, and just because there is no such thing as a profession, and just because there is no money in it, and just because it loses so much money -- therefore, it cannot be.

ALAN: Seymour, you're enormously complicating Isa's job, because it keeps shifting the ground of the terms of reference of the paper. That means I accept -- I don't think anybody ought --

FOX: No, I was not, I was not shifting the grounds of the paper. I'm saying to Isa: Isa, you throw, in my opinion, you throw any challenge you want to this lay group. I'm not asking her to tamper with her analysis one bit. I don't care if she makes it tougher -- she moves it from here to here. I have no desire to lower the ante with the group. You know, if it's \$80,000 teachers -- if that's what it is -- then let's say \$80,000 teachers.

ARON: Yes, but there's one other thing Seymour -- you can't say if it's \$80,000 teachers then it's going to be success.

FOX: No, no, I didn't say -- pardon me -- just a moment -- I haven't gone anywhere. I answered Alan's question. Alan's question was -- what am I saying to Isa. I'm saying to Isa -- my opinion -- you obviously will do as you please -- if the issue leads you to whether it's differentiation, differentiated staffing or anything else like that -- that I have to have "x" number of people of this kind; or it seems to me that here are 3 possible conceptions -- "x" number of people this side, "y" this side, and "z" of that kind or another one of "x" or that - or different combinations -- and that adds up to an enormous bill or to an enormous problem -- then put it there. That is not the problem.

The problem is that I don't think that you should say how can that be? How can that be?

ARON: That's not a problem.

FOX: Because you don't know that -- I don't mean "you" don't

know; none of us know.

ARON: I accept that -- that's not a problem.

SCHIFF: ... not accommodate your -- your recommendations should not accommodate --

ARON: O.K. I heard that loud and clear and I've heard that from a number of people and I have no problem with that.

UNIDENTIFIED: Well, let me add one word of dissent to that.

If that's the message that's coming through.

I think that we have to deal with the issue of the strategy of how we get from here to there. I'm not saying aim low. I'm not saying you know compromise and say that. I really believe that we have to have a fully professionalized teaching cadre, but because we don't have the money for it -- therefore I'm not going to say that we really need it.

But there's a difference between that and what I fear has happened too often in Jewish education in the past, which is the spinning of dreams that are castles in the air. I think that what needs to be done, and maybe it's not the job for the paper, maybe it's a job for the report or the translation -- and I'm aware of that distinction -- is to indicate clearly that this a -- that there is a strategic direction being laid out here, which can get us from where we are to where we want to go. So that for example, in the area of personnel, I would be sorely disappointed if the result of this Commission process were simply a call for a fully professionalized teacher cadre. Because my prediction is that that would simply sort of wash over -- and everybody would say yes, it's a wonderful idea. But I don't have the foggiest idea of

how to get there.

I think that what you're trying to do by arguing that there is a road from where we are to where we want to get to is critically important to the intellectual task that we face. We've got to convince people not only that it should be done, but that it can be done. And it's not enough to say -- and if you will invest you know another \$2 billion you can get there.

So, you know --

ARON: Well, and it certainly isn't because we don't have this knowledge. I mean, it's very complicated -- that we don't have the knowledge-base, we don't have -- I mean it fits with Aryeh's paper -- you know we don't have the training capability really if you --

UNIDENTIFIED: Well I don't think we need to get into all of that. I think what -- I want to come back to something I said earlier. I think what you have done is to begin to develop a set of hypotheses based on a close reading of the current literature, which gives us a reasonable basis for arguing that professionalization is important. You've also given us a hypothesis based on a close reading of another set of literature, which argues that other characteristics are also desirable, not necessarily seeing those as in contradiction to each other. The third piece that I'm suggesting needs to be integrated is some indication of where we are. And then it seems to me your challenge in the last part of the paper is to begin to say, how do we close that gap.

If I've made the case as a thinker, and as a researcher, that we need more professionalization, and we also need more

people in Jewish education who carry with them certain other characteristics, and if I can demonstrate that this where we are today, very partial -- not enough full-time people, etc. etc. -- then I want to suggest to you that this is how we get there.

And I would repeat what I said earlier: I think that putting forth the notion of full professionalization and what it would mean to Jewish education potentially -- the way Seymour can do it more dramatically than anybody else -- may be important. But I would not want you to assume that therefore also arguing for differentiated staffing is necessarily a concession. I think it may be an important step.

FOX: Can I just ask one question of both of you.

Supposing somebody put all the money on the table now, and we had nothing to do but to figure out this problem. We were given the assignment, you know, go figure out what to do about this.

And they said to us, give us a report in a week. Well, what's your first suggestions. Wouldn't we say to them, like they're saying in a field like medicine or other such fields -- and ... or anyone of the fields -- hey, we're going to start to work, we're going to do research, we're going to try, we're going to see.

Why do we have to be different? Why do we have to be bashful and be frightened? Why do we have to know the answers?

UNIDENTIFIED: We have to be able to put forward something more --

FOX: I agree, I agree --

UNIDENTIFIED: And if all this says -- give us money so that we

can --

FOX: No, no, just a moment, just a moment --

UNIDENTIFIED: They won't buy it.

FOX: No just a moment -- I was not suggesting -- I was saying the opposite -- I was not suggesting that the concluding paragraph would be "all teachers should be professional" -- because we don't know that. I think the concluding paragraph becomes the question -- how many teachers have to be professional, how many of them have to be paid a lot of money and so on and so forth. And then let's get to work and see what happens.

In other words, we have a tough problem -- I mean I hate to use the analogy cancer -- we have a tough medical problem. Now nobody expects people to solve tough medical problems by sitting around the table.

UNIDENTIFIED: The issue in part that this Commission has to address is what do we tell communities to do. And it seems to me -- I'm not disagreeing with you -- it seems to me that we need to tell communities, a) the best wisdom that we have indicates that --

FOX: ... tell communities how to start, would you buy that -- instead of what to do?

UNIDENTIFIED: Yes, it's not even clear to me that the function of Isa's paper, in answer to that question -- this is the point I tried to allude to before -- The function of Isa's paper it seems to me, and this is I think also an important way to protect your own integrity in terms of what she's working on -- is to help to clarify the terms of the debate. Isa's paper is not going to decide the policy; it's going to give us the conceptual tools

around which to debate this issue. That's what she's done for us tonight; that's what I think she can -- so I don't think that Isa's paper has to advocate anything. What it has to do is pursue this line further, play out whether there are questions, whether there are recommendations -- it almost doesn't matter as long as they're done intelligently and thoughtfully -- because that will then -- let me play this out for a minute -- let me just give you an example.

As many of you know, I've been doing a large study on non-formal education for this Commission in Los Angeles. And I've presented, now, I've presented both to the Steering Committee of the Commission and to the Commission as a whole. Most of the time, I get a lot of reaction of disagreement -- not with the empirical data, but they're very upset about this empirical data -- it really doesn't show them what they wanted to find out. The study has now served its purpose; it has clarified the terms of the debate around which we're going to formulate policy considerations. That's what Isa is doing for us here; and I don't think we should constrain her to accept your view -- we don't agree in this room, and we're not going to agree in this room.

ARON: Can I just follow this up. In other words, if I hear you correctly, all the paper has to end with is saying -- I'm now going to spin out for you 5 fantasy models of differentiated staffing -- two in a day school and three in a religious school. I want to be very -- on underline -- ... illustration -- this are not the only 5 you could make 10 other ones -- a model is a wrong word, right. You know here is five you know, whatever, fantasies

of what this might look like -- I put these in just to catch your imaginations - but not because I've defined every single possible variable that there might be.

ALAN: Isa, yes, but I think that your paper as it now stands is not completely faithful to Hannan's I think very persuasive point. In the sense that you had taken certain constraints as given. So if you are going to say those --

ARON: I can take those out.

ALAN: You either have to take them out, or you have to articulate very clearly which constraints you accept as given.

ARON: Well I think I feel more comfortable taking the constraints out, and I mean I don't think there are only like two lines. I don't think there's --

ALAN: No, no, no. It's more than just one or two lines. Because in your presentation, your verbal presentation today, and I think in the text -- if I look carefully I think I could find it - it does sound as if vocation is something that came out of a sense that there never will be enough money for. Now you have got to make a decision --

ARON: No, I could take that out. I could -- if it's there, I -- it's not what I'm arguing and I could that out.

If it's there, then I can take it out.

SCHIFF: Isa, what you're doing is bringing your integrity to bear, showing what we know, what we need to know, and because what we have come to understand because of your research -- these are possibilities. There are several possibilities. It's not totally definitive of what should happen. But you -- we have to understand -- and when you prepare these paradigms, and models as

possibilities, as potential others -- is a job for the Commission to do. And the job is to take a leaf from the Black community, after this, to develop a sense of urgency. The Blacks never thought there would be so many voters. The Blacks never thought that they'd be able to get so much in certain areas. But there are several people who had the guts, the gumption, the vision and the drive to do that. We may hate Jackson's guts, but he did things that no other people were able to do in that. He changed the whole, the whole ... of politics in New York.

I think that that's a next step. That has to do somewhat with communals, with the communal piece -- but I think it's something that the commission as a whole is going to have to deal with. What you have to do is provide the vision, not the total vision, but some aspects of a vision, based on the kind of research and the kind of discussions that never took place in America. I don't know if we had this kind of discussion ever took place in this way.

UNIDENTIFIED: Because of that I would disagree with what you said just a couple of minutes ago, when you said -- well I should present 5 different models about differentiating staffing.

My view of this is differentiated staffing is one solution, one approach to this issue. And there are, let's say, 3 or 4 different sub-groups under differentiated staffing that you could spin out. But differentiated staffing is only one way of dealing with the -- for example, for example --

ARON: It could be all professional --

UNIDENTIFIED: Exactly, exactly -- you could say -- you raise some

very interesting issues about Schulman's stuff at the beginning. One thing it seems to me that you could suggest is in the light of what Seymour said before, that you know it seems to me part of your job is to say -- here's what we should be trying out, even though we don't know where we're going to get to -- you could say: look, here's some interesting stuff going on -- these guys at Stanford are doing -- maybe this is where some of the money should go, for a) demonstration site or whatever that's going to work in the pedagogic, content knowledge issue to see if that's the cut that is going to do something to quote "professionalize" Jewish education. Maybe that's one area that should be explored. I mean that comes out of the work that you're doing.

In other words --

ARON: You're right. So it should be called five different staffing models, or however many it is -- right? Some number of different staffing models -- everything from fully professional to fully avocational -- you know -- and some things inbetween.

UNIDENTIFIED: And you said to textualize so that the day school will be different --

ARON: Yes, yes, I mean -- wait, but then it seems to me you're saying another thing, which is where does research money go -- right?

UNIDENTIFIED: Yes.

ARON: What are the urgent needs. Now, I'm not sure I -- I think it's really -- I shouldn't prioritize them -- I should say different possibilities.

UNIDENTIFIED: See, you said another thing that's really interesting here. I think that -- I mean I want to re-state what

has been said a number of times -- that's a possibility.

ARON: Yes, that's the message.

UNIDENTIFIED: A number of people have said that one thing that they don't like about what you've done here is to contrast vocational -- with professional.

ARON: Yes, I got that.

UNIDENTIFIED: O.K. So ideally we have very inspired professional teachers in some sense or another.

ARON: Right.

UNIDENTIFIED: Now you might say that one of the questions that has been raised by this discussion which came out of your paper is -- so what does it take to give people a sense of vocation? I think Jack said that before. Is that something that can be done at all? And that's something, as you know, that we at Melton have been playing around with with the retreat thing -- is you know, what -- can you effect the inner lives of teachers and does that have anything to do with how they work as teachers? So that's another issue you want to talk about.

And Seymour said: so maybe we don't all -- a bunch of teachers like that, maybe that would mess up our schools to have too many inspirational people running around.

ANNETTE: Let me just say that that has to be the last thing -- because otherwise we're going to have to walk back in the snow.

FOX: First of all, it's not snowing; secondly everybody can stay here all night if they want.

SCHIFF: I'd like to interject one thing that we haven't -- Isa, you can say --

FOX: I want you to know that Isa made it clear before we began tonight, that she didn't know whether there was enough stuff in this paper for a full evening. So I think she ought to stay as punishment.

SCHIFF: Isa, you can decide whether it belongs or not. But I'm going to give you a point of view now.

It's something we haven't discussed in this table at all. And I want to mention it from two points of view.

We haven't mentioned the dirty word rabbi, as far as teachers ... are concerned in the school. You mentioned status --

ARON: ... a lot to say about that later.

SCHIFF: Well, no I'm just talking about yours. I realize you're going to be doing that.

I'm wondering and -- whether that ... context as well, but I'm mentioning it because of another reason. Would we consider the rabbinate a profession? Oh, yes. Ah -- how did that start? Look at -- don't look at medicine. Look at something closer to home. What about the rabbis who came over, what about the little stibelach that they had, what about the saloons that they used to teach in, and they have -- tell me, was that a profession when we started? I know if Fred Gottschalk takes credit for starting the profession of --

ARON: Only for raising the salaries.

SCHIFF: Only for raising the salaries, O.K.

UNIDENTIFIED: Careful Isa.

SCHIFF: But I think there may be value in looking at that as a -- and seeing what happened.

UNIDENTIFIED: Part of ... process and then a suggestion.

I think the question to raise in mind of some of the things that Barry was saying -- as a perfect research questions you have to add somehow -- I think every section which is to discuss some of the theoretical issues -- you have to follow-up with some of the research ... I think that's a responsibility.

ARON: Like a little box or something --

UNIDENTIFIED: What?

ARON: A little box that says: research question.

UNIDENTIFIED: What are the 5, 8, 10, 12, 15 things we have to try as a result, as an outgrowth of this analysis?

ANNETTE: We're talking about two different things: you're talking about the research question; she's talking about well we have to try --

UNIDENTIFIED: This relates to something else; this is the ... piece. As I listen to Isa, and as I hear comments, I realize that the 3 topics - the community, the current state of teacher training, --

END OF SIDE OF TAPE

The Educational Background of American Jews¹

by Seymour Martin Lipset

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ Kosmin et al., Highlights, p. 15.

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

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

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

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

Determinants of Jewish Education for Adult Respondents

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 7: Types of Jewish Education by Generational Background (Percent)				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
Day School	29	12	5	3
Part-Time	20	43	46	29
Sunday	7	13	22	22
Private Tutor	7	6	3	6
Never Attend	37	26	24	41

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Consequences of Formal Jewish Education

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

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

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

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

Table 11: Years of Education and Involvement in the Synagogue (Percent)					
	Never Attended	< 6 Years	6-10 Years	11+ Years	Total
Member	18	34	44	52	33
Attended Once a Month or More	17	19	28.5	38	22

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

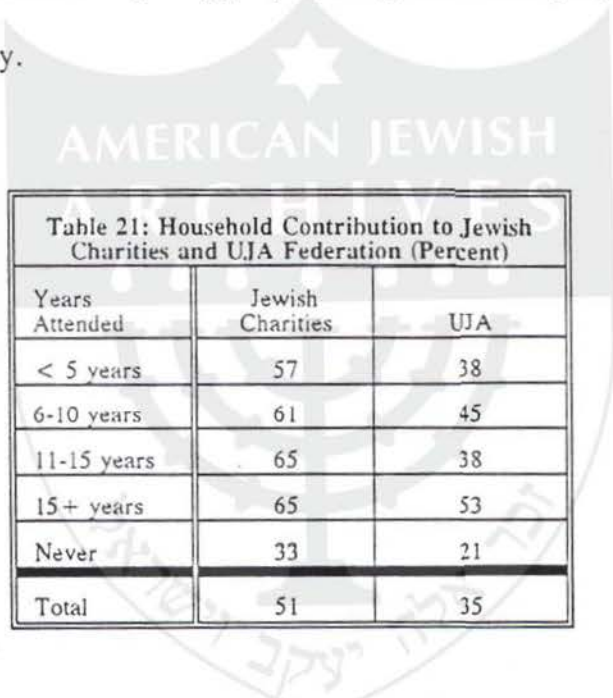


Table 21: Household Contribution to Jewish Charities and UJA Federation (Percent)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

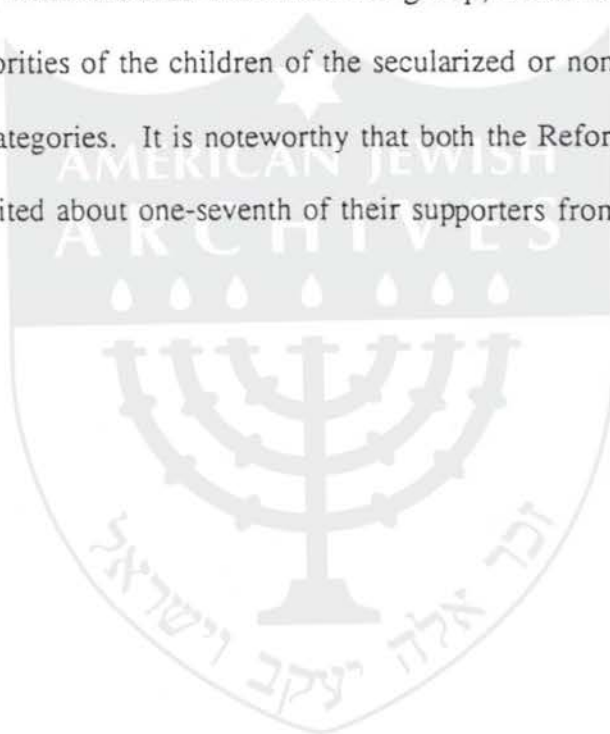


Table 22: Denomination Raised and Current Denominational Affiliation (Percent)										
Raised	Current	OR	CO	RE	CB	JJ	MX	NR	NJ	Total
Orthodox (OR)	Row	23	46	19	4	7	--	1	1	19
	Col	84	28	10	27	14	--	4	2	--
Conservative (CO)	Row	1	58	26	4	5	--	3	4	32
	Col	4	57	23	38	16	38	23	11	--
Reform (RE)	Row	--	5	79	1	5	--	3	7	25
	Col	--	4	55	11	13	37	15	15	--
Combina-tions (CB)	Row	1	39	30	17	56	--	2	6	3
	Col	1	4	3	16	2	--	1	2	--
Just Jewish (JJ)	Row	4	6	14	1	63	--	5	6	7
	Col	5	1	3	3	47	--	9	4	--
Mixed J & NJ (MX)	Row	--	--	11	11	--	--	16	63	1
	Col	--	--	--	3	--	--	3	4	--
Non-religious (NR)	Row	--	12	5	--	3	--	80	--	2
	Col	--	1	--	--	1	--	36	--	--
Not Jewish (NJ)	Row	3	14	16	1	6	1	3	57	12
	Col	6	5	5	3	7	25	9	63	--
Column Total		5	32	35	3	10	--	4	11	100

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

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

Multivariate Analysis of the Adult Respondents

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

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

Data and Variables

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

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

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

Hypotheses

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

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

Methods

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

The following equation was used to estimate all the models:

$$(1) \quad Y_i = \beta_0 + \gamma_1 D_{1i} + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \gamma_2 D_{2i} + \beta_2 X_{2i} + \epsilon_i$$

where Y_i is a numerical dependent variable observation, X_{1i} and X_{2i} are fixed independent variable scores and the D_{ki} are dummy variable regressors. Note that the age and generation

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

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

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

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

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

Results: Determinants

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Consequences and Jewish Identity

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

Unquestionably, the effect of Jewish education is strong and significant, controlling for all

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Table 24: Regression Analysis of Formal Jewish Education Consequences.
Dependent Variables: Jewish Identity Index

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

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

The Education of the Young

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 27: Children's Ages by Formal Jewish Education Enrollment in the Past Year for Those 6 through 17 Years Old (Row Percent)

	Attended In Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Total
6 years	35	26	32	7	10
7 years	38	21	35	6	11
8 years	45	10	37	7	10
9 years	39	13	38	9	10
10 years	37	14	48	2	9
11 years	38	4	55	4	9
12 years	47	9	39	5	7
13 years	38	5	55	2	8
14 years	25	6	68	1	7
15 years	23	9	67	1	6
16 years	15	4	81	--	7
17 years	20	4	76	--	7
Column Total	34	11	50	4	100

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

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

Table 28: Parents' Intentions for Formal Jewish Education Enrollment Intentions for Children under 6 Years of Age (Percent)

Children's Ages	Expect to Enroll	Will Not Enroll	Do Not Know	Row Total
Under 1 year	50	30	20	17
1 year	45	37	18	18
2 years	46	40	14	17
3 years	41	31	27	15
4 years	35	32	32	17
5 years	23	41	36	16
Column Total	40	35	24	100

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

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

Table 29: Parents Jewish Education Background by Their Intention to Enroll their Children in, and Actual Attendance by their Children in Formal Jewish Education (Percent)						
Parents' Educational Status		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Households with both parents						
Yes-Yes	Row	23	35	23	19	29
	Column	57	41	14	33	
Yes-No	Row	9	23	50	17	46
	Column	33	42	46	46	
No-No	Row	4	14	70	12	27
	Column	10	15	40	21	
Column Subtotal		12	24	48	16	100
Single Parent Household						
Yes	Row	18	24	50	10	40
	Column	60	83	30	30	
No	Row	8	3	73	15	60
	Column	40	17	70	70	
Column Subtotal		12	12	63	13	100

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

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

Table 30: Respondent's Type of Formal Jewish Education by Children's Type of Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (For Children 6 through 17)				
Respondent's Type of Formal Jewish Education	Children's Type of Jewish Education in Past Year (percent)			
	Day School	Part-time	Sunday School	Private Tutor
Day School	43	11	4	50.5
Part-time	23	49	26	21
Sunday School	13.5	14	30	2
Private	21	10	8	8
None	--	15.5	32	18
Total	7	24	26	12

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

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

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

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

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

Table 33: Religious Composition of Parents for Children between Age 6 through 13 Years by Children's Attendance in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)						
		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Household with both Parents						
Both Denominationally Jewish	Row	37	25	22	16	44
	Column	86	53	20	65	
Denominationally and Ethnic-secularly Jewish	Row	--	16	81	4	6
	Column	--	4	10	2	
Denominationally Jewish and Non-Jewish	Row	7	24	60	9	28
	Column	10	32	34	24	
Both are Ethnic-secularly Jewish	Row	--	5	85	11	4
	Column	--	1	7	4	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish and Non-Jewish	Row	4	11	82	2	17
	Column	3	9	29	4	
Column Subtotal		19	21	49	11	100
Single Parent Households						
Denominationally Jewish	Row	37	7	45	11	71
	Column	100	100	55	74	
Ethnic-secularly Jewish	Row	--	--	91	9	29
	Column	--	--	45	26	
Column Subtotal		26	5	59	10	100

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

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

Table 34: Religious Composition of Parents for Children between Age 14 through 17 Years by Children's Attendance in Formal Jewish Education in the Past Year (Percent)						
		Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Subtotal
Households with Both Parents						
Both Religious Jews	Row	40	9	48	2	54
	Column	94	75	38	74	
Jew and Ethnic-secular Jew	Row	--	4	89	7	7
	Column	--	4	9	26	
Jew and Non-Jew	Row	5	2	94	--	24
	Column	6	--	33	--	
Both Ethnic-secular Jews	Row	--	--	100	--	4
	Column	--	--	6	--	
Ethnic-secular Jew and Non-Jew	Row	--	12	87	--	11
	Column	--	21	15	--	
Column Subtotal		23	7	69	2	100
Single Parent Households						
Religious Jew	Row	18	5	66	12	56
	Column	100	65	49	82	
Ethnic-secular Jew	Row	--	4	93	3	42
	Column	--	35	51	18	
Column Subtotal		10	4	77	8	100

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

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

Table 35: The Importance of Being a Jew by Enrollment of Child in Jewish Education (Percent)				
	Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know
Not Important	-	-	87	13
Not Very Important	2	6	82	10
Somewhat Important	6	29	48	17
Very Important	23	43	24	11
Column Total	11	28	48	13

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

Table 36: Parents Frequencies of Synagogue Attendance by Enrollment of Child in Jewish Education (Percent)				
	Not at All	Less Than Three Times	More Than Three Times	Row Total
Attended in Past Year	2	3	23	13
Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	11	28	31	26
Did Not and Will Not Attend	73	50	30	45
Do Not Know	13	20	16	16
Column Total	29	15	56	100

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

Table 37: Reasons Given for Children Not Being Currently Enrolled (Percent)	
Reason Category	Percent
Too young	4
Too old	1
Has sufficient Jewish education	4
Parents uninterested	22
Child uninterested	12
Schools are too expensive	4
Schools are too far away	4
Schools are poor quality	1
Now in non-Jewish religious education	11
Will enroll in future in non-Jewish schools	8
Other	28
Total	100

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

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

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

Key:

J = Religiously Identified Jew

ESJ = Ethnic-secular Jew

NJ = Non-Jew

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

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

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

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

Table 40: The Jewish Character of the Neighborhood and Child Enrollment in Jewish Education (Percent)

Neighborhood	Attended in Past Year	Expect to Enroll, Yet Did Not Attend	Did Not and Will Not Attend	Do Not Know	Row Total
Very Jewish	21	31	24	23	7
Somewhat Jewish	17	24	41	18	22
Little Jewish	13	26	46	14	30
Not Jewish	7	21	58	14	41
Column Total	12	24	48	16	100

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

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

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

The Future: College Students and The Campus

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

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

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

Table 42: Secular Education and Attendance at Jewish Education by Gender (Percent)			
	Men	Women	Total
Some High School - High School Graduate	61	41	51
Some College	81	56	68
College Graduate	84	65	74
Graduate School	87	73	80

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 43: Attitudes of College Students to Intermarriage (Percent)		
	If a Child Considers Marrying a Non-Jew	If the Potential Spouse Will Convert
Strongly Support	17	39
Support	45	12
Accept	15	38
Oppose	15	10
Strongly Oppose	7	--
Do Not Know	--	--

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

